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What Eschatological Pilgrimage of the Gentiles?  
Matthew V. Novenson

It shall come to pass in the latter days that the mountain of the house of the LORD shall be established as the highest of the mountains, and shall be raised above the hills; and all the nations shall flow to it, and many peoples shall come, and say: 'Come, let us go up to the mountain of the LORD, to the house of the God of Jacob; that he may teach us his ways and that we may walk in his paths.' (Isa 2:2-4 = Mic 4:1-2 RSV)

On this mountain, the LORD of hosts will make for all peoples a feast of fat things, a feast of wine on the lees, of fat things full of marrow, of wine on the lees well refined. And he will destroy on this mountain the covering that is cast over all peoples, the veil that is spread over all nations. (Isa 25:6-7 RSV)

And the foreigners who join themselves to the LORD, to minister to him, to love the name of the LORD, and to be his servants, everyone who keeps the sabbath, and does not profane it, and holds fast my covenant — these I will bring to my holy mountain, and make them joyful in my house of prayer; their burnt offerings and their sacrifices will be accepted on my altar; for my house shall be called a house of prayer for all peoples. (Isa 56:6-7 RSV)

I am coming to gather all nations and tongues; and they shall come and shall see my glory, and I will set a sign among them. And from them I will send survivors to the nations, to Tarshish, Put, and Lud, who draw the bow, to Tubal and Javan, to the coastlands afar off, that have not heard my fame or seen my glory; and they shall declare my glory among the nations. And they shall bring all your brethren from all the nations as an offering to the LORD, upon horses, and in chariots, and in litters, and upon mules, and upon dromedaries, to my holy mountain Jerusalem, says the LORD, just as the Israelites bring their cereal offering in a clean vessel to the house of the LORD. (Isa 66:18-20 RSV)

Many peoples and strong nations shall come to seek the LORD of hosts in Jerusalem, and to entreat the favor of the LORD. Thus says the LORD of hosts: In those days ten men from the nations of every tongue shall take hold of the robe of a Jew, saying, 'Let us go with you, for we have heard that God is with you.' (Zech 8:22-23 RSV)

Then everyone that survives of all the nations that have come against Jerusalem shall go up year after year to worship the King, the LORD of hosts, and to keep the feast of Sukkot. (Zech 14:16 RSV)

These are all justly famous, rhetorically powerful oracles from the classical Hebrew prophets envisioning an eschatological future when gentiles will forsake their idols and their weapons of war and make pilgrimage to Jerusalem to worship the living God and learn his ways.<sup>1</sup> But Paul, apostle to the gentiles and a virtuosic interpreter of the prophets, cites precisely none of these texts. None at all. Not so much as an allusion or an echo.<sup>2</sup>

What are we to make of this fact? It would seem that the apostle has missed a trick. Given Paul's urgent need to justify his gentile mission,<sup>3</sup> these classic eschatological pilgrimage texts are low-hanging fruit, surely. And yet, Paul never avails himself of any of them. That is to say, Paul never

actually makes the interpretive move that many modern critics have thought must have lay at the back of his mind. As E. P. Sanders—to cite one preeminent example—has written, “Paul’s entire work, both evangelizing and collecting money, had its setting in the expected pilgrimage of the Gentiles to Mount Zion in the last days.”<sup>4</sup>

Others before me have pointed out this curious feature of Pauline intertextuality, most importantly Terence Donaldson in his excellent 1997 book *Paul and the Gentiles*.<sup>5</sup> Donaldson goes on to conclude that, because Paul does not cite these texts or invoke this tradition, he must have thought of his gentile mission not as a performance of an eschatological script at all but rather as a form of Jewish proselytizing, only proselytizing for *Christ*-adherents rather than *Torah*-adherents.<sup>6</sup> I disagree with Donaldson’s conclusion (because I think there are other eschatological scripts Paul might have been performing; more on this below), but we have Donaldson to thank for troubling the eschatological-pilgrimage-of-the-gentiles hypothesis, which was in need of troubling. The solution, I argue in this essay, is not to take the eschatological pilgrimage tradition as a given and to reject it (as Donaldson does), but rather to refuse to take it as a given, to interrogate and deconstruct it, and then to see what options lie open to us.

Hence the title of this essay: “*What* eschatological pilgrimage of the gentiles?” This is one of those secondary-literature stock phrases that we use thinking we know what we mean by it, but, I want to suggest, in fact we do not. The phrase papers over a great deal of actual diversity in the relevant texts from the classical prophets, few or none of which (depending how we count them) Paul himself actually cites, anyway. What we have here is a conspicuous mismatch between *explanans* and *explanandum*, between the putative tradition on the one hand and the relevant Pauline texts on the other. It is this mismatch that I want to explore and, hopefully, to resolve.

To be sure, there is such a thing as an eschatological pilgrimage of the gentiles tradition attested in a number of texts from the Second Temple period.<sup>7</sup> But—I would want to insist—to be deserving of the name, a text should clearly attest all three aspects: eschatology, pilgrimage, and gentiles (as the marquee oracles from Isaiah, Micah, and Zechariah cited above all do). And we find all three aspects, for instance, in Tobit’s address to the city of Jerusalem in the prayer of Tobit 13:

O Jerusalem, the holy city, he will afflict you for the deeds of your sons, but again he will show mercy to the sons of the righteous. Give thanks worthily to the Lord, and praise the King of the ages, that his tent may be raised for you again with joy. May he cheer those within you who are captives, and love those within you who are distressed, to all generations forever. Many nations will come from afar to the name of the Lord God, bearing gifts in their hands, gifts for the King of heaven. (Tob 13:9-11 RSV)

And in the Hellenistic Jewish prophecy of Sibylline Oracles 3:

And then all the islands and cities will say... ‘Come, let us fall on the ground and entreat the immortal king, the great eternal God. Let us send to the temple, since he alone is sovereign, and let us all ponder the law of the Most High God’... From every land they will bring incense and gifts to the house of the great God. There will be no other house among men, even for future generations to know, except the one which God gave to faithful men to honour. (Sib. Or. 3.715-719, 772-775; trans. Collins)

And probably also in a climactic scene near the end of the Animal Apocalypse:

The Lord of the sheep brought a new house, larger and higher than the first one, and he erected it on the site of the first one... And all the sheep were within it. And I saw all the sheep that remained. And all the animals on the earth and all the birds of heaven were falling down and worshiping those sheep and making petition to them and obeying them in everything. (1 Enoch 90:29-31; trans. Nickelsburg and VanderKam)

These and other related texts have all been much discussed.<sup>8</sup> I take what I think is an uncontroversial majority view that these texts carry the baton, so to speak, of the eschatological pilgrimage of the gentiles ideal from Isaiah, Micah, and Zechariah before them. So far, so good.

The problems arise when we come to Paul. As I have said, although he cites the prophets (especially Isaiah) copiously,<sup>9</sup> Paul never cites any of classic eschatological pilgrimage texts noted above. Nor does he bring all three of our key elements—eschatology, pilgrimage, and gentiles—together anywhere in his own prose. Paul’s letters are full of eschatology, and of gentiles, but none of those gentiles ever takes hold of the hem of the robe of a Jew for directions, none of them ever makes *aliyah* to Mount Zion. (Admittedly, there is the case of Titus in Gal 2:1-3: “I went up to Jerusalem with Barnabas, bringing Titus along.” But Titus does not go up. Paul goes up, and brings Titus along with him. And he goes up not to worship at the temple but, apparently, to show Titus off to the chief apostles.)

One might possibly see—and quite a few interpreters have seen—a hint of the eschatological gentile pilgrimage motif in Paul’s collection of money from the gentile Christ-assemblies abroad to give aid to the poor among the saints in Jerusalem (mentioned in 1 Cor 16:1-4; 2 Cor 8:1-9:15; Rom

15:25-31). Indeed, ever since the mid-twentieth-century work of Johannes Munck and Dieter Georgi, this account of Paul's collection has become quite influential, even standard.<sup>10</sup> As David Downs has argued, however, Paul nowhere portrays the gathering or the delivery of the collection as a pilgrimage of the gentiles.<sup>11</sup> Most importantly, it is Paul himself, not the gentile donors, who will bring the offering to Jerusalem.<sup>12</sup> And he will deliver it not to the temple on Mount Zion but to the Jerusalem Christ-assembly, for distribution to its poorest members.<sup>13</sup>

Some recent interpreters—even ones who are otherwise deeply sceptical of Luke-Acts as a historical source—have thought that the rumor in Acts 21:28-29 that Paul sneaked his gentile companion Trophimus past the court of gentiles into the inner courts of the temple<sup>14</sup> is a smoking gun: Paul actually tried to trigger the eschaton by dragging a newly holy-in-Christ gentile across the sacred boundary.<sup>15</sup> But one lone Ephesian does not a pilgrimage make. And anyway, this is Luke's story, not Paul's. (And even Luke says it was a rumor, that Paul did not actually do it.) And nothing Paul himself says hints at such a scheme. According to his travel itinerary in Romans 15, Paul will go up to see the brothers-in-Christ in Jerusalem, as he has done several times before (Galatians 1-2). Only this time, he will come bearing gentile money.

But if the collection for the poverty-stricken saints in Jerusalem is not an eschatological pilgrimage of gentiles, what then? Well, there is one other key text that we have yet to consider. I have claimed that Paul never cites any of the eschatological pilgrimage texts from scripture, but some of my colleagues would say that this claim of mine is an error of fact. I have missed out, they would say, Paul's crucial citation of Isa 11:10 at Rom 15:12:<sup>16</sup> "And again Isaiah says: *There shall be the root of Jesse, even he who rises to rule over the gentiles, in him the gentiles will hope.*" This is a crucial citation, indeed, but it is not an exception to the rule that Paul never cites any of the eschatological pilgrimage texts from scripture. Here is one of those instances where, I think, we do not really know what we mean by the phrase "eschatological pilgrimage of the gentiles." Or, if we do know what we mean, then we are using it sloppily. We are either confused or wilfully imprecise. Let us consider this imprecision.

One of my muses for the argument of this essay is the Hebrew Bible scholar J. J. M. Roberts, in particular his excellent 2004 article "The End of War in the Zion Tradition."<sup>17</sup> Roberts argues that

even the *bona fide* eschatological pilgrimage oracles noted at the beginning of this paper presuppose a starkly imperialistic vision of divine governance. About Isaiah 2 (=Micah 4)—“Many peoples shall come and say, ‘Come, let us go up to the mountain of the LORD’... He shall judge between the nations, and shall decide for many peoples; and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks” (Isa 2:3-4)—Roberts writes: “The reason the nations can discard their weapons of war is that they are all vassals of Yahweh, and as his vassals, they are not permitted to go to war against one another to settle their disputes; instead their disputes will be settled by Yahweh’s binding arbitration issued from the imperial capital in Jerusalem.”<sup>18</sup> For his part, Roberts is particularly concerned to argue against those interpreters who see the “swords into plowshares” image as a straightforwardly pacifist ideal.<sup>19</sup>

What is more, Roberts also differentiates between this ideal *politeia* in Isaiah 2 and the related but different one in Isaiah 11. About Isaiah 11:10—“In that day, the root of Jesse shall stand as a sign to the peoples; him shall the nations seek, and his dwellings shall be glorious”—Roberts writes: “Rather than the divine mountain being exalted to catch the attention of the nations, it is the king from the root of Jesse who stands out like a flag, and it is to him that the nations go to inquire.”<sup>20</sup> Isaiah 2 (and 25 and 56 and 66, and Micah 4, and Zechariah 8 and 14, all cited at the beginning of the present essay) have a gentile pilgrimage to Zion but no messiah. Isaiah 11 has a messiah but no gentile pilgrimage. It is surely no accident that Paul cites the one oracle and not the others.

And in fact, Paul cites not the proto-MT Hebrew (as represented, e.g., in 1QIsaiah<sup>a</sup>) but the Old Greek version of Isa 11:10, which has even more messiah and even less gentile pilgrimage than its Hebrew *Vorlage*. Whereas in the Hebrew the Davidic king rises *la-nes amim*, “as a sign to the peoples,” in the Greek he rises ἄρχειν ἔθνῶν, “to rule over the gentiles” (perhaps mistaking *nes*, “sign, flag,” for *nasi*, “prince, ruler”). And whereas in the Hebrew the nations “enquire after him” (*vidroshu*), in the Greek they “hope in him” (ἐλπιοῦσιν). It is this Greek version that Paul cites in Rom 15:12, painting a picture not of the eschatological pilgrimage of the gentiles to Zion but rather of the eschatological subjection of the gentiles to the messiah.<sup>21</sup> The full passage, in context, reads as follows:<sup>22</sup>

Christ became a servant of circumcision for the sake of the truthfulness of God, so as to confirm the promises to the patriarchs, and [a servant] with respect to the gentiles for the sake of his mercy, so as to glorify God, as it is written:

*For this reason I will confess you among the gentiles,  
and I will sing to your name.* [OG Ps 17:50 = 2 Kgdms 22:50]

And again it says:

*Rejoice, O gentiles, with his people.* [LXX Deut 32:43]

And again:

*Praise the lord, all you gentiles,  
and let all the peoples praise him.* [OG Ps 116:1]

And again Isaiah says:

*There shall be the root of Jesse,  
even he who rises to rule over the gentiles,  
in him the gentiles will hope.* [OG Isa 11:10]

(Rom 15:8-12)

This catena of four scripture citations is meant to bear out Paul's claim in v. 9 that Christ became a servant of the *gentiles* for the sake of God's mercy: The one thing that all four scriptural excerpts have in common is the keyword ἔθνη, "gentiles." In addition, the first and the last excerpts have in common the theme of the Davidic messiah in his role vis-à-vis the gentiles: the latter excerpt obviously ("the root of Jesse rises to rule"), the former excerpt in its immediate context. "For this reason I will confess you among the gentiles, and I will sing to your name, O Lord, who magnifies deliverances for his king, and does mercy for his christ [i.e., messiah, anointed], for David and his seed forever" (OG Ps 17:50-51 = 2 Kgdms 22:50-51).<sup>23</sup>

My point here is that it is inaccurate to call the citation of Isa 11:10 in Rom 15:12 an eschatological pilgrimage reference. And because this is the only citation of Paul's that is even in the vicinity of the eschatological pilgrimage motif, I think we are better off not appealing to that motif at all for the purposes of interpreting Paul's gentile mission. There is, however, an eschatological script here,<sup>24</sup> just not the particular script that we usually hear mentioned in this connection. There is nothing here about the gentiles making pilgrimage to Zion, but everything about their being subjected to the messiah. The messiah rises to rule the gentiles, and the gentiles obey him. As Paul himself puts it later in the same chapter, "Christ works in me to bring about the obedience of the gentiles [ὕπακοήν ἐθνῶν]" (Rom 15:18).<sup>25</sup> Paul mentions "Zion" only twice, both times in Isaiah quotations (Isa 28:16 in Rom 9:33; Isa 59:20 in Rom 11:26),<sup>26</sup> both expressly with reference to Israel, *not* the gentiles.<sup>27</sup> Gentiles-in-Christ (like Jews-in-Christ, presumably) have the Jerusalem *above* as their metropolis

(Gal 4:26), not the present Jerusalem (Gal 4:25), which perhaps is why Paul does not exhort them to make pilgrimage to the latter.<sup>28</sup>

I do not know why the eschatological pilgrimage of the gentiles hypothesis has come to command such wide assent in the field. I would speculate, though, that it has to do with a popular and intuitively sensible—but, I think, finally mistaken—threefold rubric of ancient Jewish views of the fate of gentiles. This rubric goes roughly as follows: Some ancient Jews thought that gentiles would be destroyed in the final judgment (e.g., Jubilees; 4 Ezra); others that gentiles would, or could, become proselytes and thus be saved (e.g., Judith; Joseph and Aseneth); still others that gentiles would remain gentiles but renounce idolatry and make pilgrimage to Zion (Isaiah 2; Zechariah 8; etc.). Given those three options, many of us have, of course, opted for the lattermost as the closest fit with Paul: He clearly does not believe that all gentiles will be destroyed; but he equally clearly opposes gentiles becoming proselytes via circumcision; hence he must hold to the eschatological pilgrimage paradigm.

The mistake is thinking that there are only three options. In fact, there are more, even *many* more, depending how finely one wants to parse it. Some “gentile destruction” texts imagine the gentiles being dispatched judicially (in a last judgment), others extra-judicially (in a last battle). Some “gentile conversion” texts reason that gentiles must convert in the quotidian present, others that they will have an eschatological opportunity to do so. Some “gentiles remain gentiles” texts imagine that individual gentiles *who keep the Noachide laws* will be spared, others that individual gentiles *who have Christ-faith* will be spared, still others that gentiles *from nations that did not oppress Israel* will be spared. And however they are spared, some of our texts imagine them being subdued by the messiah, others imagine them licking the dust of the feet of the Jews (with no messiah to be seen), still others imagine them making pious pilgrimage to Mount Zion. And so on. My point is that our texts make a very wide range of creative moves,<sup>29</sup> and we only hamstring ourselves as interpreters if we reduce them all to just a few simple templates.

In Paul’s discourse, we find eschatology and gentiles, to be sure, but not pilgrimage. And this is a problem for the eponymous hypothesis, because it is pilgrimage in particular that is the hallmark of this putative tradition. Paul’s gentile mission, I think, aimed to bring about not the eschatological



*pilgrimage* of the gentiles but the eschatological *obedience* of the gentiles.<sup>30</sup> Of course, a combination of these two ideas is easily conceivable, and was in fact conceived of by, for instance, Psalms of Solomon and the Animal Apocalypse. In those texts—arguably, but one has to argue the case—the gentiles *both* make pilgrimage to Mount Zion *and* obey the messiah.<sup>31</sup> I would say, however, that the Psalms of Solomon and the Animal Apocalypse are simply more creative than Paul is in this respect. Although Paul surely knew Isaiah 2 every bit as well as he knew Isaiah 11, he only chose to appeal to the latter in interpreting his gentile mission. I strongly suspect, though I cannot prove, that the reason for this choice was that only the latter text has the root of Jesse, the messiah from the seed of David, which is the one thing Paul’s gospel cannot do without.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Inasmuch as no other classical prophetic texts clearly attest all of these features, this list can be said to be comprehensive. (But on the afterlives of these oracles, see further below). A very fine discussion of this whole tradition is given by Heikki Räisänen, "Zion Torah and Biblical Theology: Thoughts on a Tübingen Theory," in idem, *Jesus, Paul, and Torah: Collected Essays*, trans. David E. Orton, JSNTSup 43 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1992), 225-251.

<sup>2</sup> By my count. The non-occurrence of citations is demonstrable. The one near-miss is 1 Cor 15:54, where Paul quotes (what we recognize as) the Theodotian text of Isa 25:8: "Death is swallowed up in victory," but nothing from the preceding verses that mention gentile pilgrimage (Isa 25:6-7). The non-occurrence of allusions is harder to establish, but I think it quite clear. The editors of NA28, more generous than I in this respect, identify three in their "Loci Citati vel Allegati": Isa 56:7 in Phil 4:18 ("their burnt offerings and their sacrifices will be accepted on my altar"/"I received from Epaphroditus the gifts you sent, a fragrant offering, a sacrifice acceptable and pleasing to God"); Isa 66:20 in Rom 15:16 ("they shall bring all your brethren from all the nations as an offering to the LORD"/"[Paul's] priestly service of the gospel of God, so that the offering of the gentiles may be acceptable"); and Zech 8:23 in 1 Cor 14:25 ("ten men from the nations of every tongue shall take hold of the robe of a Jew, saying, 'Let us go with you, for we have heard that God is with you'"/"falling on his face, [the unbeliever] will worship God and declare that God is really among you"). But in none of these cases would Paul have needed the supposed prophetic source text in order to say what he says. They only look like allusions if one presupposes that Paul has an eschatological gentile pilgrimage motif in mind, which is precisely the question before us.

<sup>3</sup> On which see J. Ross Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News: Isaiah and Paul in Concert in the Letter to the Romans* (Leiden: Brill, 2002); and John M. G. Barclay, *Paul and the Gift* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015), 449-561.

<sup>4</sup> E. P. Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983), 171. This view is very widespread in the secondary literature, including—to cite just a few leading lights—Hans-Joachim Schoeps, *Paul*, trans. H. Knight (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1961); Ferdinand Hahn, *Mission in the New Testament* (SBT 47; London: SCM, 1965); Halvor Moxnes, *Theology in Conflict* (Leiden: Brill, 1980); Markus Barth, *The People of God*, JSNTSup 5 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1983); Peter Stuhlmacher, *Paul's Letter to the Romans*, trans. Scott J. Hafemann (Louisville, KY: WJK, 1994 [German original 1989]); Karl-Wilhelm Niebuhr, *Heidenapostel aus Israel* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992); Paula Fredriksen, *Paul: The Pagans' Apostle* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017).

<sup>5</sup> Terence L. Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles: Remapping the Apostle's Convictional World* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1997), here 194: "Paul's statements about the Gentile mission stubbornly resist any attempt to force them into the Procrustean bed of eschatological pilgrimage patterns of thought. . . [Note] the virtual absence of eschatological pilgrimage texts. Such texts were plenteous and close at hand. Given Paul's desire to ground the Gentile mission in scripture, there would have been plenty of opportunity to cite such texts if he had so desired."

<sup>6</sup> Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles*, 304: "Both before and after his conversion, he was convinced that [gentiles'] one hope of salvation was to become part of the people of Israel. His conversion can

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be understood as a shift from a paradigm in which membership in Israel was determined by Torah, to one in which it was determined by Christ.”

<sup>7</sup> On which see Terence L. Donaldson, *Judaism and the Gentiles: Jewish Patterns of Universalism (to 135 CE)* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2007), 670-678.

<sup>8</sup> See Jill Hicks-Keeton, “Already/Not Yet: Eschatological Tension in the Book of Tobit,” *JBL* 132 (2013): 97-117; Andrew Chester, “The Sibyl and the Temple,” in *Templum Amicitiae: Essays on the Second Temple Presented to Ernst Bammel*, ed. William Horbury, JSNTSup 48 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1991), 37-69; Devorah Dimant, “Jerusalem and the Temple in the *Animal Apocalypse* (1 Enoch 85-90) in Light of the Qumran Community Worldview,” in eadem, *From Enoch to Tobit*, FAT 114 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017 [Hebrew original 1983]), 119-137.

<sup>9</sup> See Dietrich-Alex Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1986); Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989); Christopher D. Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, SNTSMS 74 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Timothy H. Lim, *Holy Scripture in the Qumran Commentaries and Pauline Letters* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997); Florian Wilk, *Die Bedeutung des Jesajabuches für Paulus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998); Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News*.

<sup>10</sup> See Johannes Munck, *Paul and the Salvation of Mankind*, trans. Frank Clarke (Atlanta: John Knox, 1959 [German original 1954]); Dieter Georgi, *Remembering the Poor: The History of Paul's Collection for Jerusalem* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1992 [German original 1965]); Keith F. Nickle, *The Collection: A Study in Paul's Strategy*, SBT 48 (Naperville, IL: Allenson, 1966); Burkhard Beckheuer, *Paulus und Jerusalem* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1997).

<sup>11</sup> David J. Downs, *The Offering of the Gentiles: Paul's Collection for Jerusalem in Its Chronological, Cultural, and Cultic Contexts* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2016), 3-9. See also the earlier criticism levelled by Leander Keck, “The Poor among the Saints in the New Testament,” *ZNW* 56 (1965): 100-129.

<sup>12</sup> One might invoke as counterevidence 1 Cor 16:3: “When I [Paul] arrive, I will send those whom you [Corinthians] accredit by letter to carry your gift to Jerusalem.” But the stated purposes of these Achaean couriers is safekeeping, not symbolic pilgrimage. And in any case, by the time he writes Romans 15, Paul has apparently resolved to deliver the collection himself.

<sup>13</sup> Rom 15:25-28: “At present, I am going to Jerusalem with aid for the saints. For Macedonia and Achaia have been pleased to make some contribution for the poor among the saints at Jerusalem; they were pleased to do it, and indeed they are in debt to them, for if the gentiles have come to share in their spiritual blessings, they ought also to be of service to them in material blessings. When therefore I have completed this, and have delivered to them what has been raised, I shall go on by way of you [in Rome] to Spain.”

<sup>14</sup> Acts 21:28-29: “[Jews from Asia] cried out, “Men of Israel, help! This is the man who is teaching men everywhere against the people and the law and this place; moreover he also brought Greeks into the temple, and he has defiled this holy place.” For they had previously seen Trophimus the Ephesian with him in the city, and they supposed that Paul had brought him into the temple.”

<sup>15</sup> E.g., J. Albert Harrill, *Paul the Apostle: His Life and Legacy in Their Roman Context* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 72-74; Fredriksen, *Pagans' Apostle*, 244.

<sup>16</sup> Indeed, this very point was made to me by Christopher Zoccali at an SBL session on the topic. Zoccali has argued that Rom 15:12/Isa 11:10 is indeed evidence of an eschatological gentile pilgrimage motif in Paul (Christopher Zoccali, *Reading Philippians after Supersessionism* [Eugene, OR: Cascade, 2017], 35-44). He is quite right about the importance of the citation, but not about its connection to a pilgrimage motif, for the reasons I adduce here.

<sup>17</sup> J. J. M. Roberts, “The End of War in the Zion Tradition,” *HBT* 26 (2004): 2-22. And see Roberts's other essays on related themes in his *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Collected Essays* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2002).

<sup>18</sup> Roberts, “End of War,” 6.

<sup>19</sup> See in particular H. W. Wolff, “Swords into Plowshares: Misuse of a Word of Prophecy?” *Currents in Theology and Mission* 12 (1985): 133-147.

<sup>20</sup> Roberts, “End of War,” 11.

<sup>21</sup> On these aspects of Old Greek Isaiah 11, see further Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News*, 317-327; Matthew V. Novenson, “The Jewish Messiahs, the Pauline Christ, and the Gentile Question,” *JBL* 128

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(2009): 357-373. And on the theology of Old Greek Isaiah more generally, see J. Ross Wagner, *Opening the Sealed Book: Old Greek Isaiah and the Problem of Septuagint Hermeneutics*, FAT 88 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013).

<sup>22</sup> My translation. On the difficult syntax of the opening sentence, I follow J. Ross Wagner, “The Christ, Servant of Jew and Gentile: A Fresh Approach to Rom 15:8-9,” *JBL* 116 (1997): 473-485. With Wagner, and *pace* Joshua Garroway (“The Circumcision of Christ: Romans 15:7-13,” *JSNT* 34 [2012]: 303-322), I think it most likely that διάκονον περιτομῆς, “servant of circumcision,” here means *not* “agent of circumcision,” i.e., “circumciser,” but rather “servant of the people Israel.” But see Garroway’s ingenious argument to the contrary as developed in idem, *Paul’s Gentile-Jews: Neither Jew nor Gentile, but Both* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

<sup>23</sup> On this latter reference, see Novenson, “Jewish Messiahs.”

<sup>24</sup> *pace* Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles*.

<sup>25</sup> On this under-appreciated theme, see the classic discussion by Paul S. Minear, *The Obedience of Faith* (London: SCM, 1971).

<sup>26</sup> “[Israel] 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* [Isa 28:16]” (Rom 9:33); “In this way all Israel will be saved, as it is written, *The deliverer will come from Zion, he will banish impiety from Jacob* [Isa 59:20]” (Rom 11:26).

<sup>27</sup> On Zion in Romans 9-11, see further Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News*.

<sup>28</sup> On the Jerusalem above in Galatians 4, see Michael B. Cover, “Now and Above, Then and Now (Gal 4:21-31): Platonizing and Apocalyptic Polarities in Paul’s Eschatology,” in *Galatians and Christian Theology*, ed. Mark Elliott et al. (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2014), 220-229. As Paula Fredriksen helped me to clarify in our discussion in Bratislava, I understand Paul to expect that, at the imminent parousia of Jesus and resurrection of the righteous dead, all people-in-Christ will be translated directly to the Jerusalem above. The cosmology and anthropology underlying such a scenario are brilliantly explained by Matthew Thiessen, *Paul and the Gentile Problem* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 129-160.

<sup>29</sup> Many of which are detailed in the other essays in the present volume.

<sup>30</sup> See further Novenson, “Jewish Messiahs.”

<sup>31</sup> On these texts, see further Patrick Pouchelle’s and Genevive Dibley’s essays in the present volume.

<sup>32</sup> I have made this case in full in my *Christ among the Messiahs: Christ Language in Paul and Messiah Language in Ancient Judaism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012). Other important interpretations of the messiah motif in Paul include Stanley K. Stowers, *A Rereading of Romans: Justice, Jews, and Gentiles* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994); Joshua W. Jipp, *Christ Is King: Paul’s Royal Ideology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2015); Fredriksen, *Pagans’ Apostle*.