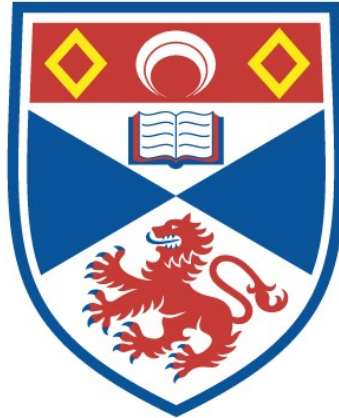


THE ATTITUDE OF THE APOSTLE PAUL TOWARD SCRIPTURE

William Eugene Phipps

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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The Attitude of the Apostle Paul toward Scripture,

being a thesis presented by

William Eugene Phipps

to the University of St. Andrews in application

for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



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Certificate

I certify that William Eugene Phipps has fulfilled the conditions of Ordinance No. 16 of the University Court and is qualified to submit the accompanying thesis in application for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

July 14. 1954

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Declaration

I hereby declare that the following thesis embodies the results of research carried out by me, that the thesis is my own composition, and that it has not previously been presented for a higher degree.

Academic Career

I enrolled at Davidson College, Davidson, North Carolina, U.S.A., in September, 1946, and graduated there with the degree of Bachelor of Science in August, 1949. In September, 1949, I matriculated at Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia, U.S.A., and graduated there with the degree of Bachelor of Divinity in May, 1952. I enrolled as a research student at St. Mary's College of the University of St. Andrews in June, 1952, and commenced the study submitted in this thesis.

PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS

a.p.	Author's proof.
A.V.	The King James version of the Bible.
E	The Elohistie narrative.
Ed.	Edition.
ed.	Editor.
<u>E.R.E.</u>	<u>Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics</u> , ed. Hastings.
E.T.	English translation.
<u>H.D.B.</u>	<u>Dictionary of the Bible</u> , ed. Hastings
J	The Yahwistic narrative.
<u>J.B.L.</u>	<u>Journal of Biblical Literature</u> .
LXX	The Septuagint.
Moffatt	In conjunction with a Biblical reference, it indicates Moffatt's translation of the Bible.
N.T.	The New Testament.
O.T.	The Old Testament.
P	The Priestly code.
R.S.V.	The Revised Standard Version of the Bible.
R.V.	The Revised Version of the Bible.

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INTRODUCTION

A. Purpose of Study.

In this thesis the practical is combined with the academic in a synthetic approach to our subject. Biblical criticism is probably more impeded than assisted by research which is so confined to the exhaustive analysis of minute topics that scant justice is done to the unity of the whole revelation. Be this as it may, the present centripetal trend in criticism is a healthy one. Thus we offer no apology for our choice of a subject of gigantic scope for this slim dissertation, even though it is obvious that a comprehensive study of its compass would require the discipline of a lifetime and the space of many volumes. All that we can do is to illustrate some of its more salient aspects, and thereby give pointers to a line of inquiry which calls for much fuller development. We realize that our study of Paul's attitude toward Scripture has been treated in many books and articles,¹ but we find none of these works wholly

1. E.g., the essay, "St. Paul's Use of the Old Testament," in Sanday and Headlam, Romans, pp.302-7; Thackeray, The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought; Funkke, "Paulus und das Judentum" in Studia Orientalia II, pp.1-87; Harnack, Das Alte Testament in den paulinischen Briefen; Michel, Paulus und seine Bibel; Vollmer, Die alttestamentlichen Zitate bei Paulus; Windisch, Paulus und das Judentum; Bonsirven, Exégèse Rabbinique et Exégèse Paulienne; and Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism.

congenial to our point of view. Therefore we might venture to paraphrase Luke's exordium: inasmuch as many others have essayed to write on this subject, it has seemed feasible to us also to deal with it in a fresh and orderly manner.

B. Point of View.

Western scholars are often predisposed to make the Biblical figures reflect their own Weltanschauung; hence Paul has sometimes been characterized as a "Hellenist of the Hellenists". Critics who overtly undertake to array Pauline thought with Occidental trappings and ignore the underlying Oriental garb are a diminishing band. Their interpretations of the apostle are so far removed from the facts that we can dismiss them as idle romances. More subtle, and therefore more dangerous, are the scholars who unconsciously portray Paul as a Hellenist while giving lipservice to the fact that his thought was essentially Hebraic. These interpreters try to steer a middle course between the Hellenistic and the Hebraic outlooks: both Greek philosophy and Hebrew revelation are thought to be $\pi \alpha \kappa \delta \alpha \gamma \omega \gamma \alpha \iota$ ² leading him to become the Apostle to the Gentiles. While it is gratuitous to maintain that he absolutely ignored aspects of truth found in the Gentile culture, we hope to prove that the Hebraic conceptions were so utterly dominating as to make the assumption of a syncretistic outlook both superfluous and misleading. We find it impossible to believe that the apostle was

2. Cf. Gal. 3:25.

a hybrid produced out of the cross-breeding of the Hebraic and Hellenistic spirits; therefore we turn neither to the Stoics nor to the Hellenistic mystery cults to find the essential ingredients of the Pauline point of view.

It was the prophetic literature of the O.T. which provided Paul with virtually all of his theology. This fact is explicitly shown in Romans: the second verse from the beginning and the second verse from the end of this epistle state that the Gospel "has now been disclosed and made known on the basis of the prophetic scriptures".³ Also in Rom. 3:21-26, where he set forth the marrow of his doctrine of the "at-one-ment", he expressed his thought with the metaphors of righteousness, redemption, and expiation, all of which are derived directly from the O.T. So impregnated was he with Scripture that it determined even the details of his phraseology. His epistles teem with examples of its use as a vehicle of expression, so ^{much so that} ~~we may~~ even say that he thought in quotations. The O.T. both furnished his polemical weapons and nourished his devotional life. He found its text descriptive of the nascent Church in a truly contemporary way. Evidence such as this gives us ground for sharing the conviction of Hoskyns: "No further progress in the understanding of primitive Christianity is possible unless the ark of New Testament exegesis is recovered from its wanderings in the land of the Philistines and is led

3. Rom. 16:26, Moffatt.

back not merely to Jerusalem, for that might mean to contemporary Judaism, but to its home in the midst of the classical Old Testament Scriptures".⁴

G. Method of Presentation.

Calvin, one of the most enlightened Biblical interpreters since the apostolic age, lists in the preface of his earliest commentary⁵ a triad of qualities which he aimed at in all his exposition. These are clarity, brevity, and loyalty to the spirit of the writer. Following from afar in his footsteps, we have made it our aim in this thesis to present in a perspicuous and succinct form those aspects of our topic which have special significance. It is, of course, impossible to exhibit disinterestedly Paul's attitude toward Scripture, for our minds cannot be freed from all subjective tendencies. We have nevertheless attempted to deal honestly with the issues at stake even when this has necessitated an abandonment of rigid logical consistency and the surrender of certain cherished notions. We have tried to suppress the subtle temptation which grips the minds of many writers, namely to present novelty for novelty's sake. Any originality found in this thesis may be attributed to the attempt to view old facts in a new light. We have taken pains to show that we rely on convincing authorities at the many points where our knowledge is not sufficient to enable us to make independent judgments.

4. H.C. Hoskyns in his essay on "Jesus, the Messiah" in Mysterium Christi (Bell and Deissmann, ed.), p.70.

5. Calvin, Romans, p.xvii.

Critics have often been hindered from discovering Paul's attitude toward Scripture because they have set out to find in his epistles evidence of a self-conscious hermeneutical methodology. Just as these writings give little evidence of their author's aim to compile a compendium of Christian dogmatics, so also they display meager evidence of precisely formulated rules by which the apostle interpreted the O.T. Since his writings were occasioned by local situations, he did not bother to give systematization to his doctrine or to distill abiding exegetical principles. Hence we can discern his hermeneutics only by thoroughly understanding his prevailing attitude of life and the historical circumstances to which he addressed himself. Accordingly, the pivot around which our presentation has revolved is the human figure of Paul and his milieu.

D. Use of N.T. sources.

This thesis is based primarily on those portions of the thirteen⁶ epistles of Paul where references to the O.T. come to the forefront. Happily his principal letters, Galatians, First and Second Corinthians, and Romans, are likewise those ^{which} most prominently expressing his relationship to Scripture. While recognizing the paramount importance

⁶ Accepting the external and internal evidence that has been marshalled to witness that the Epistle to the Hebrews is not Pauline, we, like all responsible Protestant scholars, exclude it from the group of fourteen epistles credited to Paul by the Church Fathers and consider this debate closed.

of these, we shall not neglect any passages of his corpus which shed valuable light on our subject.

We follow the method of Dodd, as found in his recent parallel study,⁷ and treat for purposes of discussion all the letters which bear Paul's name as the work of one author. Our use of the complete corpus calls for brief comment. The authenticity controversies which began to rage with the rise of modern Biblical criticism have calmed. Only Ephesians⁸ and the Pastoral group of epistles⁹ now cause serious disputes regarding genuineness.¹⁰ The questions arising in both cases are due, generally speaking, to differences of style and content. Although disciples of Paul may be responsible for the present form of these letters, they are far from being mere fabrications. Even though they may contain interpolations by editors of a subsequent period, most of the thoughts therein expressed are congruous with the Pauline outlook. The arguments for and against the traditional authorship of these letters are not conclusive. We ourselves regard them as so dependent upon Paul that for the purpose of our inquiry we consider them to have been written by him.

7. Dodd, According to the Scriptures, p.30.

8. Mitton in The Epistle to the Ephesians presents the ablest arguments against the Pauline authorship of Ephesians. However he has not demolished the case for tradition. Percy in Die Probleme der Kolosser- und Epheserbriefe argues with cogency for the authenticity of this epistle.

9. Cf. Harrison, The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles.

10. Cf. Hunter, Interpreting the New Testament 1900-1950, pp.62f.

The Acts of the Apostles will not serve as a major source for Pauline thought. Its main function will be to aid us in our reconstruction of the apostle's background. Our relegating this work to a subsidiary place is due not to our questioning the substantial truth of Luke's representation but to our desire to concentrate upon primary N.T. sources. Ramsay has established beyond reasonable doubt this historian's fidelity to fact.¹¹ Although it has been proven that the contents of Acts were not invented by its author, we do not expect to find in Luke's records the ipsissima verba of Paul's speeches. Accuracy in quoting was not considered by ancient writers, so we find in the speeches of Acts the precipitate of those words of Paul which percolated through the mind of his fellow-traveller.

E. Acknowledgments.

I cannot over-emphasize my indebtedness to Principal George Duncan, Dr. George Ogg, and Professor John Dow for their valuable supervision throughout the course of this research. They have unstintingly and enthusiastically given of their time and erudition in order to make apt criticisms which have kept me from many errors and to give helpful suggestions which have opened up broader horizons for my consideration.

11. Ramsay, The Bearing of Recent Discovery on the Trustworthiness of the New Testament, pp.35-221.

CHAPTER I

THE PALESTINIAN JEW

Paul's unqualified assertions that his Gospel and apostleship were entirely of divine origin have resulted in unbalanced characterizations of his personality. In particular, the vigorous apologia contained in the opening verses of Galatians has given certain interpreters ground for supposing that such a transformation was wrought by his conversion as could not have been contributed to by the earthly processes which had moulded his maturing life.¹ Thus the apostle has been labelled an innovator gifted with an original mind which soared to unprecedented heights. This may be a well intended tribute, but it places Paul on so high a pedestal that he is in danger of being removed from the common range of human experience and made a being not indeed divine, yet somewhat more than human.

Recent study has scrutinized Paul more carefully. His originality, it is suggested,² should not be regarded as the capacity to create thoughts which have never hitherto entered the mind of man. An original thinker is better described as one who can so thoroughly digest the culture in which he has been nurtured that from it he can produce

1. E.g. Sabatier, The Apostle Paul: "The origin of his gospel ... is to be found in his conversion" (p.71). "Paul borrowed little from the Old Testament beyond its forms; it was an ancient mould into which he poured a new material" (p.87).

2. Cf. Hunter, Paul and His Predecessors, pp.136-47; Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, pp.321-4.

a new synthesis, one that is entirely his own. Accordingly, we do not in any wise discredit Paul's creativity if we glean from his background all that can throw light on the subject of this thesis; indeed we can comprehend his genius only by giving due regard both to his natural antecedents and to his cultic, domestic, and educational environment. It will be appropriate therefore to sketch those many influences which bear on the attitude he came to adopt toward Scripture.

Paul was born about the beginning of the Christian era in Tarsus,³ then an urbs libera and ^{the}metropolis of the region of Cilicia. According to ancient tradition collected by Jerome,⁴ his forebears came to reside in this city after having lived at Gischala, a town in Galilee, when this latter district had been plundered by the Romans. It is, however, at least equally possible that they voluntarily migrated for commercial purposes. Like most trading centers in the Mediterranean world, Tarsus had its Jewish colony, and the future apostle was born in the ghetto.⁵ As was customary among Jews living in the Graeco-Roman civilization, the baby was given two names: Saul, perhaps after the hero-king of his tribe of Benjamin; and Paul, probably

3. Acts 9:11, 21:39, 22:3.

4. Hieronymus, De Viris Illustribus, c.5; Comment. in Epistolam ad Philemonem, 23.

5. This statement is based upon a parallel which probably existed between the cities of Alexandria and Tarsus. Cf. The Jewish Encyclopaedia, I, p.362.

a Latin cognomen in token of the Roman citizenship which he inherited.⁶

The fact that Paul was by birth a Jew of the Diaspora has opened wide the gate of speculation. Tarsus has provided an ideal site for the painting of fascinating portraits of a cosmopolitan. Its geographical setting as a border city has been noted as suggestive of that midway point whereon Paul stood between the cultures of the East and the West.⁷ In this city there probably was some amalgamation of the Jewish and Greek cultures; but we have no reason to think that Paul absorbed it, and descriptions, frequently met with in biographies,⁸ of the indelible youthful impressions which he carried away with him from this city ought to be regarded as mere romantic excursions. The hypothesis that he was contaminated by non-Jewish philosophy collapses as soon as we realize that the main part of his formative years was spent in Jerusalem, which was, of all cities, the least influenced by Gentile thought. According to Acts Paul said on two occasions that he had lived in Jerusalem from his earliest childhood⁹, and his epistles support these affirmations.

6. For a review of other interpretations of the sources of the apostle's names cf. Goguel, The Birth of Christianity, pp.205-6, n.2.

7. E.g., Pfeleiderer, Primitive Christianity, pp.40ff.; Ramsay, "Tarsus" in H.D.B., IV, pp.687-688; Glover, Paul of Tarsus, pp.5-23; and Bultmann, The Theology of the New Testament, I, p.187.

8. E.g., A. Menzies and W. Edie, "Paul" in E.R.E., IX, p.681; Noek, St. Paul, pp.26-27; and Goguel, op.cit., p.208.

9. Acts 22:3,20:4. See Appendix I.

We can give a reasonable interpretation of Paul's autobiographical references only by considering him a Palestinian Jew. For instance, in Phil. 3:5 he describes himself as a "Hebrew of the Hebrews" (Ἑβραῖος ἐξ Ἑβραίων). In the paragraph in which this phrase occurs he has already claimed to be one hundred per cent Israelite: he belonged to the tribe of Benjamin which had remained loyal to the Davidic house; as contrasted with the Jewish proselytes, he prided himself on having been initiated into the covenant of Abraham by the rite of circumcision eight days after birth. These assertions afford us little ground for supposing that by the addition of Ἑβραῖος ἐξ Ἑβραίων the apostle is merely reiterating what he has just stated. We believe that this phrase has both a national and linguistic connotation: primarily it indicates that he pledged allegiance to the inmost circle of Judaism; and, as a corollary, it shows that his mother-tongue was Aramaic,¹⁰ the Palestinian vernacular which was closely akin to Hebrew. It is unlikely that he would have expressed himself in this manner if he had been reared in Tarsus, where the language of culture, of commerce, and of the synagogue was Greek. Therefore in using this phrase he seems to identify himself explicitly with the Jewish people of Palestine where he had resided from the beginning of his conscious life. The emphatic assertions which he makes in writing to the Corinthians

10. Lightfoot, The Epistle to the Philippians, p.145.

confirm this exegesis: "Are they Hebrews? So am I. Are they Israelites? So am I. Are they descendants of Abraham? So am I."¹¹ These questions were probably intended by their writer to convey more than a repetition of the same idea for rhetorical effect. It follows that Paul first-ly and foremostly laid claim to the exclusive title, "Hebrew", and then added the progressively broader credentials, "Israelite" and "descendant of Abraham". Thus we can deduce from Paul's letters what Luke explicitly records, namely that the apostle was a product of Palestinian breeding. It is only logical to assume that his parents moved to Jerusalem with their child in arms.

Since Paul was the son of Pharisees¹² it is doubtful if Greek learning contributed to his development in any integral way. In support of this statement we note that a Pharisaic family was not analogous to a family of any other religious group. Paul was born into a devout family that boasted more of its Hebrew faith and of its place in the Pharisaic party than of its coveted Roman citizenship. Its members had the deep conviction that by virtue of their belonging to the Chosen People they had vested interests in God, and walked upon a higher religious plane than the Gentiles. The Pharisees are described by Josephus¹³ as a body of Jews with the reputation not only of

¹¹ II Cor. 11:22. Unless otherwise indicated all Biblical quotations are taken from the Revised Standard Version.

¹² Acts 23:6.

¹³ Josephus, Jewish War, I,V,2.

professing to be more religious than the heathen but also of excelling those of their own nation in the accurate explanation and the exact observance of the Torah. This Jewish historian of the first century A.D. also informs us¹⁴ that his people banned Greek literature as bringing defilement. The same sentiment is expressed in the Talmud: "Cursed be a man who rears pigs and cursed be a man who teaches his son Greek wisdom".¹⁵ Hence there was on the part of Paul's parents no compromise while they lived in Tarsus, no willingness to conform their venerated Torah to the generally accepted local philosophy. Their stern ethical monotheism caused them to recoil with horror from pagan vice and idolatry. Even the Stoic sages excited in them disgust and confirmed them in the aloofness to which the Pharisees, "the Separated Ones" (אֲשֵׁרֵי יְהוָה),¹⁶ probably owed their name. Thus it is untenable to maintain that Paul inherited a liberal outlook from his parents who had lived for a considerable time in Tarsus even though he himself lived in Jerusalem from infancy.

Loyal to their sect, the members of Paul's family separated themselves in Jerusalem as well as in Tarsus from the company of all persons who had little concern for their faith¹⁷ to devote their lives to the task of obeying every

14. Josephus, Antiquities, XX,xii,1.

15. Bab. Tal., Sotā 49b.

16. Strack and Billerbeck, Kommentar, IV, p.334. However, T.W. Manson suggests that "the word $\phi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\alpha\iota$ is the Graecised form of the Aramaic פָּרִישֵׁי יְהוָה Persian"
(John Rylands Bulletin, XXII, No.1, p.150).

17. Mishnah, Abotā 3:11,12.

injunction of the written Torah and of the Oral Tradition. The detailed character of the former may be illustrated by its command: "You shall not round off the hair on your temples or mar the edges of your beard".¹⁸ Oral Tradition elaborated details about such commands as the prohibition of Sabbath work. For instance, it was forbidden on this day to carry a pin stuck in one's coat or to wear shoes studded with nails, as that would have been to carry a burden.¹⁹ References in Acts and in the letters of Paul combine to show how rigorously he upheld these laws.

A study of the education which Paul received also obliges us to question whether we can regard him as one in whom there was a synthesis of the Oriental and Occidental minds. Education among the Jews began at birth. The Talmud informs us²⁰ that knowledge of the Torah may be looked for in those who have sucked it from their mother's breast. Philo declares that it is the paramount duty of the father to "engrave" the Torah upon the soul of his child even while he is in "swaddling clothes".²¹ Long before the child was of an age to attend a synagogue service, domestic prayers were indelibly impressed upon the child's mind. Every morning, afternoon, and evening all Israelites, even women, slaves, and children, were required to pray the

18. Lev. 19:27.

19. Cf. Schürer, The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ, II, 11, pp. 97-105, Moore, Judaism, II, pp. 30-1.

20. Bab. Tal., Berakoth 63b.

21. Philo, Legat. ad Cajum, 8.31, quoted in Schürer, op. cit., II, 11, p. 48, n. 21.

"Eighteen Benedictions" (ברכות י"ח).²² Twice a day these blessings were preceded by a recitation of the "Shema" (שמע ישראל),²³ the Jewish confession of faith.²⁴ Before sitting down to meals words of the Torah were said over the food;²⁵ and after dining a longer grace was offered up to God giving thanks for His sustenance.²⁶

At about the age of five²⁷ the children of the Pharisees²⁸ gathered in a hall adjacent to their synagogue²⁹ to begin their formal education by reading and writing from the Hebrew Scripture,³⁰ the foundation text for all learning. The synagogue attendant (שומר הציבור)³¹ directed the catechetical and disputatorial exercises³² at this "House of the Book" (בית הספר).³³ The study of Scripture began with Leviticus, passed to other parts of the Pentateuch, and finally to the Prophets and the Hagiographa.³⁴

22. Mishnah, Berakoth 3:3, 4:1; cf. Ps. 55:17, Dan. 6:10.

23. Mishnah, Berakoth 1:4, Tamid 5:1. The latter reference indicates that the Shema was composed of Dt. 6:4-9, 11:13-21, and Num. 15:37-41.

24. Schürer, *op.cit.*, II, 11, p. 84; Moore, *op.cit.*, I, p. 291.

25. Mishnah, Aboth 3:3.

26. Moore, *op.cit.*, p. 217.

27. Mishnah, Aboth 5:21. Moore notes (*op.cit.*, I, p. 320) that this reference is to a "late appendix" to the main body of these Sayings of the Fathers. Possibly elementary schooling began at the age of six or seven: "Before the age of six do not accept pupils; from that age you can accept them, and stuff them with the Torah like an ox" (Bab. Tal., Baba Bathra 21a).

28. That the Aboth tractate is a document of Pharisaism, cf. Herford, Pirkæ Aboth, pp. 14-16.

29. Moore, *op.cit.*, I, p. 314.

30. *Ibid.*, I, p. 320.

31. Mishnah, Shabbath 1:3.

32. Schürer, *op.cit.*, II, 11, p. 67.

33. H.D.B., I, p. 649.

34. Moore, *op.cit.*, I, p. 318.

The educational method can be summarized in the verb $\bar{\eta} \bar{\lambda} \bar{\psi}$, which means both "to teach" and "to repeat".³⁵ Hence the curriculum combined parrot-like repetition with memorization of special Scriptural passages.³⁶ Through such pedagogic technique school children were able to retain Scripture in their minds for life; the permanence secured by this method was compared by scribes with that of ink written on new paper³⁷ and with water in a cistern which has no leaks.³⁸

According to custom it was the responsibility of the father not only to have his son taught in the Torah, but also to provide him with a respectable trade.³⁹ The words of Rabban Gamaliel III show what dignity the Jews gave to work: "All study of the Law without (worldly) labour comes to nought at the last and brings sin in its train".⁴⁰ Hence, either along with his elementary studies or after leaving primary school, Paul became apprenticed as a worker in leather.⁴¹

35. Schürer, op.cit., II, 1, p. 324.

36. Moore, op.cit., II, p. 247.

37. Mishnah, Aboth 4:25.

38. Ibid., 2:8.

39. Mishnah, Kiddustrin 4:14.

40. Mishnah, Aboth 2:2.

41. " $\Sigma \kappa \eta \nu \alpha \pi \rho \epsilon \acute{\epsilon} \varsigma$ means a 'maker of tent-material'; and Paul was a tanner rather than a weaver. The older translators and commentators knew well that the tents of Corinth and Ephesus were made of leather and uniformly classed Paul among the workers in leather. That the weaver's trade was of ill repute in Jerusalem is decisive on this point" (Theo. Zahn, "Paul the Apostle" in The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia, VIII, p. 400). See the comment on Acts 18:3 in The Beginnings (Jackson and Lake, ed.), IV, p. 223.

It is not certain to what synagogue in Jerusalem Paul's family was attached. Although we know that there was there a synagogue for the Cilicians⁴² in which the language spoken was probably Greek, we think it unlikely that this Pharisaic family would have joined with a group of Diaspora Jews. It would be more natural to regard its members as belonging to a synagogue consisting solely of Palestinian Jews, for there are no documents showing that the Pharisaic party was active among the Jews of the Diaspora. Possibly the main cause of Paul's parents returning to Palestine was their longing for fellowship with other Pharisees. Also, in the Pauline corpus no mention is made of the apostle's Tarsus origin, whereas we cannot read his letters without being sensible of the pride which he has in his Palestinian heritage. Therefore it is probable that the family belonged to a synagogue in which the lessons were read in Hebrew and translated into Aramaic by an interpreter (תַּרְגּוּם אֲרָמַיִת).⁴³ When twelve years of age Paul was questioned by members of the synagogue.⁴⁴ The examination was followed by a confirmation service, in the ritual of which he was declared to be a man responsible for his own sins and was called a "a Son of the Law" (בֶּן עוֹלָם).⁴⁵

Paul's parents must have recognized that their offspring's acute mind and zealous spirit qualified him to

42. Acts 6:9.
 43. Moore, op.cit., III, pp.303,318.
 44. Mishnah, Middah 5:6.
 45. Schürer, op.cit., II,ii, pp.51-52.

pursue a scholarly vocation. It must have been the normal thing for a Pharisee to urge a keen minded son along this way, for it was the responsibility of his party to produce most of the Jewish scribes and teachers.⁴⁶

At the scribal college, the "House of Interpretation", (שׁוֹרְטֵי הַדִּבְרִים)⁴⁷ Paul had the privilege of studying under Gamaliel I,⁴⁸ one of the early Tannaim who was recognized in his day as the leader of the school which had been founded by his grandfather, Hillel.⁴⁹ In the annals of Jewish history Gamaliel remains somewhat of an obscure figure.⁵⁰ We can find in rabbinic literature little more of importance with regard to him than the oft quoted Mishnaic eulogy: "When Rabban Gamaliel the Elder died [ca. 50 A.D.] the glory of [or reverence for]⁵¹ the Law ceased and purity and abstinence died".⁵² The distinguished epithet "Rabban" (רַבָּן) was first bestowed upon this doctor of the Law; only seven rabbis were revered in this way.⁵³ The N.T. states that Gamaliel was "held in honor by all the people".⁵⁴ In the customary manner of disciples,⁵⁵ Paul thirstily drank in his words.⁵⁶

46. Manson, T.W., The Servant-Messiah, p.22.

47. Mishnah, Aboth 5:14; Moore, op.cit., I, p.316.

48. Acts 22:3.

49. Strack and Billerbeck, op.cit., II, p.637.

50. This is indicated by Danby's index to The Mishnah. There are only 9 references to Gamaliel I, over against 63 to Gamaliel II.

51. Schürer, op.cit., II,1, p.364.

52. Mishnah, Sotah 9:15.

53. H.D.B., II, p.106.

54. Acts 5:34.

55. Mishnah, Aboth 1:4.

56. See Appendix II.

That Paul made rapid strides in preparing for a rabbinical career is indicated by the autobiographical note, "I advanced in Judaism beyond many of my own age among my people".⁵⁷ He became versed in the teaching of Scripture and thoroughly familiar with the details of the history of his nation. To these years of intensive study we credit the intimate knowledge of the Hebrew literature which was to mould his thought. Only in the ecclesiastical atmosphere of the scribal college was it possible for him to learn Hebrew viva voce, for this tongue had been superseded by Aramaic in the common life of Palestine. Many sessions must have been devoted to the study of the Sacred Text. As there were no vowel markings, proper pronunciation had to be learned from a master.

The study of tradition, spoken of in its whole scope as Mishnah, was also a principal subject for those attaining a higher education.⁵⁸ Moore explains that this learning was divided into three branches:

'Midrash' was the higher exegesis of Scripture, especially the derivation from it, or confirmation by it, of the rules of unwritten law; 'Halakah', the precisely formulated rule itself; 'Haggadah', the non-juristic teachings of Scripture as brought out in the profounder study of its religious, moral, and historical teachings. All this belonged to the Jewish science of tradition. Even a moderate proficiency in it was not to be attained without long and patient years of learning; mastery demanded unusual capacity. The method of the schools developed not only exact and retentive memory and great

⁵⁷. Gal. I:14.

⁵⁸. Mishnah, Aboth 4:21.

mental acuteness, but an exhaustive and ever-ready knowledge of every phrase and word of Scripture.⁵⁹

At the college Paul also acquired a knowledge of the subtleties of the peculiarly Jewish methods of argumentation. Juristic deductions and inferences were made through the application of Hillel's seven hermeneutical rules.⁶⁰ These rules were based on the strictest belief in the divine inspiration of Scripture: even the smallest letter in the Hebrew alphabet and the ornamental curl of Hebrew letters⁶¹ were weighed for spiritual meaning. The delicate and complicated intricacies of scribal exegesis are indicated by Jesus ben Sirach, who wrote in the second century before Christ:

He [the ideal scribe] will seek out the wisdom of
all the ancients,
And will be occupied in prophecies.
He will keep the discourse of the men of renown,
And will enter in amidst the subtleties of parables.
He will seek out the hidden meaning of proverbs,
And be conversant in the dark sayings of parables.⁶²

Paul matured a whole-hearted Pharisee, trained in orthodox ways in the religious and intellectual heritage of his people. There is recorded in a Midrash: "Usually if a thousand men take up the study of Scripture, a hundred of them proceed to the study of Mishnah, ten to Talmud, and one of them becomes qualified to decide questions of law."⁶³ Thus Paul was one of that small proportion of students who, as

⁵⁹. Moore, op.cit., I, p.319.

⁶⁰. Mielsziner gives these rules in his Introduction to the Talmud, p.24.

⁶¹. Cf. Mt. 5:18.

⁶². Eccles. 39:1-3.

⁶³. Eccles. Babba 7:28.

Moore puts it, advanced to the final stage of "rabbinic ordination".⁶⁴ His education, the immaculate quality of his morals, his pure blood, and probably his family connections combined to equip him to take a prominent position among his countrymen. The favourable sentiment toward his party in Palestine was to his advantage. The Pharisees rather than the aristocratic, quisling Sadducees were favoured by the unrefined "people of the land" (שְׂרָאָה דְּאֶרֶץ) who belonged to neither party. Josephus⁶⁵ bears witness that this "sect" numbering six thousand exercised great power over the multitude. Accordingly, as a rabbi of the Pharisees with the highest possible academic attainments, Paul must have been regarded by the mass of the population as belonging to the very cream of their nation. That he was a man of eminence is confirmed by the fact that the High Priest, Caiaphas, entrusted to him the task of persecuting the Nazarenes.⁶⁶ Since Paul confesses that he gave his "vote" (ψῆφος)⁶⁷ that the death sentence should be pronounced upon the members of this group, perhaps the inference may be made that he became a member of the Sanhedrin when "a young man" (νεανίσκος).⁶⁸

Jerusalem was the breeding ground of an intense nationalism, and with this Paul was deeply infected. The

64. Moore, op.cit., I, p.320.

65. Josephus, Antiquities, XIII,x,5; XVII,11,4. T.W. Manson calculates that the Pharisees were about 5% of the population of Palestine (op.cit, p.11).

66. Acts 9:1-2.

67. Acts 26:10.

68. Acts 7:58.

fire which burned in his youthful spirit caused him to display a bitter persecuting zeal in support of the Mosaic legislation and the traditions deduced from this code. Because his fanaticism was rooted in devotion to his religion, there was in him a spirit of desperate earnestness. Eager to prove himself a capable servant of the Sanhedrin, he furiously carried out his orders to arrest any who belonged to "The Way". Vivid words are used to convey the intensity of his sadistic cruelty toward those whom he considered to be preaching heretical doctrines. Luke records that this inquisitor "laid waste" ($\lambda υ μ α ί ν α μ α ρ α$)⁶⁹ and "made havoc of" ($\pi ο ρ θ έ ω$)⁷⁰ the early Church. The former term was used to denote the ferocity with which a wild bear ravages a vineyard into which he has broken; the latter was used to describe the sacking and razing of a city by an invading army. Paul himself also makes mention of his misguided zeal,⁷¹ the remembrance of which was a sorrow to him throughout the rest of his life.

This activity without was matched by influences which began to provoke a raging tempest within him. Though Paul stubbornly redoubled his vigor in persecution, that did not still the gathering storm. What were these inner currents which fomented so violently? Firstly, he must have been shaken by the discovery that any man who set out to

69. Acts 8:3.

70. Acts 9:21.

71. Gal. 1:13, I Cor. 15:9.

keep meticulously every detail of the Law was doomed to a losing battle all his life.⁷² The Law was powerless to save. The Jewish scholar Montefiore⁷³ attempts to show that this pessimism of Paul with regard to the Law proves that he was not an orthodox rabbi. Indeed, Montefiore believes that Paul's discontent with the rules of his party is evidence that his religion was a liberal syncretism. We need, however, to remember that the attractive picture which Montefiore paints of Pharisaism is based upon various strata of rabbinic tradition which were not committed to writing before the end of the second century A.D. The compilers of this tradition had a decided bias toward the Pharisaic party, and attempted to glorify their ancestors by removing the smudges from their characters.⁷⁴ The Gospels combine with the epistles of Paul in giving contemporary evidence that Pharisaism was a cult saturated with wearisome and puerile casuistry. Paul was but realistically facing the dilemma of his day. Admittedly, it may be argued that his titanic struggle as reflected in the seventh chapter of Romans⁷⁵ was not a common experience

⁷². Cf. Gal. 3:10.

⁷³. Montefiore, Judaism and St. Paul, pp.69ff.

⁷⁴. Davies, op.cit., pp.3,4.

⁷⁵. In giving our interpretation, we realize the exegetical problems of Rom. 7:7-25: 1) that Paul may not be introspectively analyzing his personal struggle with his master sin so much as putting a general confession of the grip of sin upon humanity into the first person singular to add vividness; 2) that this passage may either be a presentation of the unregenerate man's estate as seen through the spectacles of a "man in Christ" or a description of the persistent moral battle waged by every Christian. A discussion of these points lies outside the scope of this thesis.

among Jews. Neither can Luther's analogous struggle be regarded as representative of medieval Catholicism; however it is unwarranted to conclude that prior to it he had not been a faithful member of the orthodox Church.

Secondly, Paul must have begun to ask himself whether Jesus could possibly be what His disciples proclaimed Him to be, namely the Messiah for whom all Israel had been eagerly waiting. Could the dogma "Jesus is Lord" be squared with monotheism, or was it blasphemous sacrilege? Could the bravery of Jesus' followers justly be attributed to propagators of lies? Paul kicked against many goads. In particular he realized that his impetuous impulses stood in dark relief over against the compassionate and gentle heart of the Christian's Master. Through searching the Scripture to find out for himself if there was a basis for the kerygma of this schismatic group he had become attuned to the right wave length to hear the Heavenly Voice. Drinking deeply at the springs of prophetic revelation, he found nourishment for his blossoming conviction that the concepts of the Suffering Servant of Isaiah, the Son of Man of Ps. 8, and the Faithful Remnant were fulfilled in Jesus.

The day came for Paul to fight out this agonizing conflict which was going on within him. On the Damascus road a dramatic event ended all his resistance, causing a rift to be made in the depths of his being, filling him with an inextinguishable consciousness that Jesus was truly the fulfilment of Hebrew prophetic religion. While it is

dangerous to over-emphasize this conversion experience, on the other hand it is cheapening to exercise our powers of psychological analysis⁷⁶ and medical diagnosis⁷⁷ in an attempt to give an exhaustive account of the miraculous occurrence narrated in detail three times in Acts.⁷⁸ Granted, there was a fermenting of many conditioning phenomena, and God does act through such; but naturalistic conjectures fall short of a full explanation of this vital event. Paul himself would unhesitatingly have testified that the appearance of Jesus on the Damascus road was more than merely the culmination of a subjective process; in fact, he puts this condescension of the divine grace on a level with the appearances of Christ in the forty day period after His resurrection.⁷⁹ We must humble our scientifically conditioned minds and confess with Paul that on this occasion there was a real epiphany of the Risen Jesus which changed the apostle of Judaism into the apostle of Christianity.

Having acknowledged that Paul experienced a radical volte-face, we must hasten to state that it is essential to recognize a basic unity between these different stages of his career. It is mechanical to attempt a division of the Jewish and Christian elements in Paul. Just as metamorphosis involves not two organisms but one, so here we

76. E.g., Baur, Paul, I, pp. 62-92; Weinel, St. Paul, pp. 79-84; and Glover, op.cit., p. 64.

77. E.g., Renan, Origins of Christianity: The Apostles, pp. 98-99; and Klausner, From Jesus to Paul, pp. 326-30.

78. Acts 9:1-9, 22:6-11, 26:12-18.

79. I Cor. 15:4-8.

have but one person. This is true in spite of the fact that the direction of Paul's effort was completely altered and that his conception of Messiahship was completely transformed by this new conviction. Thus there was much of the "Saul" left in Paul. Even if he had desired to shake off his past like a tattered garment, to do so would have been impossible. Thus he fits Matthew's description of a converted rabbi: "Every scribe who has been trained for the kingdom of heaven is like a householder who brings out of his treasure what is new and what is old".⁸⁰ The new power of the Holy Spirit received at Damascus did not sever Paul from the influences that had led ^{him} to maturity. His birthmarks were ever prominent; he regarded them as beauty spots rather than blemishes. Without becoming too deterministic, we must make full allowance for his heredity and environment, especially when we note the pride with which he himself enumerated his ancestral privileges to the end of his life.⁸¹

To sum up: we have argued that Paul was to the core a Hebrew. The Hebraic fiber was woven into the warp and woof of his soul. In the words of Hausrath, "The Semitic spirit crystallized in him hard and clear as diamond".⁸² For all practical purposes we may consider him au fond a Palestinian Jew by nationality, culture, and faith, for

80. Mt. 13:52.

81. Rom. 9:4-5, II Cor. 11:22, Phil. 3:4-6.

82. Hausrath, A History of the New Testament Times, III, p.15.

he was not marred either by his birth on soil foreign to his Jewish fathers or by his allegiance to the band of Christ's followers. Paul, cradled in Judaism and saturated with the Hebrew Bible, was the one man qualified to transplant Christianity, without destroying any of its roots, from the ancient soil of Palestine into the wide and rich field that awaited it in the Gentile world. Deep-dyed as he was in the great heritage that was his, where could a better equipped man have been found for interpreting the O.T. in a sympathetic, profound manner?

APPENDIX I

PAUL'S EARLY YEARS

Within the last generation a few scholars have expressed the view that Paul was not reared in the Gentile city of Tarsus, but in the Jewish city of Jerusalem. Machen¹ suggested that an exegesis of Acts 22:3 might imply that Paul came to Jerusalem in his early childhood. Machen stated his opinion with reserve since he felt that $(\alpha \vee \alpha) \text{I} \rho \sigma - \phi \acute{\iota}$ might be used in a flexible manner. A few years later W.L. Knox² wrote that Paul's family migrated to Jerusalem while Paul was an infant, but he failed to back up this statement with an elaborate investigation. Turning to Continental scholars we find that Feine gave the subject more careful consideration. We shall give the essence of his interpretation of Acts 22:3 and 26:4-5 in his own words:

Den beiden Reden der Apostelgeschichte ist zu entnehmen, dass Paulus zwar in Tarsus geboren worden, aber frühzeitig nach Jerusalem gekommen ist, um dort erzogen zu werden. In welchem Lebensalter das geschehen ist, sagt Paulus nicht direkt. Aber in der ersten Rede schickt er dem "zu den Füßen des Gamaliel unterrichtet" das "erzogen in dieser Stadt" voraus. Daraus darf geschlossen werden, dass er in Jerusalem gewesen ist, bevor der rabbinische Unterricht begonnen hat. Dass dies tatsächlich der Fall gewesen ist, zeigt die Rede vor Agrippa noch deutlicher. Denn hier begnügt sich Paulus nicht damit, zu sagen, er habe von Jugend an in Jerusalem gelobt, sondern er verdeutlicht noch, von Anfang an sei sein Leben

1. Machen, The Origin of Paul's Religion (1921), p.53.
2. Knox, W.L., St. Paul and the Church of Jerusalem (1925), p.94.

in seinem Volke (im Gegensatz zur Diaspora) und in Jerusalem verlaufen. Er beruft sich darauf, dass das alle Juden in Jerusalem bezeugen könnten, wenn sie wollten. Sie kannten ihn ja von Kindesbeinen an.

Im Vorübergehen sei hier nur darauf verwiesen, dass damit alle Hypothesen zusammenfallen, welche von starken hellenistischen Einflüssen sprechen, die Paulus schon in seiner Vaterstadt Tarsus erfahren habe, bevor er nach Jerusalem kam. Paulus sagt selbst, dass er als kleiner Knabe nach Jerusalem gekommen und in Jerusalem unter den Augen der dortigen Bevölkerung aufgewachsen sei.³

Feine's argument did not provoke much discussion, and for a quarter of a century there was neither acceptance nor denial of his hypothesis. A recent publication by Van Unnik⁴ has reopened the case. Through cogent linguistic arguments he has, in our opinion, conclusively proved that Paul was brought to Jerusalem by his parents as an infant. For our treatment of Paul in this dissertation, a preliminary study of Van Unnik's argument merits our closest attention. Unfortunately this monograph, being in Dutch, is in a language which is not commonly understood by English-speaking scholars. Hence we consider it necessary to include in this thesis an English review of this slim book. We shall present in summary form the argument up to the point where Van Unnik gives his conclusions. In setting out his conclusions we shall resort to quotations from our English translation.⁵

3. Feine, Der Apostel Paulus (1927), p.418.

4. Van Unnik, Tarsus of Jerusalem, de stad van Paulus' jeugd (1952), 49pp.

5. Dr. George Ogg, the minister at Anstruther Easter, Fife, has kindly allowed us the use of the translation of this work which he has privately made.

After reviewing the studies of previous scholars upon the question in hand, Van Unnik plunges into a detailed consideration of Acts 22:3. He feels that there is no need of a contextual study since the meaning of this verse is not dependent upon the interpretation of the whole speech which Paul addressed to the people of Jerusalem. The punctuation of the verse is the first consideration. Textual critics usually place a comma after Γαμαλιήλ rather than after πόδες Ιαύτη. This would indicate that Gamaliel's responsibility extended over the ἄνδρες φελεν as well as over the παλιδεύεν. On the other hand Nestle's text has the comma after Ιαύτη. However, the punctuation is the result of exegesis since the N.T. manuscripts do not have any; so decision here should be postponed until decision on the exegesis is reached.

The literary structure of Acts 22:3 is next discussed. The triad of perfect participles, γεγενημένος, ἄνδρες θραμμένους, and πεπενημένους, appears to be the structure around which the phases of Paul's development are formulated. The fixed use of such a schema in describing the development of a man's youth is illustrated by salient quotations from Plato, Isocrates, Philo, Josephus, Plutarch, Clement of Alexandria, Jamblichus, and Eusebius. In these writings, this triad of terms has clear reference to three successive stages of human development up to adult age. Luke makes

use of this schema in another place, namely in Acts 7:20-22. After mention is made of Moses' birth, we are told that he was "brought up" by his parents until persecution obliged them to expose the baby. Pharaoh's daughter adopted the Hebrew child and continued to perform the role of Moses' parents. We then read that Moses was "instructed" in the wisdom of the Egyptians. Here it seems clear that the $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\rho\phi\acute{\eta}$ took place in the sphere of the home and was certainly different from the $\pi\alpha\lambda\delta\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\iota\kappa$ which was given by the sages.

In these two passages of Acts (7:20-22, 22:3) where $\pi\alpha\lambda\delta\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ is used, it has the meaning "to educate" in agreement with the literary Greek, whereas in the remaining places ^{where it occurs} in the N.T. it has the same meaning as in the LXX, namely "to chastise". Here then Luke obviously moves in the sphere of the literary Greek.

In the light of these facts, it seems to Van Unnik unlawful to break this triad in Acts 22:3 and to make it appear as if the last two terms -- $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\rho\epsilon\theta\rho\alpha\mu\acute{\mu}\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ and $\pi\epsilon\pi\alpha\lambda\delta\epsilon\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ -- have about the same meaning. On the contrary, precisely because here we are concerned with a consciously chosen literary motif, it is likely that each of the terms has a specific nuance and registers a definite stage on life's way.

What is the difference between $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omega$ and $\pi\alpha\lambda\delta\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omega$? The speech of Porphyry which Eusebius⁶ O. Eusebius, Hist. Eccl., VI, xix, 7.

has preserved shows that the two verbs do not contain identical notions. This speech requires that the difference in levels between the two be as great as possible, although both have to do with the development of a man. In this passage the $(\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha) \text{τροφή}$ has obvious reference to the whole life of a child up to a time when he is sufficiently mature to proceed to acquire higher knowledge. The contents and mutual frontiers of these notions are not at all peculiar to Porphyry or due to a late development of the words. They completely agree with the picture of Greek upbringing and education.

After Van Unnik has made a closer investigation of the meaning of $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha \text{τρέφω}$, he summarizes the results as follows:

The $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha \text{τρέφω}$ takes place in the parental home, and in it father and mother play the leading part. The original meaning "to feed" always remained very peculiar to this verb, feeding forming the basis of the child life; but the verb had also reference to all that was bound up with the initial stages of the upbringing. The $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha \text{τρέφω}$ moves very much in the physical sphere, as is understandable at this stage of the development, but does not remain limited to giving suck and supplying food. The beginning rests with the women, be it the mother or the foster-mother, who also through their stories give an initial mental education. According to Chrysippus this period should continue to the third year. After that the care of the child passed over in a larger measure to the father, who, especially in imperial times, if he had the means, left it to a slave or "paedagogue". On the father there rested especially the task of teaching the child to read. What the child learns at home relates to the tongue, the customs, the formation of his character, the instilling of the elementary duties towards elders, the gods and the state. Example works here strongly,

and therefore it is of great importance how the parents themselves conduct themselves and to whom they entrust their children. This continues until the child goes to school and is put into the hands of teachers who look after the $\pi\alpha\lambda\delta\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, the typical intellectual moulding of the spirit through instruction in virtue and general culture by means of study.

The Greek speech usage for the guidance in this way of child life to the adult stage, is constant from the time of Plato. From this we may draw the following conclusions:

(a) When there is talk of $(\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha)\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omega$, it is always the sphere of the parental home that is in view.

(b) There are no reasons at all to assume two nuances for $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omega$, as Bauer did through distinguishing between physical and mental upbringing. The notion embraces both these aspects.

(c) The difference between $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omega$ and $\pi\alpha\lambda\delta\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ is insufficiently described by Lake-Cadbury and Grosheide as the difference between physical and mental training, since the two take place at the same time. From the texts it appears that by these words stages that follow one another on life's way are indicated; first one in the home, and after that one under the guidance of teachers. The first is translated by "upbringing", the second by "instruction".⁷

If now we read Acts 22:3 in the light of the foregoing discussion of the linguistic usage, then we must come to these conclusions:

(a) Luke here describes the course and development of Paul's life in a terminology which was familiar to his Hellenistic readers and which suited the Jewish situation.

(b) In this context $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\epsilon\theta\rho\kappa\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ can refer only to the upbringing in the parental home from the earliest years of childhood until school age: the $\pi\epsilon\pi\alpha\lambda\delta\epsilon\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ refers to the instruction which, in accordance with Eastern custom, was received "at the feet of Gamaliel".

(c) This of itself solves the problem regarding the punctuation. Greek readers, who knew the significance of $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omega$ in such a context, would of course have regarded it as quite foolish to connect "at the feet of Gamaliel" with that word. This is not disproved by any observations regarding the rhythm of the sentence. The name Gamaliel in its third member has probably been brought forward in order

that full emphasis may at once fall there.

(d) From the contrast between Tarsus as the place of the birth and Jerusalem as the city of the $\alpha \nu \alpha \iota \rho \omicron \phi \eta$ (upbringing in the home circle) and the $\pi \alpha \lambda \delta \epsilon \zeta \alpha$ (study under Gamaliel), it is clear that according to this text Paul spent the years of his youth completely in Jerusalem. Not a single word is breathed about an upbringing in Tarsus. "I am a Jewish man, born in Tarsus in Cilicia, but my parental home, where I received my early upbringing, was in this city (Jerusalem), and under Gamaliel, a man well known to you, I received a strict training as a Pharisee, so that I was a zealot for God's cause, as ye all are today", thus, paraphrasing them somewhat, ought we to render these words.⁸

Besides Acts 22:3, which ... is the only text giving concrete data for Paul's youth, we have to investigate a few other passages which are connected or brought into connection with it.

(a) In Acts 26:4-5, in his defence before Agrippa, Paul mentions the course of his life. The first point he makes in his apology is that the Jews, if they be willing, can testify concerning him that he has lived as a Pharisee, for they know him.... The wording is somewhat exuberant, but thereby one point is underlined with much emphasis, namely that they have known him already for a long time. The Jews meant here are of course the Jews present from Jerusalem; the accusers must themselves appear as witnesses à décharge. Now Paul says that these accusers have known him from his youth. The expression $\nu \epsilon \acute{\omicron} \tau \eta \varsigma$ can be used for "youth in general", and this is made more precise by $\alpha \pi' \alpha \rho \chi \eta \varsigma$ and moreover by $\pi \rho \omicron \chi \iota \nu \acute{\omega} \sigma \kappa \omicron \nu \tau \epsilon \varsigma$ $\alpha \nu \omega \theta \epsilon \nu$. This does not simply mean "for a long time", but is parallel to $\alpha \pi' \alpha \rho \chi \eta \varsigma$ and likewise gives expression to "from the beginning". In other words, the Jerusalem Jews could look over Paul's life onwards from his earliest youth. That agrees excellently with the exegesis given above of Acts 22:3 and confirms it in an unexpected way. Indeed in this situation it would have been perfect madness on Paul's part to make this defence if it had had reference only to his life after his tenth or fifteenth year, for then his argument could have been invalidated with the comment, "When you came to Jerusalem you were already spoilt!"

Now all this would agree completely, if there was not a small word, namely Ιε in the expression $\text{ἐν Ἰε Ἰεροσόλυμοις}$, which apparently points in another direction.... As concerns the use of Ιε , it may be remarked that many a time it is used in the Greek without special reason, and that it "is used in descriptions of particular places or things, when attention is called to their peculiar or characteristic features".⁹ In the N.T. reference can be made e.g. to Acts 6:7, 11:21, 15:39, where the explicative is used. That fits in here exactly. It was possible to check the course of Paul's life from its very first beginning not merely among his own people, who lived scattered everywhere, but precisely in Jerusalem itself....

(b) In Acts 9:11 Paul is referred to as "a man of Tarsus" and in 21:39, in making himself known to the chiliarch, he himself adds to this "a citizen of a city of Cilicia that is not without renown". These passages are often brought forward in connection with Paul's youth, but they say nothing more than what is said in 22:3, namely that he was born there. They do not state that in the days of his youth he had lived there more than ten years. It can very well be assumed that precisely in Jerusalem he was known as "Saul of Tarsus", for of course there were there other men who bore the name Saul. With this we may compare Simon of Cyrene (Mk. 15:21), the name of a man who came from the fields and so had his dwelling place in Jerusalem, but who continued still to bear the name of the land of his origin....

That confronted with the Roman power Paul appealed to his right as a citizen of Tarsus (21:39), to his right as a Roman citizen by birth (22:25-28, cf. also 16:37-40), and to his derivation from the province of Cilicia (23:24 before Felix), does not serve any purpose so far as our problem is concerned. When he was taken for a rebel (cf. 21:38), he made what in my opinion was a perfectly legal use of the citizen rights which he possessed. By his doing so the question whether he was in Tarsus for a long or a short time is not settled. That he spent his youth in Jerusalem is altogether irrelevant; in Roman eyes that would have done him ill rather than good....¹⁰

The starting point of our investigation was the question where Paul spent the years of his youth. On

9. Liddell and Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon (1940), II, p.1764.

10. Pp.29-32.

the basis of the clear witness of Acts 22:3, confirmed by 26:4-5 (other data are not at our service), only one answer is possible: in contrast to the prevailing opinion about this it must be concluded that Paul was born in Tarsus, but received his upbringing in the parental home in Jerusalem as also his later schooling for the rabbinate. When and why Paul's parents moved to Jerusalem remains hid from us for the want of data. But the use of ἄντιθετοῦ μέρους supposes that this removal had taken place already early in Paul's life, apparently before he could look round the corner of the door and certainly before he went roaming in the street.¹¹

II. P. 33.

APPENDIX II

PAUL AND GAMALIEL

According to Acts 5:33-39, Gamaliel advised the Sanhedrin against any persecution of the apostles. The fact that he did so is usually interpreted as a demonstration of this rabbi's broad-mindedness. There follows the deduction that Paul, who "breathed threats of murder against the disciples of the Lord",¹ stood in glaring contrast to his kindly professor. Indeed, because of the supposed antithesis between the personalities of teacher and pupil, certain scholars² consider it unlikely that Luke is accurate in bringing them into association with one another. Klausner counteracts such radical treatment by a conjecture. He regards Paul as the impudent student of Gamaliel referred to in the Talmud as "that pupil".³ This may seem a wild guess, but it becomes somewhat more credible when one reflects that Jesus is referred to in the Talmud by similar circumlocutions. Klausner maintains that the severe antagonism prevailing between Jews and Christians when the compilers of this literature lived barred mention of the actual names.

For two reasons, however, this conjecture affords us no real help. First, it was only rarely that a rabbinic pupil departed from his teacher's views. All who studied

1. Acts 9:1, Moffatt.

2. E.g. Hausrath, A History of the New Testament Times, III, pp.31-35.

3. Klausner, From Jesus to Paul, p.310, quoting Bab. Tal., Shabbath 30b.

the Torah were required to show absolute allegiance to their instructors.⁴ Moore writes: "A man's master, who instructed him in the revelation God has made ... was entitled to the honor and reverence due to the literal father".⁵ Accordingly we need unquestionable evidence that there was a contrast between Gamaliel's outlook and that of Paul before we can resort to calling Paul a rebel. Secondly while it accords with Paul's own account⁶ that he was a rabbi of the most stringent type, it is doubtful if Gamaliel was a rabbi of an opposite type. Conybeare and Howson err in attributing the anecdote of "the statue and the bath" to Gamaliel I and thereby making the deduction that "he was not trammelled by the narrow bigotry of the sect".⁷ Also Farrar⁸ is guilty of confusing the different rabbis named Gamaliel in arguing from the Talmudic sentence, "In the household of Gamaliel there were five hundred who studied ... Greek wisdom",⁹ that Gamaliel I had leanings toward Greek culture. Authorities¹⁰ now recognize that in both of these instances the reference is to Gamaliel II, and it is unsound to maintain that this leader of the rabbinic school after the destruction of Jerusalem shared the same attitude as Gamaliel I. Thus rabbinic sources do not confirm that Gamali-

4. Schürer, The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ, II, 1, p. 317.

5. Moore, Judaism, II, p. 134.

6. Gal. 1:13-14.

7. Conybeare and Howson, St. Paul, p. 47.

8. Farrar, St. Paul, I, p. 37.

9. Bab. Tal., Sota 49b.

10. Strack and Billerbeck, Kommentar, II, p. 637; H. D. B., II, p. 106.

el I had that open-mindedness which is usually ascribed to him. Indeed from one reference to him it may be argued that he lacked the liberal mind; he seems to have been a representative of the customary conservatism of his party in that he buried a Targumic version of Job to prevent the vulgar Aramaic paraphrase from being given the authority due solely to the original.¹¹ From the fact that Gamaliel was the leader of the followers of Hillel it is not to be inferred that he was open-minded toward the Nazarenes.¹² The liberality of the school of Hillel as compared with the rival staunchly literalistic school of Shammai has not been convincingly proved. We quote Edersheim in this regard: "The School of Hillel was not infrequently even more strict than that of his rival. In truth, their differences seem too often only prompted by a spirit of opposition, so that the serious business of religion became in their hands one of mere wrangling".¹³

On the occasion referred to in Acts 5 it is not at all certain that Gamaliel rose above party prejudice. It is at least equally possible that the tolerance which he then expressed towards Messianic bands was motivated by calculating shrewdness. It must be acknowledged that Gamaliel did not go beyond the policy of his party; he merely

11. Bab. Tal., Shabbath 115a.

12. Knox, W.L., St. Paul and the Church of Jerusalem, pp.105-106.

13. Edersheim, The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah, II, p.407.

exercised the "moderate predestinarian"¹⁴ and "moderate in punishment"¹⁵ principles which Josephus regards as characteristic of the Pharisees. If we may be allowed to read between the lines, we may conclude that the counsel Gamaliel gave to the Sanhedrin was dictated by prudence rather than by a benevolent spirit. He recognized that the small body of Nazarenes was meticulously observing the ceremonial laws and, in addition, was proclaiming doctrine which the Pharisees accepted. He thought it wise to patronize a group of extremists whom he considered to be preaching little more than an exaggerated belief in the resurrection of the dead. They were not creating enough disorder to warrant the Sanhedrin to go to the bother of ousting them from Jerusalem. Gamaliel advised the Council to wait, for he was sure that the emotional fervor of the Nazarenes would soon wane as that of the followers of another Galilean had done.¹⁶ In the words of Farrar, "Gamaliel was sufficiently clear-sighted to have observed that the fire of a foolish fanaticism dies out if it be neglected, and is only kindled into fury by premature opposition".¹⁷

14. Josephus, Antiquities, XIII,v,9.

15. Ibid., XIII,x,6.

16. Acts 5:37. Even though Gamaliel's speech may contain an anachronism with regard to Theudas' insurrection (cf. Josephus, Antiquities, XX,v,1 -- however, Luke is as trustworthy a historian as is Josephus, so the dates of the latter may be in error), the reference to Judas is probably correct.

17. Farrar, op.cit., I, p.110.

Stephen's radical criticism of traditional Jewish religion no doubt caused Gamaliel to be wholly opposed to the new movement. It is likely that Paul agreed with his master in his treatment of the Hebraic Christians before the Hellenistic Christians began to deery the two most venerated institutions of Judaism, namely the Temple and the Torah. After Stephen's apologia the Hellenistic Christians were anathematized by normative Judaism, and it is to be assumed that Gamaliel shared the indignant attitude which Paul then took up toward them.

What bearing has this excursus on the attitude Paul came to adopt toward Scripture? Firstly, it indicates that he was before his conversion probably of the same mind as the leading exponent of Judaism in his day. Consequently he cannot have been one of those in whom there was germinating the conviction that the Jewish religion was inferior, which conviction was in later days to flower into the dogma that Judaism is to be annulled. Secondly, it shows that Paul did not necessarily study Greek wisdom because he was a student of Gamaliel I. There is no documentary evidence that a student preparing for the rabbinate in the days of Gamaliel I was subject to Hellenistic influences. Study of the Hebrew Scriptures was both the beginning and the end of Paul's formal education, and his attitude toward these Scriptures was distinctly that of a Palestinian Jew.

CHAPTER II

THE HEBRAIC CHRISTIAN

If we are to understand the attitude toward Scripture which Paul displays in his letters, it is essential that we should consider not only his Palestinian nurture and his Pharisaic faith but also his relationship to the sitz im Leben of the primitive Christian community. Therefore we shall paint in broad outline the view of the Church provided by Luke in the Acts. In this book he traces the continuity and progress of the Gospel as it surged out in an ever broadening stream from the narrow confines of the Temple area. Development took place on the lines suggested by the words of the Risen Lord: "You shall be my witnesses in Jerusalem and in all Judea and Samaria and to the end of the earth".¹ Luke describes how the Christian army, at the outset but a resolute corps of a few hundreds, advanced geographically to encompass the whole of Palestine, and ultimately all the strategic centers of the Roman Empire. Himself a Gentile, Luke also seeks to portray how racial distinctions and prejudices were abolished in successive stages as along the route of this crusade the Jewish sect of the Nazarenes changed into the catholic Church. However Luke did not believe that the gradual progress of the Church was due to the exigencies of mission circumstances. H. J. Cadbury

1. Acts 1:8.

has made this point clear. He writes:

[Luke] did not represent the Church as taking a series of systematic logical steps, which would imply the evolution of a changing policy towards the problems of missionary work among Gentiles. He recognized of course that the process of conversion proceeded by degrees, but the divine plan was present from the beginning; Luke's real interest is not the evolution of an institution, but the gradual attainment of God's predestined purpose.²

After Pentecost the Palestinian Jewish Christians were granted sanctuary in Jerusalem, although with reluctance. The primitive Church's preaching of the Resurrected Messiah in the shelter of Solomon's Portico was not seriously hampered since its members continued to observe the ceremonial laws.³ Not realizing fully what antagonism there was between normative Judaism and their dogma that the Lord's Anointed was Jesus the Sufferer, these early Christians regularly frequented the Holy Place, possibly in expectation of the fulfilment of the prophecy: "The Lord whom you seek will come suddenly to His temple".⁴

There is evidence that after a little while there were cliques within this Nazarene fraternity. Thus in Acts 6:1 Luke introduces us to a group called the 'Εδδηκς σ-Ιαί who are murmuring against another group called the 'Εβραεοί because the latter have not been equitably doling out the things held in common.⁵ This grievance was

2. Jackson and Lake, ed. The Beginnings, V, p.68; cf. Dodd, According to the Scriptures, pp.111-2.
3. Acts 3:1, 5:12, 21, 42.
4. Mal. 3:1.
5. Acts 2:44, 4:32.

no doubt symptomatic of a larger cleavage between the two groups arising from deep seated differences of outlook. Unfortunately it is difficult to discern exactly what these differences were.

The easier of the two groups to define is that of the Ἑβραῖοι. Regarding them A.I. Williams writes as follows:

Hebrews would ... be those who more truly answered to the old idea of the people, the more conservative members who prided themselves on maintaining the old customs, and rejected as far as possible the insidious influence of Hellenism.... In this way it is intelligible how 'Hebrew', when used of language, may mean either Aramaic (Jn. 5:2, 19:13, 17,20, 20:16 Ἑβραϊστί and probably Acts 21:40, 22:2, 26:14 Ἰν Ἑβραϊστῶν ἢ ἑλληνιστῶν) or Hebrew proper (Rev. 9:11, 16:16 Ἑβραϊστί). In other words, the evidence now available tends to show that the use of 'Hebrew' does not refer fundamentally to the language, but rather to the historic position and worth of the nation.

Many difficulties face us when we attempt to define the outlook of the Ἑλληνογενεῖς. Cadbury, who has discussed this subject at length, has upheld what he regards as the etymological meaning, namely "anyone who practices Greek ways".⁷ Since he considers Ἑλληνογενεῖς to be a fluid term which can apply either to Gentiles or to Jews, he is able to defend the strongly attested Ἑλληνογενεῖς in Acts 11:20. In this verse there is required a contrast to the Ἰουδαίους mentioned in the preceding verse, so the meaning of Ἑλληνογενεῖς

O. Williams, "Hebrew" in H.D.B., II, p.325.
7. Jackson and Lake, ed. op.cit., V, p.60 (Additional note: "The Hellenists" by Cadbury pp.59-74).

would here have to be $\xi \theta \nu \eta$. Even if we accept the broad definition of Cadbury, we can still argue from Luke's development of Acts that nearly all the $\epsilon \lambda \lambda \eta \nu \iota \sigma \tau \alpha \iota$ at the date represented by Acts 6 must have been Jewish⁸ Christians of the more liberal faction.

In attempting to define $\epsilon \lambda \lambda \eta \nu \iota \sigma \tau \alpha \iota$ we can obtain no help from its use in Greek literature since Acts 6:1 is the first place in which the term is found. Lake and Cadbury therefore rightly maintain that this passage is "one of the places where the context must determine the meaning rather than the meaning illuminate the context!"⁹ We shall therefore attempt to discern the difference between these dissenting parties by studying the context of Acts 6:1, the only place in the N.T. where the "Hellenists" and the "Hebrews" are brought into juxtaposition. Luke does not define their positions carefully. He does indicate however that there resided in Jerusalem a sizeable body of Hellenistic Jews: the synagogue of the Libertini, the Cyrenians, and the Alexandrians, as well as those of the Cilicians and the Asiatics¹⁰ were composed of these people. Edersheim¹¹

8. "The author of Acts certainly considered the Hellenists to be Jews because he mentions them before he tells of the first conversion of a Gentile, i.e. Cornelius, and in the list of the names of the Seven he discloses the fact that one of them was a proselyte" (Goguel, The Birth of Christianity, p.168). Bauer, Wörterbuch, col.456, also considers the Hellenists of Acts 6 to be Jews.

9. Jackson and Lake, ed. op.cit., IV, p.64.

10. Acts 6:9. The number of synagogues here referred to is disputed -- cf. ibid., IV, pp.66-8.

11. Edersheim, The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah, I, p.7.

and Klausner¹² point out that these Hellenistic Jews were so called not only because they spoke Greek, but also because the direction of their thought was Grecian. A Jew of this type might be described in the words in which, according to Clearchus, his tutor Aristotle spoke of a Jew whom he had met in Asia Minor: Ἐλληνας ὁ

ἦν, οὗ ἰῆ διαλέκτω μόνον, ἄλλὰ καὶ ἰῆ ψυχῆ.¹³

We would certainly err if we were to make an easy equation between the Hellenistic Jew and the Diaspora Jew. Nevertheless Hellenization must almost inevitably have been more pronounced among the Jews who lived outside of Palestine. It is likely therefore that these Jerusalem synagogues which we have mentioned above were composed in greater part of Diaspora Jews who came on pilgrimage from distant lands to attend the Temple feasts and in lesser part of Palestinian Jews with Grecian sympathies.

The dynamic preaching of the Nazarenes exerted an influence upon the Hellenistic Jews, and in due time a number of them were gathered into the Church. Unhappily the Palestinian Jewish members of the Church soon began to show a spirit of snobbishness in their attitude to these Hellenistic Jewish members. They boasted that there was no foreign admixture in their lives, and therefore they looked

12. Klausner, From Jesus to Paul, p.287.

13. Josephus, Against Apion, I,22.

down on their brethren who had adopted the speech and customs of the Greeks. The fact that Paul evidently repudiates the charge of being a Hellenist¹⁴ indicates that a stigma was placed upon this group by the stricter Palestinian Jews. Hausrath writes in regard to this:

It was precisely in Jerusalem, the seat of the Hebraist school, that the Greek Bible was looked upon with growing disfavour, and the use of the Gentile language despised.... The Acts shows unmistakably how sensitive on this point were the feelings of the people in Jerusalem. It tells how at the feast of Pentecost, 59, the fury of the multitude against Paul was instantly calmed when he began to speak in Hebrew, for they had thought they had to do with a Hellenist and breaker of the covenant.¹⁵

This xenophobia found its way into the daily distribution of alms in the early Church. Thus there arose the complaint that the widows of the Hellenists were being overlooked. Very possibly this was being done deliberately.

The entrance of the Hellenists into the Church resulted in a laxity in the observance of the ceremonial laws. The ritual and customs which were accepted as a matter of course by those born and bred in Jerusalem and its vicinity ordinarily made no great appeal to those who had had contacts with foreign cultures.¹⁶ Those living remote from the Temple had become accustomed to upholding the humanitarian precepts as more essential than the cultic ones.

W. Manson writes: "There were Diaspora Jews who, in present-

¹⁴. II Cor. 11:22, Phil. 3:5; cf. Paul's blunt denunciation of heathenism in Rom. 1:18-32.

¹⁵. Hausrath, A History of the New Testament Times, II, pp.157-8.

¹⁶. Schürer, The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ, II, ii, pp.281-91.

ing their religion to the Gentile world, turned the cloak of the Law inside out, exhibiting and stressing its inward and prophetic lining, its spiritual and ethical part, rather than its exterior of ritual requirement".¹⁷ Thus we are not surprised to find these Hellenists arousing the violent antagonism of the local authorities.

We get our clearest view of the outlook of the Hellenists and the subsequent reaction of the Sanhedrin when we turn to the account of Stephen, the most prominent among them in Acts. Following our speculation as to the constituency of the Jerusalem Church, we may regard him as a Jew; he certainly had an intimate knowledge of Scripture such as would most naturally be expected of a Jew. From the point of view displayed in his speech we may assume that he was of the Diaspora. It follows that because of his separation from the Jewish homeland, his deficiency in the Palestinian vernacular, and his broad-minded appreciation of the Gentile civilization, Stephen lacked the pulsating nationalism and the sympathetic attitude toward the Temple of those indigenous to Palestine. It is not likely that he shed these feelings when he became a Christian; rather, the teaching of Jesus must have deepened his antipathy to the contemporary belief in an inviolable Temple. The fact that the Hellenistic synagogues indignantly cried out against this neophyte Christian in-

17. Manson, W., The Epistle to the Hebrews, p.29.

dicates that he was even more liberal than they were. However false the witnesses may have been who stirred up the hatred of the Jews against him, still their indictment based upon his alleged statement about the destruction of the Temple contains the substance of the truth.¹⁸

That Stephen spoke blasphemously of the Temple and the Law according to current standards is confirmed by his so called apologia before the Sanhedrin. Rather than use the heresy trial as an opportunity to vindicate his position in a diplomatic manner, he seems to have been determined only to give a scathing denunciation of the dual institutions most highly revered by Judaism. In his manifesto he gave a résumé of O.T. history in order to emphasize that the "stiff-necked"¹⁹ Israelites had repeatedly resisted the Holy Spirit by embalming in stone the "living oracles"²⁰ received by Moses, and consequently had misunderstood the ever-onward challenge of their God. He also hurled charges against the fetish of Temple piety, since he believed that the Temple was a symbol of a motionless God who was confined within the walls of a building made with manufactured things.²¹ He reminded his auditors that the Tabernacle had been mobile,²² and so had symbolized that God's holy purposes were not static. The Hebrew religion, he concluded, would advance and shatter the para-

18. Acts 6:13,14. That Luke's record of Stephen is historical cf. Jackson and Lake, ed. op.cit., IV, p.70, and Knox, W.L., St. Paul and the Church of Jerusalem, p.51.
19. Acts 7:51. 21. Acts 7:46-50.
20. Acts 7:38. 22. Acts 7:44-6.

lyzing effect of a localized and fixed institution. As was only natural, this Stephen who was so impregnated with cosmopolitan ideas provoked the rage of the Sanhedrin. A curse was pronounced upon the whole of this left-wing group of Hellenists which occasioned all who were not Hebraic Christians to flee from Jerusalem.²³

The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews belongs to the school of thought expounded by Stephen, since he seizes upon the same approach to Scripture. W. Manson associates Stephen's speech with the tenor of this letter because in both places emphasis is laid on the idea that the permanent Temple was a retrogression, and on the conception of "the ever-shifting scene in Israel's life and the ever-renewed homelessness of the faithful".²⁴

It is not our intention to determine the extent to which this attitude of the Hellenists toward Scripture is justified. We have presented their point of view only to secure a more acute focus upon the Pauline outlook. One would have great difficulty in defending the thesis that Paul belonged to the same school of thought as these Hellenistic Jewish Christians. Because of the diversity in background it does not surprise us to find Stephen reading Israelite history differently from Paul. Not even in I Thes 2: 15-16,²⁵ where, more vehemently than anywhere else, Paul expresses his dissatisfaction with his own race do we find

23. Acts 6:1-2.

24. Manson, W., op.citi., p.36.

25. There is no good reason to regard these two verses as an interpolation.

anything to equal the upbraiding of the fundamental beliefs of Judaism that we find in Stephen's speech. Paul and Stephen are incompatible at many points in their exposition of Scripture. W.L. Knox supports this view, for he considers that Stephen's speech "is entirely non-Pauline in its views of the Old Testament".²⁶ Stephen shows that the Jews have from the first rejected the true spirit of the Law: Paul demonstrates that the Law is fulfilled in Christ. Paul strongly maintains that, instead of being an antiquated edict, the Law continues to be "holy, righteous, and good".²⁷ Again we quote Knox:

His doctrines were decidedly less provocative than those of Stephen. Saul regarded the Law and the system of Jewish worship not as a radically false development, but as the highest expression of the truth available for mankind prior to their fulfillment in the person of Jesus. Nor did he deny that the Jewish nation itself was still bound to the observance of the Law....²⁸

Paul never repudiates the Temple by speaking of it as an institution of the past which has been transcended; on the contrary, his own attitude to it throughout his life is proof of his allegiance to it.²⁹ His whole tone shows that he is far from following Stephen in forsaking as misleading these main currents in the stream of O.T. religion. Bonsirven states of Paul's conception of the O.T.: "Il lui suffisait de les purifier des gauchissements qu'elles avaient pu subir, de les éclairer par la lumière de sa nouvelle foi,

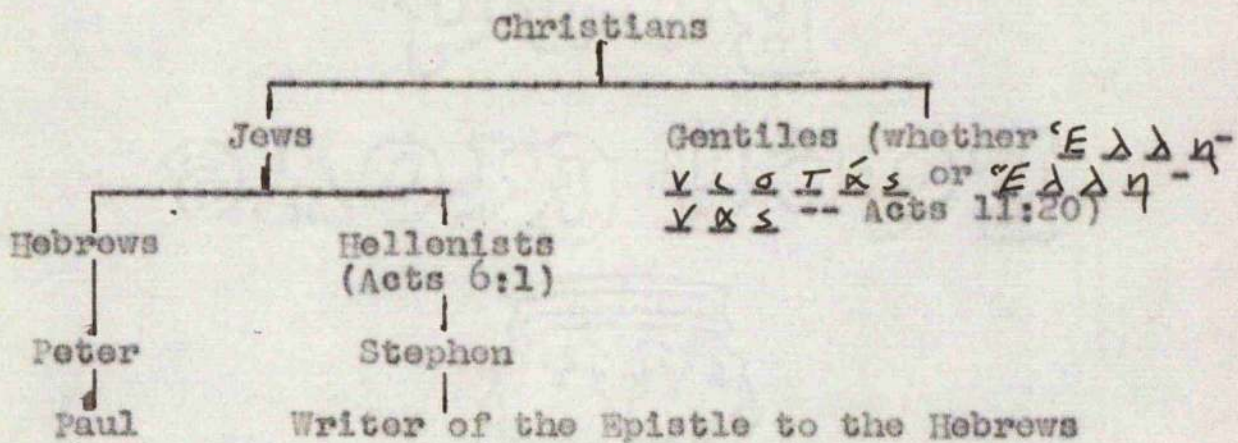
26. Knox, W.L., op.cit., p.51, n.10.

27. Rom. 7:12.

28. Knox, W.L., op.cit., p.103.

29. See Acts 22:17, 21:26, 25:8; cf. II Th. 2:4.

de les sublimer en les intégrant dans la plénitude du mystère chrétien."³⁰ Paul makes it his aim to bring Christians into the true Judaism, whereas Stephen seemingly wants to separate them from the dominating influences that have moulded Israel's past. Such being the contrast between Stephen and Paul, we conclude that the latter on becoming a Christian identified himself not with the Hellenistic Jewish Christians but, as was natural, with those who had the Palestinian outlook. Hence we are not surprised to find Cullmann³¹ arguing that the point of view championed by Paul is similar to that of Peter. We may tabulate the relationships of the groups within the early Church in the following manner:



30. Bonsirven, Exégèse Rabbinique et Exégèse Paulienne, p.266.

31. Cullmann, Peter: Disciple-Apostle-Martyr, pp.22,65.

However, it is probable that Peter, who was a native of Bethsaida (Jn. 1:44) and subsequently lived in Capernaum (Mt. 8:5,14), was more influenced by the Gentile civilization since he hailed from the region known for many centuries as [$\alpha \lambda \epsilon \delta \alpha \acute{\iota} \alpha \tau \omega \nu \acute{\epsilon} \theta \nu \omega \nu$ (Is. 9:1, Mt. 4:15). Also he was of the $\varphi \rho \iota \sigma \sigma \alpha \iota$

who were not as wary as the Pharisees of heathen adulteration.

Paul was not only of the conservative Palestinian faction of the Church but was also a Pharisee throughout life. He was never ashamed of his earlier Pharisaic life, but only of this, that during that period he had persecuted the Christians. He continued to adhere to Pharisaic principles in so far as that did not rob him of the liberty he had found "in Christ". In the last decade of his life when defending himself before the Sanhedrin, he was still able to say, "I am a Pharisee".³² There is no need to conclude with Farrar that this statement is an accommodation of the truth. He writes:

Could he worthily say, "I am a Pharisee"? Was he not in reality at variance with the Pharisees in every fundamental particular of their system? Is not the Pharisaic spirit in its very essence the antithesis of the Christian? Did not the two greatest Epistles which he had written prove their whole theology, as such, to be false in every line? Was it not the very work of his life to pull down the legal prescriptions around which it was their one object to rear a hedge?³³

The sentiment expressed here no doubt reflects the view of the Pharisees that is commonly entertained. They have served as homiletical whipping-boys for so long that with many it is unthinkable that Pharisaism and Christianity have anything in common. But in claiming the Pharisaic title on his last visit to Jerusalem Paul did not distort the facts for the sake of obtaining lenient treatment at the hands of his accusers. His whole life shows how tenaciously he clung to the

³². Acts 23:6.

³³. Farrar, St. Paul, II, p.327.

Pharisaic resurrection doctrine, and also how scrupulously he observed the Pharisaic laws.³⁴ Davies says with truth: "The observance of the Law in short was Paul's passport with Judaism".³⁵ W.L. Knox argues that Paul never threw the institutes of Pharisaism upon the scrap-heap. After stating that Paul lived and died a Pharisee he writes:

The only objection that can be brought against this view is the language of I Cor. 9:21, where S. Paul seems to imply that when dealing with Gentiles he behaved as if not bound by the Law. On the other hand this interpretation of the passage is impossible. S. Paul could not both behave as a Jew when dealing with Jews and as free from the Law when dealing with Gentiles, since apart from the moral dishonesty of pretending to observe the Law when in Jewish society and neglecting it in Gentile society, it would be impossible for him to conceal that he disregarded the Law when not in Jewish company.³⁶

We must either agree with Davies and Knox or side with Klausner who argues that Paul was "a thoroughgoing opportunist".³⁷ Paul was not one to snatch at compromise merely as a matter of expediency; he did not have in him the conciliatory spirit which searches for the lowest common denominator.

If our consideration of Paul thus far be correct, there arises the basic question: How did a man with such conservative tendencies ever come to regard himself as the "Apostle to the Gentiles"?³⁸ There is no need to postulate

34. See Acts 16:3, 21:26; cf. Windisch, Paulus und das Judentum, pp. 21ff.

35. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 74.

36. Knox, W.L., op.cit., p. 122, n. 54.

37. Klausner, op.cit., p. 429.

38. Rom. 11:13.

the influence of Hellenistic ideas in this regard. We have argued in the foregoing chapter³⁹ that one of the leading factors which led to Paul's conversion was his meditation on the O.T. revelation in an endeavour to ascertain whether Jesus had wrought out its most inward interpretation. In a word, it was as a student of Scripture that Paul was converted. Hence Deissmann can write that "the lightning of Damascus strikes no empty void, but finds plenty of inflammable material in the soul of the young persecutor".⁴⁰ Since his call to convert the heathen was inextricably bound up with this Damascus road experience, we maintain that he became the Apostle to the Gentiles through interpreting the O.T. after the manner of Jesus.

Although Paul's universalism was inherent in his conversion, we should not suppose that he immediately realized the full implications of this radical alteration of his rabbinic theology. In theory he laid aside with one bold movement the dogma of Jewish particularity which had hitherto been at the center of his religion, but it probably took a considerable time to discern the practical implications of his Christian faith.

It is significant that shortly after his conversion Paul "went away into Arabia",⁴¹ apparently preferring to do so rather than to search for traditions about Jesus.

³⁹. Pp. 23-4.

⁴⁰. Deissmann, Paul, p.123.

⁴¹. Gal. 1:17.

Though we can only conjecture why he sojourned in Arabia, the most likely supposition is that he retired there in order to give himself full opportunity to make use of the treasured key to Scripture supplied by Jesus, namely that He was the Victorious Suffering Messiah who was the predicted/deliverer "in the law of Moses and the prophets and the psalms".⁴² Paul craved to unlock and expose the prophetic universalism which normative Judaism was leaving to putrefy. His experiences during this retreat may well have paralleled those which Jesus had when, after His Messianic coronation at the Jordan, He retired into the wilderness to struggle with rival interpretations of the O.T. in order to determine the mission of the Lord's Anointed.

It was through reading Scripture in the prophetic light brought to full effulgence by Jesus that Paul saw the intention of his Master, and hence God's plan for his own life. No doubt he reflected on the Servant Psalms of Isaiah to which in later life he referred much more frequently than he did to any other passages of corresponding length in the O.T.⁴³ He came to realize that the rôle of Jesus was to make patent Deutero-Isaiah's latent concept of the prophetic vocation for Israel. Paul, guided by Jesus, was led to see that God had ordained him to carry out the prophetic mission depicted in these Servant Psalms. Thus we encounter the

⁴². Lk. 24:44.

⁴³. See the tables of citations in chapter IV of this thesis.

form of the "servant in whom my soul delights"⁴⁴ in the person of Paul. He undertook his mission as a "servant"⁴⁵ because he felt predestined in the identical manner of the Isaianic Servant. Hence, in Gal. 1:15, ὁ ἀφορίζεσθε με ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς μου καὶ καλέσθεσ alludes to Is. 49:1. In Phil. 2:16 εἰς κενὸν ἔκδοπίσθε is reminiscent of Is. 49:4; here Paul, like the Servant, does not shrink from martyrdom even though he feels that he has exhausted his strength for meager results, for he is confident of God's vindication. The crescendo of the Psalm in Is. 49 is the fitting climax of his sermon at Antioch in Pisidia:

Ἰέθελε καὶ σε εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν
 τοῦ ἐλθεῖν καὶ σε εἰς σωτηρίαν
 ἕως ἔσχατου ἡμετέρας. ⁴⁶

As regarding the citation from Is. 49:8 in II Cor. 6:2

Plummer writes:

The passage may have occurred to St. Paul because of the resemblance of his own case to that of the Prophet. In Is. 49 the Prophet points out that the Lord has formed him from the womb to be His servant, and to reconcile Israel again to Him; but also to give him as a light to the Gentiles that His salvation may be to the end of the earth. The servant has delivered his message, and a period of labour and disappointment follows. Then come the encouraging words which St. Paul quotes, and comforting thoughts arise. Although men despise him, God will honour him by confirming his message; and the God who has had compassion on Israel in spite of their sins, will have compassion on all the nations. Word for word this is true of the Apostle.⁴⁷

⁴⁴. Is. 42:1.

⁴⁵. Gal. 1:10, Rom. 1:1, et.al.

⁴⁶. Acts 13:47 quoting Is. 49:6.

⁴⁷. Plummer, The Second Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, pp. 190-1.

In Rom. 15:21 Paul appropriates a citation from Is. 52:15 to express his desire to serve as an evangelist to the far corners of the Roman world. He also takes a lament from this climactic Servant Psalm to convey his grief over the obstinacy of his fellow Israelites: thus the question in Rom. 10:16, "Lord, who has believed what he has heard from us?", indicates that he feels his dilemma to be analogous to that of the Servant, for he too has presented the challenge of Israel's universal mission and has received persecution in recompense. These more striking examples of Paul's personal use of the Servant Psalms show unmistakably that he identified himself with the Servant, for he was "in Christ" and Christ was the Servant.

After Paul had spent several years in the Damascus locality and had sounded the depth of the Suffering Servant concept, he returned to Jerusalem. While praying in the Temple⁴⁸ it was made explicit to him that his vocation for life was to carry out that phase of the Servant's commission which was sorely lacking in contemporary Judaism and which had not been properly emphasized in the primitive Church, that of being $\epsilon \dot{\iota} \varsigma \phi \omega \varsigma \acute{\epsilon} \theta \upsilon \omega \nu$.⁴⁹ We can take quite literally his sworn statement⁵⁰ that he saw only a couple of the comrades of Jesus during this visit to Jerusalem; after having received the key for "opening up complete-

48. Acts 22:17.

49. Is. 49:6; see Acts 22:21.

50. Gal. 1:18-20.

ly" ($\delta\epsilon\alpha\upsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\gamma\omega$)⁵¹ the prophetic interpretation of Scripture he did not consider it of primary importance to seek for traditions which might assist him in compiling a biography of Jesus.

We have argued that the revolutionary thing that Christianity gave Paul was an apprehension of God's purpose as revealed in the Suffering Servant. There is nothing in his universalism which was not anticipated in the O.T. His conviction that race and class barriers were broken down⁵² did not result from his being captivated by a syncretism which required appeasement on all sides in order to secure harmony. Rather, he was impelled to proclaim that there was full equality of all men before God through being true to the most profound message of the O.T. Machen is therefore correct when he states:

If Paul had been a liberal Jew, he would never have become the Apostle to the Gentiles. Gentile freedom was not for him a relaxing of strict requirements in the interests of practical missionary work; it was a matter of principle. It was not just something that was permitted -- it was something required by the strictest interpretation of the Old Testament.⁵³

It was probably only after Paul received his call to labour in foreign lands that he began to study intently the Greek language, the lingua franca of the Gentile civilization. Since Hellenistic customs and speech were boycotted by the strict Jews in Jerusalem, it is doubtful if in his

51. Acts 17:3.

52. Gal. 3:28, Rom. 10:12, Eph. 2:14.

53. Machen, The Origin of Paul's Religion, p.13.

youth he made use of Greek to any great extent. Even though he may have known a few Greek phrases from an early age, he habitually thought in Aramaic. After discussing a number of passages which are appropriate to the development of his article "Aramaicisms bij Paulus", Van Unnik concludes:

There are in the Epistles of Paul in all sorts of places thought associations and expressions which find a correct explanation only in the Aramaic.... Paul is bilingual; he writes decent Greek, his Epistles are not translations, but the movement of the thought is perhaps Aramaic. The voice is the voice of Jacob, but the hands are the hands of Esau.⁵⁴

It is significant that the language which spoke home to the inmost recesses of Paul's being at his conversion was Aramaic.⁵⁵

Thus it is more likely that the ejaculatory Aramaic prayers in his letters⁵⁶ were expressions wrought out of his own devotional life than that they were tradition which he had taken over from his predecessors.⁵⁷ He also composed Aramaic hymns. Hunter writes with regard to Phil. 2:6-11:

"There is a good deal of evidence (gathered by Lohmeyer, Kyrios Jesus) to suggest that the hymn, though originally written in Greek, had an author whose mother-tongue was Aramaic".⁵⁸ F. P. Levertoff has shown that this passage can very easily be translated into Aramaic, and for that reason Clarke⁵⁹ thinks it possible that the hymn was first

54. Van Unnik, Vox Theologica, XIV, p.125. E.T. by Dr. George Ogg.

55. Acts 26:14; cf. the use of the Hebrew name "Saul" in Acts 9:4.

56. Gal. 4:6, Rom. 8:15, I Cor. 16:22.

57. Cp. Hunter, Paul and His Predecessors, pp.102-5.

58. Ibid., p.48.

59. Clarke, New Testament Problems, p.148. He gives a transliteration of Levertoff's rendering.

written in Aramaic. These interpreters conclude that in this passage, in which he gives one of the fullest of his Christological expositions, Paul is quoting a pre-Pauline hymn. That, however, is unlikely. Davies forcibly argues that "the conception of Christ as the Second Adam was probably introduced into the Church by Paul himself",⁶⁰ and this hymn carries definite overtones of that motif.⁶¹

We know practically nothing of the first half of Paul's career as a Christian. Accordingly we can only conjecture how he used the years, approximately a dozen in number, of that period/^{which} he spent in Cilicia.⁶² Since he was a scholar by training, we may suppose that he spent these years studying to equip himself for work as a missionary to the Gentiles.⁶³ He may have elected to reside in Tarsus while engaging in study because of family connections living there and because he knew that so long as he stayed in the city of which he was a citizen he would be protected from those who were seeking to kill him.⁶⁴

We do not think that while in Cilicia Paul devoted himself to the study of pagan literature. His aim was evidently only to study the LXX; it was his one thesaurus of Greek. The popular tags quoted in his epistles from Aratus or Cleanthes,⁶⁵ Menander,⁶⁶ and Epimenides⁶⁷ could easily

⁶⁰. Davies, op.cit., p.44.

⁶¹. See chapter VI of this thesis.

⁶². Zahn, The Expositor, 6th series, VIII, p.234.

⁶³. Acts 9:29.

⁶⁴. Acts 17:28.

⁶⁵. I Cor. 15:33.

⁶⁶. Titus 1:12.

have been absorbed by one of sensitive and quick perception from what was overheard in public life. There is therefore no need to conjecture from these sporadic echoes of the Greek poets that Paul must have attended Greek classes. Hausrath argues convincingly that these traces of outside influence do not reveal any systematic study of classical writings:

In later years, Greek writing is a difficulty to him, so that he generally dictates his letters; and when he does write, he laughs at his illegible Greek handwriting (Gal. 6:11). If, nevertheless, he has attained commendable dexterity in expressing himself in Greek, he gets it, not from the school of Tarsian grammarians and rhetoricians, who would have taught him more correct Greek, but from reading the Septuagint and continual intercourse with Greeks.... His knowledge of Greek literature ... certainly did not go far. In I Cor. 15:33, Paul quotes an iambic trimeter from the Thais of Menander; but he misses the run of the verse, and is guilty of a bad hiatus, which betrays only too clearly how unaccustomed his ear was to the euphony of Greek rhythm.... This scarcity of genuine classical quotations in a man who hardly writes a line without quoting, proves that Paul never had a Greek book beside him.... Paul remained a Hebrew in his intercourse with Greeks, even when necessity made him a Greek author.... His syntax is Hebrew, so is his use of the particles; he often goes so far as to use words in the various senses of their Hebrew synonyms. (So I Th. 5:12, $\epsilon\pi\alpha\upsilon\omega$ $\iota\alpha\upsilon$ is used in the sense of "beg", because $\lambda\epsilon\psi$ means both "inquire" and "beg"; $\alpha\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\upsilon$, Rom. 4:17, in the sense of "rule", because $\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota$ means "call" and "rule"; besides other examples.) A play upon words, such as that between Sinai and Hagar, Gal. 4:25, could only occur to a mind thinking in Hebrew, for which Sinai was simply hahar, the mountain. His last speech in Jerusalem, hebraidi dialecto, proves that, after his many years' work among the Greeks, the speech of Canaan still came easily to him.⁶⁸

Thus it cannot be said that Paul ever mastered Greek style; his own was usually eager, broken, and volcanic. He had

⁶⁸ Hausrath, op.cit., III, pp.9-11.

neither the pomp nor the pedantry of the Greek rhetoricians. Even such sonorous heights as these reached in the exquisite poem of I Cor. 13 show no traces of ostentatious polish. He was contemptuous of the meretricious "deceit"⁶⁹ of the sophists; therefore he did not seek to utter "lofty words of wisdom",⁷⁰ but in dictating to his amanuensis aimed at a herald's simplicity. A comparison of the Epistle to the Hebrews with the epistles of Paul shows that in phraseology and in composition the latter are less ornate and refined; this indeed is one of the major reasons why the Pauline authorship of Hebrews is denied. Paul seems to have had no more eloquence in Greek as an orator than he had as an essayist. When ridiculed for having a "speech of no account"⁷¹ he readily admitted that he was "unskilled in speech".⁷²

Even though his style and mental fiber remained Hebraic throughout life, Paul, like modern missionaries, adopted the translation of Scripture which was current in the sphere of his missionary service. Thus he made extensive use of the LXX when labouring in Gentile areas, for the services in Diaspora synagogues were largely, if not entirely, conducted in Greek.⁷³ Cheap editions of the LXX had a wide circulation,⁷⁴ so it is possible that he had a copy of his own. Be this as it may, the intimate knowledge

69. Col. 2:8.

70. I Cor. 2:1.

71. II Cor. 10:10.

72. II Cor. 11:6.

73. Edersheim, op.cit., I, p.30.

74. Ibid., I, pp.23-4; cf. Harnack, Bible Reading in the Early Church, pp.32-47.

of the LXX displayed in his writings reveals that he must have spent much time poring over its contents. The statistical data in Wolf's article, "Concerning the Vocabulary of Paul",⁷⁵ show that there are only 165 words in his epistles (excluding the Pastorals), about 6% of his total vocabulary, which are not found in the LXX. The high proportion of LXX words occasions Riddle to state in his article "The Non-Septuagint Element in the Vocabulary of Paul": "While no other Greek literary influence upon Paul may be demonstrated, the LXX was a library whose effect upon him was powerful".⁷⁶ We can therefore see how it is that most of the Pauline quotations are dependent upon the LXX.⁷⁷

Our treatment of Paul has shown that the following observations of Dodd are justified: "The apostle wrote Greek, but he was also familiar with the Hebrew original. Thus while his language largely follows that of the LXX, the Greek words are for him always coloured by their Hebrew associations".⁷⁸ The Hebraic influences upon him were thus very marked, so Deissmann is guilty of misapprehension in labelling him a "Septuagint-Jew".⁷⁹ In writing as follows he completely reverses the truth:

St. Paul the Christian never withdrew from the divine world of the Hellenistic Old Testament. To understand the whole of St. Paul, and not merely a part of him, from the point of view of religious history, we must know the spirit of the Septuagint. Not the Hebrew Old Testament, not necessarily that

75. J.B.L., LXVII, p.335.

79. Deissmann, op.cit., p.101.

76. J.B.L., XLVII, p.74.

77. See chapter IV of this thesis.

78. Dodd, The Bible and the Greeks, p.57; cf. Windisch, op.cit., pp.55-66.

which we now call "Old Testament theology" supplies the historic premises of St. Paul's piety, but the faith contained in the Greek Old Testament.⁸⁰

Deissmann errs in making a sharp distinction between the spirit of the Hebrew Scripture and that of the LXX, for the translation is a Semitised Greek which generally reflects Hebraic rather than Hellenistic concepts. However, even if it could be established that there is a real difference of spirit here, we must ally Paul with that of the Hebrew text. We maintain this point of view through realizing that Hebrew-Aramaic was both his earliest language and the one in which he was most fluent, and through believing that the LXX was used during his career as a missionary not because he preferred it to the original text but because he was dealing with a people who did not understand the Semitic tongue.

That Paul was intensely a Hebrew until the end of his life is abundantly attested in the Acts and in Romans. In the Acts we see him demonstrating his concern for his countrymen by going to their synagogues in at least nine⁸¹ Gentile communities. He certainly did not go to these synagogues because he was keen to secure their halls of meeting as a convenient place to preach his evangelistic message to the Gentiles; rather he went there because he wished to expound the Scriptures to the Jews, who in his opinion should have been the most responsive of all people to his procla-

80. *Ibid.*, pp.101-2.

81. Acts 9:20,13:5,14, 14:1, 17:1-2,10,17, 18:4,19.

mation that their history had been "filled-full" by Jesus. Luke also shows us the striking manner in which his hero persevered "from morning till evening"⁸² in the closing days of his life to convince his kinsmen of the truth of the Gospel.

Romans confirms this Lukan biography of Paul, for in this letter it is stated three times in rapid succession that the Gospel is Ἰουδαϊσῶς ἰε̄ πρώτου καὶ ἐδδδηυυ. ⁸³ The apostle's fullest discussion of this pregnant statement regarding the priority of the Jews is in Rom. 9-11. Since Baur has disclosed to modern critics the importance of this section, we shall give a rough summary of his argument. He marshals evidence to witness that the Pauline epistles were called forth by the pressure of concrete situations. Thus Paul did not use a letter "as a peg on which to hang a doctrinal treatise".⁸⁴ but as a means of dealing with controversies which arose from his missionary activity. It follows, in Baur's opinion, that only chapters 9-11 in Romans suggest circumstances which were of sufficient importance to demand an epistolary treatment. In this section Paul reveals the aim which is implicit throughout the rest of the epistle, namely his desire to lay before the Roman church his replies to the anticipated objections of the Jews which he was preparing to face in the near future at Jerusalem. Baur concludes that this section was "the germ

⁸². Acts 28:23.

⁸³. See Rom. 1:16, 2:9,10.

⁸⁴. Baur, Paul, I, p.314.

and centre of the whole, from which ... the whole organism of the Epistle was developed".⁸⁵

Although Baur has doubtlessly overstated his case,⁸⁶ we assert with him that Rom. 9-11, far from being a digression or an afterthought, is essential to the development of the epistle. Moreover, of all the N.T. writings, this section contains the most remarkable manifestation of the point of view of a Hebraic Christian. Here Paul does not set out to speculate on the abstract paradoxes of theodicy. Consequently the predestinarian ideas found herein are the result, not the presupposition, of his grappling with the enigmatic apostasy of his own nation. By tracing the course of the Heilsgeschichte Paul presents an argument which he hopes will contribute to the reconciliation of the ever widening differences between Judaism and Christianity. Thus in chapters 9-11 he examines thoroughly the profound question raised in Rom. 3:1 -- "What advantage has the Jew?"

At many points in this thesis we shall address ourselves to the particular arguments and citations which are brought forward in Rom. 9-11. Suffice it in this chapter to deal with the personal attitude which the apostle displays in Rom. 9:1-5. In this paragraph Paul lays bare his heart; here he reveals his grief over his kinsmen who have rejected the Gospel and his longing for their salvation. He indicates, not without pathos, that he would willingly be anathematized

⁸⁵. Ibid., I, p.315.

⁸⁶. Cf. Farrar, op.cit., II, pp.176-7; Sanday and Headlam, Romans, pp. xxvii, xxxixf.

if that would subserve the end of showing the Jews the true consummation of Judaism in Christianity.⁸⁷ Also in this paragraph he calls to mind the special prerogatives of his coun-

87. Menoud (L'Eglise Naissante et le Judaïsme, p.14), through realizing that the prime clash in Paul's life was between pride in his own kinsmen and acute sorrow because so few had awakened to the fact that Christianity was the fulfillment of Judaism, has developed a refreshing treatment of the apostle's "thorn in the flesh" (II Cor. 12:7). Critics have almost unanimously considered this cryptic phrase to be a graphic way of designating some physical illness. But there is only extremely meager evidence for such diagnoses as epilepsy, ophthalmia, migraine, or malaria. Only in Gal. 4:13-15 do we find reference to an ailment. However, even this passage gives us no reason to believe that Paul suffered from a chronic affliction; what it contains may be but an echo of the severe treatment he received from the Galatian natives on his first missionary journey (See Acts 13:50, 14:5,19). There is more evidence in his letters of robust health than of sickness. In mere bodily elasticity he was remarkable. It is not everyone who could have endured a night and a day in the deep, five beatings of "forty lashes less one" from the Jewish authorities, three scourgings from Roman lictors, not to mention the other hardships he listed. (See II Cor. 11:23-29. J. Knox Chapters in a Life of Paul, p.917, after questioning whether Paul even had an ailment, observes that in this long list of sufferings he did not mention sickness.) But even if it could be established beyond reasonable doubt that Paul was afflicted by a recurring malady, it is unlikely that he was referring to it in II Cor. 12. It was his "heart's desire" (Rom. 10:1) not that his "earthen vessel" (II Cor. 4:7) should be a cause for boasting (cf. II Cor. 12:7), but that the power of the Gospel might touch the "Jew first". To a man of his bodily and spiritual stature the "unceasing anguish" (Rom. 9:2) brought about by his nation rejecting the Gospel and consequently considering him a renegade was probably more humiliating than any corporeal infirmity could have been. To be dogged by the animosity of his own people in every city he entered was to the apostle a stake sharply wedged into his soul. Hence the supposition that the "thorn in the flesh" refers to his deep-seated lament over the prevailing antagonism of Judaism to the Gospel rests on a stronger basis than the conjecture that it refers to harassing ill health.

trymen by using the present tense of continuing action. Accordingly Paul does not mention the privileges which God bestowed on the Jews with a view to claiming that they have been annulled or that they have been completely transferred to the Christians. From the tenor of the whole Roman letter we see how true he was to the feelings expressed and the statements made in these verses.

Thus Romans clearly shows us that there was no anti-Semitic feeling in Paul. He was throughout life as truly a patriot as Jeremiah even though there was often need for the apostle, like his predecessor, to wear the guise of a traitor. That he lacked the stamp of an ordinary patriot is evident, for he knew an issue at stake of greater importance than the mere preservation of his national society. He knew that it was the essential mark of a false prophet to glorify the demon of race and nation that the Jews worshipped. He heeded the divine commission which stated that the genuine spokesman of God "makes the heart of the people fat".⁸⁸ We should therefore label Paul a true prophet, one who was constrained to announce the judgment of God even though it ran counter to his natural feelings.

The argument of this chapter leads us to conclude that Paul was not the founder of the Gentile Church any more than Calvin was the founder of the Reformed Church. Neither

⁸⁸ Is. 6:10.

man made an abrupt break with the past and inaugurated an entirely new order. Both proposed to clarify what the true Church was; both thought of themselves as purifiers of their ancient faith. Thus it is just as negative and inadequate to call Paul an anti-Judaic Christian as to call Calvin a "Protest-ant". We are loth to support Pfeiffer and other scholars who, sharing the viewpoint of Marcion, believe that Paul "forsook Judaism and definitely founded a new religion".⁸⁹ The directly opposite conclusion of Schweitzer is nearer the truth. He states: "'Christianity' is for Paul no new religion, but simply Judaism with the centre of gravity shifted in consequence of the new era".⁹⁰ In allying himself with Gentile Christianity Paul did not cast aside his vast heritage. In fact, he did not regard the God he saw in Christ as essentially different from the God of the O.T. He was confident that he was more fully a Jew after having become a Christian than before, for the Gospel had, in his opinion, tapped the vital stream of O.T. religion which had gone underground with the rise of legalism. To summarize the general outlook of Paul which, ^{up} to this point in our thesis, has been our main consideration we use the words of Weizsäcker: "The same Apostle who delivered early Christianity from the limitations of the Jewish race and religion has perhaps in another respect contributed most to its retention of the Jewish spirit".⁹¹

89. Pfeiffer, Introduction to the Old Testament, p.5.

90. Schweitzer, Paul and His Interpreters, p.227.

91. Weizsäcker, The Apostolic Age, I, p.123.

CHAPTER III

THE SOURCES USED BY PAUL

A. The Palestinian Canon.

It is somewhat of an anachronism to speak of "the O.T. canon" of first century Judaism, for not only was the phrase $\eta \ \pi \alpha \lambda \alpha \iota \ \delta \epsilon \ \delta \epsilon \ \alpha \ \theta \acute{\eta} \kappa \eta$ coined by the Christians (and even so was used only once in the N.T.¹) but also in that period no official ecclesiastical decree had fixed precisely and finally what sections of the Hebrew literature should compose the supreme rule of Jewish faith and life. The living voice of prophecy was being silenced by casuistic developments which emphasized the written word rather than the historic acts of God; nevertheless there was no absolute rule precluding the possibility of adding a book to, or dropping it from, the Scripture. Each book was judged by its intrinsic value; debate regarding its worthiness was not regarded as irreverent. Only gradually did an exclusive corpus develop. Queries of a functional nature were applied² book by book to determine those which were of sufficient merit to be kept in circulation and promoted to canonical rank. The questions asked were therefore probably similar to the following: Does this book give expression to the religious aspirations of Judaism? Has this psalm proved its inspirational worth in liturgical usage? Is this narra-

1. II Cor. 3:14.

2. Pfeiffer, Introduction to the Old Testament, p.61.

tive of inherent worth because of its antiquity? Does the test of popular taste show that this selection is vital?

Jesus ben Sirach³ indicates that by the second century B.C. reference could be made to most of the collections which ultimately composed the Palestinian canon. There is, however, no evidence that he considered the canon as definitely closed. In the first century of the Christian era there was little fluidity of opinion regarding the scope of Scripture, although controversies continued with regard to the legitimacy of including the books of Esther, the Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes,⁴ all of which lay outside the main stream of O.T. prophecy. In the last decade of the first century the Council of Jamnia "endorsed what may be regarded as the public opinion of the time on the subject of the canon".⁵ There the rabbis established for all time the limitation of Scripture to the 24 books of our Masoretic text. The rabbinic contention thereafter was that "the books of ben Sirach and whatever books have been written since this time are not sacred Scripture".⁶ Josephus,⁷ writing shortly after the time of the Jamnia enactment, confirms that it had become indisputable that the accredited books were limited; his theory was that only those writings recorded before the death of Artaxerxes could be esteemed as Scripture. Thus there had been by Paul's day no dogmatic

3. Ecclus. 48:20-49:10.

4. Ryle, The Canon of the Old Testament, pp.151-2.

5. Woods, F.H., "O.T. Canon" in H.D.B., III, p. 608.

6. Tosefta, Yadain 2:13.

7. Josephus, Against Apion, I, 38-42.

discrimination among the books which we now refer to as belonging to the Palestinian canon, the Apocrypha, and the Pseudepigrapha. Nevertheless it can be said quite accurately that the O.T. of the first century Jews and Christians had practically the same compass as our present Hebrew Bible.

As we might well expect, some of the more ancient writings contained in this O.T. were looked upon with peculiar veneration. Because of the prevailing legalism Moses, who was axiomatically regarded as the author of the Torah,⁸ was considered to be the channel through whom all divine truth flowed. Accordingly the Sadducees recognized only the Pentateuch as authoritative. The more progressive Pharisees advocated an enlargement of the divine library with a tripartite division.⁹ But even they believed that the Prophets (and these included Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings because of the Deuteronomist revision which they had received in the interests of a prophetic view of history) and the writings of a heterogeneous character known as the Hagiographa served primarily as commentary to the Pentateuch.¹⁰ Thus Moore writes with regard to the attitude of the Jews of the Tannaitic period toward the Scriptural divisions:

The Prophets and the Hagiographa explain the Pentateuch. Thus all the rest of the sacred books, with no detracton from their divine inspiration and authority, are an authority of the second rank: they repeat, reinforce, amplify, and explain the Law, but are never independent of it. Proof-texts

8. Pfeiffer, *op.cit.*, p.65.

9. Pfeiffer, *History of New Testament Times*, p.46.

10. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, p.65.

are often quoted in threes, a verse from the Pentateuch, another from the Prophets, and a third from the Hagiographa, not as though the word of the Law needed confirmation, but to show how the Scripture emphasizes the lesson by iteration.¹¹

We now proceed to gather from the internal evidence provided by his writings which books Paul regarded as the seat of authority. He speaks frequently of "the Scripture" or "the Scriptures",¹² occasionally modifying the term by the adjectives "holy",¹³ "prophetic",¹⁴ or "sacred".¹⁵ To what sources, we now ask, does this expression refer? It will help us to answer this question if we divide the passages cited in the Pauline corpus¹⁶ according to the Hebrew canon. The following are the figures:

<u>Pentateuch</u>		<u>Prophets</u>		<u>Hagiographa</u>	
Gen.	14	II S.	1	Job	3
Ex.	8	I K.	1	Ps.	30
Lev.	3	Is.	39	Pr.	2
Num.	3	Jer.	2	Total	35
Dt.	14	Hos.	4		
Total	42	Jl.	1		
		Hab.	1		
		Mal.	2		
		Total	51		

These columns give us a total of 128 passages in the O.T. referred to at one or more places in the 13 Pauline epistles. Only 16 books, or less than half of our O.T. canon, provide these passages. The passages are distributed with a remarkable evenness over the various portions of Hebrew

11. Moore, Judaism, I, pp. 239-40.

12. Paul uses $\eta \chi\rho\alpha\phi\acute{\iota}\alpha$ 9 times and $\kappa\acute{\iota} \chi\rho\alpha\phi\alpha\acute{\iota}$ 5 times. Almost invariably the definite article precedes.

13. Rom. 1:2.

14. Rom. 16:26.

15. II Tim. 3:15.

16. See tables of citations in chapter IV of this thesis.

Scripture. Of the total, 33% are from the Pentateuch, 40% are from the Prophets, and 27% are from the Hagiographa. Using the list of quotations given by Westcott and Hort¹⁷ we calculate that the percentages in the N.T. as a whole respective to the above divisions are: 33, 38, and 29. We thus have statistical data which prove that Paul attached the same relative measures of importance to the big divisions of Scripture as did the N.T. writers in general. Another significant feature comes to light when we compare the percentage of Paul's quotations from Psalms and Isaiah with that of the N.T. as a whole: 53% of his quotations come from these two sources whereas in the N.T. as a whole 41% are from these books. These percentages attest that Paul and the other N.T. writers dissented from the prevailing Jewish opinion. They did not consider the Prophets and the Hagiographa to be mere Haggadic complements to the Mosaic writings; on the contrary, they regarded them as at least equal to the Pentateuch in authority.

We shall also tabulate the sources of Jesus' citations¹⁸ in order to exemplify the parallel between the books to which Jesus and Paul turned most frequently.

<u>Pentateuch</u>		<u>Prophets</u>		<u>Hagiographa</u>	
Gen.	6	I S.	1	Job	1
Ex.	10	I K.	4	Ps.	29
Lev.	8	Is.	31	Pr.	1
Num.	2	Jer.	8	Lam.	1
Dt.	<u>13</u>	Ez.	5	Dn.	<u>12</u>

17. Westcott and Hort, The New Testament in the Original Greek, II, pp.581ff.

18. Our tabulation is taken from Bowman, The Religion of Maturity, Appendix: "Jesus' Use of Scripture", pp.317-8.

Total	39	Hos.	4	Total	44
		Jl.	1		
		Jon.	1		
		Mi.	2		
		Zp.	1		
		Zc.	10		
		Mal.	2		
		Total	70		

By comparing our enumerations of the citations of Jesus and Paul we discover that both used for their main sources of authority those books in which the prophetic spirit reached its highest level. It is conspicuous that neither Jesus nor Paul made extensive use of the priestly writings. For instance, Paul did not adduce a single citation from the lengthy prophecy of Ezekiel. Perhaps he boycotted literature which legislated an exclusive Jewish nationalism, and so did not employ this prophecy, which completely lacked hope for Gentile salvation. The above data also show us that for both Jesus and Paul there was to some extent a Bible within their Bible. Judging from their use of Deuteronomy, Isaiah, and Psalms, we conclude that they were primarily interested in those books from the divisions of Hebrew Scripture which were most filled with the Messianic element.

B. The Apocrypha.

The fact that Paul ordinarily employs the LXX in making quotations is the ground on which some¹⁹ assume it to be a priori likely that he accepted in toto the Alexandrian canon. This canon differs from the Palestinian canon by having an addition of sixteen books (including III and IV Macc.)

19. E.g. Bonsirven, Exégèse Rabbinique et Exégèse Paulienne, pp. 325-6.

commonly known as the Apocrypha. What support does Paul give in his writings to the claim that he accepted this Alexandrian appendix as authoritative? In The New Testament with Fuller References²⁰ a number of possible points of contact are indicated. Moffatt²¹ detects "flakes" of Ecclesiasticus and the Wisdom of Solomon scattered through the Pauline epistles. Klausner²² believes that Paul's ransom concept in Christology is derived from IV Macc. 6:26-29, 17:21,22. Dodd boldly asserts in his commentary on Romans: "So far as this epistle is concerned, three books may be said to stand more than any others for the formative influences upon his mind: Deutero-Isaiah in the Old Testament, the Wisdom of Solomon among Hellenistic Jewish writings, and 2 Esdras among the productions of native, Aramaic-speaking Judaism".²³

These scholars follow the fashionable tendency of the last generation of underemphasizing Paul's relation to the Hebrew Bible, and exaggerating his indebtedness to the teaching of the various strands of the Apocrypha and other extra-cannonical sources. When we compare passages of the Pauline epistles with the various contexts of the Apocrypha suggested by these scholars, we find that the apostle's dependence upon this source to be more apparent than real. Almost without exception the Hebrew Scripture furnishes parallels in these instances which are at least as striking as those set forth by the Apocrypha.

20. Moulton and Greenup, The New Testament with Fuller Ref.

21. Moffatt, An Introduction to the Literature of the N.T., p.25.

22. Klausner, From Jesus to Paul, p.39

23. Dodd, Romans, p.xxxii.

We shall consider briefly one passage which is typical of those which the above scholars regard as showing close affinity to the Apocrypha, namely Rom. 1:19-2:15, cp. W. of Sol. 13-15. The Wisdom of Solomon presents a curious mixture of Judaic and Hellenistic thought with which, unless there are positive indications to the contrary, we may well suppose that Paul had nothing to do. Verbal coincidences between the parallel passages are few. It is true that each writer dwells upon the inexcusable character of Gentile corruption and presents a slightly similar catalogue of the heathen sins. But what likeness in phraseology there is, is too meager to give any actual support to the contention that these chapters were in the background of Paul's thought as he described the moral depravity of man. Puukko²⁴ may be right in denying that the Wisdom of Solomon had any influence upon Paul. However, Beyschlag's appraisal is probably sounder. After admitting that faint echoes of this book can be heard in Paul's epistles, he concludes: "He derives neither his anthropology, nor his idea of immortality, nor his doctrine of predestination from this book; this Hellenistic factor in the mode of thought of a man trained by parents and teachers in the strictest Pharisaic traditions is ... a chimera!"²⁵

The lack of direct reference to a group of writings with which Paul was apparently acquainted can hardly be

24. Puukko, "Paulus und das Judentum" in Studia Orientalia II, pp. 41-4.

25. Beyschlag, New Testament Theology, II, p. 23.

accidental. This argumentum e silentio takes on more weight when we notice that neither do the other N.T. writers have occasion to appeal formally to the Apocrypha.²⁶ Hence they do not seem to place the special literature of the Alexandrian canon on the same level as the writings in the Palestinian canon.²⁷ It is significant that even Philo, who lived in the city where the LXX translation was made, does not indicate that he accepted the Apocryphal books as canonical. Ryle writes:

Philo makes no quotations from the Apocrypha; and he gives not the slightest ground for the supposition that the Jews of Alexandria, in his time, were disposed to accept any of the books of the Apocrypha in their Canon of Holy Scripture. That there are occasional instances of correspondence in subject-matter and in phraseology between Philo and the books of the Apocrypha ... no one will dispute. But it is very doubtful whether the instances contain actual allusions to the Apocryphal writings. It is more probable that the use of similar terms arises merely from the discussion of similar topics.²⁸

What is said of Philo in this quotation is almost word for word true of Paul.

We believe that there is little ground for conjecturing more than this, that Paul may have read the books of the Apocrypha, perhaps during the years he spent in Cilicia studying the LXX. The conclusions reached in the foregoing chapters lead us to maintain that, unless there is clear evidence to the contrary, Paul, the Palestinian Jew and Hebraic Christian, must have recognized only the

26. The formal quotation in Jude 14, 15 is the only exception. Even so, this quotation from Enoch 1:9 is not introduced as Scripture. Regarding formal citation see below pp. 96f.
 27. Ryle, op.cit., pp. 153-4. 28. Philo & Holy Scrip. p. xxxiii.

the Palestinian canon. In other words, the burden of proof rests on those who assume that Paul accepted the Apocrypha on a par with the Hebrew Scripture. We have not found any convincing arguments for the position that the Apocrypha was of integral importance in moulding Paul's thought patterns. At best the Apocrypha was to him but quasi-Scripture; at worst it was heretical. Since the Jews entertained the idea that inspiration ceased with Ezra,²⁹ Paul probably considered the Alexandrian additions to be no more authoritative than other human writings.

C. The Extra-Scriptural Hebrew Literature.

The similarities between the doctrine given in Paul's writings and in rabbinic literature are legion,³⁰ for in both the O.T. was the book of ultimate authority. The fact that Paul was schooled in the Jewish traditions makes it prima facie likely that he would frequently mirror these sources in his letters. Actually he prefers at nearly every point to go directly to the Scripture rather than to these secondary sources. Only at a few places can we so much as ask whether he is leaning upon Haggadic embellishments. The following are the principal places in his letters in which these sources are commonly detected:

1) I Cor. 10:4. In this verse we find the Midrashic idea of a rock that mysteriously followed the Israelites

29. Josephus, Against Apion, I, 38-42.

30. Cf. Strack and Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch, III; Bonsirven, op.cit.; and Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism.

in their desert wanderings and gave them water. This will be discussed in chapter VI of this thesis.

2) II Cor. 11:3,14. The account given here of Eve being deceived by the serpent is thought to reflect a legend in the Apocalypse of Moses.³¹ Following W.L. Knox we doubt whether the resemblance to this Apocalypse "needs or admits any explanation except a common use of Genesis, interpreted according to common tradition".³²

3) Gal. 3:19. Paul, in attempting to prove the subsidiary character of the Law, states that it was ordained by the mediation of angels rather than directly by God Himself. This idea of the transmission of the Law by supernatural beings was common in the apostolic age³³ although it was not based upon the Hebrew Bible. The translation of Dt. 33:2 in the LXX may be the origin of the conception. It runs: $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\kappa \Sigma\epsilon\lambda\upsilon\acute{\alpha} \eta\kappa\epsilon\lambda \dots \epsilon\kappa \delta\epsilon\epsilon\lambda\omega\nu \alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\upsilon \xi\chi\gamma\epsilon\delta\omicron\lambda \mu\epsilon\tau\prime \alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\upsilon$. The meaning of the closing words in the Hebrew is assuredly uncertain, but the above LXX rendering of them can hardly be correct. The LXX interpolation probably resulted from the emphasis of the post-Exilic community on the transcendence of God. When the rabbis came to look upon Yahweh as utterly removed from the mundane order, they conjectured that the Law must have been transmitted through the hierarchy of the heavenly host. Paul accepted the spurious translation of the

31. Thackeray, The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought, pp. 50-55.

32. Knox, W.L., St. Paul and the Church of Jerusalem, p. 114, n14.

33. See Acts 7:53; Heb. 2:2; Josephus, Antiquities, XV, v, 3.

Hebrew text, perhaps without realizing that the LXX did not give a proper rendering of Dt. 33:2.

4) Gal. 4:29. The mention made here of Ishmael who "persecuted" ($\epsilon\delta\epsilon\omega\kappa\epsilon\upsilon$) Isaac is based on the Genesis narrative of the feast held to commemorate the weaning of the latter child. In Gen. 21:9 we find the participle $\rho\pi\zeta\omega$ which may be translated as "playing" or "making sport" according to the context in which it occurs. The LXX preferred the former sense and therefore translated the original by $\pi\alpha\epsilon\iota\zeta\omega\upsilon\iota\alpha$; thus the older lad is represented as showing no unkindness toward his half-brother. On the other hand, Gen. 39:14,17 indicates that the Hebrew root can be used in the latter sense to connote insult and disrespect. Thus Paul displays his knowledge of Hebrew at this point and gives a translation which fits both the context of Genesis and his own allegory better than does the LXX rendering. His translation bears some resemblance to a rabbinic treatment of Gen. 21:20. During a discussion of the meaning of $\rho\pi\zeta\omega$, Rabbi Azariah interprets it to mean "making sport" by the following lore: "Ishmael said to Isaac, 'Let us go and see our portions in the field'; then Ishmael would take a bow and arrows and shoot them in Isaac's direction, whilst pretending to be playing".³⁴ Possibly this exposition was in the Oral Tradition of first century Judaism. However, just because there is a parallel between the rabbinic and the Paul-
34. Midrash, Genesis Rabbah 53:11.

ine renderings of the Hebrew root, it certainly does not follow that Paul here relies on rabbinic tradition. No more is indicated here than that Paul knew Hebrew. There is, therefore, only the slimmest chance that he had in the background of his mind the story about Ishmael and Isaac at target practice.

These considerations lead us to make the following generalizations. Even though Paul may occasionally allude to the rabbinic interpretations, there is no good reason why we should uphold Schweitzer's statement that Paul naively treats them "on the same footing with the Scripture itself".³⁵ What affinities there are between his epistles and the extra-Scriptural Hebrew literature disclose themselves at the circumference rather than at the center of his thought. It is therefore misguided scholarship to probe the massive tomes of unenlightened rabbinic speculations as a primary source for the understanding of Paul's attitude toward Scripture. In tracing Pauline hermeneutics to rabbinic sources Harnack³⁶ and Windisch³⁷ make the grievous error of representing the apostle as more a disciple of Gamaliel than of Christ.

Paul's spirit as a Christian was essentially opposed to the hair-splitting of rabbinic dialectics. As we

35. Schweitzer, Paul and His Interpreters, p.46.

36. Harnack, Das Alte Testament in den paulinischen Briefen, pp.112ff.

37. Windisch, Paulus und das Judentum, esp. pp.64-73.

have argued in the foregoing chapters, Paul had been trained to employ petty scholastic techniques in disputing exact points, and therefore, until he became a Christian, he had no comprehensive understanding of what was vital in the O.T. In other words, Paul's conversion came about through his breaking through the husk of the current modes of interpretation and tasting the sweetness of the kernel of Scripture. When this fresh theological import of Scripture came home to him, the obscure and obtuse rabbinic discourses which had hitherto held sway in his mind were for all practical purposes annihilated. Thus it is quite possible that he refers to the Halakah as "the weak and beggarly rudiments" which were causing the Galatians to "observe days, and months, and seasons, and years,"³⁸ and that he has in mind the cobwebs spun by the casuists when he speaks of the "veil"³⁹ which has hindered the Jews from apprehending the true meaning of Scripture. As a Christian Scripture was Paul's direct and perennial source of truth; the stagnant backwaters of rabbinics contributed little to the prophetic stream which conveyed to him the vital eternal verities.

D. The Testimonia.

A significant fruit of modern research is the hypothesis that a book of Testimonia was in use in early Christian circles. At the turn of this century Vollmer,⁴⁰ Swete,⁴¹

38. Gal. 4:9,10 (R.V.).

39. II Cor. 3:14-16.

40. Vollmer, Die alttestamentlichen Zitate bei Paulus, pp.36-48.

41. Swete, An Introduction to the O.T. in Greek, p.252.

and Hatch⁴² theorized that an anthology compiled from the LXX had circulated in the primitive Christian community. In 1906 Burkitt⁴³ conjectured that a collection of testimonia was the immediate source of Matthew's quotations from Scripture and that this collection was possibly the $\Delta \epsilon \gamma \iota \alpha$ document of which Papias⁴⁴ speaks. In 1911 Moffatt⁴⁵ admitted that there was a "strong probability" that written testimonia were a part of the early Christian literature. However, it was Harris who first thoroughly investigated this matter. He published studies entitled Testimonia in 1916 and 1920 in which he adduces what many scholars regard as weighty evidence that there existed in the apostolic age a manual of orderly arranged Scriptural extracts. He believes that this collection of texts was utilized as a source by both the canonical and the extra-canonical Christian writers in their defense of dogma. He marshals evidence from the Epistle of Barnabas, from the Testimonia of Cyprian, from the Adversus Judaeos of Tertullian, and from other patristic literature to buttress his contention that the similar combinations and selections from the O.T. in authors independent of one another are not coincidental. He finds what is perhaps the strongest con-

42. Hatch, Essays in Biblical Greek, pp.203-14. Harnack (History of Dogma, I, p.175, n.1) appraises Hatch's theory: "The hypothesis is not yet quite established, but it is hardly to be rejected. The Jewish catechetical and missionary instruction in the Diaspora needed such collections".

43. Burkitt, The Gospel History and Its Transmission, p.126.

44. See Eusebius, Hist. Eccl., iii, 39.

45. Moffatt, op.cit., p.24.

firmation of his theory in Rom. 9:32-3 and in I P. 2:6-8: in both places there is a sequence of quotations from Is. 28:16 and Is. 8:14 in a text which differs somewhat from that of the LXX. Another outstanding case in point is the reference to Ps. 110:1 followed by Ps. 8:6 in I Cor. 15:25-27, Eph. 1:20-22, and Heb. 1:13-2:9. These examples of dependence upon a common source coupled with many other less striking ones are the premises on which Harris concludes that Paul employs quotations in the conventional Christian manner and therefore "he is not voyaging alone in the Old Testament seas, but others are sailing with him".⁴⁶

If we acknowledge that Paul was dependent on a collection of Scriptural texts handed on to him by Christian tradition, then we may confidently claim that there is not so deep a gulf as has formerly been thought to yawn between him and his predecessors. Indeed we may suppose that Scriptures, such as Ps. 8, 110, 118 and the Suffering Servant passages of Deutero-Isaiah, which were often referred to by the various N.T. writers, were highly esteemed because Jesus had selected them to describe His mission, even as the writers of the Gospels attest. Since this testimonia hypothesis provides a valuable argument to those scholars who desire to bridge the gaps in the unity of the N.T., we ought to allow for the possibility that there may be in it an element of wishful thinking.

⁴⁶. Harris, Testimonies, II, p.16.

Harris is sometimes guilty of allowing the wish to become the father of the argument. The evidence he adduces at many points is so meager and strained that some scholars find it impossible to accept his reasonings in toto. Indeed Michel⁴⁷ rejects the theory after demonstrating by well grounded arguments that it is unsound. Dodd, while sympathizing with Harris' treatment, shows that it is hazardous to accept his logic as thoroughgoing proof. Thus Dodd writes: "His theory outruns the evidence, which is not sufficient to prove so formidable a literary enterprise at so early a date".⁴⁸

This criticism of Dodd applies with even greater force to Hunt who accepts as axiomatic Harris' contention and carries the research further by asking and answering the question: What influence did the testimonia have upon the compilation of the N.T.? He believes that they were based on the interpretation of Scripture given by Jesus during the 40-day period between His resurrection and ascension, and that therefore they "dominated the outlook of all the writers of the N.T.". ⁴⁹ Hunt's book, Primitive Gospel Sources, is rife with far-fetched conjectures. It is suggested,⁵⁰ for example, that the Parable of the Sons in Lk. 15 is based on the testimonium from Gen. 25:23 which states that "the elder shall serve the younger". Hunt succumbs to the temptation which haunts every scholar with an idea: he

47. Michel, Paulus und seine Bibel, pp.43-54.

48. Dodd, According to the Scriptures, p.26.

49. Hunt, Primitive Gospel Sources, pp.304-5.

50. Ibid., p.176.

wants to make it the key to open all doors.

Harris' ingenious argument and its development by Hunt appear to us to underestimate Paul's creative capacity. A priori we cannot believe that the apostle, who was trained to be a scholar, relied to a great extent on these secondary sources for his knowledge of the O.T. Harris does not heed the note of warning which he himself sounds. He writes: "We must not leave St Paul without any Old Testament except that which is contained in a popular handbook -- that would be to reduce Testimonies to absurdity".⁵¹ But how much has Harris left Paul? Speaking of Romans he says: "It is surprising to find how little is left of scriptural quotations in the Epistle after this Testimonia test is applied".⁵²

We may suppose that the early Church made a collection of O.T. Messianic excerpts for the instruction of catechumens, but it is difficult to think that such a manual had a primary part in shaping Paul's dogma. Texts disconnected from their context are like ashes: the heat of the fire which once caused them to glow has vanished. Thus we cannot visualize Paul basing his proclamation on O.T. verses which were torn from their context. It is very doubtful if he took over a ready-made theology or studied Scripture in such a haphazard and piecemeal fashion as he must have studied it if the theory of testimonia as Harris has propounded it is sound.

⁵¹. Harris, op.cit., II, p.38.

⁵². Ibid., II, p.29.

Although Dodd discounts the extravagant features of the hypothesis popularized by Harris, he not only accepts the substance of Harris' ratiocination but also gives it a broader application in a new direction. He thinks that the testimonia were far more than a collection of isolated proof-texts. He maintains that the N.T. writers generally did not sever O.T. phrases from their contexts in order to defend their kerygma by repudiating the Jewish adversaries; rather the citations common to sundry parts of the N.T. were overt indications of a substructure which included whole sections of the O.T. Hence the early Christians did not usually proceed like the rabbis who isolated a phrase and developed it independently of its context as a sacred oracle. But this point can be established, with regard to Paul at any rate,⁵³ without accepting Dodd's⁵⁴ conjectures as to the explicit passages which composed this testimonia corpus.

Dodd recognizes that the testimonia were "largely employed orally and found literary expression only sporadically and incompletely".⁵⁵ There is no substantial reason, so he rightly argues, for postulating that a fluid oral tradition became hardened into a written source. Plooij⁵⁶ is not at all convincing in his arguments by which he attempts to show that the testimonia were based on written Targums

53. See the section "The Purpose of Citations" in chapter IV.

54. See the enumeration of O.T. passages in Dodd, op.cit., pp. 107-8.

55. Ibid., p.126.

56. Plooij, Studies in the Testimony Book, pp.15-20.

which were in time translated into Greek. If these Scriptural texts were in writing and were much in use, it is hard to believe that only such fragmentary evidence of them as we now have would remain. If there had circulated widely on papyrus a written anthology which not only was a basic component of the N.T. literature but also in fundamental ingredients could be traced back to Jesus' reasoning that Scripture was fulfilled in His person,⁵⁷ it is incomprehensible that it should not have been treasured and thus be found included among the extant literature of early Christianity.

Dodd's modifications in According to the Scriptures give us the most plausible statement of the hypothesis under consideration. However he is guilty of begging the question. The elaborate edifice which he constructs would crumble if there were adequate grounds for believing that the various authors of primitive Christianity were dependent upon one another. It is difficult to grant readily his assumption which is fundamental to the development of his argument: "I shall ... proceed upon the hypothesis that where two separate writers cite the same passage from the Old Testament, unless there are definite reasons to the contrary, they represent to that extent a common tradition".⁵⁸ Evidently he does not think that there are any "definite reasons to the contrary", for we do not find further discussion in his book of the possibility of interdependence on the part of these

57. See Lk. 24:45-6.

58. Dodd, op.cit., p.30.

writers. Yet we can hardly postulate without further question that there was no mutual indebtedness. For example, Beare⁵⁹ recently produced a learned commentary on I Peter in which he argues that there is "clear dependence" of this letter upon the epistles of Paul. Also we find that the author of I Clement, the earliest Christian document outside of the N.T. writings (ca. 96),⁶⁰ is "familiar with Pauline writings, especially with I Corinthians, which he uses as a model for his own letter, imitating its hymn on love (chs. 49,50) and enlarging on its teachings regarding the resurrection (ch. 24) and schism (ch. 47)".⁶¹ Thus we can accept Dodd's improvement of Harris' hypothesis only with many reservations.

We conclude that there is an uncertain measure of truth in the testimonia hypothesis. Both Harris and Dodd go to unwarranted lengths in their divergent developments. However, even if it could be proven that Paul used the testimonia this would not detract from our contention that the O.T. in its totality was the main source of his dogma. In other words, he may have borrowed proof-texts from his Christian brethren to substantiate his doctrines, but the doctrines themselves were the result of his own searching ^{of} the Scripture. That he frequently referred to the same passages of the O.T. as the other N.T. writers hardly demands or allows for further explanation than that there was in the early

59. Beare, The First Epistle of Peter, p.25

60. Richardson, ed. Early Christian Fathers, I, p.33.

61. Ibid., I, pp.37-8.

Church a vital and catholic tradition regarding an O.T.
basis for the kerygma.

CHAPTER IV

CITATIONS FROM SCRIPTURE

In this chapter we shall gather the essential information afforded by a study of the whole of Paul's citations from the O.T. Firstly we shall set forth our standards for determining these citations; secondly we shall list these citations; thirdly we shall investigate the manner of citing; and finally we shall determine the purposes for which these citations are made.

A. Criteria for Discerning and Classifying Citations.

Modern scholarship has realized that it is important to indicate the presence of the O.T. passages in the N.T. Quotations from the O.T. are made conspicuous in Westcott and Hort's text by the use of small uncial type, in Nestle's text by the use of bold-faced type, and in Moffatt's translation by the use of italics. Further assistance in determining the Pauline citations is afforded us by the tables of Swete,¹ Michel,² and Bonsirven.³ In view of the fact that these authorities have already attempted to distinguish the citations of Paul and have sought to detect their sources, we must offer an apology for giving further consideration to this matter.

1. Swete, An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek, pp.380-91.

2. Michel, Paulus und seine Bibel, pp.12f.

3. Bonsirven, Exégèse Rabbinique et Exégèse Paulienne, pp.277-90.

Why should a fresh treatment of the Pauline citations be necessary? As a result of our collation of each of the marginal and tabular references given by the scholars just named, we have found that none of them has even the approximate degree of accuracy and consistency which would justify reliance upon their authority. These scholars frequently give a plurality of references of which some have not equal or any claim to be adduced as the sources from which a citation was made. Thus not a few of their alleged references have to be rejected as arbitrary and several which they overlooked have to be added. Some of them confuse us by referring only to the chapter and verse divisions of the LXX. All of them apparently rely ultimately on Westcott and Hort's textual and marginal distinctions; hence, because there is little evidence of independent study, the errors made in the earlier work have been perpetuated in the subsequent texts and tables.

It is understandable why these noted textual scholars made no thoroughgoing effort to give a correct correlation of the Pauline citations; for this aspect of their work was merely an appendix to the matters which dominated their attention. The comparisons they make are based on no more than textual similarities between verses of Paul and the LXX. Therefore they would, for example, think it just as likely that Paul quoted from the Wisdom of Solomon as from a Servant Song in Isaiah if the resemblances were sufficient to suggest

this. From our consideration of the sources used by Paul⁴ on the other hand, we would regard it as a priori unlikely that he alluded to the Wisdom of Solomon. Again, no account is taken by these scholars of the fact that Paul, a student of Hebrew Scripture, may refer consciously to the O.T., even though, because he makes a translation of his own, he does not give a rendering which is the same as that of the LXX. Our contention, on the other hand, would be that obvious allusions, for example to Is. 52:13-53:12,⁵ deserve to be cited even though their agreement with the LXX is virtually nil, whereas surface agreement between an occasional phrase occurring both in the LXX and in the Pauline epistles does not qualify for mention if the contexts have no more than a linguistic relation, or if the source book is not drawn upon anywhere else in the Pauline corpus. Such phrases may have become proverbial, and therefore they are not to be identified closely with an O.T. reference. We do not claim that in the

4. See chapter III, esp. pp.76ff.

5. The forthcoming chart, "O.T. Texts and the Pauline Citations", gives seven allusions to this O.T. passage which have been gathered from the lists compiled by Davies (Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p.274) and by Dodd (According to the Scriptures, pp.92-4). (The fact that Paul uses $\delta \epsilon \tilde{\upsilon} \lambda \omicron \varsigma$ in Phil. 2:7 rather than $\pi \alpha \tau \epsilon \rho \varsigma$ by which the LXX translated לֵבָב indicates that Paul made his own translation of the Hebrew. For $\delta \epsilon \tilde{\upsilon} \lambda \omicron \varsigma$ is at least equally as good a translation of the Hebrew term as is the LXX rendering in Is. 53). If our references be justified then we can discount what the following scholars write. Schweitzer, in spite of his decided bias toward the Hebraic background of Paul, asks: "How ... can we explain the fact that he never makes any use of the passage about the Suffering Servant of the Lord in Isaiah 53?" (Paul and His Interpreters, p.47). W.L. Knox states: "S. Paul never makes any Messi-

charts which follow we have given the precise number and classification of the Pauline citations. Actually there can be no definite limitation. Whereas on the one hand we have citations which are recognized at once as such by their substantial or verbatim agreement with the LXX, on the other hand there are passages in which the occurrence of verbal similarity can only be regarded as coincidental and which therefore ought not to be regarded as citations at all.

Criticism becomes unduly mechanical when the attempt is made to draw a clear line of distinction between various types of citations such as the definite, the virtual, the implicit, and the reminiscent. We have abstained in what follows from making more than a dual division, discriminating only between the formal citations, where the intent to quote is indicated by the use of a formula of introduction, and the implicit citations. Neither group can be set forth with more than an approximate degree of completeness. In dealing with the former it is difficult to discern whether

5. (cont.) anic use of this prophecy.... It seems clear that this identification of Our Lord with the Righteous Servant of Isaiah 53 is an element of non-Pauline Christianity, which represents the outlook of the most primitive period of the Church and which S. Paul deliberately avoids" (St. Paul and the Church of Jerusalem, p.16, n.23). More recently Brandon has expressed a point of view similar to that of Knox. He writes: "There is evidence that the Jewish Christians saw in the Passion and Death of Jesus the fulfilment of Isaiah's prophecy of the Suffering Servant of God. But this interpretation of Jesus curiously finds no place in Paul's theology" (The Fall of Jerusalem and the Christian Church, p.68).

or not conjunctions such as $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho$, $\alpha\lambda\lambda'$ and $\kappa\alpha\iota\acute{\epsilon}$ were assumed by the apostle to be rubrics for introducing quotations; in dealing with the latter the combination of all collateral evidence of both the Pauline and the O.T. texts does not enable us to establish whether the reference is manifestly a deliberate recalling of the O.T. phrasing or a mere unconscious allusion. Often there is a large number of possible O.T. passages from which a reference could be taken. Rather than multiply references at these points for purposes of illustration, we have given in the case of identical references only the first in which it occurs, and in the case of similar references only the most likely of the passages. A combination of references must, however, sometimes be given in order to represent all the elements in a citation. Thus an attempt has been made, by sacrificing some of the references, to pare down the following charts to an irreducible core. We have not attempted in our charts to display those references to the O.T. which are ostensibly Pauline paraphrases, such as Gal. 4:22, nor have we laboured to show the manifold use Paul makes of O.T. imagery, such as the phrase "the day of the Lord".⁶

6. I Th. 5:2; I Cor. 1:8; II Cor. 1:14, etc.

B. Tables Showing Scriptural Citations.1) Pauline Citations and the O.T. Texts.a) Formal Citations.

<u>N.T.</u>	<u>O.T.</u>	<u>Formula</u>
Rom.:		
1:17	Hab. 2:4	κ. γ. (καθὼς γέγραπται)
2:24	Is. 52:5	κ. γ.
3:4a	Ps. 116:11	καθ' ἄπερ γ.
3:4b	Ps. 51:4	κ. γ. ὅτι
3:10-2	Ps. 14:1-3	
3:13a	Ps. 5:9	
3:13b	Ps. 140:3	
3:14	Ps. 10:7	
3:15-7	Is. 59:7-8	
3:18	Ps. 36:1	
4:3, 9, 22	Gen. 15:6	Ἰδί γὰρ ἡ γραφή λέγει
4:7-8	Ps. 32:1-2	Δαυὶδ λέγει
4:17	Gen. 17:5	κ. γ. ὅτι
4:18	Gen. 15:5	καὶ τὰ ἰσχυρὰ μὲν οὐκ
7:7	Dt. 5:21	ὁ νόμος ἐδέχθη
8:36	Ps. 44:22	κ. γ. ὅτι
9:7	Gen. 21:12	ἄλλ'
9:9	Gen. 18:10	ἐπαγγέλλεται γὰρ ὁ
9:12	Gen. 25:23	λόγος οὗτος
9:13	Mal. 1:2, 3	ἐρρέθη αὐτῇ ὅτι
9:15	Ex. 33:19	καθ' ἄπερ γ.
9:17	Ex. 9:16	Ἰὼ Μωϋσεί γὰρ λέγει
9:25	Nos. 2:23	λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή
9:26	Nos. 1:10	ἐν τῷ ἰσχυρῷ λέγει
9:27-8	Is. 10:22-3	Ἡ σακίαι κράζεις
9:29	Is. 1:9	κ. προσέρχεται Ἡ σακίαι
9:33	Is. 8:14, 28:16	κ. γ.
10:5	Lev. 18:5	Μωϋσῆς γὰρ γράφει
10:6-9	Dt. 30:12-4	ἄλλ' ἴδ' ἵδ' λέγει
10:11	Is. 28:16	λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή
10:13	Jl. 2:32	γὰρ
10:15	Is. 52:7	καθ' ἄπερ γ.
10:16	Is. 53:1	Ἡ σακίαι γὰρ λέγει
10:18	Ps. 19:4	μενοῦν γέ
10:19	Dt. 32:21	Μωϋσῆς λέγει
10:20-1	Is. 65:1-2	Ἡ σακίαι λέγει
11:3-4	IK. 19:10, 18	Ἰδί λέγει ἡ γραφή: ...
		Ἰδί λέγει ἐν τῷ ἰσχυρῷ
11:8	Dt. 29:4, Is. 29:10	Ἡ σακίαι λέγει
11:9-10	Ps. 69:22-3	καθ' ἄπερ γ.
		Δαυὶδ λέγει

Rom. :

11:26-7	Is. 59:20-1, 27:9	κ· γ·
11:34	Is. 40:13	Υ· ἄ· ρ·
11:35	Job 41:11	[Υ· ἄ· ρ·
12:19	Dt. 32:35	Υ· γ· ἄ· ρ·
12:20	Pr. 25:21-2	Δ· Δ· Δ· ρ·
13:9a	Dt. 5:17-9, 21	Ι· Ο· Υ· ἄ· ρ·
13:9b	Lev. 19:18	Ξ· Υ· Ι· Ὡ· Δ· Ο· Υ· Ὡ· Ι· Ο· Ὡ· Τ· Ὡ·
		Δ· Υ· Α· Δ· Ε· Φ· Α· Δ· ρ· Λ· Ο· Ὡ· Τ· Ε· ς·
14:11	Is. 49:18, 45:23	Υ· γ· ἄ· ρ·
15:3	Ps. 69:9	κ· γ·
15:9	Ps. 18:49	κ· γ·
15:10	Dt. 32:43	Π· Δ· Δ· Λ· Υ· Δ· Ε· Υ· Ε· ς·
15:11	Ps. 117:1	Π· ε· Δ· Λ· Υ·
15:12	Is. 11:10	Π· ρ· Δ· Λ· Υ· Η· Σ· Α· Ἰ· Α· ς· Δ· Ε· Υ· Ε· ς·
15:21	Is. 52:15	κ· γ·

I Cor. :

1:19	Is. 29:14	Υ· γ· ἄ· ρ·
1:31	Jer. 9:24	κ· γ·
2:9	Is. 64:4	κ· γ·
2:16	Is. 40:13	Υ· ἄ· ρ·
3:19	Job 5:13	Υ· γ· ἄ· ρ·
3:20	Ps. 94:11	Π· Δ· Δ· Λ· Υ·
6:16	Gen. 2:24	Φ· Η· Σ· Ι· Υ·
9:9	Dt. 25:4	Ξ· Υ· Υ· ἄ· ρ· Ι· Ὡ· Μ· Ω· Ὡ· Σ· Ε· Ω· ς·
		Υ· ὁ· μ· Ὡ· γ·
10:5	Num. 14:16	Υ· ἄ· ρ·
10:7	Ex. 32:6	Ὡ· σ· π· ε· ρ· γ·
10:26	Ps. 24:1	Υ· ἄ· ρ·
14:21	Is. 28:11-2	Ξ· Υ· Ι· Ὡ· Υ· ὁ· μ· Ὡ· γ· ὁ· ἰ· ς·
15:3	Is. 53:12	κ· α· τ· ἰ· ἄ· Ι· ἰ· ς· Υ· ρ· α· φ· ἄ· ς·
15:4	Hos. 6:2	κ· α· τ· ἰ· ἄ· Ι· ἰ· ς· Υ· ρ· α· φ· ἄ· ς·
15:27	Ps. 8:6	Υ· ἄ· ρ·
15:45	Gen. 2:7	ο· Ὡ· τ· Ὡ· ς· α· ρ· ἰ· γ·
15:54	Is. 25:8	Ι· ὁ· ἰ· ε· Υ· ε· ν· ἦ· σ· ε· ἰ· α· λ· ὁ·
		Δ· ὁ· γ· ο· ς· ὁ· Υ· ε· γ· ρ· α· μ· μ· ε· ν· ο· ς·
15:55	Hos. 13:14	[

II Cor. :

4:6	Gen. 1:3	ὁ· θε· ὁ· ς· ὁ· ε· ἰ· π· Ὡ· ν·
4:13	Ps. 116:10	κ· α· τ· ἰ· ἄ· Ι· ὁ· Υ· ε· γ· ρ· α· μ· μ· ε· ν· ο· ν·
6:2	Is. 49:8	Δ· Ε· Υ· Ε· ς· Υ· ἄ· ρ·
6:16	Lev. 26:11-2	κ· ε· ἰ· π· ε· ν· ὁ· θε· ὁ· ς·
6:17	Is. 52:11	Δ· Ε· Υ· Ε· ς· κ· Ὡ· ρ· λ· ο· ς·
6:18	IIS. 7:14	Δ· Ε· Υ· Ε· ς· κ· Ὡ· ρ· λ· ο· ς·
8:15	Ex. 16:18	κ· γ·
9:9	Ps. 112:9	κ· γ·

Gal.:
 3:8 Gen.18:18
 3:10 Dt.27:26
 3:11 Hab.2:4
 3:12 Lev.18:5
 3:13 Dt.21:23
 3:16 Gen.22:17-8
 4:27 Is.54:1
 4:30 Gen.21:10
 5:14 Lev.19:18

ἡ γραφή... προσηγγε-
 λίσσαιο
 γ· γ· ρ
 ο· ι· λ·
 ε· δ· δ·
 ο· ι· λ· γ·
 οὐ λέγεις... ε· δ· λ·
 γ· γ· ρ
 οὐ λέγεις ἡ γραφή·
 οὐ γὰρ πᾶς νόμος
 πεπδηρωτικὸς ἐν τῷ

Eph.:
 4:8 Ps.68:18
 6:2-3 Dt.5:16

δ· οὐ λέγεις
 ἡ τῆς ἐστίν ἐν τῷ δ·

I Tim.:
 5:18 Dt.25:4

λέγεις γὰρ ἡ γραφή

b) Implicit Citations.

<u>N.T.</u>	<u>O.T.</u>	<u>N.T.</u>	<u>O.T.</u>
Rom. :		Eph. :	
1:23	Ps. 106:20	1:20	Ps. 110:1b
2:6	Ps. 62:12	1:22	Ps. 8:6
4:11	Gen. 17:11	2:13,17	Is. 57:19
4:25	Is. 53:12	2:20	Is. 28:16
5:5	Ps. 22:5	4:26	Ps. 4:5
8:3	Is. 53:10	5:2	Ex. 29:18
8:33	Is. 50:8-9	5:31	Gen. 2:24
8:34	Ps. 110:1a	6:14,15,17	Is. 11:5,59:17, 52:7,49:2
9:18	Ex. 4:21		
9:20-1	Is. 29:16		
11:1-2	Ps. 94:14	Phil. :	
		1:19	Job 13:16
I Cor. :		2:7-8	Is. 53:12
5:13	Dt. 17:7	2:9	Is. 52:13
10:6	Num. 11:34	2:11	Is. 45:23
10:20	Dt. 32:17	2:15	Dt. 32:5
10:21	Mal. 1:7	2:16	Is. 49:4
10:22	Dt. 32:21	4:3	Ps. 69:28
11:7	Gen. 1:27	4:18	Ex. 29:18
11:25	Jer. 31:31		
15:25	Ps. 110:1b	Col. :	
15:32	Is. 22:13	2:22	Is. 29:13
		3:1	Ps. 110:1a
II Cor. :		3:10	Gen. 1:27
3:3	Pr. 3:3		
3:6	Jer. 31:31	I Th. :	
3:7-16	Ex. 34:29-35	5:8	Is. 59:17
3:18	Ex. 24:17		
6:9	Ps. 118:17-8	II Th. :	
10:17	Jer. 9:24	2:8	Is. 11:4
11:3	Gen. 3:4		
13:1	Dt. 19:15	I Tim. :	
		5:19	Dt. 19:15
Gal. :			
1:15	Is. 49:1	II Tim. :	
3:6	Gen. 15:6	2:19a	Num. 16:5
6:16	Ps. 125:5	2:19b	Is. 26:13
		4:14	Ps. 62:12

c) Statistical Tabulation.

	<u>Formal</u>	<u>Duplicate</u>	<u>Total Citations</u>
Rom.	53	11	64
I Cor.	18	9	27
II Cor.	8	8	16
Gal.	9	3	12
Eph.	2	8	10
Phil.		8	8
Col.		3	3
I Th.		1	1
II Th.		1	1
I Tim.	1	1	2
II Tim.		3	3
	<u>91</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>147</u>

2) O.T. Texts and the Pauline Citations.

<u>O.T.</u>	<u>N.T.</u>	<u>O.T.</u>	<u>N.T.</u>
Gen.:		Num.:	
1:3	IICor. 4:6	11:34	ICor. 10:6
1:27	ICor. 11:7, Col. 3:10	14:16	ICor. 10:5
2:24	ICor. 6:16, Eph. 5:31	16:5	IITim. 2:19a
3:4	IICor. 11:3		
15:5	Rom. 4:18	Dt.:	
15:6	Rom. 4:3, 9, 22, Gal. 3:6	5:16	Eph. 6:2-3
17:5	Rom. 4:17	5:17-9,	Rom. 7:7, 13:9a
17:11	Rom. 4:11	21	
18:10	Rom. 9:9	17:7	ICor. 5:13
18:18	Gal. 3:8	19:15	IICor. 13:1, ITim. 5:19
21:10	Gal. 4:30	21:23	Gal. 3:13
21:12	Rom. 9:7	25:4	ICor. 9:9, ITim. 5:18
22:17-8	Gal. 3:16	27:26	Gal. 3:10
25:23	Rom. 9:12	29:4	Rom. 11:8
		30:12-4	Rom. 10:6-9
Ex.:		32:5	Phil. 2:15
4:21	Rom. 9:18	32:17	ICor. 10:20
9:16	Rom. 9:17	32:21	Rom. 10:19, ICor. 10:22
16:18	IICor. 8:15	32:35	Rom. 12:19
24:17	IICor. 3:18	32:43	Rom. 15:10
29:18	Eph. 5:2, Phil. 4:18		
32:6	ICor. 10:7	II S.:	
33:19	Rom. 9:15	7:14	IICor. 6:18
34:29-35	IICor. 3:7-16		
Lev.:		I K.:	
18:5	Rom. 10:5, Gal. 3:12	19:10, 18	Rom. 11:3-4
19:18	Rom. 13:9b, Gal. 5:14		
26:11-2	IICor. 6:16		

Job:		Is.:	
5:13	ICor. 3:19	28:11-2	ICor. 14:21
13:16	Phil. 1:19	28:16	Rom. 9:33, 10:11,
41:11	Rom. 11:35		Eph. 2:20
		29:10	Rom. 11:8
Ps.:		29:13	Col. 2:22
4:5	Eph. 4:26	29:14	ICor. 1:19
5:9	Rom. 3:13a	29:16	Rom. 9:20-1
8:6	ICor. 15:27, Eph. 1:22	40:13	Rom. 11:34, ICor. 2:16
10:7	Rom. 3:14	45:23	Rom. 14:11, Phil. 2:11
14:1-3	Rom. 3:10-2	49:1	Gal. 1:15
18:49	Rom. 15:9	49:2	Eph. 6:17
19:4	Rom. 10:18	49:4	Phil. 2:16
22:5	Rom. 5:5	49:8	IICor. 6:2
24:1	ICor. 10:26	49:18	Rom. 14:11
32:1-2	Rom. 4:7-8	50:8-9	Rom. 8:33
36:1	Rom. 3:18	52:5	Rom. 2:24
44:22	Rom. 8:36	52:7	Rom. 10:15, Eph. 6:15
51:4	Rom. 3:4b	52:11	IICor. 6:17
62:12	Rom. 2:6, ITim. 4:14	52:13	Phil. 2:9
68:18	Eph. 4:8	52:15	Rom. 15:21
69:9	Rom. 15:3	53:1	Rom. 10:16
69:22-3	Rom. 11:9-10	53:10	Rom. 8:3
69:28	Phil. 4:3	53:12	Rom. 4:25, ICor. 15:3,
94:11	ICor. 3:20		Phil. 2:7-8
94:14	Rom. 11:1-2	54:1	Gal. 4:27
106:20	Rom. 1:23	57:19	Eph. 2:13, 17
110:1a	Rom. 8:34, Col. 3:1	59:7-8	Rom. 3:15-7
110:1b	ICor. 15:25, Eph. 1:20	59:17	Eph. 6:14, 17, ITh. 5:8
112:9	IICor. 9:9	59:20-1	Rom. 11:26
116:10	IICor. 4:13	64:4	ICor. 2:9
116:11	Rom. 3:4a	65:1-2	Rom. 10:20-1
117:1	Rom. 15:11		
118:17-8	IICor. 6:9	Jer.:	
125:5	Gal. 6:16	9:24	ICor. 1:31, IICor. 10:17
140:3	Rom. 3:13b	31:31	ICor. 11:25, IICor. 3:6
Pr.:		Hos.:	
3:3	IICor. 3:3	1:10	Rom. 9:26
25:21-2	Rom. 12:20	2:23	Rom. 9:25
		6:2	ICor. 15:4
Is.:		13:14	ICor. 15:55
1:9	Rom. 9:29		
8:14	Rom. 9:33	Jl.:	
10:22-3	Rom. 9:27-8	2:32	Rom. 10:13
11:4	IITh. 2:8		
11:5	Eph. 6:14	Hab.:	
11:10	Rom. 15:12	2:4	Rom. 1:17, Gal. 3:11
22:13	ICor. 15:32		
25:8	ICor. 15:54	Mal.:	
26:13	IITh. 2:19b	1:2, 3	Rom. 9:13
27:9	Rom. 11:27	1:7	ICor. 10:21

C. Manner of Citation.

Before we present the conclusions to which the above tabulations immediately lead us, we must give a word of warning. In some discussions of Paul's use of the O.T. only his citations are considered as evidence of the part that the O.T. played in his thought. But citations are sometimes poor indications of the influence a source has had upon a Biblical writer. For example, Revelation and the Thessalonian epistles do not have a single formal quotation from the O.T., yet O.T. apocalyptic imagery abounds in these works to an extent unparalleled in the rest of the N.T.

There is an unequal distribution of the citations. Whereas several epistles are practically without any citations, 9% of the text of Romans is composed of them. In this letter there are, on the average, two citations per page of Nestle's text. Furthermore Rom. 9-11 has almost as many formal citations as there are in all the other chapters of the epistle. What explanation can be given of the significant fact that certain of Paul's letters have a concentration of formal citations, whereas half of his letters are totally lacking in such quotations? We can hardly deduce that he avoided proving Christian dogma from Scripture in letters addressed to predominantly Gentile communities, for the first four letters of the Pauline corpus, which contain 97% of his total formal citations, are addressed to churches in which converts from paganism were probably in the majority.

Rather we accept the opinion which Bonsirven expresses with regard to this:

Les différences doivent donc s'expliquer, non par la qualité des destinataires, mais par la nature des sujets abordés.... L'Apôtre utilise l'argument scripturaire avant tout dans ce que nous appellerons les expositions ou les démonstrations contentieuses, celles où il établit une doctrine qui s'oppose aux prétentions juives ou qui paraît en désaccord avec l'Ancien Testament: il fallait prévenir à la fois les contradictions de la part des Juifs et les objections que les chrétiens, lisant souvent la Bible, auraient pu, de leur côté, soulever.⁷

We need do no more than glance at the apostle's use of formulae. Although we have separated his citations into two classes according as a formula is or is not used to introduce them, we admit that it is unwarranted to think that Paul was conscious of any appreciable difference in authority between these classes. For example, he quotes from Gen. 15:⁶ in Gal. 3:6 and in Rom. 4:3, but in the former epistle he fails to preface his quotation with an introductory formula; yet the quotation apparently bears the same weight of authority in both epistles. Thus we can say little more than that Paul employs a formula to make it obvious that he is preparing to present an idea from Scripture rather than one from his own mind. Turpie⁸ produced an elaborate study of the N.T. formulae, attempting to read subtle technical meanings into the usages which he classifies. It is hardly an overstatement to say that his distinctions are nonsensical: the N.T. writers intended the force of their argument to rest on the citations themselves rather than on the literary forms of the rubrics. It will

7. Bonsirven, *op.cit.*, pp.292-3.

8. Turpie, The New Testament View of the Old.

suffice to remark here that the formulae are the customary ones found in rabbinic literature,⁹ although the variety of Paul's formulae can be contrasted with the monotony of those found in rabbinics.¹⁰ Conspicuous by its absence is the formula $\zeta' \nu \alpha (\delta' \pi \omega \varsigma) \pi \lambda \eta \rho \omega \theta \eta$ ¹¹ which the author of Matthew uses on a dozen occasions. Perhaps Paul consciously avoids this formula because it lends itself to the narrow conception of pious fortunetelling.¹² His most common formula is $(\kappa \alpha \theta' \omega \varsigma) \chi \acute{\epsilon} \gamma \rho \alpha \pi \iota \alpha \varsigma$, which serves to introduce over one-third of his formal citations.

Occasionally separate O.T. passages are brought together to provide a chain of reasoning. The classical example of this is found in Rom. 3:10-18, but there are other notable instances of it in Rom. 11:25-29, 15:9-12, and in II Cor. 6:16-18. Paul doubtless carried over this technique from his rabbinic training. Edersheim reminds us that "a favourite method [In homiletics] was that which derived its

9. Cf. Metzger, "The Formulas Introducing Quotations of Scripture in the NT and in the Mishnah" in J.B.L., LXX, pp.297ff.; and Michel, op.cit., pp.69-71.

10. Bonsirven, op.cit., p.344.

11. This verb is found in the Pauline corpus as an introductory formula only in Gal.5:14.

12. We note in Matthew a tendency to consider prophecy as history written in advance. Exact correspondences between the O.T. forecast and the N.T. event are cleverly made. E.g. Herod's persecution of the male children in Bethlehem (Mt.2:16ff.) and the payment of 30 pieces of silver to Judas (Mt.27:3ff.) are regarded as fulfilments of O.T. prophecies (Jer.31:15 and Ec.11:12f.). Paul does not search the prophets on the outlook for such incidental and trivial similarities; we cannot charge him with having treated the O.T. prophecies as dark riddles, or as precise blueprints of future events.

name from the stringing together of pearls (Charaz), when a preacher, having quoted a passage or section from the Pentateuch, strung on to it another and like-sounding, or really similar, from the Prophets and the Hagiographa".¹³ However only in II Cor. 6:16-18 does Paul begin with a quotation from the Pentateuch and then add other quotations from the Prophets.

The passages just mentioned are not the only ones in which Paul assembles O.T. texts to further his arguments. As regards this Weizsäcker writes as follows:

Paul ... collected ... verses in their logical sequence to support certain ... extended doctrines; ... they served the purpose of a scheme for the development of his ideas; and ... in the order he has assigned them they form an outline of the train of thought. If we compare the quotations in Rom. 1:17, 3:10ff., 4:3,7ff.,17,18,25, with those in Gal. 3:6, 8,10,11,12,13,16, we see that we have here a combination which, apart from a certain liberty of selection in the less important points, is identical in both cases, and was intended to prove the righteousness of faith as divinely ordained, the impossibility of a righteousness through the law, and the deliverance from the law by the death of Christ. Take the verses out of their context, i.e. from the argument, and it will be found that by themselves they furnish thesis, antithesis, and solution -- in other words, the outline of the Apostle's doctrine on the subject. The connection is interrupted in the letter to the Romans by episodic arguments, but the resumption of the proof is still clearly marked. Now, we cannot doubt that this Scriptural proof was not arranged for the first time during the composition of the letters. The Apostle had prepared it for general purposes, and only brought it forward in his epistles as occasion required. It is evident therefore that he had composed a kind of doctrinal system in this form for didactic purposes. Another example is contained in the argument in Rom. 9-11. From 9:1 to 11:10 (cf. besides 11:26ff.) the whole

13. Edersheim, The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah, I, p.449.

passage reads like a mosaic of texts connected by short explanations.... Here also Paul has evidently employed a piece of his Biblical theology which, no doubt, he had often enough occasion to apply. But the compilation was certainly not made expressly for the present letter.¹⁴

Sometimes we find several quotations inextricably fused together. All instances of such conflation are in Romans: 9:33, 11:8,26-27, and 14:11. Johnson¹⁵ assembles many passages from Greek writers to witness that composite quotations were common in the ancient world.

The implicit citations are often so worked into the texture of the passages in which they are made that to the cursory reader they appear to be the apostle's own words. Those passages from the O.T. which Paul has inserted at a number of places in his epistles without any announcement whatever that they are citations, can only be detected by a careful comparison of the Hebrew and LXX texts of the O.T. with the Greek text of the N.T. They remind us that Scripture often provided his idiom; his thoughts were so thoroughly saturated with the O.T. that it was impossible for him to write with freedom without adapting the O.T. phraseology to convey his message.

It is only as we realize the extent to which the O.T. coloured and moulded the diction of the apostle through its having become firmly fixed in his memory that we understand his license in the matter of Scriptural citations.

¹⁴. Weizsäcker, The Apostolic Age, I, pp.132-3.

¹⁵. Johnson, P., The Quotations of the New Testament from the Old, pp.93-101.

Memory is notoriously fallacious. F.H. Woods shows that while Paul may have copied his quotations from the Pentateuch and the Psalms, he probably quoted from the Prophets memoriter. He writes of the apostle's use of the LXX:

In Ro, out of 31 quotations from Pent. and Ps, only 9 are not practically exact; ... out of 22 quotations from hist. and proph. books only 3 are exact. In I Co, out of 9 quotations from Pent. and Ps, 4 are exact; out of 9 from hist. and proph. books, only one.¹⁶

Paul's preference for citations from the poetical sections of Scripture may be due in part to the fact that poetry is easier to commit to memory than prose. The lyrical texture of his writings is largely to be attributed to the fact that the poetical books, being closely woven into the pattern of his thought, provided him with typical modes of expression.

There are several contributing reasons why accuracy in quotation was not of cardinal importance to Paul. Verbal exactness was not the habit of ancient writers. Their lack of precision in making quotations was due to the difficulty of verifying references. Having no indexes, concordances, or chapter or verse indications, they would have found it time consuming to trace a reference through the columns of an unwieldy scroll. Even the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, who is noted for his fairly accurate quotations, gave up his search on one occasion and wrote, "It has been testified somewhere"¹⁷, on citing an O.T. passage. Johnson¹⁸ gives

¹⁶. F.H. Woods, "Quotations" in H.D.B., IV, p.187.

¹⁷. Heb.2:6.

¹⁸. Johnson, op.cit., pp.32-42.

quotations from Plato, Aristotle, and Seneca to indicate that classical writers did not strictly adhere to the original words when they quote^d. Also the synagogue practice of having an interpreter to translate the Hebrew into the common language helps us to understand the freedom allowed in quoting. Edersheim writes:

So long as the substance of the text was given correctly, the Methurgeman might paraphrase for better popular understanding.... It is but natural to suppose that the Methurgeman would prepare himself for his work by such materials as he would find at hand, among which, of course, the translation of the LXX, would hold a prominent place. This may in part account alike for the employment of the LXX, and for its Targumic modifications, in the New Testament quotations.¹⁹

We can therefore attribute a large measure of the apostle's license in quoting the O.T. to the fact that he both translated on his own from Hebrew Scripture and adopted the Septuagintal translation. Paul's use of Scripture was thus similar to that of Josephus. Thackeray writes of the latter: "He has employed at least two forms of Biblical text, one Semitic -- whether the original Hebrew or Aramaic, for there are indications in places that he is dependent on an early Targum -- the other Greek".²⁰ That Paul makes voluminous use of the LXX has long since been shown by Kautzsch's²¹ detailed study. He has called attention to the fact that over one-third of the apostle's formal citations exhibit a precise verbal agreement with the LXX, and that the great

19. Edersheim, op.cit., I, p.445.

20. H. St. J. Thackeray in Josephus (Page, ed.), IV, p.xii.

21. Kautzsch, De Veteris Testamenti locis a Paulo apostolo allegatis.

majority deviate from the LXX so little that a knowledge of the LXX rendering is to be presupposed. The apostle even feels free to accompany the Greek version when it departs from the Hebrew if the former rendering suits his purpose better. An outstanding case in point is the citation from Is. 52:5 in Rom. 2:24. Here Paul follows in substance the LXX interpolation which radically changes the thought of Isaiah by adding the phrases $\delta\iota\ \acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ and $\epsilon\upsilon\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \epsilon\prime\theta\upsilon\epsilon\sigma\iota\upsilon$.

Although we acknowledge that Paul was heavily indebted to the LXX for his citations, we cannot acquiesce in the contention of Vollmer²² and Weiss²³ that Paul uses only the LXX. The apostle does not scruple when quoting from the LXX to make such revisions as seem to him to bring out the nuance of the original more faithfully. Puukko²⁴ has shown by careful criticism how Paul's knowledge of the Hebrew helped him to correct faulty renderings of the LXX in Rom. 11:3-4, 35, I Cor. 3:19, 14:21, 15:54, and in Gal. 3:13. The apostle's alteration without explanation of the version of Scripture authorized for use among the Greek-speaking Jews, can be accounted for by realizing what importance he placed on his letters. He must have visualized their scope as limited to a particular area and date; he cannot have dreamed that he was writing what was destined to become Holy Scripture. Otherwise he would almost certainly have shown a greater concern for correctness in citation.

22. Vollmer, Die alttestamentlichen Zitate bei Paulus, pp.10-3.

23. Weiss, The History of Primitive Christianity, I, p.436.

24. Puukko, "Paulus und das Judentum" in Studia Orientalia, II, pp.54-63. See also Rom. 9:17, 27-8, 10:15.

D. Purpose of Citation.

We shall present in this section the more important findings which result from an exegetical study of the citations which we have tabulated above. Three main purposes for which Paul made these citations may be distinguished. We realize of course that Paul would not have made distinct classification of the purposes for which he employed citations, and that therefore our divisions are little more than academic ones for the treatment of the subject in hand.

1) The Plain, Literal Function.

The vast majority of Paul's citations are used in their simple and obvious sense. That being so, it is not necessary to deal in the course of this thesis with every one of these. We would urge, however, that in many cases the text is to be viewed in the light of the context from which it is taken. Paul is not disposed to give long and sustained quotations such as are to be found in the Epistle to the Hebrews. Rather he selects summarizing sentences from O.T. passages to serve as a bridge to transport the reader's thought to the whole original context. His purpose in using pithy quotations as sign-posts which point to the O.T. passages from which they were drawn may have been to economize on papyrus, or, more probably, that he expected his Jewish readers to share his knowledge of the original context. The following citations exemplify that Paul often culls from an O.T. passage the sentence which gives the writer's develop-

ment in it.

a) Rom. 3:10-17. In verses 10-12 Paul marshals the verdict which summarizes the theme of Ps. 14 (equals Ps. 53); in verse 13a he selects the most striking metaphor used by the writer of Ps. 5 in describing universal wickedness; and in verses 15-17 the apostle gives a graphic excerpt from Is. 59, which chapter is one of the most notable in the O.T. in its account of the sinfulness of mankind.

b) Rom. 5:5. There is found in this verse an implicit citation from Ps. 22:5. Where in the O.T. could Paul have found a better illustration of "rejoicing in tribulation" than in this Psalm which phrased Jesus' cry of anguish on the cross? Not only does he make appropriate passage selection, but also he gives in the fitting words $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu$
 $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \sigma\chi\acute{\upsilon}\nu\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ a pregnant summary of the whole context. He merely strikes the main chord here, expecting that the unfolding of the whole choral will follow in the case of those who live like himself in this Hebrew praise book.

c) Rom. 8:33. A wealth of meaning is given to this verse if we trace its rhetorical questions to their original context, namely Is. 50:8-9. Because writing space was at a premium Paul makes no more than a fleeting reference to this Servant Song, but that was enough to direct the minds of the thoughtful to the tribulation and persecution of the Servant, whose plight is in Rom. 8:35 associated with all who follow in his steps.

d) Rom. 15:3. Paul quotes a sentence from Ps. 69:9 which aptly summarizes both the message of that Psalm and the experiences of Christ. The apostle adduces this cry of distress of a devout Servant of God in order to illustrate that Christ is the anti-type of the Servant who has undergone cruel treatment because of His abiding loyalty to God.

In maintaining that Paul is an expositor of whole contexts rather than a exploiter of isolated texts, we hold a position which is counter to much in modern Biblical scholarship. Critics often approach Paul's quotations from the a priori standpoint that his exegetical principles throughout are rabbinic. His hermeneutics must therefore be exactly the same as that of the rabbis, which Moore describes as, "an atomistic exegesis which interprets sentences, clauses, phrases, and even single words independently of the context or the historical occasion, as divine oracles; combines them with other similarly detached utterances; and makes large use of analogy of expression, often by purely verbal associations!"²⁵

The following passage from Jowett shows that he considers Paul's method to be rabbinic:

The quotations are made almost always without reference to the connection in which they originally occur, and in a different sense from that in which the prophet or psalmist intended them. They are fragments culled out and brought into some new combination; jewels, and precious stones, and corner-stones disposed after a new pattern, to be the ornaments of

²⁵ Moore, Judaism, I, p.248; cf. Bonsirven, op.cit., Part I, pp.11-259, and Farrar, History of Interpretation, pp.47-107.

another temple. It is their place in the new temple, not their relation to the old, which gives them their effect and meaning.²⁶

Denney writes of Paul: "He never cares for the context or original application".²⁷ Thackeray expresses a kindred sentiment: "In his use of the Old Testament St. Paul was thoroughly a child of his time".²⁸ Also Weiss contends: "He is accustomed not to bother himself about the context and original meaning of the words under discussion but values them only in the sense that suits him.... Paul's exposition is entirely surreptitious".²⁹ Thus it is axiomatic with perhaps the majority of modern commentators that the new spirit of Christianity moved freely within the O.T. only by straining and wresting the passages from their natural sense.

In making these unqualified statements the representative scholars just named are unconsciously presenting the Marcion heresy in modern dress, for their assertions can be accepted only if we postulate a fundamental cleavage between the spirit of the O.T. and that of the N.T. We have argued hitherto³⁰ that Paul did not in the main read his Christian experience back into the O.T., but rather unlocked the true interpretation of it with the aid of the prophetic key supplied by Christ. Since it is upon the O.T. that Paul's doctrine relies, we cannot believe that his searching^{of} the

26. Jowett, The Epistles of St. Paul, I, p.402.

27. Denney, J., "Romans" In Expositor's Greek Testament, II, p.600.

28. Thackeray, The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought, p.202.

29. Weiss, op.cit., I, p.436.

30. See pp.24, 55ff.

Scriptures was the product of polemic necessity which forced him to manipulate them so that they spoke his mind. It is as pitifully inane to think that he constructed his dogma from texts excerpted from their context as it is to assume that one may compose a musical masterpiece by selecting a bar at random from an original symphony. That would give only discord.

We do not intend to make the sweeping generalization that Paul never succumbs to the common rabbinic practice of wresting a text from its original meaning. What we do maintain is that generally he was above this petty method of exegesis, since the fundamental difference between Paul the rabbi and Paul the apostle is that in the latter stage of his career he could see beyond the narrow confines of rabbinic exegesis to the whole context of the Heilsgeschichte. Although Paul discarded in theory the rabbinic idiosyncrasies of interpretation, occasionally he falls from his lofty Christian perspective and gives a contorted and far-fetched application of the original text. His rather violent perversion of the true meaning of Is. 28:11-12 in I Cor. 14:21 is a case in point, but perhaps we may venture to claim that it is "the exception which proves the rule".

In Is. 28:11-12 we note that the prophet's simple message was jeered at and spurned since it was considered to be no more than monosyllabic baby-talk. Therefore Isaiah grimly proclaims that God will send strange-tongued Assyrian

invaders to these drunken scoffers, and that they, speaking in harsh accents, will satisfy the fastidious desire of these scoffers for something profound. Paul adduces this citation under the rubric, "It is written in the Law", but this is not in error since ὁ νόμος, like וְכָל־הַתּוֹרָה ³¹ can refer to O.T. revelation in general. Nor does his error lie in his deviation from the LXX, for his translation shows, as Jerome correctly discerned, "Hebraicum de praesenti sumptum capitulo".³² It is his exposition, and it alone, which is illegitimate. Despite Bonsirven's³³ effort to show that this citation is validly used, we must admit that Is. 28:11-12 and I Cor. 14:21 have nothing whatever in common except a reference to extraordinary and unintelligible "tongues".

Having considered what is, in our opinion, the outstanding example of capricious citation in the Pauline corpus, we proceed now to illustrate our contention that the original context often provides the best clue to the thought which Paul is attempting to convey. We have selected one formal citation, found in Rom. 12:20, and one implicit citation, found in Phil. 1:19.

a) Rom. 12:20. Paul enjoins that charity should be shown toward one's enemy since such kindness "will heap burning coals upon his head". The Church Fathers differed in their exposition of this clause.³⁴ Chrysostom found in it an image

31. Cf. Mishnah, Aboth 6:7.

32. Quoted in Swete, op.cit., p.401.

33. Bonsirven, op.cit., p.297.

34. See Gibson, "The Sources of St. Paul's Teaching" in The Expositor, 2nd series, IV, p.128.

of the severe divine punishment which the sinner brings upon himself, whereas Origen and Augustine found in it an Oriental figure of the burning pain of shame and remorse felt by one whose hostility is repaid by love. Had Chrysostom studied the context from which the citation was taken, he would have seen that his interpretation was fanciful, for Pr. 25:15, which is in the same strain as the citation from Pr. 25:21-22, says that "a soft tongue will break a bone".

b) Phil. 1:19. The prisoner Paul, writing at a time when his life was in jeopardy, speaks of the joy he had in knowing that what he was enduring would all turn out εἰς σωτηρίαν. Does σωτηρίαν here mean eternal redemption, triumph over his enemies, or release from captivity? It is difficult to discern the thought that Paul here seeks to express if we study only Phil. 1. But we note that he implicitly refers to Job, for the words τοῦ ὀνόματός ἀποβήσεται εἰς σωτηρίαν are in the exact order in which they occur in the LXX of Job 13:16. We should therefore endeavour to discover the way Job interprets ἡ ὑψίστη. His concept of salvation is a vindication before God which declares him innocent of the charges brought against him by his "comforters" who were mouthpieces of the orthodox theodicy dogma. Paul no doubt felt spiritually akin to Job inasmuch as he too found himself in a similar life or death situation. The parallel between the contexts of Job 13 and Phil. 1 shows us that σωτηρίαν in Phil. 1:19 is best interpreted as vindication of one's cause before God. Paul is

certain of this outcome in spite of the squabbles which are presently raging in the Christian community in the place where he is imprisoned. The following comparison is adroitly made by Michael:

The words of Job ... in their original context express his conviction, based upon his ability and willingness to plead his cause before God, that he will have victory in his argument with the Almighty.... Paul adopts and makes his own the words of Job; in his case, too, the consciousness of integrity -- the feeling that he has been in the right in all that has brought him to his present situation -- is the ground of his hope of vindication. Whether release or execution be his lot he will be vindicated.³⁵

2) The Aesthetic or Rhetorical Function.

O.T. passages being so much a part of Paul's mental furniture, he is often disposed to use them in seeking to give classic expression to his own ideas. Language which is solemn, familiar, and endued with strength and elegance serves as a good conductor for a fresh charge of thought. In literary usage, when a quotation is introduced as decorative embroidery, often what gives it force is the contrast there is between its meaning in the new setting and its original meaning. If we fail to understand this salient principle, some of Paul's citations will strike us as inept. Frequently, when he introduces a Scriptural phrase into his discourse, the apostle has no intention of promulgating the thought of its author. S. Davidson writes of this literary

³⁵. Michael, "Paul and Job: a Neglected Analogy" in The Expository Times, XXXVI, p.68.

usage:

In order to express a sentiment with beauty and force, the New Testament writers sometimes employed expressions which were originally descriptive of other subjects. This is common to all writers. It "is no other than doing what speakers and writers in all ages and countries have done; borrowing a line of poetry or a striking passage of any esteemed author, which conveys in peculiarly impressive language a sentiment, which is, in a pleasing or instructive manner, applicable to the new occasion. Such felicitous citations from admired authors are made every day with excellent effect; while neither the speaker nor the hearer ever once imagines, that the original writer contemplated this new application" (Dr. Fye Smith on the Principles of Prophetic Interpretation p.51).³⁶

We now proceed to consider some outstanding examples of the rhetorical usage of Scripture in the Pauline corpus.

a) Rom. 10:6-9. In addressing himself specifically to the problems arising out of his doctrine of the fulfilment of Israel's hope in the Church, Paul borrows several phrases from Dt. 30:12-14 to express his own ideas. Perhaps these words which the Deuteronomic writer ascribes to Moses had become proverbial,³⁷ for they eloquently declare that obedience to the law is not oppressive. But here assuredly the apostle does not make the O.T. his authority. This is proved by the fact that he introduces the Scriptural phrases with the rubric, "The righteousness based on faith says", which, by way of implication, is contrasted to the authoritative words of Moses cited in Rom. 10:5. In other words, Paul here compares the opposing voices of legalism and Christianity. Moreover the

³⁶. Davidson, S., Sacred Hermeneutics, p.479.

³⁷. See Baruch 3:29ff.

explanatory phrases and the substituted language in the citation ("who will descend into the abyss?" for "who will go over the sea for us?") show that he is making no attempt to convey faithfully the purport of Dt. 30. Rather his acumen leads him to see that he can palatably serve a truth to the Jews by appropriating revered ancient words so as to convey the very opposite of their original sense. The truth he is keen to present is this: it is the Christian and not the legalistic way of life which is easy to attain.

b) Rom. 10:18. Here in citing Ps. 19:4 Paul garbles the original meaning. The theme of Ps. 19:1-6 is the testimony which Nature bears to the glory of God; this divine handiwork has no speech, yet it daily declares to all the world the majesty of its Creator. Paul uses the language of this passage in recording the fact that Christianity is being proclaimed universally. It is probable that he is not using the citation as proof, but is merely taking over its words to express in classic form his own sentiment.

c) I Cor. 15:55. The meaning which Paul here imposes on Hos. 13:14 is diametrically opposed to its original meaning: the personified triumph of Death becomes the triumph over Death. Paul makes verbal use of the citation, adapting this passage of exalted Hebrew poetry so as to allow the Christian kerygma to surge through it.

d) Eph. 4:8. In Ps. 68:18 the psalmist pictures Yahweh playing the rôle of an earthly conqueror. He ascends Mount Zion to dwell again in His temple when the Israelites

return from Babylon.³⁸ Like a military victor He is paid homage by a train of vanquished foes who bring Him spoil from their citadel. In quoting this verse Paul makes several significant departures from the original Hebrew, which the LXX translates literally. In place of the LXX phrase, ἔδωκεν βεσ δόματα ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ, the Pauline text reads, ἔδωκεν δόματα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. Furthermore the tense of the verbs throughout the quotation are changed from the second to third person. It is quite unlikely that the apostle himself made these alterations, for it would have been sheer hoodwinking to alter radically the original text and then in verse 11 to make deductions from the changed wording of the text. It would appear that he has followed the Targumic version which seems to have read $\rho \zeta \delta$ instead of $\delta \rho \zeta$.³⁹ In this Aramaic paraphrase the verse refers to Moses' ascent of Mount Sinai, at which time he gave the gift of the Law to men.⁴⁰ Paul recalls the passage in this form which was familiar to him to illustrate the ascension of Christ and His bestowal of the fruits of His victory upon the Church. The apostle does not make the citation to

38. Driver ("Notes on Three Passages in St. Paul's Epistles" in The Expositor, 3rd series, IX, p.21) writes: "The Psalm, as may fairly be inferred from verse 4, 'cast up a way for him that rideth through the deserts', was written in view of the approaching return of the people from Babylon (com. Is. 40:3 'Make straight in the desert a high way for our God'; also 57:14, 62:10...); and its buoyant and jubilant tone is an echo, no doubt, of the feelings evoked among patriotic Israelites by the prospect of deliverance".

39. Abbot, Ephesians and Colossians, p.112.

40. Strack and Billerbeck, Kommentar, III, p.596.

help forward an argument that Christ has ascended; rather he uses it to convey in a poetical manner the truth that the charisma has been released for all men because of the triumph of Christ. A further reason for not appealing to this text as demonstrative proof may lie in the fact that the Jews did not consider this Psalm to be Messianic.⁴¹

The above examples indicate that Paul is not unwilling to treat Scripture purely as a literary medium for the expression of his thoughts. It should, however, be emphasized that he considers the O.T. more as sacred history than as sacred literature, and that therefore this use of quotations from it is with him definitely secondary.

3) The Existential Function.

The term "existential" has been chosen to serve in the headline of this section because it suggests a parallel between the exposition of Paul and that of some neo-orthodox theologians of our era. In particular Barth, in his revolutionary Epistle to the Romans, gives an existential type of exposition inasmuch as he is mainly interested in imparting contemporary relevance to the deep-lying Biblical issues. It would be futile to study this work of Barth with a view to finding what Paul had in mind when he wrote Romans. Yet it is gratuitous to maintain that Barth is seeking the apostolic blessing for propositions which he has concocted himself. There is at least as much Biblical

⁴¹ Cf. Ibid., III, pp. 596-8.

truth in this book as is to be found in the commentaries of strict grammatico-historical critics, even though we may feel that Barth could often have found Scriptural passages more appropriate to his argument than the ones he adduces. Indeed it would be difficult to read Barth's exposition without coming to the conclusion that his thoughts are soaked in the vital ideas of the Bible. Paul also inclines at times to raise the sweep of his view above the immediate scene of a particular Scriptural passage and to see the universal principles to which it points. Neither the apostle nor Barth is sailing under false colours, disguising his own opinions under the authoritative banner of the "Word of God". Rather both lift texts completely above their littleness and narrowness in order that the full effulgence of prophetic religion may shine on them. What Duncan writes of Paul is therefore true of Barth: "For him the true meaning of any passage was to be found, not within the narrow limits of its historical context, but in relation to the eternal truths of divine revelation".⁴² By showing that Paul's attitude toward Scripture is mirrored in the hermeneutics of one of the most notable contemporary theologians, we hope to disarm a prejudice which treats the exegesis of Barth with favour, but considers that of Paul to be outmoded. Both men are compelled by the on-marching Heilsgeschichte to read out a present day exposition which soars far beyond what the original writer intended.

⁴². Duncan, Galatians, pp. 94-5.

In interpreting the O.T. from the standpoint of its truest fulfilment, Paul displays an insight of immense value which modern scholarship is now rediscovering. Dodd argues that Biblical critics should appreciate the worthy manner in which the N.T. writers give interpretations which are an organic outgrowth of the original thought. He writes:

It is a part of what constitutes the quality of greatness in literature that it perpetuates itself by unfolding ever new richness of unsuspected meaning as time goes on. The ultimate significance of prophecy is not only what it meant for its author, but what it came to mean for those who stood within the tradition which he founded or promoted, and who lived under the impact of the truth he declared. It is a thoroughly unhistorical proceeding to attempt to read the biblical documents as if they were (let us say) newly discovered Ugaritic texts, coming to us out of a forgotten age, across an unbridged chasm of time. They have had a continuous life within the community to which they belong, and belonged from the first, in its changing forms, Israelite, Jewish and Christian. The Old Testament Scriptures formed part of the daily environment of the writers of the New Testament, as the writings of both testaments form part of our own daily environment in the Christian Church. The meaning of the writings cannot remain static while the life to which they belong changes with the centuries.⁴³

We shall briefly discuss several of Paul's citations which exemplify a usage of Scripture that can be justified on the basis of his seeing a broader and deeper meaning in them than their original purport.

a) Rom. 11:26-27. Here we have a complex of citations from Is. 59:20-21 and Is. 27:9. The original writers' motif was that there would be deliverance for the righteous of Israel. Paul summons these prophecies to prove that in

⁴³. Dodd, According to the Scriptures, pp.131-2.

the future all Israel will be saved. He could have adduced happier texts in support of his contention;⁴⁴ but since his thought is in consonance with the general spirit of O.T. prophecy, his use of Scripture here is vindicated.

b) Rom. 9:25-26. In these verses Paul assembles two quotations from Hosea to prove the calling and conversion of the Gentiles. Actually the O.T. prophet spoke only of the recovery of apostate Israel. Sanday and Headlam therefore say that this citation is a case "in which the words of the O.T. ~~scripture~~ are used in an exactly opposite sense to that which they originally possessed".⁴⁵ However it seems unwarranted to maintain that there is a violent perversion of the original meaning. Paul does not here limit himself to the fulfilment of a particular prophecy, but displays the profound insight that the spontaneous, unmerited mercy of God which was to be granted to Israel would be extended to embrace the Christians. Here we see the full ripening of Hosea's conception.

c) Rom. 10:13. In his only quotation from Joel Paul gives a considerable latitude of application to the original meaning. The prophecy of Joel is pervaded by a thoroughly nationalistic spirit: it harbours nothing but revenge for foreigners. The $\Pi \hat{\alpha} \varsigma$ of the LXX of Jl. 2:32 connotes only the sons of Judah, but Paul expands the original scope of the verse to show that there is no difference between Jew and Greek before God. He does not coun-

⁴⁴ E.g. Is. 49:15-6; Ez. 37:26; and Ps. 89:33-7.

⁴⁵ Sanday and Headlam, Romans, p.303.

ter Joel's prediction; but when he transports it to the fresh situation of the primitive Church, he sees more in it than was originally envisaged.

d) Rom. 12:19. Paul exemplifies his ability to plumb deeper than the original writer in citing two epigrammatic exclamations from Dt. 32:35. The tone of the O.T. context is different from that of Rom. 12, the teaching there being that God will visit Israel's enemies with the destruction they deserve. Paul takes the warning to mean that we usurp the prerogatives of God when we take revenge on our neighbors.

e) II Cor. 8:15. In exhorting the Corinthians to give liberally to the saints in Jerusalem the apostle quotes Ex. 16:18. The words of that verse refer to the manna: no matter how much the Israelites gathered of this daily divine provision, they could not hoard it since the sun caused it to perish. Paul finds in this a Scriptural basis for his teaching that the bounty which God has granted the Corinthians should be shared with the poor of the Church. In the days referred to in Exodus economic equality was externally imposed. But Paul beseeches those who have an abundance to give cheerfully and spontaneously to supply the wants of those in need.

In this section we have sought to show that when each of Paul's citations is studied on its own intrinsic merits, it is found that on the whole he gives a comprehensive exposition of the prophetic spirit of the O.T. Although

we have to convict him at times of unsound exegesis, generally his interpretative attitude is not at fault. Thus we are justified in applying to Paul what two scholars have concluded regarding the use made of the O.T. in the N.T. Dodd writes:

While there is a fringe of questionable, arbitrary or even fanciful exegesis, the main line of interpretation of the Old Testament exemplified in the New is not only consistent and intelligent in itself, but also founded upon genuinely historical understanding of the process of the ... prophetic history of Israel.⁴⁶

T.W. Manson contends:

Our Lord's treatment of the Old Testament is based on two things: a profound understanding of the essential teaching of the Hebrew Scriptures and a sure judgement of his own contemporary situation.... We feel [regarding His use of the O.T.] that we are in touch with realities, the realities of the divine revelation and the realities of the historical situation. I suggest that this should provide the standard and pattern for our own exegesis of the Old Testament and the New.⁴⁷

⁴⁶. Dodd, op.cit., p.133.

⁴⁷. T.W. Manson, "The Old Testament in the Teaching of Jesus" in John Ryland's Bulletin, XXXIV, p.332.

CHAPTER V

INSPIRATION AND ALLEGORISM

To the modern mind, the quest for hidden meanings behind simple historical statements is crude and repellent. Hearty assent is nowadays given to the classic repudiation of Luther: "Allegories are empty speculations, and as it were the scum of Holy Scripture.... Allegory is a sort of beautiful harlot, who proves herself specially seductive to idle men".¹ Since allegorism is so alien to the characteristically prosaic manner in which Western man looks upon ancient literature, it has not received the consideration it deserves. Paul had a sound reason for giving allegorical interpretations, although in this regard the strict grammatico-historians allow him no claim to fame. To find the rationale of his use of allegorism we must discuss this subject in conjunction with Scriptural inspiration, since, as will be demonstrated, there is a close connection between the kind of authority one gives Scripture and the extent of allegorization one is disposed to employ. The apostle's views in this regard were in large part carried over from his Jewish heritage, so we shall first discuss the views current in his time on these interrelated themes. Then we shall show the correspondence between his outlook on Scripture and that of the Palestinian Jews. Finally we shall

¹. Quoted in Farrar, History of Interpretation, p.328.

substantiate our argument by interpreting the three principle passages which scholars commonly catalogue as allegorical.

A. Views on Inspiration and Allegorism in the Tannaitic Period.

It may safely be claimed that during the Tannaitic period many of the Jews were acquainted with no literature except their Scripture. Hence every letter was weighed for the truth it contained. This is demonstrated in a Torah eulogy recorded in the Mishnah: "Turn it and turn it again for everything is in it; and contemplate it and grow grey over it and stir not from it, for than it thou canst have no better rule".² The rabbis imagined that a labyrinth of truth lay concealed behind every numeral and particle. They maintained not only that it was God's Spirit who spoke through the mediation of the prophets, but also that each word of Scripture, however unrelated to its context, was an inerrant word from God.³ The words of Moore may fittingly be quoted here:

It was with them [the rabbis] an uncontested axiom that every syllable of Scripture had the verity and authority of the word of God. It followed that the contents of the sacred books were throughout consensaneous and homogeneous. There were not only no contradictions in them but no real differences.⁴

Rabbinic reverence for Scripture resulted in verbal emphasis, and when a desired truth did not offer itself from the letter, a hidden meaning was sought.

2. Mishnah, Aboth 5:22.

3. Cf. Strack and Billerbeck, Kommentar, IV, pp.435ff.

4. Moore, Judaism, I, p.239.

This longing to funnel fresh spiritual import into highly revered ancient literature was what brought forth allegorism. The Jews cannot be given the credit of inventing the allegory. The Greeks coined the word ἄλλογγορία (ἄλλο "something else", plus ἄγορεύω "I speak") to refer to their favorite mode of interpreting epics and sagas of a bygone age. The cultured of classical and post-classical times were too sophisticated to accept at face value the crude myths which had come down to them from the early era of their civilization. Since the works of such poets as Homer, Pindar, and Hesiod were highly venerated, some means had to be devised to enable teachers to discover Platonic virtues and Stoic principles in the stories they tell of acts of violence and in the accounts they give of shameful behaviour on the part of the gods. The sophists resuscitated these legends by means of intricately woven allegories. Thus students of the Homeric poems, the bible of the Greeks, came to disregard their original meanings and to meditate upon interpretations which were rich in moral teachings.⁵

Alexandria was probably the gateway through which allegorism entered into Judaism. The Jews living in this cultural center far removed from the pastoral and national concerns of Palestinian life must have felt that their racial history had but a remote meaning. They were isolated to some extent geographically, but much more by the Hellenistic thought and life which permeated throughout the Egyptian

⁵. Cf. Farrar, op.cit., pp.135-6.

community. Hellenism had numerous characteristics which were foreign to the Semitic spirit; therefore the LXX, echoing as it did Hebraic incidents and terminology,⁶ must have sounded strange to these Jews who were nurtured where Hellenistic-Hebraic syncretism was most complete. Allegorism was brought to the rescue. It gave the Diaspora Jews a theology with concepts which were related to the secular thought of their day. Unhappily these Jews lacked the essential element of historical perspective.

The Alexandrian "eisegesis", as propounded by Philo, often involved the grossest caricature of the historical significance of Scripture. He did not hesitate to set aside completely the literal sense, discrediting it as puerile and fabulous.⁷ This cultured Jew was embarrassed by the offensive anthropomorphisms of Scripture and by its other unacceptable Semitic concepts. Apologetically he sought to demonstrate that all the noble conceptions of Grecian civilization could be found at an earlier era in the Torah. Thus the LXX became a divine cryptogram which could best be interpreted by quasi-Platonic symbols. Philo was like a man with the wrong key enthusiastically attempting to decipher hieroglyphic inscriptions. Lacking both historical insight⁸ and

6. Cf. Thackeray, A Grammar of the O.T. in Greek, I, pp.25-55.

7. Philo, De Scen. 1:17; cf. Farrar, op.cit., pp.138-41.

8. Speaking of Philo's unhistorical treatment of Abraham, Lightfoot (Galatians, p.161) says: "As he was severed from the heart of the nation, so the pulses of the national life had ceased to beat in him. The idea of a chosen people retained scarcely the faintest hold on his thoughts. With him the theocracy of the O.T. was emptied of all its meaning: the covenant was a matter between God and his own

Christ the master-key,⁹ he fruitlessly laboured to show that Greek philosophy fulfilled the O.T. Though Philo had no intention of deliberately falsifying the Scriptural representation, he unconsciously made the LXX a scaffolding for the erection of a philosophical system alien to Hebraic thought. He accepted the literal text only in so far as it did not clash with his own theories.

Allegorism was resisted by the Palestinian Jews,¹⁰ as was everything Hellenistic in rootage. The objection to it made by this conservative contingent of Judaism was due in part to their prejudice against accepting methods which tasted of heathen origin and in part to the high regard which they had for their native history, embodied as it was in Scripture. For them, nurtured as they were on the soil where the throb of the prophetic charisma had been heard, the chronicles of their forefathers were concrete. In consequence, it would have been contrary to what we expect had they allegorized the Genesis account of Jacob's wells, for example; such a rendering would have tended to detract from the historical reality which was hallowed by them. Furthermore, the Palestinian Jews did

U. (cont.) spirit.... He appreciated the significance of Abraham's faith, but Abraham's seed was almost meaningless to him".

9. Cremer (Biblico-Theological Lexicon, p.97) makes the significant observation that in Philo "neither the person nor even the name of the Messiah is to be found".

10. Jewish Encyclopaedia, I, p.405.

not depreciate their inherited traditions as the Diaspora Jews were prone to do. The members of the former body were suspicious of any interpretation of Scripture which tended to rationalize ancient institutions and thus led to a liberalizing of Law regulations. They must have realized that allegorism when overdone inevitably resulted in a lax carrying out of the details of the Law, and produced an élite who not only apostasized from its observance but also felt spiritually supercilious toward those who rigorously adhered to the multitude of particularities engrained in legalism. Thus the allegorism which found its way into Palestine was more pedestrian than the extravagant brand of the Alexandrian Jews. The Habakkuk Commentary (written ca. 41 B.C.¹¹), which was among the several scrolls discovered in 1947 near the Dead Sea, displays the Palestinian type of allegorism. Hab. 1:16b, which reads in our text, "For by them [the righteous] he [the Chaldean] lives in luxury, and his food is rich", is interpreted thus: "They [the Romans] divide their yoke and their taxes -- (these taxes are) their food -- amongst all the peoples year by year, laying waste many countries".¹¹ This Commentary which was written by an Essene disciple who probably lived in Judea¹² confirms Thackeray's statement regarding allegorism: "Its object in Palestine was not so much apologetic as practical, to find proofs in the Old

11. Dupont-Sommer, The Dead Sea Scrolls, p.31.

12. *Ibid.*, p.97.

Testament for customs and relations of life which were non-existent and not contemplated at the time of the writing of the Law".¹³ Thus the aim in Palestine was concrete rather than abstract, homiletical rather than philosophical. The self-restraint which was characteristic in this area may be discerned in the rabbinic injunction: "A verse cannot depart from its plain meaning".¹⁴

B. Paul's Views on Inspiration and Allegorism.

There is no explicit statement in the N.T. which fully sets forth the authority attributed by first century Christians to the O.T. Paul gives more attention to this matter than the other N.T. writers give, but even the verses in which he openly shows his attitude toward Scripture are but a dull reflection of what we must judge to have been his comprehensive view of it. Rom. 15:4, which states that "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", has been regarded by some scholars¹⁵ as a doctrinal expression of Paul's view on inspiration. But this verse, belonging as it does to a section of Romans which primarily gives exhortation for conduct, ought not to be made to bear the weight of a theory of inspiration. The same appraisal may be made of the sentence

13. Thackeray, The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought, p.192.

14. Bab. Tal., Shabbath 63a; cf. Josephus, Anti., III,vii,7.

15. E.g. Moffatt, Approach to the New Testament, p.72, and Bonsirven, Exégèse Rabbinique et Exégèse Paulienne, p.271.

recorded in the Pastorals which reads thus: "All scripture is inspired by God and profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, and for training in righteousness, that the man of God may be complete, equipped for every good work".¹⁶ Admittedly there is here more emphasis on the fact of inspiration than in Rom. 15:4; nevertheless the supposition that Paul accepted a theory of plenary dictation is precarious when it is grounded primarily on the vivid adjective "God-breathed" (Θεόπνευστος). Though we do not in any way deny that for him Scripture was completely authoritative, we do believe that the whole of the Pauline literature must be studied before a valid conception can be formed of what constituted the basis of the high esteem which he had for it. In other words, it is not from his explicit declarations so much as from his practice that we learn of his attitude on inspiration.

A summary glance at the whole corpus of Paul's epistles shows clearly that he believed in the divine origin of the O.T. He designates its contents as "the oracles of God".¹⁷ Scripture not only contains the word of God: it is

16. II Tim. 3:16-7.

17. J.W. Doeve has convincingly argued in a recent article that this phrase only refers to "God's revelation in Holy Scripture" ("Some Notes with Reference to ΙΑ ΔΟΞΙΑ ΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ in Romans 3:2" in Zwaan /In honorem/, Studia Paulina, p.121) and that therefore Kittel (Theologisches Wörterbuch, IV, pp.141ff.) errs in taking it to signify both the N.T. and the O.T. revelations.

the authentic voice of God Himself. Therefore proofs from Scripture surpass all other proofs. To clinch an argument and to foreclose discussion, Paul felt that all he needed to do was to write $\chi\epsilon\gamma\alpha\rho\alpha\pi\iota\sigma\iota$ ¹⁸ and follow this word with appropriate quotations from Scripture. Weizsäcker gives concrete instances which exemplify the paramount place of Scriptural proof in the Pauline epistles. He deserves to be quoted at length:

In the strictly doctrinal portions of the Pauline letters ... Scriptural proof often forms the foundation, then an examination of the subject-matter is added which solves the difficulties and completes the structure. The letter to the Galatians furnishes us with the clearest instances of this practice. In 3:6ff. Scriptural proof is first led to show that righteousness is of faith and not of the law, and that Christ has delivered us from the latter. Then the proposition is illustrated and confirmed by the analogy of a will, and only after this we have an independent discussion, in which the question is stated and answered as to the significance still attaching in this respect to the law. The whole dogmatic treatment of the subject is therefore postponed until the Scriptural proof is given. The same sequence however is to be observed also in the first main division of the Roman letter, although at first sight it would seem as if the texts for justification by faith in chap. 4 are made to follow conclusions already based on reason and on facts. But in reality the Scriptural proof, though interrupted by various reflections due to the purpose of the letter, extends from 1:17 to the close of chap. 4; and it is then followed, not merely by the practical application, but also, chap. 5, by the higher teaching that treats of the plan, proved to be Divine, as the way of salvation. In the third section of the Roman letter, again, the Apostle follows the same course. He first concludes the Scriptural proof of the nature of Divine election contained in chap. 9f., and only then begins his higher interpretation of this actual order

18. That this formula implies incontestable authority see Deissmann, Bible Studies, pp.112-4; Harnack, Das Alte Testament in den paulinischen Briefen, pp.128-30; and Kittel, op.cit., I, pp.747-9.

of events, ascending as he does so into the loftiest sphere of prophecy. We may therefore assume it as an axiom that Paul regarded the proof from Holy Scripture as fundamental for the vindication of his doctrine.¹⁹

Even though Paul affirms that he received directly through visions and revelations of Christ the Gospel he preached,²⁰ he constantly relies for confirmation of his doctrines on appeal to the O.T. rather than on exploitation of his religious experience. Paul, like the O.T. prophets, appeals to the objective events of history as the source of his message; he alludes to his mystical experiences only when his apostolic status has been impugned. It is a salient fact that he prefers to borrow from Hosea proof of the resurrection of Christ²¹ rather than to place his Easter experience on the Damascus road at the seat of supreme authority.²² Not only does he hesitate to give this and other ecstatic mystical experiences great authority,²³ but he also infrequently resorts

19. Weizsacker, The Apostolic Age, I, pp.134-5.

20. See II Cor. 12:1 and Gal. 1:12.

21. In I Cor. 15:4 ἰη̄ ἡμε̄ρα ἰη̄ ἰᾱί ἰη̄ is probably taken from Hos. 6:2 in a manner similar to the reference in Mt. 2:15 to Hos. 11:1. Both citations can be justified by the fluidity between the corporate and the individual concept of the Servant rôle of Christ. A terse sentence of Dodd gives the motif here: "The resurrection of Christ is the resurrection of Israel" (According to the Scriptures, p.103). That Paul refers to Hos. 6:2 rather than to Jon. 1:17 (the only other possible source) is confirmed by the Messianic application of the former verse by the rabbis (cf. Edersheim, The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah, II, p.731; Moffatt, The First Epistle to the Corinthians, pp.237-8) and by the fact that he does not cite from Jonah elsewhere, whereas he quotes from Hosea as often as all the rest of the so-called "minor" prophets put together.

22. It may be asked: In I Cor. 15:8 does not Paul elicit for the final and ultimate proof of the resurrection the fact that Christ had appeared unto him? To answer this question in the affirmative is, in our opinion, to reverse the

to logical deduction. When he gives proof by ratiocination he admits that at such points he speaks only as a man, and consequently upon these reasonings no final authority is to be set.²⁴ The principle which he strives to keep is $\text{I} \delta \mu \eta \dot{\upsilon} \pi \acute{\epsilon} \rho \ \& \ \gamma \acute{\epsilon} \gamma \rho \ \alpha \pi \iota \sigma \tau \iota$. Moffatt gives what we consider to be the most plausible interpretation of these difficult five words in I Cor. 4:6. He imagines that the Corinthian protest and Paul's reply were as follows:

'Why so strict and scriptural, Paul? We want more of the freedom which soars to heights of illumination, instead of being always careful not to go beyond what is written'. To which the apostle's retort is that they might learn from the case of himself and his colleague [Apollon] how loyal they were to a revelation of Christ which was scriptural, not speculative. This would amount to a claim that, so far from being old-fashioned and narrow, their method was the sole, sure basis and standard for any adequate apostolic instruction.²⁵

It is even likely that Paul gave an authority to the O.T. which exceeded the authority of the sayings of Jesus which had orally been passed down to him.²⁶ Nowhere in his

22. (cont.) sequence of the creedal statement in the opening paragraph of I Cor. 15. When the apostle modestly acknowledges that he also experienced a Christophany, he is speaking more of his apostolic privileges than of an irrefutable proof of the resurrection of Christ.

23. See I Cor. 14:18-19.

24. See I Cor. 9:4-7, 11:14.

25. Moffatt, The First Epistle to the Corinthians, p.47.

26. Cf. Windisch, Paulus und das Judentum, p.72; and Weizsäcker, op.cit., I, p.135. It is noteworthy that Paul's scanty references to Jesus (collected by Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, pp.138ff) do not bear on great doctrines. They are virtually all ethical injunctions which might be paralleled in the O.T. or in rabbinic sources (e.g. "R. Akiba taught that Lev. 19:18 was ... the chief summary of the Law" -- Eidersheim, op.cit., I, p.236). How are we to account for the fact that Paul in seldomly calls upon the authority of Jesus?

epistles do we find statements of Christ cited in such a peremptory fashion as are passages from the O.T. For example, in I Cor. 9:8-14, the citation from Dt. 25:4 is at least on the same level with the aphorism commanded by Jesus,²⁷ and the fact that the O.T. is cited first probably indicates that it was considered as having more authority.

Though we go too far if we assert that the O.T. was to Paul the sole objective source of truth, it was nevertheless his major one. He realized that if the O.T. depended on Christ for its confirmation, still more did Christ depend on the O.T. for His authority. Thus Paul's attitude toward Scripture conforms to the prevailing Christian attitude of his day. As regards the general outlook of the early Church Harnack writes: "The Old Testament is ... the complete revelation of God which needs no additions and excludes subsequent changes. The historical fulfilment only proves to the world the truth of those revelations".²⁸

It is of capital importance to understand that Paul did not regard the Christian revelation as rendering Scripture

26. (cont.) In two ways: 1) no proof was needed because Paul believed that he was overruled in all that he said by the "mind of Christ"; 2) the apostle's creed was almost entirely derived from the O.T. and therefore he considered the uniqueness of Jesus to reside not in His original teaching but in the presuppositions by which He interpreted the O.T. and in the way in which He lived according to its most profound message.

27. I Cor. 9:14 contains one of the rare explicit references to the words of Jesus to which Paul appealed. We suggest that even Jesus' maxim, "The laborer deserves his wages", is no more than his appropriation of Dt. 24:15.

28. Harnack, History of Dogma, I, p.176, n.1.

null and void; on the contrary, he considered Christ as the one who clarified and reinforced its authority. Hence the apostle affirmed that the authority enshrined therein is fully perceived only by Christians, for they have had the "veil" lifted which has hindered the Jews from seeing its real significance.²⁹ The fact that Paul leans so heavily on Scripture is, as Klausner discerns, "one of the fundamental reasons why the Church Fathers, with all the hate which most of them had for Jews and Judaism, were forced to include the Old Testament in the Christian Canon, to endow it with the sacredness of Holy Scripture, and to place it on an equal footing with the writings of the New Testament".³⁰

Paul's lofty view on inspiration can be perceived in the way in which he conceives of Scripture speaking apart from the instrumentality of human authors. The expressions "the Scripture says"³¹ and "God says"³² have the same meaning, since Scripture is but the phenomenal form of the divine Spirit. Scripture has power "to shut up" ($\sigma\upsilon\gamma\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\upsilon$)³³ everything under sin, and has ability "to foresee" ($\pi\rho\epsilon\omicron\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\iota$)³⁴ the future. Metzger's investigation of the similarities between the N.T. and the Mishnaic quotation formulae leads him to conclude that "the NT authors allow themselves more freedom in attributing personality to the

29. See II Cor. 3:13-6; cf. Harnack, Das Alte Testament in den paulinischen Briefen, pp.124-5 and Bonsirven, op. cit., p.272.

30. Klausner, From Jesus to Paul, p.608.

31. Gal. 4:30, Rom. 4:3, 10:11, 11:2.

32. II Cor. 4:6, 6:16.

33. Gal. 3:22.

34. Gal. 3:8.

Scriptures than do the Tannaim".³⁵

Although the Scriptures were thoroughly normative for Paul, we must not suppose that he denied their human authorship or that he thought of the O.T. writers as stenographers recording incidents they hardly understood. Repeatedly we find such expressions as "David pronounces",³⁶ "Isaiah cries out",³⁷ and "Moses writes".³⁸ There is not the least suggestion in Paul's epistles that he claimed the Scriptures came to men upon papyri prepared by God. He did not succumb to a superstitious bibliolatriy and thereby believe that the inanimate manuscripts in themselves had any inherent power. Thus Bonnard can truly write regarding the apostle: "Pour lui, l'Esprit et l'Écriture se confirment réciproquement; Paul n'est ni un spiritualiste ni un bibli-ciste".³⁹ This outlook becomes striking when we realize that the Mohammedans, another Semitically minded people, believe that their Koran descended from heaven in a perfect form. The whole of Scripture is to Paul verbum Dei, yet he does not consider it to be a divine monologue. He does not attempt to reconcile the paradox that both God and man speak in this revelation.

We have argued that the conception of inspiration and authority of Scripture which Paul entertained throughout his

35. Metzger, "The Formulas Introducing Quotations of Scripture in the NT and the Mishnah" in J.B.L., LXX, p.300; cf. Strack and Billerbeck, op.cit., III, p.538 for illustrations of rabbinic personification of Scripture.

36. Rom. 4:6.

38. Rom. 10:5.

37. Rom. 9:27.

39. Bonnard, Galates, p.65.

Christian career was essentially Jewish. But in chapter III we have maintained that rabbinic exegesis was one of the strongest fetters enslaving Paul to legalism which were cast aside by the Christian revelation. Our discussion thus poses the question: wherein lies the difference between his and the rabbis' use of the authority which they mutually accept in an almost identical manner? Hebert correctly answers this question:

The New Testament writers never criticize the accepted belief in the Inspiration of Scripture, interpreted as it was in the sense of Inerrancy, yet they show a truly remarkable freedom with the doctrine of Inerrancy; and this freedom is due to the fact that they are looking all the time for the great theological principles of God's work of salvation. Where the Scribes were looking for precise rules of religion and morality as laid down in the Law, and were interpreting it in the elaborate casuistry of the Tradition of the Elders, the Apostolic writers are tracing out the meaning of the Passion, of the divine love manifested in the Christ, of the gift to man of sonship, and of the fruit of the Spirit.⁴⁰

Although Paul accepted the contemporary view on Biblical inspiration, his letters show that his employment of allegorism was practically nil. In view of the extent to which the literature of the lands surrounding the Mediterranean was soaked in allegorism, it is amazing that he was not seduced by this Hellenistic proclivity. His O.T. characters emerge not as symbolic figures whereon to hang ethereal principles, but are viewed in true historical perspective as flesh-and-blood realities. Without casting aspersions on the allegorical method which he had learned in

⁴⁰. Hebert, The Authority of the Old Testament, p.235.

Jerusalem, Paul exercised certainly not less, but probably more caution and restraint in his exegesis than the Palestinian Jews. However, because of his utter confidence in the inerrancy of Scripture, he, like his compatriots, did not consider it perverted to read a mysterious purport into its words. Thus allegorism was for him the means whereby he could secure freedom from the tyranny of a bald literalism and give himself to fathoming the new depths of the Gospel. In other words, by this method the Spirit was released from the Scripture which He had inspired.

We must turn aside for a moment to consider the bearing of II Cor. 3:6 on Pauline allegorism. The sentence, $\tau\omicron\upsilon\grave{\alpha}\rho\ \gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\mu\mu\alpha\ \&\ \pi\omicron\kappa\rho\iota\sigma\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\grave{\epsilon}\ \pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\ \zeta\omega\omicron\pi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota$, has often been wrested from its context and twisted into a Pauline hermeneutical principle of exalting one's free spiritual insight and abasing the original historical meaning of Scripture.⁴¹ In effect, however, Paul here contrasts the deadly effect of Mosaic legalism with the transforming effect of the Gospel. By this antithetical statement he seeks to convey ^{the truth} that the minute details of the law can petrify spiritual life, whereas the Holy Spirit can breath new life into a believer. To blend the sentence into its context in II Cor. 3, we should substitute the rendering "written code" (R.S.V.) for the more

41. Origen and many other Fathers appealed to this text in order that they might be justified in condemning the literal sense of Scripture (cf. Farrar, op.cit., p.195). The exegesis they gave was virtually unquestioned until this century.

literal translation of $\chi\rho\alpha\mu\mu\alpha$ as "letter". Thus this sentence has no bearing on the subject which we are at present discussing.

We are now in a position to discern what is fundamental to genuine allegorism. Palestinian allegorism may be considered legitimate even by modern canons of literary criticism, for it is based on a recognition of the historical reality of what is recorded. ~~Error~~ Error arises when a dual original sense is assumed and sought. If the interpreter recognizes that the imaginative apprehension is his own creation, he does no harm in giving an allegorical interpretation. This method can be justified so long as it is a by-product of historical exegesis. Hence we must denounce the Philonic allegorism which regards the literal record of events as only a phenomenal husk disguising eternal truths. Moreover, in the words of Lightfoot, "with Philo the allegory is the whole substance of his teaching; with ^{St.} Paul it is but an accessory".⁴²

Allegorism is dangerous, as is every other method which involves creative thinking. For example, Bultmann, the Entmythologisierung champion, goes to extremes in allegorizing history; whereas Philo read Grecian metaphysics into Scripture in a sincere endeavour to commend it to Gentiles who did not venerate Judaism, Bultmann conscientiously attempts to reduce it to psychological concepts in order to

^{42.} Lightfoot, op.cit., p.197.

address its message to intellectuals who do not fully recognize the historical revelation of Christianity. But when the allegorical method is employed in the Pauline manner it serves an excellent purpose in every age: it quickens the imagination in homiletics and liturgy. What poverty the loss of allegorism would bring to our devotional language! We may well be grateful that it is firmly entrenched in our hymns.

C. Specific Considerations of Pauline Allegorism.

We are now obliged to substantiate our contention that Paul not only gives no evidence of the excesses of Alexandrian allegorism but also uses the allegorical method to channel a trenchant Christian appeal. It is hardly to be expected that Paul's allegories will convey to us who find a verbal infallibility doctrine of Scripture untenable more than a fraction of the message which they conveyed to those to whom he addressed his epistles. Nevertheless we hope to disarm the prejudice which considers allegorism to be no more than a relic of the quaint hermeneutics of a bygone age which is to be treasured only as a historical interest. To accomplish our aim we shall give an exposition of three passages which are listed as allegorical by nearly all writers on Pauline hermeneutics.

1) Gal. 4:21-31.

This passage, the locus classicus of allegorical interpretation in the Bible, presents us with two allegories

intertwined, the one being based on the saga regarding Abraham's domestic life and the other on the prophecy of Deutero-Isaiah regarding the two Zions. However, since these dovetail into each other, we shall consider this latter part of Gal. 4 as one comprehensive allegory. Because this passage contains some of the most difficult verses in the Pauline corpus, we must submit the allegory it contains to a searching investigation.

a) Framework.

In this allegory Paul follows all the rules of the craft. The word ἡ Ἰσθμὸς in verses 24 and 26 is a translation of $\Pi \lambda$ which was used by the Jewish teachers in defining the terms of an allegory.⁴³ Also the verb συστῶν in verse 25 is employed in the precise sense in which it is found in Hellenic allegories. From Polybius⁴⁴ it is known that in military language ὁ συστῶν ὀψὲς were those standing in the same file of a phalanx, one soldier behind another. Aristotle⁴⁴ shows that this usage was carried over into literature as a metaphor. Thus ideas belonging to the same category or "file" were conceived of as if tabulated in a vertical column called συστῶν ἰσθμὸς and the set of antithetical ideas was conceived of as if placed horizontally across from the former in a parallel column labelled ὀψὲς συστῶν ἰσθμὸς. When Gal. 4:21-31

43. Thackeray, The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought, p.197.

44. Liddell and Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon, II, p.1735, a.p. Polybius 10:23, Aristotle, Metaph. 1:5,6, et.al.

is arranged according to this pattern, the opposites which stand over against one another are these:

Ἄγαρ	(Σάρρα)
παιδίσκος	ἔλευθερος
(Ἰσμαήλ)	Ἰσαάκ
κατὰ σάρκα	κατὰ πνεῦμα
συνθήκη	(καλή) συνθήκη
νεῦν Ἰερουσαλήμ	ἄνω Ἰερουσαλήμ
δουλεύει	ἔλευθερος

b) ὅτι νῦν ἔστιν ἀλληγορούμενα.

In words gathered out of the LXX of Gen. 16 and 21, Paul prefaces his allegory with a brief summary of the facts which are to serve as the basis of his elaboration. Following this sketch from the historical record comes the caption ὅτι νῦν ἔστιν ἀλληγορούμενα. In all the LXX and the N.T., only here do we find the term ἀλληγορέω. The 1611 translation of the caption, "which things are an allegory", is generally accepted by commentators as correct.

On the face of it, the passive participle ἀλληγορούμενα leaves us uncertain whether or not Paul thought that the author of Genesis wrote his narrative, as did Bunyan in composing Pilgrim's Progress, with the sole view of providing a story to be treated allegorically. Did Paul mean that the ancient lore was composed for the one purpose of giving latent predictions with regard to the legalis-

tic Jews and the Christian community?⁴⁵ *Μὴ γένοιτο!*
 Philo may be accused of having had this attitude toward
 Scripture, but not Paul. In view of the apostle's Hebraic
 esteem for the literal annals of the past, it borders on the
 ridiculous to think that he did not accept as actual history
 that Isaac was the line from which the Jews were corporeally
 descended. He did not misconceive the historical evidence
 to be pure allegory any more than Spenser regarded Queen
 Elizabeth to exist only in the character of the "Faerie
 Queene". In Rom. 9:4-5 for instance, Paul upholds the
 obvious meaning of the O.T.; he recognizes that his kinsmen
καὶ ἰσραήλ have been privileged to receive the divine
 gifts of the covenants, the patriarchs, the Shechinah, and
 the Messianic promises and that these rights have not been
 abrogated. Our survey of the whole of Paul's attitude to-
 ward Scripture impels us to emphasize that the assertion
ἅτιν ἐστὶν ἀλλήγορῶμεν is not meant
 to describe what the writer of Genesis had in mind when he
 compiled the narrative. In a word, Paul does not detract
 from the historical reality of the narrative he allegorizes.
 We agree with Burton who, after a thorough consideration of
 this caption, concludes: "Against the strong evidence that
 Paul ascribed historicity to the O.T. narrative narratives,

^{45.} We must note what some linguistic authorities consider
 to be the meaning of *ἀλλήγορῶ* in Gal. 4:24.
 Liddell and Scott (op.cit., I, p.69) translate the
 passive infinitive "to be spoken allegorically".
 Büchsel (in Kittel, op.cit., I, p.260) maintains that
 here we have an illustration of "allegorisch reden"
 rather than "allegorisch deuten".

including those here referred to, the word ἄλλήγοροῦ
 μὲν cannot be cited as valid evidence to the contrary".⁴⁶

We may go a step further. Not only did Paul not deny the true sense of Scripture in this allegory; he also meant the reader to see that he was giving his own imaginative construction in considering the Jews to be sons of Ishmael. Although the caption ἄλλήγοροῦ μὲν ἐστὶν ἄλλήγοροῦ μὲν is ambiguous both in the Greek and in the English as literally translated above, we believe that Paul's general outlook on Scripture gives us adequate justification to paraphrase it as follows: "Now these historical facts will be allegorized by me in the treatment which follows". Therefore Paul confesses at the outset that he is not probing for a dual original sense. He wishes to bring a thought before the minds of his readers which contains truth other than what the writer of Genesis intended. The apostle was conscious that on purely historical premises his argument was not sound. Thus with the rubric ἄλλήγοροῦ μὲν ἐστὶν ἄλλήγοροῦ μὲν he gives notice that he is launching out into an exposition in which he breaks away from historical moorings.

Some scholars have not heeded Paul's warning and have searched the patriarchal narrative to find some historical connection between Sarah and Hagar, as types on the one

⁴⁶. Burton, Galatians, p.256, n.

hand of the true Israelites who have accepted the Messiah and, on the other, of the apostates who have rejected Him. This confusion of allegory with typology,⁴⁷ a common malady among exegetes, is displayed by Rendall. In a paragraph in which he purposes to give the gist of this allegory, he writes:

Isaac the child of promise, only son of a free mother after years of barrenness, as heir to an indisputable birthright, aptly prefigured the Church of Christ, born in the fulness of time, made free by the gift of the Spirit, and established for ever in the house of their heavenly Father by an eternal covenant of adoption. Ishmael again, who had for some years filled the position of a son without the birthright which could entitle him to inherit the blessing, but eventually was driven out for his mockery of the promised child, supplied an exact prototype of Israel after the flesh, long recognized as the people of God, but bound under the Law, and eventually destined to be shut out from the household of God for their guilt in persecuting Christ and His Church.⁴⁸

This treatment is over-elaborate and unwarranted. Rendall is at pains to trace out more than what Paul purposes the allegory to demonstrate. The interpretation of the allegory goes lame when the details are pressed to fit into a type. Paul is not thinking of an excision of the Jewish people from the Kingdom of God; rather, he is contemplating anti-
 thetical habits of mind -- servile legality on the one side and, on the other, acceptance by faith of the free gift of grace. To imagine that Paul regarded Ishmael as the prototype of the Jewish race would be to do the apostle a great

47. In chapter VI we shall demonstrate that there is a clear distinction between the allegory and the type.

48. Rendall, "Galatians" in Expositor's Greek Testament, III, p.180.

injustice. He never considered it to be the divine will that his own people should be cut off from their connection with God. Thus there is no adequate reason for manipulating this allegory to serve as a type, especially since Paul has indicated in verse 24 that he is following the current method of allegorism which allows one's thoughts to range far beyond the literal statement in order to disclose a spiritual significance.

c) Purpose.

Artistic license is ever fraught with peculiar dangers; therefore we must have the prerequisite of a sympathetic attitude toward the creative use of language to understand the function of this allegory. Here is a splendid illustration of how Paul's prophetic mind escaped the grip of the wooden literalism of his age, and on wings of a sanctified imagination soared high in the apprehension of religious truth. In this passage he indicates that he has an inward grasp of a burning word of prophecy which transcends the actual meaning of Scripture. This allegory kindles a light in the heart such as slavish obedience to a mechanical literalism could never kindle. Thus the allegory is Paul's judgment upon an external authority which tended to stifle creative capacity. The allegorical method which is seen as the dull literary instrument of the small masters of Jewish theology paradoxically becomes in Gal. 4 the means whereby the insight of a great mind is presented. Hence we cannot acquiesce in the position adopted by many critics,

that Paul's allegorizing is to be relegated to the region of mere Jewish rabbinism.

Before setting out our interpretation we shall look at two views which in part show us the purpose which Paul had in resorting to the literary method of allegorism. Firstly, some exegetes follow Augustine⁴⁹ and Luther who treat allegories as stories that adorn arguments which have already been succinctly presented. Luther writes of this Galatian allegory:

In the end of his disputations he addeth an allegory to give a beauty to all the rest. For it is a seemly thing sometimes to add an allegory, when the foundation is well laid, and the matter thoroughly proved; for as painting is an ornament to set forth and garnish a house already builded, so is an allegory the light of a manner which is already otherwise proved and confirmed.⁵⁰

This statement is justified in so far as it emphasizes that Paul did not rely upon the quicksands of allegorism as a primary means of establishing his dogma. However we can hardly imagine the apostle saying, "This section is an illustration, and the foregoing passage is an argument". Distinctions between illustrations and proofs which are clear to minds schooled in Greek rhetoric are difficult to trace in the Bible, since its Hebraic doctrines are customarily

49. Augustine (Ep., xlvi, 24) writes: "quis autem nisi impudentissime nitatur aliquid in allegoria positum pro se interpretari nisi habeat et manifesta testimonia quorum lumine illustrantur obscura?" Aquinas' principle stated in Summa Theologica, I, 1, 10, conforms to this point of view.

50. Luther, Galatians, p. 347. Cp. this quotation with the quotation from Luther which we have given above (p. 129) to note an example of his characteristic inconsistency.

set forth in a concrete parabolic form. Paul's aim every time he referred to the O.T. was to interpret it in the light of Christian experience. Therefore this allegory was intended to convince the reason as much as to captivate the imagination. Instead of considering his allegory as an illustration of an argument already established, Paul might well have regarded this passage as the clinching point of the discourse which, beginning in Gal. 3, comes to a crescendo in Gal. 5:1.

Secondly, modernizers of the apostle have sought to escape the embarrassment presented by his allegories by fastening upon them the label argumenta ad hominem. They maintain that Paul seeks to confound the erroneous interpretations of his opponents by shrewdly showing them that the allegorism they employ can be reversed to prove the very opposite of their contentions. In paying homage to the saint according to the canons of modern criticism, they make the excuse on Paul's behalf that all the time he indulged in such spurious and tedious methods he knew better than to consider them sound. We must be cautious in reading into Paul's mind the pale reflection of recent scholarship. It is one thing to say that he realized that he was not dealing accurately with historical data when he allegorized, but quite another thing to believe that when he did so his sole purpose was to disprove counter propaganda by its own method. Paul desired not only to combat his opponents but also to impart to them a positive message through this method. Thus

there can be little doubt that he accepted allegorism from his Hebraic heritage without question, and though he evidences reserve in using the allegorical method, we can be confident that when he does use it he does so without compunction.

From an evaluation of these half-truths we shall move on to consider what is, in our opinion, Paul's paramount reason for employing the allegorical method in Gal. 4:21-31. The purpose of the allegory can be seen as we relate it to its context. Independence from an ironclad code of law and sole reliance upon the grace of God is the theme of the stormy letter to the Galatians. At no point in this epistle is Paul more concentrated on expounding the theme than in this passage under consideration. The function of this allegory is to press home the meaning of Christian freedom in a manner which would appeal particularly to the Jewish contingent among the Galatians. Paul challenges those *ὑπὸ νόμον*⁵¹ to listen to what the Law itself says with regard to the kind of people who are acceptable to God. As is customary when Paul is addressing himself specifically to Jews, he refers to the case of Abraham and his household.⁵² There is a basic motivation for employing illustrations from the life of this patriarch. Since he was held in particular reverence by the Jews,⁵³ any argument which was established by reference to him would carry weight with the Judaizers. In the light of

51. Gal. 4:21.

52. See Gal. 3, Rom. 4, 9.

53. For a further discussion of the lofty position of Abraham in cultic thought of first century Judaism see ch. VII.

this popularity of Abraham in contemporary Jewish thought we dissent from saying with Burton that Gal. 4:21-31 is an "afterthought".⁵⁴ The passage may not lie at the center of gravity of the epistle, but still it can hardly be parenthesized.

This Galatian allegory can be understood only when we bear in mind the common Jewish attitude toward their divine privileges. The Gospel writers illustrate how the vaunt, "We have Abraham for our father", was the great slogan for bolstering national pride,⁵⁵ and therefore they expose an outlook of Judaism similar to what gave rise to this allegory. The writer of the Gospel of John shares the Pauline viewpoint when he represents Jesus as contrasting the empirical and the spiritual descendants of Abraham. The Jewish opponents of both Jesus and Paul were outraged since they could see Abraham only as one who, because he "was perfect in all his deeds"⁵⁶ through obeying "the unwritten Law"⁵⁷ had stored up merit⁵⁸ for all who were physically descended from him. With utmost tenacity they believed that it was for the sons of Abraham that the world had been created. Justin Martyr notes what may be considered to be the doctrine of the Jews in the apostolic age: "The eternal kingdom will be given to those who are the seed of Abraham according to the flesh, even though they be sinners and unbelievers and disobedient".⁵⁹

54. Burton, op.cit., p.251.

55. Mt. 3:9-10, Lk. 3:8-9, Jn. 8:31-40; cf. Rom. 9:7.

56. Jubilees 23:10.

57. ^{Apocrypha 2} Baruch 57:2.

58. Davies, op.cit., pp.269-70.

59. Dialogue with Trypho, cxi.

Paul fought to undermine this prevailing false confidence with all the force of his personality. If we forget that it was in the heat of such controversy that this allegory was hammered out, we shall perceive little more in it than a heartless treatment by Paul of his own race. To anyone who gives but superficial attention to this allegory the apostle will appear to maintain in it that just as there was no joint heirship between Ishmael and Isaac, so there can be no partnership between Judaism and Christianity. He will seem to be so intolerant as to believe that the children of Abraham according to the flesh must be utterly cast out from the Kingdom of God. Thus Harris writes that in Galatians "anti-Judaic lava"⁶⁰ is poured out".

A closer scrutiny needs to be made of Paul's polemic against the Jews in this allegory. The apostle's attitude toward his countrymen shown in Gal. 4:29, where the Jews play the rôle of the insolent, malicious slave boy, has a parallel in I Th. 2:14-16, where the Jews are consigned to God's wrath for killing Jesus. We err in citing these passages as proof that Paul, on becoming a Christian, accepted the pagan anti-Semitism of his day. The Jews are adversaries of Paul only because of theological motifs; it is not his renunciation of his people which is expressed in these passages, but his distress because so few of them have accepted life as offered in Christ. For him to consider the Jews as the enemies of the Gospel was therefore no easy matter. This

OO. HARRIS, Testimonies, II, p.31.

position which is often accepted by Christians as a truism caused an intractable conflict to rage within his soul.

The allegory in Gal. 4:21-31 is therefore a reflection of one of the most salient problems in the apostle's life. Here we have a glimpse afforded us into the mental workshop in which the problem of the Jew-Gentile relation to O.T. religion was hammered out. In Rom. 9-11 we see the finished product of the craftsman's mature mind.⁶¹ The allegory in Gal. 4 is Rom. 9-11 in embryonic form. Consequently those who reject the former treatment as futile should also cast aside this section of Romans in which Paul deals more elaborately with the Christians as the true Israel. In both places Paul shows clearly that he is focusing attention upon the Jewish section of the community to which he is writing. In both places the idea of genealogical merit as a ground of confidence before God is repudiated; blood relation with the patriarchal line of promise is declared to be of no avail. The treatment of Ishmael in Gal. 4:30 is paralleled by the equally severe treatment of Esau in Rom. 9:10-13. In both places the predestinarian doctrine is prominent, but in Rom. 9-11 divine sovereignty and human responsibility are kept in a more proper balance. Paul was not composed enough when dictating Galatians to give a fair treatment of both sides of the paradox. Hence it is advisable to read the allegory of Gal. 4 along with the discussion of free will in Rom. 9:30-31. See pp.66ff. for our fuller discussion of Rom. 9-11.

10:21; the view of election in the former passage becomes morally repugnant unless we combine it with the other side of the argument.

d) The Church as the Jerusalem which is Above.

The intensity of the sentiment felt for the City of David is acutely expressed in Ps. 137:5 -- "If I forget you, O Jerusalem, let my right hand wither!" Hence Deutero-Isaiah, in describing the glorious future of Judaism, waxes eloquent in proclaiming that the plans of the new Zion were graven on the very palms of Yahweh.⁶² This great unknown prophet of the Exile addressed his jubilant song of triumph to his co-religionists when they were about to return from Babylonian captivity to their native land. He foresees that it is divinely intended not only that the reconstructed Jerusalem will be the capital city of Judaism but also that it will serve as the spiritual metropolis of the world's theocratic government. He exhorts those who compose the redeemed community to realize their mission to be "a light to the Gentiles".⁶³

In Is. 54:1 the ~~Jerusalem~~ Jerusalem which had been plundered and destroyed by the armies of invaders is compared to a childless woman. What makes this image so forceful is the fact that the greatest possible grief and disgrace for a Hebrew woman was failure to bear sons. All the afflicted people of Israel are considered to be represented

62. Is. 49:16.

63. Is. 42:6.

in this barren woman who has been separated for a long period from her husband, Yahweh. After half a century of disillusionment and mourning under the yoke of a foreign power, He is to restore His spouse to favour and she will become the mother of a family that will outnumber the population of pre-Exilic Jerusalem. Thus in Is. 54 we have the combination of two common motifs of O.T. prophecy: 1) that of the relation of Yahweh to His people being ^{as} an indissoluble conjugal union;⁶⁴ 2) that of an idealized Zion.⁶⁵

Paul, following exactly the LXX of Is. 54:1, employs the verse with skill. It is likely that he connects 54:1 with 51:2 in a manner similar to the rabbis.⁶⁶ It is doubtful, however, whether Deutero-Isaiah was conscious of any parallel between the desolate woman and Sarah. Paul runs into confusion in associating the one woman of 54:1 seen in the contrasted stages of her career with the two women of Abraham's household, and in considering that it was Hagar rather than Sarah who had the husband. Nevertheless he appropriately addresses the prophet's words to the Galatians as proof that the Church is the proper spouse of the Lord because she carries out the original task assigned to the returning exiles. Paul has a prophetic vision which is analogous to that of the most celebrated of the O.T. prophets: both men were faced with a liberated community which was

64. See Hos. 2 in which is this prophet's favorite trope, that of the relationship of Yahweh and Israel is like that of a bridegroom and bride.

65. See Ez. 40-8, Zech. 2:1-13, Hag. 2:6-9.

66. Lightfoot, op.cit., p.180, a.p. Tr. Gibborim fol.49:2.

pitifully weak and insignificant according to secular standards, and both envisaged the progeny of this faithful Remnant as surpassing in number and in character the previous Israel.

Once again Paul displays his association with the N.T. prophetic spirit which developed out of the O.T. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews also speaks of the celestial Jerusalem.⁶⁷ The new Jerusalem which comes down out of heaven is a recurring theme in Revelation.⁶⁸ Paul and these other N.T. writers share the spirit of Deutero-Isaiah in that they are more concerned with the well-being and the mission of those who dwell in the community of the redeemed than with the preservation of the national capital of Judaism.

2) I Cor. 9:9-10.

Paul's interpretation of the instruction in Dt. 25:4, οὐ κημώσετε βοῶν ἀλωῶντα, has occasioned much perplexity. Critics ask if we can practice the Reformation principle of allowing Scripture to be its own interpreter⁶⁹ when such wild allegorical excesses are found within its covers. In I Cor. 9:9-10 they find conclusive proof that Paul and Philo are bedfellows, sharing the same attitude of expressly denying the literal meaning of the O.T.⁷⁰ The

67. Heb. 12:22.

68. Rev. 21:2, 3:12.

69. Cf. the Doctrine of Scripture (par. ix) in the Westminster Confession: "The infallible rule of interpretation of Scripture is Scripture itself".

70. E.g. Knox, W.L., St. Paul and the Church of Jerusalem, p.129: "Both Paul and Philo display the same absolute disregard of the original meaning and context of the passages which they select to give authority to their doctrines." Weinel, St. Paul, p.60: "Paul attributes

view popularized by Deissmann⁷¹ runs along these lines. Since Paul was of urban upbringing, he had little contact with or concern for the domestic beasts of burden. Not having to rely on their aid he thought it foolish that there should be anything in Scripture regarding their livelihood. The Law seemed to him too sacred to contain prescriptions about such every-day matters.⁷² Because God did not care for anything so commonplace as oxen, a figurative interpretation of Dt. 25:4 had to be sought. Thus Paul is regarded by Deissmann as here denying that Dt. 25:4 can possibly be meant in its literal sense. Merely to state this opinion is almost sufficient to refute it. It reveals the reasoning of a city-dweller of the industrial age, for, in Biblical days, there was essentially no contrast between the rural and urban people with regard to livestock. Also, this exegesis of I Cor. 9:9-10 assumes too naively that Paul and Philo must have belonged to the same school of thought.

We shall seek to show that Paul does not follow the Philonic tendency which destroys the historical sense. We hold it to be an axiom that Paul, as a product of Palestinian Judaism, was always conscious of the plain, unadorned meaning of Scripture. Admittedly in I Cor. 9:9-10 this judg-

70. (cont.) an exactly opposite meaning to the passage
 [I Cor. 9:9-10] in flat contradiction to its original
 plain intention".

71. Deissmann, Paul, p.105.

72. Philo shows in De specialibus legibus 1:260 that this was his general attitude; however he follows the literal meaning when interpreting Dt. 25:4 (De virtutibus 145f).

ment is not self-evident. Therefore it is important that we consider this passage in detail, for if we find that Paul does not deny the literal meaning in this most questioned of passages, we demonstrate the fundamental difference between the hermeneutical principles of Paul and Philo.

The crux interpretum is the meaning we assign $\pi \acute{\alpha} \nu \tau \omega \varsigma$ in verse 10. It is variously interpreted as "altogether" (A.V. and E.R.V.), "purely" (Moffatt), "entirely" (R.S.V.) or "überhaupt".⁷³ If we accept these translations as correct then we must hold that Paul completely rejected the literal sense of the prohibition and regarded the higher meaning of it which he gives here as the one which was originally and exclusively intended. However the use of $\pi \acute{\alpha} \nu \tau \omega \varsigma$ elsewhere in the N.T.⁷⁴ shows that we are not bound to translate it in any of the ways just mentioned. It is better to render it here as "certainly", "assuredly" (A.R.V.), or "clearly"; the colloquial strong affirmative "by all means" or "jedenfalls"⁷⁵ gets at the meaning. The rendering of the E.R.V. margin, "Saith he it, as he doubtless doth, for our sake?", conveys the right impression.

The expression "for our sakes" displays Paul's prevailing concern, that Scripture should apply to the contemporary situation. Thus in I Cor. 10:11 we read: "Now these things happened to them as a warning, but they were written

73. Weiss, Der erste Korintherbrief, p.237.

74. E.g. Rom. 3:9, I Cor. 5:10, 16:12, Lk. 4:23, Acts 21:22, 28:4.

75. Bauer, Wörterbuch, col.1108.

down for our instruction". Another place in which he uses a similar phrase without attempting to deny the historical meaning is in Rom. 4:23-4: "But the words, 'it was reckoned to him', were written not for his [Abraham's] sake alone, but for ours also".

To prove further that it is no intellectual sleight-of-hand to credit Paul with an able interpretation of this passage, we shall reconstruct his train of thought. He does not question that the direction in Deuteronomy was given with a view to promoting a humane treatment of the beasts. He realizes that the injunction is an evidence of God's providential care for his creatures. Wishing to demonstrate this wider context, he turns to Hillel's exegetical principles and argues according to the first rule, "light and heavy"

($\gamma \rho \iota \nu \frac{1}{2} \beta$).⁷⁶ He meets men of his own age on accepted ground when he employs this rule, but this does not imply that his logic is not valid today. The argumentum a minori ad majus or the argumentum a fortiori is of frequent recurrence in modern syllogisms: if the lighter or minor case holds good, how much more valid should the heavier or major one be. By considering I Cor. 9:9-10 as an argument from the lesser to the greater⁷⁷ we can readily see that Paul does not imply that God is indifferent to the oxen's welfare. Rather he states an obvious truth which is to be

76. Cf. Bonsirven, op.cit., pp.83-8; Michel, Paulus und seine Bibel, p.102.

77. Cf. Hering, La Première Épître de Saint Paul aux Corinthiens, p.72; Tasker, The Old Testament in the New, p.82.

found on the very first page of Scripture, that God cares more for men than for brutes. Jesus' words may be cited as proof that such an outlook was current in the first Christian century. "Look at the birds of the air!" He implores: "they neither sow nor reap nor gather into barns, and yet your heavenly Father feeds them. Are you not of more value than they?"⁷⁸ Also Jesus exclaims: "Of how much more value is a man than a sheep!"⁷⁹

The reasoning of Paul may therefore be stated thus: if the ox is not to be denied the opportunity of taking food while he labours, how much less should the evangelist who is performing his work be deprived of remuneration. It is quite possible that Paul continues the pastoral imagery. We may paraphrase verse 10 as follows: "If God cares for the oxen, how much more will he care for the farmer who has dominion over the oxen". Lietzmann argues that Paul may have thought of himself as the farmer: "Da ich auch ein Achersmann bin, gilt das Wort auch, und zwar in noch höherem, ftr mich".⁸⁰

Paul's argument here is similar to what we find in the Talmud.⁸¹ There the demand of Dt. 25:4 is taken to prove that a widow cannot be compelled to enter levirate marriage with a leper who is afflicted with boils: since God has legis-

78. Mt. 6:26.

79. Mt. 12:12.

80. Lietzmann, *Korinther*, p.41.

81. Bab. Tal., Yebamoth 3b-4a.

lated that an ox should find contentment through helping himself to a share of the harvest as he threshes, as a woman should not be deprived of her right to happiness in life. Thus Paul generalizes in the manner of the Palestinian Jews. In neither instance do we see an intention to set aside the actual historical sense of the prohibition, but this sense is subordinated so as to make room for an injunction which bears on current ethics.

We conclude that I Cor. 9:9-10 should not be considered under the category of pure allegorical interpretation. The method here is simply that of the a fortiori syllogism. Calvin's exposition of this passage may be quoted here since it gives a lucid summary of what we have written above with regard to it.

You are not to understand him [Paul] as meaning to exclude oxen from the care of God's Providence ... nor is it as if he meant to expound that precept allegorically, as some hair-brained spirits take occasion from this to turn everything into allegories. Thus they turn dogs into men, trees into angels, and all Scripture into a laughing-stock. Paul's meaning is simple -- ... that God is not so concerned for oxen as to have had merely a regard to oxen in making that law, for he had mankind in view, and wished to accustom them to equity, that they might not defraud the workman of his hire. For it is not the ox that has the principal part in plowing or treading out the corn, but man, by whose industry the ox himself is set to work. Hence, what he immediately adds -- "He that ploweth should plow in hope" -- is an exposition of the precept, as if he had said, that it extends generally to any kind of recompense for labour.⁸²

⁸² Calvin, Corinthians, I, pp.294-5.

3) Gal. 3:16.

Although the phrase $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omega\ \sigma\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\mu\alpha\tau\iota\varsigma$ $\sigma\omicron\upsilon$ occurs in substantially the same form in several passages of Genesis, Paul probably quotes it from the LXX of Gen. 22:17-18 in which the substantive $\sigma\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\mu\alpha$ is given both a singular and a plural signification. Neither the Greek $\sigma\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\mu\alpha$ nor the Hebrew שָׂדֵה which it translates can be given any weight in argument except by faulty scribal manipulation. For example,⁸³ one rabbi argues that a plot of ground which is as large as six handbreaths square is not a bed for one kind of seed only but a garden in which one may sow several varieties of seed without transgressing the law. He finds proof of this in the fact that Isaiah in his clause, "As the garden causes the seeds sown in it to spring forth", mentions not "the seed" but "the seeds". On strict grammatical grounds Paul's argument, as also this Mishnaic argument, rests on error. $\sigma\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\mu\alpha$ is a collective noun; consequently, even though it may refer to one descendant,⁸⁴ it can never do so in opposition to many. Prima facie the argument is philologically unsound in Hebrew, Greek, or English. It is not uncommon for modern critics to rest the case here and mark another cross against Paul's hermeneutics.

It is only the petty logician interested solely in the framework of the argument who can see no deeper. The right attitude is manifested by Duncan who states:

83. Mishnah, Shabbath 9:2.

84. E.g. Gen. 4:25, 21:13.

"Paul's argument about the Offspring is more than a piece of rabbinical subtlety: it is the expression of deep religious conviction".⁸⁵ Even though he uses the disingenuous medium of his day to convey his thought, Paul would be the first to maintain that the truth he intends to convey is independent of this gloss. In verse 29 of this Galatian chapter it is abundantly clear that he is cognizant that in Scripture σπέρμα is collective when it refers to a person's posterity. Also Rom. 4:13,16,18 and 9:7 make it obvious that he was well aware of the comprehensive meaning of the word. His recourse here to fanciful dialectic is possibly satirical: he may be demonstrating that in the contest for Gentile liberty he can use his adversaries' weapons better than any of them. Or perhaps he falls into grammatical ambiguity just because of his eagerness to seize upon an essential connection between the revelation of the O.T. and the Messiah. "The eagle that soars near the sun does not worry itself how to cross the rivers". Paul does not intend to stress the ipsissimum verbum of Genesis but to give a profound interpretation of the Heilsgeschichte. We use the words of Burton to justify Paul's inaccurate verbal forms: "He doubtless arrived at his thought, not by exegesis of Scripture, but from an interpretation of history, and then availed himself of the singular noun to express his thought briefly".⁸⁶ We quote also from Bonnard in this

⁸⁵. Duncan, Galatians, pp.108-9.

⁸⁶. Burton, op.cit., p.182.

regard: "L'argumentation de Paul [in Gal. 3:16] est ... historique et christocentrique: il montre qu'en bénissant Abraham, Dieu avait déjà en vue les païens qu'il entendait sauver par Jésus-Christ".⁸⁷

Since Paul's view on prophetic revelation lies at the center of an adequate interpretation of Gal. 3:16, we shall briefly look at the broad sweep of O.T. history through Pauline spectacles. In Rom. 9-11 the apostle explains in greater detail the way in which the perpetuity of the divine promises were summed up in Christ, enabling us to supplement and therefore to discern clearly what was in the background of his thought in this Galatian discussion. In this regard a passage from Dodd's History and the Gospel deserves to be quoted in full, for therein is, in our opinion, an unrivalled exposition of Paul's view of the plan by which God has throughout the course of Israelite history selected men of faith to constitute the "Israel of God".⁸⁸ Dodd writes:

For him [Paul] the call of Abraham is the beginning of a process in which the purpose of God is at work for making Himself a people (Gal. 3:7-14). But this purpose appears to be frustrated, as the descendants of Abraham fall away: Ishmael first, then Esau, and then among the children of Israel those who worshipped Baal in the time of Elijah, and all save the faithful remnant in the time of Isaiah (Rom. 9:6-13, 27-9, 11:2-5). This remnant diminishes, until the people of God is embodied in a single individual -- the σπέρμα ᾧ ἐπηγγέθη (Gal. 3:15-6). Christ gathers into Himself the whole of what God designed for His people. And then in the final apostasy the Messiah

⁸⁷. Bonnard, op.cit., p.71.

⁸⁸. Gal. 6:16.

is killed. With Him the hope of Israel perishes and the promise seems frustrated. But He rises from the dead, and in Him the people of God rises, as Ezekiel had foretold, out of the valley of dry bones into newness of life. Thus the seeming frustration of God's purpose is overcome, and all the episodes of Israel's history receive fresh meaning from the final event. The Exodus is a foretaste of the redemption in Christ; the manna in the wilderness and the water from the rock are an anticipation of the life of the new age; for the rock was Christ (I Cor. 10:1-11). The inheritance in Canaan is, in a figure, the inheritance of the saints in light, given to those who are dead and risen with Christ. For with the death and resurrection of Christ an authentically new age begins in which the purpose of God, to create a people for Himself, is realized by the incorporation of Jews and Gentiles alike in the Body of Christ, where there cannot be Greek and Jew, circumcision and uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bondsman, freeman; but Christ is all and in all (Eph. 2:11-22; Gal. 3:26-8; Col. 3:9-11).⁸⁹

In the verse under consideration $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ contains a harmonious balance between the individual and corporate conceptions of personality. Burton does not realize the paradoxical usage of $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ when he states that Paul "probably referred to Christ not as an individual but as the head of a spiritual race".⁹⁰ Paul's conception of the Messiah is at once both individual and corporate. This thought pattern which is the axis around which all of his Christology revolves has unhappily been labelled Paul's Christ-mysticism. There is here no idea of that pantheistic absorption into the deity with which mysticism is commonly allied. It is execrable to think that Paul was appreciably influenced by speculations along the

⁸⁹. Dodd, History and the Gospel, pp. 143-4.

⁹⁰. Burton, op.cit., p. 152.

lines of the mystery cults in vogue among the heathen during the apostolic age. All attempts in the last generation⁹¹ to force upon the apostle's thought the occidental-Oriental hodge-podge of these esoteric religions have led to a cul-de-sac. Paul's use of $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ is rather tied up with the Hebraic conception of solidarity.⁹² The fluid conception of Christ as oscillating between the individual and the corporate person is reflected particularly in the Suffering Servant who is both the personification of Israel and an individual who vicariously makes expiation for the sins of his people.

The best commentary on Gal. 3:16 is I Cor. 12:12. A terse comment of Calvin summarizes Paul's thought in the Corinthian passage: "He calls the Church Christ".⁹³ Thus the apostle's use of $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ shows us that it is impossible to separate Jesus from His Church, and that therefore the term refers both to the Jesus of history and to the commonwealth in which all the redeemed live. Rawlinson expresses the close identification of the Messiah with the New Israel in the following quotation:

The Messiah, the Christ, is at once an individual person -- Jesus of Nazareth -- and He is more. He is, as the representative and the constitutive Person of the New Israel, potentially inclusive. He

91. Cf. Davies (op.cit., pp.88ff.) for an able criticism of the point of view of Bousset (esp. Kyrios Christos) and Reitzenstein (Die Hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen).

92. See our treatment of the Second Adam Christology in chapter VI of this thesis.

93. Calvin, op.cit., I, p.405.

includes, He is one with, the New Israel; and the New Israel is one with, is united to, Him, as its Head.⁹⁴

Just as the Messiah is the embodiment of the "holy seed"⁹⁵ that Isaiah foresees, so also Jesus is the One who comprehends in Himself all who "have put on Christ".⁹⁶ If our Christological interpretation be correct, we can disregard all attempts to write Gal. 3:16 off as uninspired allegory. It is certainly steeped in spiritual import, and it is questionable if it can be legitimately included under the heading of Pauline allegorism.

⁹⁴. A. B. J. Rawlinson in his essay on "Corpus Christi" in Mysterium Christi (Bell and Doissmann, ed.), p.235.

⁹⁵. Is. 6:13.

⁹⁶. Gal. 3:27.

CHAPTER VI

HISTORY AND TYPOLOGY

A. Preliminary Considerations.

With the flowering of the scientific method in our present era the word "objectivity" has become a fetish. Erudite philosophers have laboured in every sphere of knowledge to erect mental Towers of Babel by ascending which they might observe with complete detachment the structure of our civilization and our universe. In an effort to separate themselves from their own finite existence, they have vainly craved the prerogatives which belong only to transcendent beings.

Workers in all fields of human endeavour are today being humbled through recognizing that the human equation can be traced in the observations of even the most astute technicians. Especially in the field of historiography it is noticed that writers are too closely identified with their national, religious, and social environment to give a completely impartial treatment of the subject in hand. The eclectic process of selecting from various sources the events which will constitute a particular chronicle inevitably involves the value judgments and the personal prejudices of the compiler. Existential philosophy has the great merit of showing that the state of man is inextricably bound up with humanity. There is no one who can stand as a spectator aloof from the cosmos and peer into the course of events; we are all constituted with idiosyncrasies which colour our opinions.

The systems of Hegel, Marx, Splengler, Berdyaev, and Toynbee illustrate the significant influence of the historian's perspective. Because each of these men has a different mental make-up, they subconsciously weave quite distinct and contradictory patterns on the loom of universal history.

The fallacy in seeking for scientific objectivity is seen in its grossest form in the field of religious research. With the rise of historical criticism in the past century scholars have abortively attempted to winnow the Biblical records in order to separate the factual kernel from the chaff of interpretation.¹ Today there is a swinging of the pendulum away from this attempt; less is seen of the rationalist who thinks it possible to divorce himself from all his own preconceptions and to dissect and analyze Scripture on purely disinterested lines. There is a resurgence of expositors² who acknowledge that they, like all mankind, have a subjective norm for interpreting history which is beyond all rational control. Their concern is that people should grasp the Christian perspective through the testimonium Spiritus Sancti internum. Though they do not abase historical inquiry and inductive techniques, they recognize that these methods in themselves are insufficient if we are to arrive at the truth contained in the Bible. Those who have

1. The Tübingen school is an outstanding case in point. Its founder, Baur, expresses himself thus: "The essential nature of Christianity is a purely historical question" (Paul, I, p.2).

2. See Richardson and Schweitzer, ed. Biblical Authority for Today, pp.156-239.

made this approach to the Bible may be classed as "theological" or "existential" interpreters. They are primarily interested in the relationship of God to man over the total range of history. These expositors have gone a long way toward patterning their presentation after the apostolic preaching which was first and foremost a reflection upon

ἡ μὲν ἀγγελία τοῦ Θεοῦ.³ As regards this Dodd writes: "The kerygma itself is no more than the rehearsal of history in which the Kingdom of God came".⁴ In the Pauline epistles the Heilsgeschichte is particularly seen in the typological constructions.

What do we mean by Paul's "typology"? It is misleading to try to arrive at the definition of this theological term either through an etymological study of its root ἰύπασ or through consideration of Paul's use of that word. For "typology" has no immediate connection with a "stamp impressed on things"; and, in Paul, ἰύπασ usually means "a model designed for imitation".⁵ Only in Rom. 5:14 is the word unquestionably used in the sense which it has in doctrinal terminology. In other words, "typology" is a technical term which does not have the wide latitude of meaning of its root.⁶

3. Acts 2:11.

4. Dodd, History and the Gospel, pp.162-3.

5. See Phil. 3:17; I Th. 1:17, II Th. 3:9.

6. Phythian-Adams (At-one-ment, p.11) considers the scientific term "homology" to be more appropriate for expressing the sameness of relation between the Old and New Covenants, since he believes the term "typology" to be too vague to be of value. He points out that what Paul calls a "type" the

Perhaps the best way in which to define the typological approach to Scripture is to set over against it the allegorical approach to it. Although there is often such a confusion of terms among critics that typology is no more than a branch of allegory, there can nevertheless be pointed out a distinct difference between these two methods of interpretation. We have shown in the foregoing chapter that Paul's allegorism involves the philological technique of searching the Scriptures for words and phrases which in their outward appearance mirror the truth that he has in mind. Although he accepts the historical truth of a passage to which he applies the allegorical method, his application of that method is independent of that truth. Through verbal jugglery he consciously puts another meaning upon a historical narrative in order to convey a spiritual truth by a method which would appeal to those whom he addresses. Essentially different from his allegorism is his typology, for in the latter method there is an intrinsic historical correspondence between the O.T. idea and his new application of it. Thus we may apply to these two methods of Paul the acute distinction which

5. (cont.) writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews would call an "anti-type" (cf. Heb. 9:24) and that "the use of these words has not saved us from slipping into talk of 'analogy' which 'homology' explicitly forbids". Another Anglican scholar, Hebert (The Authority of the Old Testament, p.218), joins with Phythian-Adams in using this new theological jargon. Although we are loth to accept many of the typological constructions of these scholars, we sympathize with their desire to revivify the old concept of typology. However we feel that the introduction of the word "homology" to our discussion would cause more confusion than assistance.

Wright draws:

Allegory finds Biblical truth in external ideas without reference to the discipline of historical exegesis. The spiritual meaning is eternal truth unconditioned by history. Typology must always be sharply distinguished from such procedure. The significance of an Old Testament event is to be seen at two levels, its historical meaning and its typological meaning in foreshadowing later events. Typology must thus adhere to historical exegesis while at the same time it sees a relationship between two events which God, the Director of the history, has purposely fixed so that the one is the continuation and fulfilment of the other.⁷

Typology lacks the free scope of allegorism. A passage may be allegorized differently by different people, but the type admits of only one interpretation; it cannot be moulded into various shapes according to the multifarious conceptions of interpreters. Thus ever is Abraham a type of the Christian; the Righteous Sufferer a type of Christ; the faithful Remnant a type of the Church; the deliverance from Egypt a type of redemption through Christ; and the entering into the land of Canaan by Yahweh's Chosen People a type of entrance into heaven. The presupposition lying at the heart of the typological method is that there is a specifically appointed divine purpose wrought out from age to age. The method is applied solely for the sake of unfolding the deepest meaning of history, namely that history is His-story. Under God's command events march to their triumphant destiny, at which time His reign over all the world will be openly manifested.

⁷. Wright, God Who Acts, p.65.

The raison d'être of typology is therefore the eternal oneness of God. The unchanging promises of God through all diverse economies is the matrix which gives a type its form. Through typology Paul affirms that the prior covenant has not been abolished, but has been completed and given its true significance in the contemporary sphere. Through his types he exhibits the intimate continuity and cohesion of the divine action, showing thereby that the acts of God are not disconnected eruptions but are contributing parts of an organic unity. Christ is the climax of this divine action; He gives completeness to the whole process. The first adumbrations of God's acts in the Old Covenant as well as the full effulgence of their culmination in the New are included in the plan. All is viewed as acts of a divine drama of redemption with Christ as the plot. Or, to use another metaphor, history as traced by Paul is successive overtures of a cosmic symphony which is conducted by God who uses Christ as the principal air. It is the function of Pauline typology to show that the O.T. looks forward and the N.T. looks backward to Christ who is the center and unifying theme of history.

By bringing into focus what constitutes legitimate typology we have secured a criterion for clearing away grotesque perversions of it. Biblical interpreters who have resorted to such perversions have plagued Church history from the second century onward, and in their hands revelation has

assumed the character of a puzzle book.⁸ To study some of the typology of some of the schoolmen is as unrewarding and as frivolous as to watch a magician pulling rabbits out of an empty hat. By their exegetical monstrosities these quondam champions of a mechanical typological theory have brought a stigma upon this method of interpreting Scripture. Modern scholars have not only pruned away the unsightly rankness of former growth, but have also laboured to uproot the tree. Today typology thrives only in those circles where the results of Biblical criticism are unwelcomed. Brunner, evidently because he associates typology solely with these erroneous methods which trace a theological correspondence between certain N.T. doctrines and those of the O.T. by ignoring the proper historical context, writes: "To argue that it is right to use typology as exposition because it was used by the Apostles, is an argument that would only enter the head of a Fundamentalist".⁹ If Brunner means that we should not follow antiquated methods of exposition merely because they are evidenced in Scripture, he is right. Our contention is that there is justification for using Paul's method not because piety demands it, but because typology

8. E.g. I Clement 12:7. As regards Rahab, the harlot, who hung a piece of scarlet cloth from her house in order to notify the Hebrew spies, it is written in this epistle as follows: "By this they [the spies] made it clear that it was by the blood of the Lord that redemption was going to come...." Also, in Barnabas 7:1ff., the trees and streams of Ps. 1 denote the cross of Jesus and Christian baptism.

9. Brunner, The Christian Doctrine of Creation and Redemption, p.213.

has an immense value inasmuch as it demonstrates that history is a means for accomplishing the divine purpose. Acceptance of scientific criticism does not necessarily make typology obsolete. Much arbitrariness and trifling have assuredly crept into the application of the typological method, even in recent exposition,¹⁰ but that the method itself is essentially a sound one cannot be denied. As long as theology is Biblical, typology cannot be regarded as merely incidental and peripheral. Wright succinctly states: "It is impossible for us to discard New Testament typology without separating ourselves from Biblical faith".¹¹ Typology, in so far as it is modelled on the Pauline pattern, is valid, necessary, and laudable. This method is the apostle's most effective way of revealing the significance of the Old Covenant and its unity with the New.

Having said this of Paul's typology, we shall do well to be cautious in attempting to originate new typological constructions. Again we quote Wright:

[There is] serious danger in a static approach to the Bible through the use of typology. While an immanent historical truth is seen as relating two or more historical events, the truth looked for may be the timeless, eternal verity or idea which is merely set within the crude frame of history. By taking off the

10. E.g. Vischer (The Witness of the Old Testament to Christ) and Thornton (Revelation and the Modern World) who are modern exponents of an artificial typology exhibit little more than lively conjuring. The result of their treatment is that the historical differences between the O.T. and the N.T. wither away. Their romancing is unwarranted since their interpretation of history is not congruous with the events of history.

11. Wright, op.cit., p.64.

frame we de-historicize it, even while paying lip-service to the historical context in which it is found. When thus used, typology can be more dangerous than allegory because it achieves the same end without being so openly unhistorical. It can be made into a synthesis between the Greek search for eternal truth and the Biblical concern for history. Yet Biblical "truth" is fundamentally active; it is an interpreted act or event involving faith, decision and participation. Consequently, our interpretation must always be on the alert lest it slip into the abstract timelessness which is the subtle danger forever lurking at our steps -- especially when we desire to exhibit our rational excellence. For these reasons, typology is a dangerous exercise when elaborated systematically by any modern. It is better, therefore, that we remain confined to, and disciplined by, the chief types which the New Testament itself employs, and further that we no more attempt to use these types as material for the erection of a systematic hermeneutics than did the writers of the New Testament.¹²

We need to remember that typology is found not only in the N.T. writings but also in the O.T. prophetic literature. The prophets continually recall past events not because of their preoccupation with the bare facts of Israel's history, but because they seek to show that throughout this history there has been a continuing encounter of God with Israel. Were not the motifs of the second Exodus from captivity, the re-entering^{of} the land of Canaan, and the new creation¹³ found in Deutero-Isaiah rooted in the same belief in the recapitulation of history which blossomed to maturity in Paul's types? Moreover one of the favourite themes of the psalmists is that there is transferred to new generations the covenant which was inaugurated at the Exodus and which showed

12. Ibid., pp. 65-6.

13. See Is. 51:9-11, 65:17, et.al.

in an amazing way that Yahweh had adopted Israel as His son by an act of grace.¹⁴ Rad¹⁵ points out that even Israel's earliest confessions of faith contain the recurrent refrain of the great saving acts of God. The only difference between the O.T. and N.T. interpreters of history is that the latter had the opportunity of looking back upon a broader panorama of the Heilsgeschichte.

Paul's typology, grasping as it does the essence of the Biblical concept of history, contains truth which is lacking in the idea of inevitable progress that infiltrated into Christian dogma from the secularist optimism which enthralled many intellectuals of the last century.¹⁶ The Christian Weltanschauung presented in this typology shows religious history not as a gradual evolution of the idea of God, but as a totally unique theophany of the covenant and election which have been normative for countless generations. The Christian view assumes that the two-fold rhythm of judgment and mercy in God's approach to man is found in the beginning of Israelite history, and that the Messiah is the final embodiment of this pattern. Hence the Gospel of grace is not an innovation and an afterthought; it has always been God's way of salvation. Ever there is the same God who initiates, the same recipient who apprehends His will accord-

14. See Ps. 78, 105, 106, et.al.

15. Rad, Das formgeschichtliche Problem des Hexateuchs; cf. Dt. 6:20-4, 26:5-9.

16. We find a notable example of the humanistic conception of the development of religion according to an evolutionary pattern from the crude idea of a tribal God to an ethical monotheism in Fosdick's Guide to Understanding the Bible.

ing to his capacity, and the same community of the redeemed. The relation of God and man through history can therefore be termed "progressive" only in the sense that the condition of man is such that God's truth only gradually becomes clearer.

The praeparatio evangelica thus goes back in history much further than Hebrew religious thought at the date of the Davidic kingdom. In fact it may be argued that in his recital of the redemptive acts of God Paul dwells mainly upon Israel's history prior to the rise of the prophetic movement. Wright comments:

The simplest summary of the central Biblical events as the New Testament saw them is contained in the address attributed to the Apostle Paul at Antioch in Pisidia (Acts 13:16ff.).... The history, which this confession reviews, begins with the Patriarchs and ends with David; from that point Paul passes immediately to Jesus Christ. He thus suggests that the events from Abraham to David are the most significant history of the former times and that Christ is the continuation, the clarification and the fulfillment of the redemptive purpose of God within it.¹⁷

Tasker also deserves to be quoted at this point:

They [the N.T. writers] did not confine their interest to those passages in which the revelation of God's nature most approximated to that given in the teaching of Jesus, or to those moral precepts which could be most easily taken over as part of a Christian ethic. To them the whole story of the people of Israel, their divine call, their redemption from Egypt, the giving of law on Mount Sinai, the triumphant establishment of the worship of Jehovah in the Holy Land, the building of the temple, the tragedy of the exile, and the subsequent resurrection and return of the remnant to Zion -- are all foreshadowings of the greater and final salvation given in the life, death and resurrection of Jesus....¹⁸

17. Wright, op.cit., p.70.

18. Tasker, The Old Testament in the New Testament, p.12.

We associate with the above quotations the following passage from Dodd:

The Old Testament has often been interpreted as a record of the evolution of religion with Christianity as its climax and crown.... The continuity of the process is only partial.... If ... we look at the history of Israel, not under modern categories of development, but as it is presented in the Old Testament, we have a picture rather of a series of crises than of a continuous evolution.... The key-points of the story are the crises in which, as the biblical writers aver, the word of God descends upon history through Abraham, Moses, and the prophets, and challenges men to a response. The horizontal line of the secular process is cut vertically by the word of God from on high.... The coming of Christ, His death and resurrection, constitute the fulfilment of that history, not as the last term in a process of development, but as the concentration in one decisive historical moment of the factors determinative of all preceding history, through which, consequently, that history becomes not only meaningful, but in the full sense real.¹⁹

If typology displays the characteristically Biblical view of history, it is complementary to note that it must also accurately represent the Biblical view of time. Marsh, in an able treatment of this subject in The Fulness of Time, corrects the excesses of the rectilinear scheme popularized by Gullmann in Christ and Time.²⁰ Marsh shows that the Biblical writers, when they refer to time, are not so fundamentally concerned with the ordinary succession of past, present, and future as we are today. After discussing the typological exposition in I Cor. 10, he concludes:

To us, who are accustomed to think of the "irreversibility" of time, it is doubtless easier to think of Christ who died on Calvary "coming forward" to us

19. Dodd, op.cit., pp.139-42, 144.

20. See Marsh, The Fulness of Time, pp.174-81 for a telling criticism of Gullmann.

than "going back" to the Israelites of old. But when the Christian asserts the contemporary presence of Christ with his twentieth-century disciples, it is not the irreversibility of time that is involved, but its transcendence. To twentieth-century man time seems to be a one-way street; and the traffic flows in one direction only. Without attempting to deny that this is the opinion of modern man, it seems to us that the Bible cannot accept such a view of time. "Before" and "after" certainly have their place in any apprehension or explication of time, but the fundamental biblical category, we believe, is that of "fulfilment". When the Christian looks back to Calvary and trusts himself and his destiny, and that of the whole world, to the God who revealed himself in Christ, and when the faithful Jew looked forward to the day when Messiah the deliverer would come, the same situation occurs: there is a reaching out across or beyond the successions of chronological time to an event-sequence apprehended by faith as the final deliverance of this world by God. The Christ who died on Calvary can, we believe, fulfil his promise (Mt. 28:20) to be with us in the spiritual and geographical deserts of our twentieth century; it is surely no less comprehensible to faith that he should be present (though because of chronological historical sequence without the same possibility of identification) to the Israelites in the wilderness of the Exodus more than a thousand years B.C.²¹

We pass now to a consideration of the two passages in which Paul's typological method is most prominently displayed.

B. I Cor. 10.

This chapter lies within the section entitled, "Concerning Food Offered to Idols".²² In presenting typology in this chapter Paul does not lose sight of the fact that his main intention is to discuss the temptations besetting the enlightened or "strong" (δυνατοί).²³

21. Marsh, op.cit., p.159.

22. I Cor. 8:1.

23. Rom. 15:1.

Here, however, we are not primarily interested in the way this passage relates to the over-all discussion of this particular problem of ethics. What rather we wish to observe is the apostle's typological treatment of history. Whether we give to $\text{I} \dot{\text{U}} \pi \rho \sigma$ in verse 6 and $\text{I} \text{U} \pi \text{L} \text{K} \omega \sigma$ in verse 11 the more general sense of "a model designed for imitation" or the narrower theological sense discussed above matters little for our purposes. Regardless of the meaning we assign these words, this chapter belongs in the typological category.

Our greatest difficulty in interpreting I Cor. 10 is occasioned by the fact that we find in the O.T. no reference to the $\dot{\text{K}} \text{K} \sigma \lambda \alpha \text{U} \theta \alpha \hat{\text{U}} \sigma \text{K} \text{P} \acute{\text{E}} \text{I} \rho \text{K}$ of which Paul speaks. There is preserved in the Targum of Onkelos what is perhaps the source of a legend which bears on this itinerant rock. Since the Targum can be traced back to at least the beginning of the second century A.D., we have valid ground for assuming that the legend was current in Oral Tradition in the apostolic age. The Aramaic paraphrase of Num. 21:16-20 given by Onkelos hints that a well accompanied the Israelites as they wandered over hill and dale. It reads: "And thence was given to them the well.... And from (the time) that it was given to them, it descended with them to the rivers, and from the rivers it went up to the height, and from the height to the vale...."²⁴ This accretion appears

²⁴. Quoted in Thackeray, The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought, pp.206-7.

to be due to an associating of the movements of the Israelites mentioned immediately after their song in Num. 21:17-18 with the well of Beer. In rabbinic lore this supernaturally animated well is also given a fitting rock-like receptacle. The writer of Tosefta Sukkah presents the following description of it: "So the well, which was with Israel in the wilderness, was like a rock of the size of a k'bara (כ'בארה, a large round vessel), and was oozing out and rising as from the mouth of this flask, travelling with them up the mountains and going down with them to the valleys".²⁵ In Midrashic literature the construction of the well of Beer is further described:

It was rock-shaped like a kind of bee-hive, and wherever they journeyed it rolled along and came with them. When the standards (under which the tribes journeyed) halted and the tabernacle was set up, that same rock would come and settle down in the court of the Tent of Meeting and the princes would come and stand upon it and say, "Rise up, O well," and it would rise.²⁶

There is no more than superficial resemblance between this Haggadic development and the rock of which Paul speaks in I Cor. 10. Although he was probably cognizant of the rabbinic legend in its rudimentary form, it is quite unthinkable that here he attempts to suggest to the people in Corinth that his Christology is bound up with this idle speculation. A man of profound understanding, the apostle must have realized that the predominantly proletarian Gentile church in Corinth would not have the vaguest notion of the

²⁵. Tosefta Sukkah 3:11.

²⁶. Midrash, Numbers Rabbah 1:2.

meaning of this cryptic inference which had been made by the Jerusalem doctors. We agree with Driver who expresses himself as follows with regard to this matter:

The entire fable is of the most puerile order, though scarcely more so than many other fables related in the pages of the Midrash. There is no reason for supposing, even if in St. Paul's day it had reached the extravagant dimensions of the Midrash, that the apostle adopted or accepted it himself: though he does, no doubt, occasionally make use of a rabbinical interpretation, the adoption of such an incredible legend would be totally out of harmony with the masculine character of his mind, such as it is exhibited in his writings generally.... The particular expression chosen by the apostle may have been suggested to him by his acquaintance with the legend current among the Jews; but it is evident that he gives it an entirely different application, and that he uses it, not in a literal sense, but figuratively.²⁷

Moreover the apostle cannot be charged with resorting to a piece of barren rabbinism because his words $\eta \delta \epsilon \pi \epsilon \rho \alpha$
 $\eta \nu \delta \chi \rho \iota \sigma \tau \acute{o} \varsigma$ show that his primary purpose is to underline the homogeneity of the ancient and the new economies. To this consideration we shall turn.

Yahweh is frequently given the appellation "Rock". Since the qualities of a rock suggest permanence and stability, we have here a forceful figure for the unchanging support and refuge found in God. Dt. 32 is the key O.T. passage for the study of this word in its application to God. From our list of Pauline citations it will be seen that five references are made to this one chapter; no other chapter in the O.T. is cited with greater frequency in the letters of Paul.

²⁷. Driver, "Notes on Three Passages in St. Paul's Epistles" in The Expositor, 3rd series, IX, pp.17-8.

is questionable, however, whether Paul transferred the title "Rock" from Yahweh to Christ through an independent study of this Song of Moses. The identification of Christ with the "Rock", like the confession "Jesus is Lord", probably was an interpretation of the O.T. "received" (παράλαβεν) ²⁸ from his Christian predecessors. The importance of Dt. 32 to the apostle may therefore have been enhanced by the prior interpretation of the early Church.

One of the most certain results of the testimonia hypothesis is that the N.T. writers are drawing from a common tradition when they allude to the "stoneship" of Christ. This point is confirmed when later in Cyprian we find the caption, "Quod idem [Christ] et Lapis dictus sit".²⁹ Dodd writes: "The recurrence of the group of passages in which a 'stone' is used as a symbol, corresponding as it does to an established grouping in known testimony books, is indeed striking, but it is almost the only one of its kind -- the only one certainly which carries any particular weight".³⁰ The Synoptic record that Jesus associated Ps. 118:22 with His Messianic vocation best explains the background from which this concept emerged.³¹ We thus agree with Harris' witty remark that it is Jesus Himself "who sets the Stone rolling".³² Because the Christological interpretation of Ps. 118:22 was

28. Cf. I Cor. 11:23, 15:3; Hunter, Paul and His Predecessors,

29. Cyprian, Testimonia 2:16. pp.31,102f.

30. Dodd, According to the Scriptures, pp.26-7.

31. Mk. 12:10 and parallels.

32. Harris, Testimonies, II. p.96.

so prominent in the primitive Gospel sources, it is probable that ἡ πέτρα ἣν ὁ Χριστός was an established dogma in the early Church. Instead of detecting here an allusion to an obtuse rabbinic fancy, we find that Paul is referring to a concept which may have been already quite familiar to the Christians. In this same Corinthian letter³³ his reference to Christ as the foundation of the Church reveals the same motif.

That "the Rock was Christ" is but one of the ways in I Cor. 10 by which Paul indicates that "all"³⁴ Christians have an intimate connection with the Old Covenant. In this chapter he brings together for the first time in Christian literature the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and he maintains that there is an analogy between them and their fathers' deliverance from Egyptian bondage. The elements of the Lord's Supper are associated with the manna from heaven and the drink from the supernatural rock; Baptism is associated with the Shekinah and the passing through the sea en route to the Promise^d Land.

So far in our exposition of the typology in I Cor. 10 we have concentrated on the similarity of the divine epiphany in the times of the Old and New Covenants. But we must not neglect to mention the corollary to this, namely that the predicament of man is substantially the same at all times. The peculiarly significant instance of redemption at the Exo-

33. I Cor. 3:10-11.

34. The word Πέτρα is used 5 times in I Cor. 10:1-4.

dus was attended by the deadly perils of idolatry, immorality, and insubordination. The O.T. prophets repeatedly showed that the people who were "called of God" did not fulfil the ethical obligations which were inevitably involved in their freedom. Paul, following the prophetic precedent, gives warning that the sacraments are in danger of being profaned by the libertines who believe that the new Exodus inaugurated by the Crucifixion and Resurrection of Christ gives them redemption without their having to take moral responsibility upon themselves. The apostle hopes that the Corinthians will heed the example of the Hebrews and not crave for the flesh of idol sacrifice as they did for the fleshpots of Egypt. Hence in this typology Paul gives the story of God's visitation of a particular people at a particular date in history a contemporary reference, thereby showing that the attitude of God and the condition of man are the same in every age.

C. Rom. 5:12-21; I Cor. 15:22, 45-49; Phil. 2:6-11.

Paul's most striking and instructive type is that of Adam; in the parallel and contrast of Adam and Christ we have the core of his Christology. With regard to Rom. 5:12-21, where this typology is presented in its most systematic form, Hygren writes:

This passage is by no means a parenthesis or a digression in the Apostle's thought. Rather do we here come to the high point of the epistle. This is the point where all the lines of his thinking

converge, both those in the preceding chapters and those of the chapters that follow.³⁵

We also find this nerve of Pauline Christology exposed at two other highly significant points, namely in I Cor. 15 and in Phil. 2.

We shall first consider what constituted Paul's view of Adam. The establishment of the position that Gen. 1-3 is the product of prophetic discernment rather than the record of matter-of-fact history, has led some Biblical critics to see in Paul a reflection of their own outlook. It is therefore occasionally asked whether he considered the first man as a literal or as a symbolic being. Since the apostle alludes to Adam more than do all the other Biblical writers combined, it has been felt that if it could be demonstrated that he demythologizes the opening narrative of the Bible, that would prove conclusively that even in the N.T. Adam was regarded as a mythical figure. Denney writes that "Paul's Adam is simply the abstraction of human nature, personified and placed with a determining power at the beginning of human history".³⁶ Dodd³⁷ doubts if Paul regarded Adam as a historical person. Now it is true that the Hellenistic Jews exalted the symbolic, and that one of them who was a near-contemporary of Paul stated that "each one of us hath been the Adam of his own soul";³⁸ but, as we have repeat-

35. Nygren, Romans, p.209.

36. Denney, "Adam and Christ in Paul" in The Expositor, 6th series, IX, p.148.

37. Dodd, Romans, p.80.

38. Revelation 5:19. Actually there is no denying of the his-

edly argued, there is ground for believing that Paul shared little of the Hellenistic outlook, and it is probable that he actually harboured antipathy to their literature. To all the N.T. writers the whole of the O.T. was literal history. Cullmann writes à propos of the relationship between history and myth in the N.T.: "It must be made clear that between these various items [historical verifiable occurrences, sagas, and myths] Primitive Christianity makes no distinction. In this respect it considers Adam to be upon the same plane as is Jesus of Nazareth. The genealogy of Jesus, Luke unhesitatingly traces back to Adam".³⁹ To whom other than the literal Adam could Paul be referring when he declared at Athens, "He [God] made from one [ἐξ ἑνός] every nation of men to live on all the face of the earth"⁴⁰

We are safe, then, in holding that Paul conceived of Adam as a historical person. But we must note that the apostle would have considered the distinction assumed by moderns between history and myth to be unreal. It is to reverse the Semitic order of thinking to make the bare record of happenings the first consideration and the truth it is intended to convey secondary, as we, with our Western literalness, are often predisposed to do. Since there is both a historical and a supra-historical aspect in Paul's treatment of the Adamic account, we may say with Peake:

38. (cont.) toricity of Adam even here, for the full viewpoint of the writer of this passage is that Adam, although he first sinned, is not the cause of universal sin.

39. Cullmann, Christ and Time, p.94.

40. Acts 17:26.

Unquestionably Paul took that story to be literal history; nothing else could be reasonably expected from him. What I find remarkable, however, is that substantially his doctrine is so constructed as to be unaffected by our answer to the question whether the narrative of the Fall is history or myth.⁴¹

We discern the essence of this typological interpretation only when we breathe deeply the O.T. atmosphere, for at no point in Biblical theology does the Hebrew conception of personality come more to the fore than in Paul's contrast of Adam and Christ. The Hebrews did not conceive of humanity as an atomistic aggregate of separate individuals, but as an organic unity that possessed a collective life of its own.⁴² The ideas of blood revenge illustrate this unity on a family and clan basis.⁴³ An individual belonging to such a group was considered to be so inextricably tied up with it that he was both responsible for its faults and privileged to consider the blessings received by other members of it as transmitted to himself.⁴⁴ That this idea was not limited to one generation is noted in the proverb, "Their fathers have eaten sour grapes, and their children's teeth are set on edge".⁴⁵

Paul gives many figures of speech which indicate that he accepted the Hebrew conception of the corporate nature

41. Peake, The Servant of Yahweh, p.267.

42. Cf. Johnson, A.R., The One and the Many in the Israelite Conception of God, pp.1-17.

43. E.g. in Josh. 7 a whole clan is cursed because of Achan's misdeed.

44. E.g. in Gen. 18 the merits of a handful of righteous in Sodom would have saved the city. Also I S. 12:19,23, Is. 37:4, and Jer. 5:1 show us that one man can intercede for a whole nation.

45. Jer. 31:29; Ez. 18:2; cf. Lam. 5:7.

of personality. For example, in Rom. 11:16-17 it is expressed in his metaphor of a tree: all branches partake of the nourishment of the stem with which they are connected. Again, in I Cor. 12:12-26 it is exhibited in his famous metaphor of the Church functioning as a physical body: "If one member suffers, all suffer together; if one member is honored, all rejoice together". Thus Paul considers the individual man to be so related to the whole human race that its action involves him in consequences which are not the result of his individual actions.

One of Paul's noblest displays of the solidarity of the human race is in his use of the phrase $\xi \nu \chi \rho \iota \sigma \tau \omega$.⁴⁶ In 1892 Deissmann⁴⁶ produced a study in which he sought to prove that this phrase was Paul's characteristic expression for the closest conceivable relationship of the Christian with Christ. As the result of a painstaking comparison of the use of the preposition $\xi \nu$ in the LXX and in other koiné Greek literature with its use in Paul, he maintained that $\xi \nu \chi \rho \iota \sigma \tau \omega$ must be taken in a local sense as a technical expression for the apostle's central thought of $\kappa \omicron \nu \omega$ $\nu \zeta \alpha$ with Christ. Deissmann's underlying idea is that Christians somehow live in the element Christ, as birds live in the air, and fishes in the sea, and the roots of plants in the earth.⁴⁷ His contention was epoch making, for the modern

⁴⁶. Deissmann, Die neutestamentliche Formel 'in Christo Jesu'.
⁴⁷. Ibid., p. 84.

study of Pauline theology began with his new emphasis. Today we find that even such scholars as Schweitzer⁴⁸ and J. Knox⁴⁹, whose points of view are often widely separated from one another, retain in modified form this fundamental category popularized by Deissmann.

If $\xi \nu \times \rho \leftarrow \sigma \tau \omega$ is Paul's dominating concept, it is only natural that he should be the first to point out and dwell upon a correspondence between the new aeon and the dominion $\xi \nu \tau \omega \theta \delta \acute{\alpha} \mu$.⁵⁰ He saw that/^{there} was a contrast between the original creation which had been spoilt by the sin of Adam ($\square \tau \times$ the generic term for mankind) and the "new creation"⁵¹ in which Christ had overcome what had/^{been} marring the image of God in man. We are not surprised therefore that contemporary Jewish literature of both Palestine⁵¹ and Alexandria⁵² reveals no striking parallels to the Pauline doctrine of Adam. We believe that the apostle's intensely personal

48. Schweitzer writes: "'Being-in-Christ' is the prime enigma of the Pauline teaching: once grasped it gives the clue to the whole" (The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle, p.3).
49. J. Knox concludes: "To be 'in Christ' is to be a member of the ultimate, eschatological order, the divine community of love, proleptically present and partially realized in the church, whose spirit is the very Spirit of God and the very presence of the risen Christ. The Christian life is, essentially and definitively, life within that community" (Chapters in a Life of Paul, p.158).
50. I Cor. 15:22; cf. Weiss, Der erste Korintherbrief, p.356.
51. Cf. Thackeray, op.cit., pp.40ff.; and Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, pp.44ff.
52. Philo (De Log. Alleg. 1:12; De Mund. Opif. 46) expounds the notion of a heavenly and an earthly man from the two accounts of human creation which he discovers in Gen. 1:26-7 and in Gen.2:7. It is doubtful whether Paul was influenced by this Philonic speculation, for there is nothing in the apostle's conception of Adam which could not have been suggested by the Genesis story alone.

sin

struggle with/was what gave rise to this typology. Regarding this we follow Peake who writes as follows:

It was his [Paul's] own experience that was his starting-point. We should read the discussion of Adam and Christ in the light of the autobiographical fragment in the seventh of Romans. As he pondered on the conflict within his own nature, the struggle between the flesh and the mind, the victory of sin, the impotence of the Law for righteousness, its capture by sin for its own evil ends, he sought the explanation at the fountain head of history. In his own heart he found the key to the long tragedy of man's sin and guilt. As he was so was mankind. His own breast was a tiny stage on which the vast elemental conflict of good and evil was re-enacted. So had it been with the first man, so from the very outset of the race's history at the touch of the Law the sin that slumbered in the flesh had sprung to consciousness and revolt. And all generations, as they came and went, had but vindicated by their universal transgression God's treatment of that first disobedience as a racial act.⁵³

A comparison of Adam with Christ in outline form may help to clarify this typology:

- 1) Both were men created in the image of God⁵⁴ and were thereby given perfect capacities for a holy life.
 - a) Adam revolted against God by grasping for divine equality.⁵⁵
 - b) Christ was obedient to God by taking upon Himself the rôle of humiliation.⁵⁶
- 2) Both are archetypes who imprint their respective likenesses on all who are their descendants,⁵⁷ so

^{53.} Peake, op.cit., pp. 268-9.

^{54.} Gen. 1:26-7; Phil. 2:6. We interpret $\mu\omicron\rho\phi\acute{\eta}$ to be one of Paul's translations of $\aleph\iota\gamma\omicron\gamma$ or $\sigma\acute{\zeta}\zeta$; thus $\mu\omicron\rho\phi\acute{\eta}$ is synonymous with $\epsilon\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu$ as used in II Cor. 4:4 and in Col. 1:15. Cf. Hunter, Paul and His Predecessors, pp. 49-

^{55.} Gen. 3:5.

^{56.} Phil. 2:6-8; Rom. 5:19b.

^{57.} Rom. 5:12-4; I Cor. 15:49.

that there is an intimate personal identity between the progenitor and his offspring.

- a) The first man, a creature of dust,⁵⁸ has banefully brought condemnation and death to all.⁵⁹
- b) The Second and Final Man, a life-giving spirit,⁶⁰ has beneficially brought acquittal and life in a measure which more than removes the divine judgment upon sinful man⁶¹ for those $\xi \nu \tau \omega$
 $\chi \rho \iota \sigma \tau \omega$ ⁶²

It seems to us that Beyschlag has given the best interpretation of this Adamic Christology. He shows admirably that its emphasis is anthropocentric rather than theocentric. Although he does not recognize that Phil. 2:6-11 belongs to this Christology, the following passage, which we quote from him in extenso, applies to all the Pauline passages we have selected for this discussion:

The apostle ... maintains that Christ is the re-generator of humanity, the virtual repairer of the damage which Adam caused, and that He not only repairs but restores to perfection by leading humanity not only back to the point at which the error began, but to the goal of its eternal destiny.... He alone is Man, as God in His heaven from eternity conceived and willed Him to be; in a word, the original ideal Man. And this ideal Man, in His life, death, and resurrection, has become a $\pi \nu \epsilon \upsilon \chi \alpha \zeta \omega \sigma \tau \omega$
 $\sigma \upsilon \nu$ for all, a spiritual power which is able to communicate to all and imprint on all its own life from the outpouring of the Spirit into the heart to the final glorification of the body.... In this ... the apostle shows us a more perfect and satisfying

58. Gen. 2:7; I Cor. 15:47.
 59. Gen. 2:17, 3:17-9; Rom. 5:18,12, cf. 7:11.
 60. I Cor. 15:45.
 61. Rom. 5:17-8.
 62. I Cor. 15:22.

Christology than that which was set up by the later Church in its doctrine of the two natures, obtained by an application of scholastic notions of the Greeks. For, in the first place, that doctrine of the two natures, as is well known, does not succeed in constructing a harmonious living personality from the two natures, but they remain apart, conflicting with each other; they are always on the point of separating into two persons. The apostle, on the other hand, by thinking of Christ as the ideal Man -- that is, the perfect image of God among men -- does not place the human and divine beside each other, but thinks of both in each other, God living in Christ and Christ in God. For the notion of the ideal Man cannot be completed without the perfect indwelling of God in Him; for as God has prepared the human heart to be His dwelling-place, and man only fulfils his destiny in communion with God, the ideal Man is just the Man who stands in absolute communion with God, or in whom "dwells the fulness of the Godhead". The ideal Man is therefore the God-Man. But, in the second place, in that doctrine of two natures, the human nature of Christ, as is well known, never gets its due. It unavoidably becomes a mere appendage to a divine person already complete without it, and thus arises an image of Christ which is capable of no human development, no human feeling and experience, and which presents at bottom only an apparent human personality.... It is different in the case of our apostle, who makes the ideal humanity the essential element in his picture of Christ....⁶³

The point of view which Beyschlag exhibits is shared by Dodd.

He writes:

The question in Paul's mind is not a question of the scarcely unthinkable combination in one person of the contradictory attributes of transcendent Deity on the one hand and of a purely "natural" and non-divine humanity on the other. Humanity itself means Christ, and has no proper meaning without Him. Unless a man is a "son of God," he is so far less than man; he has yet to grow "to a mature man, i.e. to the measure of the full stature of Christ" (Eph. 4:12-15). The history of man is the story of the course by which mankind is becoming fully human.⁶⁴

63. Beyschlag, New Testament Theology, II, pp.65-6.

64. Dodd, The Meaning of Paul for Today, p.89.

Paul's thought was, then, unblemished by the de-
 ceterism which was to pock mark Christianity as it became Hel-
 lenized. To Paul, Christ, like Adam, was subordinate to
 God;⁶⁵ like the first man, He was given a bride, the Church.⁶⁶
 The Second Adam "who was descended from David"⁶⁷ and "born
 of woman"⁶⁸ was, of course, not called $\delta \Theta \epsilon \acute{\omicron} \varsigma$. Rather,
 the apostle's favourite title for designating Christ was δ
 $\kappa \acute{\upsilon} \rho \varsigma \omicron \varsigma$. What meaning did he give this "name which is
 above every name"?⁶⁹ It is, we believe, altogether too facile
 to say that Paul transferred to Christ the circumlocutory
 LXX translation of the unspeakable covenantal name for the
 God of Israel. Such a transference would have implied that
 Paul had the same concept of deity in mind when he spoke of
 $\delta \kappa \acute{\upsilon} \rho \varsigma \omicron \varsigma$ 'Ιησοῦς as when he spoke of $\delta \Theta \epsilon \acute{\omicron} \varsigma$.
 That, in our opinion, would have been an impossibility for
 the rigid Semitic monotheist, Paul. We suggest that his use
 of $\delta \kappa \acute{\upsilon} \rho \varsigma \omicron \varsigma$ when applied to Christ points in a horizon-
 al direction rather than in a vertical one. Christ is δ
 $\kappa \acute{\upsilon} \rho \varsigma \omicron \varsigma$ ^{having dominion} over restored nature and redeemed humanity even
 as Adam had ^{had} dominion over the world. He who is "the
 first-born of all creation"⁷⁰ is $\delta \kappa \acute{\upsilon} \rho \varsigma \omicron \varsigma$ over the new
 eschatalogical age.

65. See e.g. I Cor. 3:23, 11:3, 8:6, 15:28; Phil. 2:11.

66. See II Cor. 11:2-3.

67. Rom. 1:3.

68. Gal. 4:4.

69. Phil. 2:9.

70. Col. 1:15.

CHAPTER VII

THE CONTINUITY OF FAITH

The attitude which, according to Paul, God requires of man can be expressed in the one comprehensive word "faith". That the notion conveyed by this word is essential to the apostle's thought is shown by his employment of the noun $\pi \acute{\iota} \sigma \tau \iota \varsigma$ and its cognate verb form $\pi \acute{\iota} \sigma \tau \epsilon \acute{\upsilon} \omega$ ¹ to an extent that eclipses his use of every other theological term. Therefore, to understand the mind of Paul, we must discover and examine the roots from which these associated words develop. Because the outlook of many Biblical scholars in the past generation was concentrated upon religious experience, they held that the apostle's concept of faith resulted from his antipathy to Pharisaic legalism. Moreover, when they failed to find many instances of the term "faith" in the O.T., they made the hasty generalization that faith is a N.T. concept. This widely accepted view was entertained by Thackeray, who wrote: "It is the part played by faith in the scheme of man's salvation which is the entirely novel element in the doctrine of St. Paul".² It was also maintained by Deissmann, who expressed the bold opinion: "His [Paul's] idea of faith is altogether new; no one would think of identifying the $\pi \acute{\iota} \sigma$ "

1. Paul uses the noun approximately three times as frequently as the verb.

2. Thackeray, The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought, p.85.

της of the LXX with the πίστις of Paul".³ More recently Buber,⁴ a Jewish philosopher, has pointed to an antinomy between $\pi\lambda\sigma\tau\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ and πίστις and has regarded Paul as the greatest Christian exponent of the Hellenistic concept of πίστις. We hope in this chapter to demonstrate that Paul derived this concept from the O.T., and thereby to prove that these scholars have grievously erred.

Although all the Pauline epistles are studded with the terms πίστις and $\pi\lambda\sigma\tau\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omega$, we shall concentrate upon the interpretation of Gal. 3 and the parallel passage Rom. 4, since the theme of faith is there given much prominence. It is striking that in these chapters in which Paul gives his most elaborate exposition of the faith concept, we have manifold evidence that the reasoning is firmly anchored in the O.T. The quotations which are drawn from Gen. 15:6 and from Hab. 2:4 are the primary ones used to buttress the discussion. We shall make a close examination of these texts because it is too often thought that the apostle reads into them a meaning not originally intended. Suffice it here to cite the opinion of several scholars. W.L. Knox writes: "The justification of the doctrine [of faith] by an appeal to Gen. 15:6 is obviously merely rabbinical; it rests on the quite arbitrary selection of an isolated text without reference to the context".⁵ Pfeiffer labels Hab. 2:4 as Paul's "great

3. Deissmann, Biblical Studies, p.79.

4. Buber, Two Types of Faith, esp. pp.44, 170-4.

5. Knox, W.L., St. Paul and the Church of Jerusalem, p.117, n.25.

anti-Jewish motto".⁶ Burrows⁷ refers to the apostle's utilization of these two texts as outstanding examples of the invalid proof-text method. We prefer Hebert's point of view in this regard: "The two great texts of the Old Testament about faith are those which St. Paul uses".⁸ These complementary texts, the one from the Law giving a concrete application of faith and the other from the Prophets giving a general principle of faith, we shall consider in turn.

A. Gen. 15:6.

Gal. 3 and Rom. 4 contain the main references in Pauline literature to the patriarchal narrative. The latter passage develops the exposition of the former with greater cogency. In neither of them does Paul attempt to epitomize ancient history; rather, he selects those features of the Abrahamic story which advance his argument. Both passages presuppose a knowledge of the Genesis account. Indeed it was probably just because the story of Abraham was so popular that he treats him at greater length than any other Scriptural character.

In first century Judaism Abraham was considered to be the typical personification of a virtuous Jew. His descendants placed a halo above the deeds of this patriarch's life, for they believed that his piety served to guarantee

6. Pfeiffer, Introduction to the Old Testament, p.5.

7. Burrows, An Outline of Biblical Theology, p.52.

8. Hebert, The Authority of the Old Testament, p.84.

their well-being.⁹ They had a right to laud the founder of their race, for he was truly a pioneer of faith. For instance, the Pentateuchal writers portray him as independent of the god of Terah; he never calls upon the god(s) of his fathers after the manner in which his progeny in later times customarily addressed Yahweh as "the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob". However Abraham was not highly revered until late in O.T. history.¹⁰ In post-Exilic times Yahweh and Abraham were spoken of by the intimate term "friends"¹¹ even though Yahweh was conceived as superlatively transcendent. Jesus ben Sirach¹² praises the patriarch at length in his well-known panegyric. Even this lofty eulogy is heightened in Midrashic literature: God had Abraham in mind when He said, "Let there be light";¹³ Abraham was the rock upon which God established the world;¹⁴ and this arch-patriarch was honoured in glory by a seat at the left hand of God.¹⁵ Thus Abraham was the end as well as the beginning of Jewish existence. Pharisaic lore describes him as welcoming the faithful into Paradise.¹⁶ The Gospels¹⁷ reflect their mythology: Abraham is the host at the celestial banquet.

This summary review of the prominent place Abraham

9. Schürer, The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ, II, i, p. 343.
10. See Mic. 7:20, Is. 51:2, 63:16, Ez. 33:24.
11. See Is. 41:8, II Chr. 20:7.
12. Eccles. 44:19ff.
13. Midrash, Genesis Rabba 2:3.
14. Midrash on Is. 51:1f., quoted in Moore, Judaism, I, p. 538.
15. Edersheim, The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah, II, p. 717.
16. Strack and Billerbeck, Kommentar, II, pp. 225-7.
17. Mt. 8:11, Lk. 16:23.

had in Jewish cultic thought confirms Burton's statement that Paul's discussion in Gal. 3 is "no mere incidental illustration, but fills a vital place in his argument".¹⁸ The apostle sanctioned the contemporary view of the patriarch for at the beginning of his discussion in Rom. 4 he makes the admission: "If Abraham was justified by works he has something to boast about". Consequently he must have realized that if the noblest of his ancestors could be characterized as having the faith attitude toward God which he advocated, he would be able to recruit many of his fellow countrymen "to march in the steps" ($\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \chi\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\nu\ \tau\omicron\tilde{\iota}\varsigma\ \tilde{\iota}\ \chi\ \nu\ \epsilon\sigma\varsigma\ \nu$)¹⁹ of Abraham.

We shall now look at the argument centering on Gen. 15:6. Paul turns to this Genesis narrative not with the purpose of abstracting a definition of faith, but of giving a description of faith in the concrete manner of the Hebrews. In Gen. 15 a prophetic writer has given one of the finest of his accounts of his hero. God assured Abraham that Sarah would bear him a son, that this son would be his heir, and that in time he himself would become the progenitor of a race as numerous as the stars. When he considered his wife's maternal capacities, he realized that there was no natural probability that the promise would be fulfilled. But he looked toward the past and recalled God's initial goodness in bringing him from Ur of the Chaldeans

¹⁸. Burton, Galatians, p.153.

¹⁹. Rom. 4:12.

and in giving him the land of Canaan. This and other events manifesting the divine providence made him confident that nothing was "too hard for the Lord".²⁰ Thus he was moved to hope for the fulfilment of the promise of a large posterity. He was sure that God in His faithfulness would act in the future as he had done in the past. Nygren writes of Abraham:

Since he had the divine promise, he could not be made to doubt God by the fact that he saw clearly that human resources were not equal to its fulfilment. This is faith, to hold to God's promise, even if man has no human ability to build on, even if all human calculations contradict.... Without hope, and yet with hope: that is the real mark of faith. Only where they stand over against each other is faith found. Where man can manage with his own resources, it is not a matter of faith; faith is not self-reliance. Faith is rather the direct opposite of self-reliance, the opposite of confidence in one's adequacy and resources.²¹

The idiom used in Gen. 15:6 confirms this interpretation. The use of the preposition א after the verb אָמַן to introduce the object of belief is, writes Cheyne, "a very striking one; the belief intended is not merely a crediting of a testimony concerning a person or a thing (this would be expressed by אָמַן אֶת), but a laying firm hold morally on a person or a thing, without the help of any intermediate agency (cp. the phrase, 'to cleave to Yah-wè', אָמַן בְּיָהוָה Dt. 10:20, 11:22)".²² To this exegesis of Gen. 15:6 we may add that of Warfield:

The object of Abram's faith, as here set forth, was not the promise which appears as the occasion of its exercise; what it rested on was God Himself.... It

20. Gen. 18:14.

21. Nygren, *Romans*, p.180.

22. F.K. Cheyne, "Faith" in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, Vol.1495.

is therefore not the assensive but the fiducial element of faith which is here emphasized; in a word, the faith which Abram gave "J" when he 'put his trust in God' (ἐπίστευσεν ἰὼ θεῷ, LXX), was the same faith which later He sought in vain at the hands of His people (Num. 14:11, cf. Dt. 1:32, II K. 17:14), and the notion of which the Psalmist explains in the parallel, 'They believed not in God, and trusted not in his salvation' (Ps. 78:22). To believe in God, in the O.T. sense, is thus not merely to assent to His words, but with firm and unwavering confidence to rest in security and trustfulness upon Him.²³

Our exegesis of Gen. 15:6 has been largely confined to the chapter in which this verse is set. However we should note that this verse stands between two distinct sections of the narrative, and therefore the compiler of the account probably intended not only that it be taken in conjunction with the immediate context but also that it serve as a general statement of the whole life of Abraham. Thus the words, "He believed in the Lord", indicate both the vertical direction of his faith and its horizontal corollary in obedience, the supreme example of which was his willingness to obey the divine command to sacrifice his son Isaac.

If our characterization of Abraham's faith as child-like trusting in God and obeying Him is correct, then we cannot agree with Dodd that Paul's argument in Rom. 4 is "remote and unenlightening".²⁴ Indeed if we plumb the depth of the faith concept in the J and E Pentateuchal sources, we can assert that Paul presents a truth in Rom. 4 and Gal. 3 which is fundamental to our understanding of the unity of

²³. B.B. Warfield, "Faith" in H.D.B. I, p.828.

²⁴. Dodd, Romans, p.71.

Biblical religion. This truth is the continuity of faith, or, to paraphrase Paul's words in Gal. 3:8, that the Gospel was preached beforehand to the archetype of the people of God. Commenting on this verse Duncan writes:

In the story of God's dealings with Abraham, regarded simply as a story of promise and of faith, Paul saw the same principles at work as later found expression in 'the Gospel'. It is essential for us to see that in Paul's eyes God Himself does not change, whatever advancement or retrogression men may show in their appreciation of Him. His redemptive purpose in Christ was inherent in His purpose before the world began (Eph. 1:3). The gospel ... was implicit in His Word from the beginning.... Abraham awoke to that great truth, though his descendants in subsequent ages tended to forget it.²⁵

Two quotations from Baur show that he shared a similar point of view. "The faith of Abraham is essentially the same thing as the justifying faith of the Christian".²⁶ "Πίστεως is just the ἔργων ἐπιτελεσθέντων fulfilled and realized, the actual appearance of that which was implicitly contained in ἔργων ἐπιτελεσθέντων".²⁷

How is all this related to the matter of circumcision, the issue which occasioned Paul's first epistolary treatment of Abraham? We must first consider the Jewish understanding of this rite. Circumcision was not exclusively a Jewish institution in its origin. Removing the foreskin at the age of puberty²⁸ was a widespread primitive practice, especially among the Semitic peoples.²⁹ When this custom

²⁵. Duncan, Galatians, p.90.

²⁶. Baur, Paul, II, p.191.

²⁷. Ibid., II, p.201.

²⁸. Cf. Gen. 17:25.

²⁹. Cf. The Jewish Encyclopaedia, IV, p.92; H.D.B., I, p.442; and Josephus, Antiquities VIII,x,3.

was dying out in other races legalism began to grip Judaism, so that the practice was exalted as a distinctive mark of God's Chosen Ones. In time the words "circumcised" and "Jew" became virtually synonymous and the rite became a sine qua non of salvation. Thus the Book of Jubilees³⁰ displays that the rite is an "eternal ordinance" and consequently all who have not been circumcised eight days after birth belong to the "children of destruction". It was the priestly interpolators of the Pentateuchal sagas who moulded Jewish thought to regard the practice not only as an ineffaceable token of the Abrahamic covenant but also as an indispensable rite.³¹ In the apostolic age it was an incontestable dogma in both Jewish and Christian circles that it was proper for all Jews to be circumcised. Paul was certainly convinced that circumcision was justifiable in the case of his blood-brothers.³² Indeed he held that this badge benefited them "much in every way"³³ in so far as, in prophetic terminology, it betokened the prior "circumcision of the heart"³⁴ or, in rabbinic terminology, was the "seal"³⁵ to ratify an existing life of faith. Perhaps he reasoned that the Jews, with their historical understanding of the covenantal symbol, would perceive that circumcision was confirmatory rather than conditioning, and so felt that it was not likely to degenerate amongst them into a means whereby they expected to earn the

30. Book of Jubilees 15:25ff.

31. Cf. Gen. 17:10-14 (P), Ex. 12:43-8 (P).

32. See Rom. 2:25, I Cor. 7:18, Acts 16:3.

33. Rom. 3:2.

34. Rom. 2:29; cf. Dt. 10:16, 30:6, Jer. 4:4.

35. Rom. 4:11; cf. The Jewish Encyclopaedia, IV, p.93.

life which God offered. However we confess that Paul's evaluation of circumcision was not absolutely logical. If it is true that the Jew and the Gentile are equal before God, why did not Paul either abrogate or retain circumcision for both?

Evidently Paul was influenced by the contemporary Jewish thought on the subject of circumcision. In this period the controversy concerning this rite was whether or not Gentiles coming into the Jewish fellowship should be required to submit to it. According to The Jewish Encyclopaedia the issue "regarding the circumcision of proselytes remained an open one in tannaitic times; R. Joshua asserting that the bath, or baptismal rite, rendered a person a full proselyte without circumcision ... while R. Eliezer makes circumcision a condition for the admission of a proselyte, and declares the baptismal rite to be of no consequence".³⁶ In the same article on circumcision we also read that the schools of Shammai and Hillel were divided on this question. Paul, who was tutored in the school of Hillel, naturally supported the position of the latter in maintaining that circumcision was unnecessary in the case of proselytes entering into the Israel of God. But it was probably not so much because of the influence upon him of his rabbinic

36. The Jewish Encyclopaedia, IV, p.94; cf. Bab. Tal., Yebamoth 40a. However scholars differ in this regard. Braude (Jewish Proselyting, pp.74-8) believes that circumcision was a compulsory initiatory rite for all male proselytes throughout this period. On the other hand Harnack (History of Dogma, I, p.107) supports our contention that the Gentile converts were not required to undergo circumcision in first century Judaism.

school as because of his own prophetic sensitivity that he judged circumcision to be unnecessary for the Gentiles. He considered the Judaizers' argument to be unwarranted: he did not think that just because Abraham's faith was followed by circumcision, it was to be urged that Christian faith "begun with the Spirit" should be "completed with the flesh".³⁷ He discerned that the supererogation of the Judaizers was running counter to Abraham's Godward attitude, for it resulted in their placing confidence in an outward act. Although the schismatic Galatians probably did not deny that faith antedated the law in the case of Abraham and in the experience of all Christians, they were in practice substituting circumcision for Abrahamic faith as the guarantee of salvation. Paul does not directly refer to the counter propaganda of the Judaizers, but we may suppose that they considered Gen. 17:14 to be a crucial text in support of their position.³⁸ They interpreted the words, "Any uncircumcised male ... shall be cut off from his people", as referring to both Gentiles and Jews. That their exegesis of the verse was in consonance with what its priestly writer had in mind, is confirmed by the legislation of Ex. 12:43-8.

The Judaizers could therefore adduce forceful proof-texts in confirmation of their position and thus to combat them Paul resorted to an eclectic use of Scripture. He recognized the divergent attitudes manifested in the O.T. which

³⁷. Gal. 3:3.

³⁸. Cf. Burton, *op.cit.*, p.153.

may be labelled the legalistic and the prophetic. Lifting himself above the immediate scene of Gen. 17 and looking at the whole sweep of O.T. revelation, he considered those principles to be most authoritative which were in accord with the core of Hebrew prophecy. Although he had no bias against ceremonial rites per se, he realized by brilliant prophetic insight that faith ought to be emancipated at every point where it was shackled by the Law.

Though we have devoted much space to the discussion of the issue of circumcision in order to give an exposition of Paul's use of Gen. 15:6, we do not follow Burton in considering the apostle's discussion of Abraham to be "mainly of the nature of rebuttal".³⁹ Rawlinson provides the needed corrective. According to him the discourse has more than polemical significance. He writes:

It is important to read S. Paul's arguments not merely negatively as a refusal to accept the Judaistic demand for the circumcision of the Gentiles, but positively, as a Christian vindication of the position of Law in the Old Testament.... As a direct consequence of the controversy he was led to work out in his own mind, and to set down in writing, a Christian view both of the Law and of the Church which enabled Christians of Gentile extraction to find themselves permanently at home with the Old Testament.⁴⁰

Gal. 3 and Rom. 4 vividly illustrate the way in which Paul interprets O.T. history within prophetic presuppositions. Beyschlag expresses this sentiment: "Paul, like Jesus, attaches himself to the prophetic rather than to the

³⁹. Ibid., p.157.

⁴⁰. Rawlinson, The New Testament Doctrine of Christ, p.115.

Levitical views of the Old Testament".⁴¹ The prophetic portions of Scripture provide both the center and the circumference of his message. He penetrates to the foundations of O.T. religion and discovers that in Israel's earliest saga the prophetic stratum is chronologically earlier⁴² and religiously more basic than the legalistic one. With extraordinary boldness he implicitly maintains that the legalistic accretions with regard to the necessity of circumcision obscure the real simplicity of faith. In emphasizing the non-legalistic elements of early Judaism which in his day were in danger of being obliterated by casuistic development, Paul anticipates through the power of spiritual intuition a discovery which scholars only in recent years have been able to make in their literary criticism of the Pentateuch. Though it would be an anachronism to credit the apostle with having recognized the J, E, P, and D source documents, he was nevertheless sufficiently gifted to be able to distinguish the more significant from the less important elements and to rate the prophetic strain high and the priestly redaction low. We find that expositors of both Galatians and Romans realize this truth. Duncan writes:

It is a matter of some significance that, while the story of Abraham's circumcision belongs to that later source of the Pentateuch which we call the Priestly Code, most of the Old Testament stories of Abraham, including the one from which Paul takes his text here [Gal. 3:6], belong to the source (JE) which we asso-

⁴¹. Beyschlag, New Testament Theology, II, p.135. Also Davies (Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p.259) concludes that "sacri-
ficial categories are only of minor importance" to Paul.

⁴². See Gal. 3:17; cf. Rom. 5:20.

ciate with the teaching of the early prophets. They reveal accordingly a religious attitude which is not merely different from, but opposed to, the legalism which became so pronounced during and after the Exile.⁴³

Dodd's point of view is similar, as may be gathered from the following quotation:

Paul divined, what modern criticism of the Old Testament has clearly proved, that legalistic Judaism was after all a one-sided development of the religion of the Old Testament. In the prophets, in the Psalms, and even embedded in the Pentateuch itself, there is a conception of God in His relation to men which goes far beyond the merely legal conceptions of orthodox Judaism in Paul's time, and is in the most real sense the direct antecedent of Christianity.⁴⁴

Paul smelted the ore of O.T. Scripture and recovered from it the prophetic interpretation of history. Directed by Christ, he was able to skim off the dross of legal sanctions which was obscuring the Abrahamic faith attitude of full reliance upon God. Or to employ another metaphor, Paul saw that the founding father of Judaism discovered the life-giving prophetic stream and pitched his tent around it, so that he and his descendants might rely on it for their livelihood. But in the course of history legalistic foliage began to flourish alongside this stream, obscuring it from the sons of Abraham. At a time when the religious life of the Israelites was withering away from lack of the vitality provided solely by this stream, Jesus cut away the tangled growth along its banks, again allowing this supply which had its source in the Rock of Ages to strengthen and to purify the divinely ordained life of man.

⁴³. Duncan, op.cit., p.84.

⁴⁴. Dodd, op.cit., p.50.

thought here or elsewhere in the O.T. of life divorced from spatio-temporal existence.⁴⁹

i n i v o x z: We derive the meaning of this phrase from the antithetical parallelism of Hebrew poetry. In Hab. 2:4-5 the Chaldean who haughtily trusts in his own power stands in bold relief to the Israelite who, through awareness of his own instability and weakness, holds fast to Yahweh in the conviction that His righteous cause will be victorious. This prior vertical relationship of the Israelite manifests itself on the horizontal plane in firmness and integrity. With regard to this Warfield writes as follows:

The very point of this passage ... is the sharp contrast which is drawn between arrogant self-sufficiency and faithful dependence on God.... The whole drift of the broader context bears out this meaning; for throughout the prophecy the Chaldean is ever exhibited as the type of insolent self-assertion (1:7, 11, 16), in contrast with which the righteous appear ... as men who look in faith to God and trustingly depend upon His arm.... This faith, which forms the distinctive feature of the righteous man, and by which he obtains life, is obviously no mere assent. It is a profound and abiding disposition, an ingrained attitude of mind and heart towards God which affects and gives character to all the activities.⁵⁰

It should be recognized that Hab. 2:4 is closely associated with the following verse. Sellin⁵¹ has convincingly shown that the older exegetes⁵² are faulty in considering verses 4 and 5 to belong to two distinct sections of the prophecy. He compares the use of *z x z* in verse 5 with

49. Davidson, A.B., The Theology of the Old Testament, p.414.

50. B.B. Warfield, "Faith" in F.D.B., I, p.827.

51. Sellin, Das Zwölfprophetenbuch, p.394.

52. E.g. Wolinhausen, Die Kleinen Propheten, p.168.

its use in other O.T. passages⁵³ and thereby shows that verse 4b is linked to verse 5 at least as closely as it is to verse 4a. This conclusion strengthens our exegesis, for the meaning of verse 5 is less cryptic than the meaning of verse 4a. The following lucid exposition of Buber gives verse 5 its proper place:

In the difficult and apparently mutilated verse [2:4] Habakuk speaks about an enemy of Israel. 'See', he says, as if pointing to him, 'his soul was puffed up'. And now he interrupts the description with the antithetical exclamation: 'But the man proved true will live in his trust'. After that [2:5] it is said of that 'presumptuous man' that he has made his throat broad as hell, and insatiable as death he draws the peoples to him and snatches them up. Here is unmistakably meant the man who recognizes no other commandment than the never-resting impulse of his own force to become power.... By the action of inflated self-assurance, which has nothing in common with genuine trust and is nothing other than self-deception, genuine trust in the faithful God has become completely lost. The maddened self-assurance will bring ruin upon him. Opposed to him, and appearing only in brief exclamation, is the 'man proved true', the man who represents on earth the truth of God, and who, trusting in the faithful God, entrusts himself to Him in this confidence which embraces and determines his whole life, and through it he has life. He 'will live', for he depends upon and cleaves to the eternally living God.⁵⁴

2) The LXX reads: $\acute{\omicron} \delta \acute{\epsilon} \delta \acute{\iota} \kappa \alpha \lambda \omicron \varsigma \acute{\epsilon} \kappa \pi \acute{\iota} \sigma \tau \epsilon \acute{\omega} \varsigma$
 $\mu \omicron \upsilon \zeta \acute{\eta} \sigma \epsilon \tau \alpha \iota$

$\acute{\omicron} \delta \acute{\iota} \kappa \alpha \lambda \omicron \varsigma$: Here, as in many other places, the Hebrew original grants a generous legacy to the Greek translation. Hence the forensic element preponderates in this term: the emphasis is on the man who has been acquitted

53. I S. 23:3; II S. 16:11; I K. 8:27; Job 15:15f.; Pr. 11:31, et.al.

54. Buber, op.cit., pp.48-9.

through God's benevolence and thereby has been set in the right with Him, rather than on the man who is ethically upright.⁵⁵

Ζήσετα: This term refers mainly to the earthly life. However the LXX text has more of an eschatological flavour than has the Hebrew since the translation was made in an era when the apocalyptic movement was flowering.

ἐκ πίστεώς μου: As in the Hebrew, this prepositional phrase is adverbial. We note a significant alteration here: the possessive pronoun has been altered from the third to the first person. Thus the LXX, probably through reading יְדִי לְיְהוָה for יְהוָה לְיְדִי changes the meaning from "by his faith(-fulness)" to "by my fidelity (to My covenant)".⁵⁶ This makes explicit what is taken for granted by Habakkuk, namely that man's steadfastness must rest on God. Without awareness of God there can be no talk of human integrity. Indeed the O.T. does not envisage man as he is in himself, but assumes that it is only in so far as he is dependent upon God that he is man at all.

Since faith derives its value solely from its source, we shall review briefly the attitude of God which is

⁵⁵. Dodd, The Bible and the Greeks, pp.53-6.

⁵⁶. We follow Cheyne (in The Encyclopaedia Biblica, col. 1495, n.1) who rejects the rendering of Lightfoot (Galatians, p.154) "by faith in me" and determines the meaning by comparing this phrase with the parallel phrases in Ps. 89:33 and in Rom. 3:3.

its fountainhead. In the O.T. God's faithfulness is emphasized as the acme of His character as it has been revealed to man. The deliverance from Egypt was the event which gave supreme proof that "I WILL BE WHAT I WILL BE"⁵⁷ deals faithfully with His people. The formula, "I am the Lord your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage",⁵⁸ occurs again and again as if it were a chorus throughout the O.T. The Hebrews held that God's faithfulness to the heroic figures of the past established and guaranteed that He would fulfil His promises to every generation. Naturally this faithfulness on God's part called forth the inevitable concomitant of an answering faith(-fulness) on the part of His people. Moore notes the inextricable relationship between the divine and the human elements in this regard. This authority on Judaism writes in his magnam opus:

Faith, in Judaism, is confidence in God. It was in this confidence that the forefathers, in the decisive moment of the nation's history, at his command marched straight toward the sea which barred their way, and their faith was justified by the cleaving of its waters before them.... Both אֱמוּנָה and אֱמֻנָה like ΠΙΣΤΙΣ, fides, and the English 'faith' itself, cover fidelity as well as confidence, and as in the famous case of Hab. 2:4, 'The righteous man shall live by his faith', the interpreter may be at a loss whether to say 'faith' or 'faithfulness'. The compiler in the Midrash (and very likely the authors) did not feel what to us seems an ambiguity. Be that as it may, fidelity to God was in Jewish thought inseparable from confidence in God.⁵⁹

57. Ex. 3:14 (R.S.V. margin).

58. Ex. 20:2, Dt. 5:6, Ps. 81:10, Hos. 12:9, et.al.; cf. Mi. 6:2-5.

59. Moore, Judaism, II, pp.237-8.

It needs to be noted that in this quotation Moore speaks too sympathetically of the concept of faith in rabbinic literature. He overlooks the fact that in this corpus it often acquires an aura of meritorious obedience to the Law. In particular the Targumic version of Hab. 2:4⁶⁰ breathes an air of legalism: here faithfulness or faith is considered to be little more than adhesion to the multifarious prescriptions of the Law. Although the rabbis asserted in theory that the foundation of man's fidelity was reliance upon God, in practice they often separated fides quae creditur from fides qua creditur. Unless these two notions are brought into juxtaposition the prophetic vitality is drained from the faith concept.

3) Habakkuk and Paul.

Before considering Paul's use of Hab. 2:4, we shall first inquire why he culled a line from this particular prophetic book to serve in two important passages in his epistles. If a similarity of disposition between Habakkuk and Paul can be discerned, then we can maintain that there is a fortiori likelihood that the apostle made a proper use of the citation.

Hab. 2:4 is the climactic sentence of this brief prophecy. Paul's selection of this key sentence probably indicates that he had carefully studied the whole context. In his prophecy Habakkuk, who appears to have lived in the

⁶⁰ Strack and Billerbeck, op.cit., III, p.542, cites this Targumic passage.

twilight era of the Judean kingdom, voices two laments. First he inquires of God why no retribution has been brought upon his nation for its apostasy.⁶¹ God answers that He is rousing the dreadful Chaldeans to carry out His judgments.⁶² This reply provokes even greater bewilderment in the prophet and prompts him to direct another question to God: Why has He chosen an utterly reprobate nation for the purpose of chastising His people?⁶³ Is not the wash rag filthier than that which is in need of cleansing? While meditatively waiting in a watchtower Habakkuk receives another theophany to resolve his perplexities.⁶⁴ God assures him that His people will hold fast to the covenant even when the invaders come. Habakkuk sees in vision that "the mills of God grind slowly but grind exceeding small", and that the man who is "puffed up" will, in God's good time, be overthrown and ground to powder. Thus God enjoins His spokesman to make plain to His people that the wicked will enjoy only a temporary ascendancy, and that all the covenantal people will live by their unswerving loyalty to Him. Habakkuk's prayer in the following chapter shows that the prophet puts this injunction into action, for with joyful self-abandon he asserts that God has the right of way in history.⁶⁵

61. Hab. 1:2-4.

62. Hab. 1:5-11.

63. Hab. 1:12-7.

64. Hab. 2:1ff.

65. Cf. esp. Hab. 3:17-9. Although this chapter may be an independent production which was appended to the original prophecy at a later date, we do not find that criticism has presented a strong enough case to refute the traditional authorship.

The problem of theodicy which Habakkuk faced on a national scale involved the same issue that Job dealt with on a personal level.⁶⁶ The pragmatic concept of the Deuteronomic historians, which made a facile equation between suffering and apostasy from God, had become hardened orthodoxy. The watchtower and the Damascus road experiences are analogous in that both resulted in part from a questioning of this dogma of normative Judaism. Paul shared the agony of Habakkuk since he found it incomprehensible that Jesus, if righteous, had to suffer. Paul discovered the explanation of this seemingly insoluble contradiction only when he accepted the kerygma in which Jesus was interpreted as the Servant of Deutero-Isaiah whose sacrifice provides vicarious expiation. "He redeemed us from the curse of the law", he concluded, "having become a curse for us".⁶⁷ Therefore it was natural that Paul should draw upon the religious experience of Habakkuk; both were baffled by kindred problems, and both had their dismay banished by a revelation of the divine paradox of suffering. Because of this mutual concern Habakkuk was no "minor" prophet in the eyes of Paul.

4) The Pauline citation from Habakkuk reads: ὁ (δὲ)

δικαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται.

In Rom. 1:17 this text serves as the headline and provides the theme⁶⁸ of the epistle. Accordingly we get a

66. Cf. Marti, Das Dodekapropheten, p.337.

67. Gal. 3:13.

68. Dahl (Studia Theologica, V, p.40) gives good reasons for considering the theme of Rom. 1-8 to be as follows: "The righteous

better insight into its meaning if we concentrate our attention on Gal. 3:11, for there we have the quotation set within the context of a carefully reasoned argument.

Syntactical structure: Our main duty here is to determine whether the prepositional phrase modifies the subject or the verb. In the Hebrew and in the LXX it is construed with the latter, for in the prophecy there is no contrast with another mode of becoming righteous to suggest that the phrase should be taken with the subject. Hence it is only if we are satisfied that Paul has read a spurious meaning into the original text that we can maintain that the prepositional phrase modifies the subject. That, however, is extremely unlikely. If he had intended to couple ἔκ πίστεως with ὁ δίκαιος he would have shown his usual freedom with the LXX text and would have written ὁ ἐκ πίστεως δίκαιος. Moreover, the statement that it is the just by faith who shall live implies that the just by works shall not live. But according to Paul that is not so, for in Rom. 10:5, Gal. 3:21, and Gal. 3:12 he admits that if one should succeed in being righteous by works he would certainly live thereby. Furthermore, in the last of these passages the introductory adversative conjunction, ἔτι δὲ, indicates that Paul is setting the life by faith over against the life by law. Therefore ἔκ πίστεως is to be construed with ζήσεις⁶⁹ as

68. (cont.) shall live by faith' (1-4), 'The righteous shall live by faith' (5-8)⁶⁸.

69. Cf. A.V., R.V., and Moffatt's translation; see also Heb. 10:38.

the natural sequence of the Greek demands.

ἡ δικαιοσύνη: Dodd shows that this term "must be understood in the light of the Septuagintal usage and the underlying Hebrew".⁷⁰ Hence it refers less to the ethical quality of doing good than to the legal status adjudicated by God when he pronounces a person "not guilty".⁷¹

ἡ πίστις ἐργάζεται: As with Habakkuk, so with Paul, the faith-life begins "here and now" and produces fruits as deeds of love. Paul, however, unlike most of the Hebrew religious teachers, speaks of more than a way of life in this world; he is convinced not only that the "walk in newness of life"⁷² is a present possession but also that it will be given its full significance in the future consummation. Life in Christ is ever the beginning and the goal of his theology.⁷³ Accordingly he is more interested in showing how a man can obtain life than in showing how a man can be reckoned as righteous. Faith-righteousness as opposed to works-righteousness is not at the center of Paul's thought. It has indeed to be granted that, because of a local controversy with the legalistic Judaizers, he had to distinguish between the works method of earning life and the faith disposition of receiving it as a sheer gift. But no antithesis between faith and works was intended. Consequently those who exalt the Reformation Magna Charta, "justification by faith", and present it as the quin-

70. Dodd, The Bible and the Greeks, p.57.

71. Cf. J. Moffatt, "Righteousness" in Dictionary of the Apostolic Church, II, p.377.

72. Rom. 6:4.

73. See Gal. 2:19-20, Phil. 1:21.

tessence of Paulinism, have raised an insurmountable barrier to the proper understanding of Paul. His Gospel is larger than this metaphor of legal action suggests. Would that the scholars who follow in the Lutheran tradition would rather use "life by faith" as their watchword, for Paul distinguishes between two modes of life, not two means of justification.

$\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\epsilon\omega\varsigma$: By omitting the LXX $\mu\omicron\upsilon$ and thus agreeing substantially with the Hebrew, Paul probably⁷⁴ betrays his knowledge of the original text. As in the LXX, so in the Pauline epistles, $\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$ has a meaning which is largely coloured by the root $\text{פ}\text{א}\text{ר}$;⁷⁵ by abandoning all self-reliance man is to lay confident hold on God's preferred resources. Scott rightly defines Pauline faith as "a joyful self committal of the whole personality to God".⁷⁶ Bultmann, in the very paragraph in which he speaks of the antithesis between the Pauline and the Jewish view of faith, places in italics what he regards as the essence of the apostle's concept of $\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$: "Faith" is the absolute contrary of 'boasting'.⁷⁷ Although this arch-Hellenizer of Paul may not realize it, his definition is an able exposition of Hab. 2:4. Does not Habakkuk contrast the proud Chaldean with the Israelite whose soul is upright because all vanity is abnegated?

74. This statement is not altogether certain for the fact that $\mu\omicron\upsilon$ is after $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ in the best LXX mss. but before in A and C indicates that there may have been no $\mu\omicron\upsilon$ in the original LXX.

75. Dodd, The Bible and the Greeks, p.69.

76. Scott, Christianity According to St. Paul, p.213.

77. Bultmann, The Theology of the New Testament, I, p.281.

The Pauline doctrine of *πίστις* holds belief in God and obedience to God in balance, and therefore it is in fundamental harmony with the prophetic revelation. Those who think that Habakkuk, one of the noblest of the prophets, took no account of the prior active relationship with God, impose an antithesis between the old and the new covenants which cuts at the root of the unity of Biblical religion. Nowhere in the Bible is the concept of human firmness regarded as an independent achievement. God is the Rock which is the substratum of the man of integrity. In maintaining that right relationship with God is outside the sphere of meritorious acts, Paul only makes more explicit the proclamation of the O.T. prophets. In revealing that Hab. 2:4 has a contemporary significance he does not give a forced interpretation of it. Different as the situations of Habakkuk and Paul may be, they yet agree not only in language, but also in having as their theme deliverance from the evil conditions of life solely by trusting and obeying God; both speak of that faith which produces right living and complete adherence to God. Therefore we may paraphrase Paul's favourite Scriptural text thus: "The Christian shall live through being utterly dependent on God"; and, as Warfield would add, "An entire self-commitment to God which does not show itself in obedience to Him is self-contradictory".⁷⁰ The following quotation of Dodd shows unmistakably that Paul's doctrine was that of the prophets:

⁷⁰ B. B. Warfield, "Faith" in *H. D. B.*, I, p. 832.

[what Paul called "faith"] clearly meant trust, confidence directed towards God as the Father and Friend of men... As it is Christ who not only shows us the God in whom we trust, but who has also Himself cleared away obstacles and made such trust possible, faith is alternatively described as "the faith of Christ", or "faith towards Christ". That, however, is for Paul in no way different from faith in God. God is in the last resort the object of faith, for "God is trustworthy". That is the fundamental postulate of Paul's belief: God is worthy of our trust (I Cor. 1:9, 10:13, II Cor. 1:18, I Th. 5:24). It remains for us to trust Him sufficiently to let Him act. It is wrong to suppose that for Paul faith is a meritorious act on man's part, which wins salvation.... Paul does not, in fact, speak when he is using language strictly, of "justification by faith", but of "justification by grace through faith", or "on the ground of faith" (Eph. 2:8, Rom. 3:30, 4:16 ...). This is not mere verbal subtlety. It means that the "righteousness of God" becomes ours, not by the assertion of the individual will as such, but by the willingness to let God work.⁷⁹

Our great danger in speaking of faith is that we may divorce it from its theocentered prophetic concept. Those who give $\pi \acute{\iota} \sigma \tau \iota \varsigma$ a Platonic tint entertain a different concept from that which Paul had in mind. We can, for example, draw a clear distinction between Philo's concept of $\pi \acute{\iota} \sigma \tau \iota \varsigma$ and that of Paul. As regards this Warfield writes: "with Philo, faith, as the queen of the virtues, is the righteousness of the righteous man, while with St. Paul ... it is the righteousness of the unrighteous"⁸⁰. Lest it be feared that Warfield is merely giving vent to his characteristic conservative bent, we shall associate his opinion with that of two other scholars. Schlatter,⁸¹

79. Dodd, The Meaning of Paul for Today, pp.107-8.

80. B.B. Warfield, "Faith" in H.D.B., I, p.828.

81. Cf. Schlatter, Der Glaube im neuen Testament, pp.66-86.

who has produced the fullest scholarly treatment we have of the N.T. usage of $\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$, shows that Philo thought of faith as the culminating virtue of the pious man which could only be attained with great difficulty, but that Paul placed it at the very basis of the godly life. This is the comparison that Schrenk gives: "Whereas to Philo faith is a separable and definable property ($\sigma\chi\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\iota\varsigma$) of the soul, it means for Paul man's total surrender to God's saving act. The faith which is reckoned for righteousness is not [For Paul as with Philo] ... the perfection of religious virtue".⁸²

Shades of the Hellenistic conception of $\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$ can also be noticed in the N.T. The Epistle of James contains, as Dodd detects, a "Hellenistic strain in its language and ideas".⁸³ Since its author writes, "Even the demons believe",⁸⁴ and, "Faith apart from works is barren",⁸⁵ it is clear that he has abandoned the LXX and the Pauline conception of $\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$ and considers it to be mere credence. Since he and Paul have disparate ideas in mind when they speak of $\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$, it is not surprising that there is a prima facie contradiction between their doctrines. Also, the use of $\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$ in the Epistle to the Hebrews shows a more prominent intellectual element than is to be found in the Pauline epistles. Heb. 11, which is often considered to

82. Quell and Schrenk, Righteousness (E.T. of Kittel's Wörterbuch), p.48.

83. Dodd, The Bible and the Greeks, p.39. Brandon (The Fall of Jerusalem, pp.238-9) believes that both James and Hebrews were probably of Alexandrian origin and that many of their ideas resemble those of Philo.

84. Jas. 2:19.

85. Jas. 2:20.

be the locus classicus for the Biblical view of faith, is tainted by Greek metaphysics. Here faith is a sanguine expectation and a venture into the unknown. Hebert writes of this chapter: "The object of faith is not so much the personal God as the realities of the eternal world, which faith discerns, like an eye of the soul beholding the things unseen, or like the pilgrims gaining a view of the Heavenly City from the Delectable Mountains".⁸⁶ Hebrews obscures the prophetic and Pauline conception of faith by treating it as an autonomous virtue that is efficacious in itself, or, to put it differently, as a psychical disposition rather than a Godward relationship. This product of Hellenistic Christianity⁸⁷ contains more of a "faith-ology" than a "the-ology"; saving power is ascribed more to faith itself than to the God of faith. Paul would no more have indulged in the speculation that $\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$ is a $\delta\pi\omicron\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\varsigma$ ⁸⁸ than he would have ventured the abstract statement, "whoever would draw near to God must believe that he exists".⁸⁹ Nor would he have spoken of the heathen Rahab as having faith.⁹⁰ Hebert, in presenting the view of faith in Paul's epistles, writes:

There is only one place where faith is regarded as something in itself without reference to its object:

86. Hebert, op.cit., p.86.

87. See p.50 of this thesis. Harnack (op.cit., I, pp.295-6, n.2) observes: "The Epistle to the Hebrews is not a Jewish Christian writing.... [Its] scheme of thought ... stands midway between the conception of the Old Testament religion entertained by Paul, and that of the common Gentile Christians as it is represented by Barnabas!"

88. Heb. 11:1.

89. Heb. 11:6.

90. Heb. 11:31.

and that is in I Cor. 13:2, "though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, but have not love, I am nothing", where with bitter irony he characterizes a false attitude in which the Biblical meaning of faith has been perverted into its precise opposite. Thus St. Paul's conception of faith is thoroughly in accord with the regular Biblical pattern, and indeed the Hebrew word is sometimes clearly discernible in his Greek.⁹¹

This is the sum of the matter: the view widely entertained that Paul's use of $\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$ and the correlative $\pi\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ is quasi-Hellenistic in rootage is false. Our comparison of the Pauline conception of faith with that of James and Hebrews shows us that there is more than half a truth in Harnack's statement: "We have no Jewish Christian memorial in the New Testament ... unless it be in the Pauline Epistles".⁹² Even though $\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$ is the principal term which the apostle uses in describing the fundamental attitude of man toward God, he does not read into it anything essentially new. His conception of it does not arise out of his empirical consciousness. He stands on the foundation laid by O.T. prophecy. By citing from Gen. 15:6 and Hab. 2:4 Paul shows that the seed sown by the prophetic writer of the Abrahamic narrative and by Habakkuk did not germinate properly; it lay dormant in frozen soil until the warmth of Christianity thawed it out and gave it

91. Hebert, op.cit., p.87. Cf. Baur, op.cit., II, Appendix II, "Paul and James Compared", pp. 297-313. Baur writes: "The faith of James is nothing higher than the faith of which Paul says, I Cor. 13:13, that the man who has it, and nothing more is like a sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal" (p.300).

92. Harnack, op.cit., I, p.296 (n.2, p.295).

fresh sustenance. Thus these O.T. texts are used as more than an apologetic ad hominem device. Paul does not arbitrarily rip them from their O.T. contexts in order to read his private interpretation into them. His aim is not to rebuke his Jewish adversaries by cleverly twisting their authoritative Scriptures so that they may reinforce his own position. Paul's treatment of both Hab. 2:4 and Gen. 15:6 shows distinctly that his reinterpretation is sound as well as fresh. Looking at the original contexts from the elevated vantage point of the Christian revelation, he discloses their original meaning in such a way as to make it applicable to the broader horizons which Christ had enabled him to see.

POSTSCRIPT

THE UNITY OF THE COVENANTS

It is to be lamented that the two component parts of the Church's Scriptures have been labelled as the "Testaments", the English equivalent of the Latin "Testamenta". Today it is generally recognized¹ that this Latin translation of $\delta \iota \alpha \theta \eta \tau \alpha$, although a possible rendering, does not convey the conception of $\delta \iota \alpha \theta \eta \tau \alpha$ which is a dominant motif of the Bible. Modern Biblical translators have rightly substituted "covenant" for "testament" as a doctrinal term in the N.T. text,² but they have not changed the faulty titles for the two divisions of Scripture. Perhaps they realized that the titles were so firmly entrenched in our vocabulary that it would have been futile to try to popularize more correct ones. Be that as it may, the word "covenant", which conveys the Hebraic notion of a solemn pact between two parties, is a term which is essential to a clear indication of the unity of the Bible. It conveys, as the nebulous term "testament" can never, the thought of the divine sovereignty and initiative, the communion between God and man, and the election and solidarity of mankind throughout the course of the Heilsgeschichte.

1. Cf. Moffatt, The Approach to the New Testament, pp. 57ff.; and Tasker, The Old Testament in the New Testament, pp. 9f.
2. Cp. the A.V. translation of $\delta \iota \alpha \theta \eta \tau \alpha$ in Mk. 14:24, I Cor. 11:25, II Cor. 3:6, 14, Heb. 7:22, 9:15, and in Rev. 11:19 with that of the R.V., Moffatt, and the R.S.V.

It is altogether unnecessary to prove to Christian readers that the O.T. needs the N.T. in order to become fully intelligible. To us it is self-evident that the N.T. is not a mere appendage or a superfluous addition to the O.T. We realize that the N.T. is as essential to the O.T. as the predicate is to the subject of a sentence. It is more imperative to discuss the N.T.'s need of the O.T.

The Church has always been tempted to belittle her Jewish inheritance, for it confronts her with the "scandal of particularity". Some Biblical interpreters are tempted to let the O.T. pass into a respectable oblivion because it is full of perplexities. They ask how its defective morality, its history of half-savage Semites, and its primitive ideas of God are to be treated so that it can guide us in our modern life. While not so bold and honest as Marcion ^{who} / exorcise the O.T. from their Christian canon, yet for all practical purposes they regard the O.T. as a storehouse of little more than rudimentary theology and vestigial morality. Those who are disposed to set aside the books of the O.T. library because of the absolute supremacy of the N.T. writings share the point of view of Caliph Omar. According to a legend, his reverence for the Koran led him to justify the destroying of the renown and priceless Alexandrian library with the following statement: "If these books contain doctrine contrary to that of the Koran they are false; if their doctrine is in agreement with that of the Koran they are unnecessary; there-

fore, in any case, they may be destroyed".

The modern heresy analogous to second century Marcionism is to consider ^{the teaching of} the N.T. as the cornerstone of our idea of God, set in its place upon the completion of a process of development in history, and to regard the O.T. as little more than a literature into which one may delve to find purple passages which contain attractive ideas about le Bon Dieu of the N.T. The essence of the neo-Marcion heterodoxy is that ideas about God and ethical values are abstracted independently of history; it is more interested in who God is than in what He does.

The N.T. Gospel is emasculated if we neglect the delineation of the history of God's revelation in the O.T. Without the O.T. conception of the wrath of God $\alpha \gamma \alpha \pi \eta$ becomes cheapened to the point of blasphemy, for if we abolish the justice and jealousy of God we rob the divine love of basic ingredients. We need the O.T. to safeguard monotheism, to exalt the inexorable holiness of God, and to counter other-worldly day-dreaming by ^{its} staunch historical realism. The Cross is a curse only in the light of the O.T.,³ and therefore the N.T. becomes flaccidly sentimental to the extent to which it is separated from the O.T.

It can hardly be over-emphasized that Christianity is in a profound sense as old as creation itself. Just as the boy is the father to the man, so is the O.T. the father to the N.T.; although an adult is creative, most of his con-

3. See Dt. 21:23; Gal. 3:13.

cepts can be traced in essence to the years of his youth. The N.T. does no more than interpret, expand, and make explicit the truth which lies in germinal form in the O.T. Hence the O.T. lies behind, not under the N.T.; conversely, the N.T. fulfils rather than supersedes the O.T. The N.T. has fundamentally nothing more to say than the O.T.; the change is one of tense -- from the predictive future to the present indicative. It is the O.T. which tells what the vocation of the Messiah will be; it is the N.T. which tells of the man who lives the life divinely ordained for the Lord's Anointed. Therefore we can attribute to the O.T. the first part and to the N.T. the last part of the name "Christ Jesus".

Whenever the Church disparages the value of the O.T. she falls from her normative N.T. form. Strictly speaking, if we were to identify ourselves with the primitive Church we should regard only the O.T. as Scripture, and the revelation of Christ as the key to unlock its deepest meaning. For the Bible of the N.T. characters and writers was only the O.T. It is doubtful if any of them thought that there would be any addition to this sacred corpus.

Jesus, in looking upon the O.T. as a comprehensive and continuous witness to Himself,⁴ supplies the clue to the unity of Scripture. Only as we employ this idea which He sanctioned and which Paul used, namely that the voice of prophecy is fulfilled in Him, do we see the weld that binds the Scriptures together. Thus the most skilled methods of his-

⁴. Lk. 24:27; Jn. 5:39.

torical exegesis are defective if critics scrutinize the Old and New Covenants in isolation from one another. "What God hath joined together let not man put asunder".

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