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After the New Perspective

Works, Justification and Boasting in Early Judaism and Romans 1-5

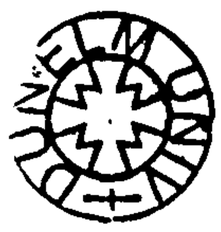
by

Simon James Gathercole

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Thesis Submitted for PhD
Department of Theology, University of Durham

March, 2001



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ABSTRACT

After the New Perspective:
Works, Justification and Boasting in Early Judaism in Romans 1-5

The present thesis aims to assess the concept of 'boasting' in Romans 1-5, a theme which has not yet received full treatment in this context. The material will include analysis of Paul's presentation of the Jewish boast in Rom 2.17, 23, its subsequent exclusion in Rom 3.27-4.5, and Paul's reintroduction of the theme in its new Christian context in Rom 5.1-11. It will be argued that this Jewish boast is not necessarily to be characterised as a legalistic works-righteousness, but also that it should not exclude the dimension of obedience to Torah either.

This assessment of Jewish boasting will rely in large measure on the first two chapters of the thesis which treat a broad section of Jewish literature, with a particular focus on the texts from before the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE. The first chapter will explore the theme of final vindication taking place on the basis of obedience to the Law, while maintaining the balance with the obvious importance of election in the Jewish texts. Also to be assessed are the similar expressions in the early Christian literature of the NT. The second chapter provides the important Jewish parallels to Paul's representation of Jewish boasting, where Jewish texts depict Jewish groups as obedient to God's requirements, and as able to be confident of vindication on that basis.

Chapters 3-5 consist of exegesis of Rom 2-5. First, Chapter 3 will show the connection between Rom 2 and the expressions of confidence in the Jewish texts examined in Chapter 2, in order to show that Paul is in dialogue with a Judaism that expected vindication by God on the basis, in part, of obedience. Chapter 4 will explore the way Paul declares this Jewish confidence to be off-limits, and provides of exegesis of the key passages in which Paul puts forward his own view of the justification of Israel. This also shows, again, the nature of the Judaism with which Paul is interacting, as well as the complexities of Paul's doctrine of justification. This doctrine is seen by Paul from both past and future perspectives, and the difference needs to be appreciated. In conclusion, we reaffirm Paul's areas of continuity with his Jewish background, e.g. in his view of final vindication, but also the key difference, in his assertion that obedience is, of necessity, the work of God through Christ and the Spirit.

Simon James Gathercole, University of Durham.

Declaration

No part of this thesis has been submitted in its current form for a degree in this or any other university. It is entirely the work of the author.

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Table of Contents

Acknowledgments 10

Declaration and Statement of Copyright 11

Introduction 12

1. 'Boasting in Romans 1-5' 12

1.1 Theme 12
1.2 Overview of History of Research 12

2. The Wider Context of Pauline Studies 19

2.1 The Scholars 19
2.2 The Issues 22

2.2.1 Works and Covenantal Nomism 22
2.2.2 "Getting in", "Staying in", and Eschatology 23
2.2.3 Re-establishing the Centrality of Eschatology 24

2.3.1 Criticism from Anglo-American Scholarship 25
2.3.2 German Responses 27
2.3.3 Scandinavian Critiques 29

3. Methodology 31

3.1 Not Vocabulary-centred 31
3.2 Multiple Attestation in the Jewish Literature 31
3.3 Comparing Romans and Jewish texts: 'on their own terms'? 32
3.4 Geography of Jewish Texts 33
3.5 Dating of Jewish Texts 34

3.6 Theological Approach 34
3.7 'Legalism' et al. 35
3.8 Presentation 38

Chapter 1: Works and Final Salvation in Second-Temple Judaism 40

Introduction 40

1. Sirach and Tobit 40

2. Baruch 43

3. 1 Enoch 44

3.1 The Book of Watchers 44
3.2 Similitudes 45
3.3 The Book of Dream Visions 46
3.4 The Epistle of Enoch 46

4. 1 & 2 Maccabees, Assumption of Moses 49

4.1 1 Maccabees 50
4.2 2 Maccabees 52
4.3 Assumption of Moses 54

5. Jubilees 56

6. Psalms of Solomon 60

7. Wisdom of Solomon 63

8. Testaments of The Twelve Patriarchs 67

8.1 T. Judah 24-26 69
8.2 T. Levi 13 70
8.3 T. Asher 5-6 71
8.4 T. Joseph 18.1 72
8.5 Final Judgment in T. Ben. 10.1-11 and T. Zeb. 10.1-3 72

9. Pseudo-Philo 73

10. 2 (Slavonic) Enoch 74

11. Apocalypse of Zephaniah 75

12. Testament of Job 76

13. Sibylline Oracles 79

13.1 Oracle 2 79
13.2 Oracle 4 81

14. The Qumran Literature 82

Introduction 82

14.1 'Works of Torah' as 'deeds done in obedience to Torah' 83

14.1.1 Background in the Hebrew Bible 83
14.1.2 4QMMT itself 84
14.1.3 Other Qumran texts 85

14.2 The Soteriology of the Qumran Texts 86

14.2.1 Legal Texts 86
Excursus: Lev 18.5 in CD 3:14-16 89
14.2.2 Pesharim and Apocrypha 91
14.2.3 Liturgical and Sapiential Works 93

Conclusion 95

15. Earliest Christian Texts 97

15.1 Jewish Soteriology in Early Christianity (outside Paul) 98

15.1.1 Matthew 98
15.1.2 John 5.28-29 99
15.1.3 John 6.26-29 99
15.1.4 James 2 100
15.1.5 Rev 20.11-15 102

15.2 The Representation of Jewish Soteriology in the NT 103

15.2.1 Luke 10.25-37 103
15.2.2 Mark 10.17-22 105

15.2.3 Parables of the Prodigal Son (Lk 15.11-32) and Labourers (Mt 20.1-16) 106

15.3 Jewish and Pauline Judgment by Works in Rom 2 107

16. 4 Ezra 115

17. 2 Baruch 118

18. Josephus 120

18.1 Josephus' own Views 121

18.1.1 BJ III 374-375 121
18.1.2 Contra Apionem II 217-218 122

18.2 Josephus on the Pharisees and Essenes 123

18.2.1 AJ XVIII 12f 124
18.2.2 BJ II 162ff 124
18.2.3 BJ II 154-158 125

18.3 Eschatological Beliefs of Other individuals: BJ I 650 125

19. The Rabbis 126

20. The Targums 131

Chapter 1: Conclusion 133

Chapter 2: Boasting in Second-Temple Judaism 135

Introduction 135

1. Examples of Claims to Obedience 137

1.1 Israel as a Holy and Blameless Nation 137

1.1.1 As. Mos. 9.3-6 137
1.1.2 Bar 3.7 138
1.1.3 Wis. Sol. 15.1-4 139
1.1.4 2 Bar 48.22-24 141

1.1.5 4 Ezra 8 142
1.1.6 2 Maccabees 142
1.1.7 4 Maccabees 143
1.1.8 Josephus, c. Ap. 2.176-178 143
1.1.9 Sibylline Oracles 144

1.2 Boasts of Individuals 148

1.2.1 Jubilees: Abraham and Jacob 149
1.2.2 Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs 149
1.2.3 Pseudo-Philo: Joshua and David 150
1.2.4 Tobit 151
1.2.5 Josephus' Vita 151
1.2.6 Saul the Pharisee 152

2. The Validity of Self-Praise 153

2.1 The Abundance of Third-Person Representations 153

2.1.1 The Nature of the Claims 153
2.1.2 The Literary Function of Idealised Patriarchs 158

2.2 Righteousness as a Basis for Honour and Boasting 160

2.2.1 Sir 31/34 160
2.2.2 Jubilees 161

Conclusion: Where is Boasting? 162

Chapter 3: Paul's Assessment of Jewish Boasting in Rom 2.1-3.20 164

Introduction 164

1. Paul's Interlocutor 164

1.1 A Jewish Interlocutor in Romans 2.1-16 164
1.2 The Jew in Romans 2.17-24 166

2. Paul's Indictment of the Sinfulness of his Interlocutor 169

2.1 Judgmental (2.1; 2.3) 169
2.2 Unrepentant (2.4-5) 170

2.3 Guilty of what he criticises in others (2.1-3) 174

2.3.1 The Phenomenological Evidence (2.21-24) 175
2.3.2 The Biblical Evidence (3.10-18) 176

Conclusion 178

Chapter 4: Misunderstood Torah and Misunderstood Abraham in Rom 3.27-4.8 180

Introduction 180

1. Summary of New Perspective Exegesis 180

1.1 E.P.Sanders 180
1.2 J.D.G. Dunn 181
1.3 N.T. Wright 183

2. Misunderstood Torah 184

2.1 χωρὶς νόμου in 3.21 185
2.2 ἡ καύχησις in Rom 3.27 186
2.3 νόμος ἔργων and Rom 9.30ff 187
2.4 Rom 3.28: χωρὶς ἔργων νόμου 190
2.5 Non sequitur in 3.29-30? 191

3. Abraham's Boast 193

3.1 The Nature of Justification by Works in Rom 4.2 193

3.1.1 Abraham as Paradigm: Rom 4.1 193
3.1.2 Abraham Misunderstood: The Jewish Tradition 195
3.1.3 Exegesis of 4.2 196
The Scope of Works 197
The Function of 'works' 198

3.2 Abraham's Boast 199
3.3 Abraham's Justification in Rom 4.3 200
3.4 Paul's Target in Rom 4.4-5 201
3.5 Justification Without Works: Exegesis of 4.6-8 203

Conclusion to 3.27-4.8 204

First Criticism: Polemic against works as demarcatory? 204
Second Criticism: Limitation of "works of Torah" 205
Third Criticism: χωρὶς ἔργων νόμου 205
Summary of Exegesis 205

Chapter 5: The Resurrection of Boasting in Romans 5.1-11 208

Introduction 208

1. The Status of Rom 5.1-11 in the Structure of Romans 208

2. Boasting in the Hope of the Glory of God 210

2.1 Rom 5.1 210
2.2 The Character and Ground of the Boast 211

3. Boasting in Sufferings 212

4. Boasting in God 213

Conclusion: The Relation between Jewish and Pauline 'Boasting' 214

Conclusion 217

Bibliography 220

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Introduction

1 'Boasting in Early Judaism and Romans 1-5'

1.1 Theme

Why another thesis on Romans in relation to early Jewish thought? The distinctive contribution of this thesis lies in the examination of Paul and Judaism via the topic of 'boasting', and, no less importantly, *vice versa*. The theme of 'boasting' has always been acknowledged (both in traditional readings of Paul and those of the 'New Perspective') to be closely related to the doctrines of justification and salvation. However, the topic has received very little thorough attention. Only one monograph has been written, and that in Spanish in 1970, before the revolution in Pauline studies which E.P. Sanders precipitated.[1] Bosch's monograph (which is very seldom read) covers the whole Pauline corpus, and so does deal with Romans.[2] In addition to Bosch, there are several short 5-10pp articles which touch on the subject, but again, no major treatment. So this thesis aims, in the first instance, to fill that lacuna in scholarship.

1.2 Overview of History of Research

The themes of pride and boasting are strongly associated with the theology of Augustine of Hippo. In *The City of God*, Augustine's discussion of boasting arises first in discussion of the rise of the Roman Empire, and how prosperity came from the wise government of its leading citizens, who exercised their wisdom for their own honour, praise and glory, 'suppressing the desire of wealth and many other vices for this one vice, namely, the love of praise' (CD V,13). Augustine then expounds the phrase 'I say to you, they have received their reward already', applying it to those who have given up shameful vices to pursue honour and repute (V,14-15). Christians, however, should pursue *true* glory, and even martyrs have no grounds for boasting: 'let not the holy martyrs carry themselves proudly, as though they had done some meritorious thing for a

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1 J.S. Bosch, *«Gloriarse» según san Pablo. Sentido e teología de καυχάομαι* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1970).

2 There are a number of monographs on 2 Cor 10-13 which examine, in more or less detail, the theme of boasting. The only detailed treatment specifically on 'boasting' is by G. Davis, *True and False Boasting in 2 Cor. 10-13* (PhD Dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1999).

where are eternal life and felicity' (V,18).[3]

In *Confessions*, boasting appears in the context of receiving honour by being virtuous in the eyes of others,[4] and also to pride in learning. For example, the secular astronomers: 'These powers (sc. being able to predict eclipses) are a source of wonder and astonishment to men who do not know their secrets. But the astronomers are flattered and claim the credit for themselves. They lapse into pride without respect for you, my God...' (V,iii). When Augustine came to re-read the Scriptures after giving up on astrology (VII, viii), and experiencing a dissatisfaction with Platonism (VII,xx), he came to see that 'Saint Paul teaches that he who sees ought not to boast as though what he sees had not come to him by gift. For whatever powers he has, did they not come to him by gift?' (VII, xxi). This leads to what is perhaps the crucial verse for Augustine's theology of boasting, 1 Cor 4.7: 'What do you have that you did not receive? And if you did receive it, why do you boast as though you did not?' However, although Augustine sees pride as the commencement of sin, because it led to the fall of the devil, pride is not to be *equated with* sin.[5] This view belongs more to C.S. Lewis's popular writings than to Augustine.[6]

In the commentaries of Luther and Calvin from the Sixteenth Century, we see two (somewhat overlapping) strands that have since dominated thinking about boasting. Luther focuses on the activity of boasting, and the vain attitude that underlies it.[7] Calvin's commentary focuses on the theological formulations, and defines boasting as encompassing merit, whether condign or congruent.[8] Thus Luther opposes primarily the anthropological condition of pride, whereas Calvin attacks the doctrines which, to his mind, were used to justify it.

One problem with the commentaries of the Reformers is that there is a universalisation of the categories, and some historical particularity can be lost.[9] One early reaction came from their contemporaries: in the attempts of the Cardinals to defend the doctrines of merit, the historical particularity of Romans 3.27ff was greatly emphasised. So, while Calvin viewed the boast and the 'law of works' in universal terms, Caietan interpreted them as universal but especially Jewish, and Grimani saw them as confined entirely to the Jewish domain.[10] In fairness to the Reformers, their commentaries were not confined to grammatico-historical exegesis, but were intended to be both devotional and polemical as well. And this 'genre' of commentary is of course quite legitimate: but

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[3] In the City of God, Augustine also draws attention to the Roman boast in II,29, and attacks Varro's claim that he imparted insights about true worship, in IV,22.

[4] See in particular IX,xiii with its citation of 2 Cor 10.17/ Jer 9.23, and also X,xxxviii.

[5] Augustine, *de Natura et Gratia* 33.

[6] See Chapter 8 of C.S. Lewis, *Mere Christianity* (London: Fontana Books, 1955) 106-112. Pride is 'the essential vice, the utmost evil' (106).

[7] M. Luther, *Lectures on Romans.* Tr. W. Pauck (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962) 118.

[8] J. Calvin, *The Epistles of Paul to the Romans and Thessalonians.* Translated by R. Mackenzie (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1973) 78.

[9] Though Luther does pay attention to the Jewishness of the boast. See *Lectures on Romans*, 118.

[10] T.H.L. Parker, *Commentaries on Romans. 1532-1542* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1985) 155.

problems are caused when a Luther or a Calvin are compared with a dispassionately (!) exegetical modern commentary.[11]

The legacy of the Reformers in the English Protestant tradition is exemplified in the ICC commentaries of Sanday & Headlam, and Cranfield. Here, boasting is a human claim to merit,[12] or 'putting God in one's debt'.[13] In C.H. Dodd's commentary, boasting is a fundamentally irreligious attitude to which Paul was especially prone, pre-conversion.[14] Dodd's essay, 'The Mind of Paul: 1', which focuses on boasting, sees it predominantly as a psychological trait, the result of Jews feeling inferior in the Greco-Roman world.[15] Thus, the glory of the Law was a way for Paul (and Israel) to attribute a glory to himself. 'The Law... was the symbol of the glory of Israel which gave him self-respect before the world', whereas a crucified Messiah, and perceived slander on Torah and Temple on the part of early Christians 'were dragging the glory of Israel in the mire' (76). This glory Paul maintained by his observance of that Law. On becoming a Christian, however, Paul's glory was shattered as he realized that 'his καύχημα, his pride and self-respect, was gone' (78). However, rather than following this through logically, Paul simply replaced one καύχημα with another: he stopped short of following the humble English way of thoroughgoing, consistent modesty (79-80).

Rudolf Bultmann is the towering figure in the German tradition. Under the double influence of Heidegger and Marburg neo-Kantianism, he defined works as efforts to secure one's own existence. This attempt is caused by anxiety and resulted in boasting. Bultmann has often been accused, like the Reformers, of theological universalising at the expense of historical particulars. But this is slightly unfair; a charitable reading of Bultmann might see his universals as *grounded in* particulars, even if the theology takes centre stage in his writing:

> In the boasting of Jews who are faithful to the law, just as in the boasting of the Gnostics who are proud of their wisdom, it becomes clear that the basic human attitude is the high-handedness that tries to bring within our own power even the submission that we know to be our authentic being, and so finally ends in self-contradiction.[16]

Here we see the theological anthropology actually grounded in historical exegesis, even if one disagrees with the exegesis. Many scholars, perhaps, would be surprised to find that

---

11 Though as we shall see later, many Pauline scholars are very open about their theological agenda.

12 W. Sanday & A.C. Headlam, *The Epistle to the Romans* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1895) 94.

13 C.E.B. Cranfield, *Romans. A Shorter Commentary* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1985) 78.

14 C.H. Dodd, *The Epistle of Paul to the Romans* (London: Fontana, 1959) 84-85.

15 C.H. Dodd, 'The Mind of Paul' in idem, *New Testament Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1933) 67-82. See esp. 73-81 on 'boasting'.

16 R. Bultmann, *New Testament & Mythology and Other Basic Writings* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984) 28.

Bultmann asserts: 'ἐξ ἔργων does not arise in relation to the Gentiles'.[17] Nevertheless, we can see that the boast of the Jew belongs for Bultmann in the framework of human boasting in general: the attempt of the Jew to establish by himself his position before God is a particular expression of the attempt of the human to establish himself by his own efforts. 'For Paul, καυχᾶσθαι *discloses* the basic attitude of the Jew to be one of self-confidence which seeks glory before God and which relies on itself'.[18] At the risk of platitude, Bultmann's judgments on boasting must be seen in the context of his whole theology, and in particular, how he sees individual historical 'boasts' as instantiations of a fundamental anthropology: existentiells grounded in an existential. Bultmann's *TDNT* article begins with the classical background to the term, concluding that καυχᾶσθαι means 'to boast', 'usually in a bad sense'.[19] In the LXX and early Judaism, Bultmann concludes, largely on the basis of evidence from Philo, that it is often constituted by self-glorying, which is the usurpation of God's glory (646-648). As Israel's legitimate boast in Yahweh is perverted into self-reliance, it becomes the opposite of 'faith' (649). Paul's boasting in his ministry however, is not inconsistent with this view (contra Dodd), as Paul is expressing his confidence precisely in the faith of his congregations (650).

C.K. Barrett's commentary reveals the influence on the English tradition of German reflection on boasting that had arisen out of the Lutheran tradition: 'Boasting is the attitude of the natural man, who seeks to establish his position independently of God'.[20] There is nothing here that could not be traced back to Augustine, yet the style of expression is probably indebted to Bultmann. Barrett, like Dodd, is one of the few to have written a piece devoted to boasting.[21] In it, Barrett summarizes Dodd's 'Mind of Paul' article (364-365) and Bultmann's *TDNT* article (366-367), and provides some helpful statistics of occurrences of the term καυχᾶσθαι in the NT (366). Barrett favours Bultmann, criticising Dodd's psychological interpretation: 'the theme of καυχᾶσθαι is fundamentally theological' (367). But his essay merely aims to raise questions for conference discussion, such as the nature (and similarity and dissimilarity) of references in Philippians, Galatians, and 1 and 2 Corinthians (366).

Though they do not share his philosophical and theological presuppositions, Käsemann and Fitzmyer follow Bultmann in understanding boasting as 'the human tendency to rely on one's own powers and to think that thereby one can achieve salvation or justification in the sight of God'.[22]

Moo's commentary defines boasting in the typically Augustinian way as 'a sin

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[17] G.W. Bromiley, ed. *Karl Barth - Rudolf Bultmann. Letters 1922-1966.* Translated by G.W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981) 5.

[18] R. Bultmann, 'καυχάομαι κτλ' in G. Kittel, ed. *TDNT* III:645-654. Emphasis mine. The key word here is 'discloses', which in Heidegger refers to the basic structure of the Dasein being revealed through a specific 'attitude' (M. Inwood, *A Heidegger Dictionary* [Oxford: Blackwell, 1999] 237-239).

[19] Bultmann, 'καυχάομαι κτλ', 645-646.

[20] C.K. Barrett, *The Epistle to the Romans* (London: A.&C. Black, 1957) 82.

[21] C.K. Barrett, 'Boasting (καυχᾶσθαι κτλ.) in the Pauline Epistles' in A. Vanhoye, ed. *L'Apôtre Paul: Personalité, Style et Conception du Ministère* (Leuven: University Press, 1986) 363-368.

[22] J.A. Fitzmyer, *Romans* (New York: Doubleday, 1993) 359.

common to all people – it reflects the pride that is at the root of so much human sinfulness'.[23] However, Moo does explain Rom 3.27 in terms of the boast of Jews, and their pride in accomplishments. There have also been attempts in Germany to define the boast with its full anthropological significance, while situating it in its Jewish context as well. Michel, like Käsemann, defines the boast as a 'self-boast',[24] and follows Bultmann in seeing it as the pride in the privileges of 2.17ff distorted into a self-praise.[25] Schlier understands boasting as a false sense of security, a view of Jewish obedience and circumcision as a guarantee of belonging to the people of God. But, for Schlier, this *and* all other boasting is excluded.[26]

J.S. Bosch, as has been noted, has written the only monograph on the subject of boasting (1970). In particular, there is a section on 'la «gloria» del Judío' in Rom 2-3 (134-160), and Bosch distinguishes between the boast of the Jew and a boast in works. The concern that Paul has in Rom 2 (without denying there is an element of boasting in works) is with the Jewish boast over against the gentiles: 'Sin negar, pues, que exista de parte judía una 'gloria' por razón de las obras, nos detendremos - a tenor de los textos citados [sc. Rom 2.17-24] - en aquello que el judío se atribuye por el hecho de ser judío y no gentil' (143). Bosch sees the boast in 2.17-24 as an outward projection, which in his heart the Jew renounces (136).[27] The basis of this boast is the 'wall' between Jew and gentile (Eph 2.14), which Christ has destroyed, thus excluding the boast (159-160). The boast is excluded not primarily for anthropological reasons, but 'en virtud de las nuevas realidades salvíficas' (138). With more recent New Perspective scholars, he also sees Rom 3.29-30 as supporting this: 'Que Pablo entendío en este sentido la καύχησις judía nos lo confirman los vv. 29-30' (139). He does, however, distinguish between the boast in 2.17-24 and 3.27ff. In 2.17-24 the boast is in the fact that 'la ley es un «valor», capaz *de por sí* de fundar una "gloria" válida': it is not a boast in obedience (155). The 'law of works' in 3.27, however, draws attention to the fact that 'según un recuento de obras, podría quedar... alguna «diferencia» en favor de los judíos' (139).

Bosch separates discussion of Jewish boasting in Rom 2-3 from Abraham's boast in Rom 4. In Rom 4.2, the emphasis is on a fairly traditional (hypothetical) justification by works: works which make a demand on God, and belong entirely to the person (182). There are two dimensions to Bosch's view. First, when one sees works in the context of Eph 2.8-9, Rom 9.11, 11.5-6, 2 Tim 1.9, Tit 3.5, what is being highlighted is divine initiative over against salvation by human works (177-178). But secondly, Bosch rejects the Bultmannian position, and argues that the exclusion of one's own righteousness is not intrinsically related to justification (181).

H. Hübner also has a substantial section on the subject of boasting in his *Law in*

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[23] D.J. Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997) 246.

[24] 'Selbstruhm' in German does not have the connotations of 'works-righteousness' as 'self-boast' might have in English: U. Wilckens uses 'Selbstruhm' of the boast of exclusivism as well (*Der Brief an die Römer* I [Zürich/ Düsseldorf: Benziger, [3]1997] 245).

[25] O. Michel, *Der Brief an die Römer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, [13]1966) 154-155.

[26] H. Schlier, *Der Römerbrief* (Freiburg: Herder, 1987) 82-83.

[27] 'Si tú *externamente* proclamas ser amigo de Dios, pero le reniegas en tu corazón'.

Paul's Thought.[28] He treats boasting in Romans, Galatians and 1 Corinthians, and in his interpretation of Romans, poses (discussing Rom 3.27) one of the key questions in this thesis as well: 'But *what is it* that is now excluded: is it the possibility of boasting about the possession of the Law or about the works of the Law which have been performed? This is the cardinal question which arises of necessity out of our discussion so far' (115). Hübner makes three points about the nature of boasting in Romans 1-5. First, that the boast in God/ in the Law (the same thing) is sin, because the Jew does not keep the Law (124). This boasting is also equated *apriori* with 'boasting of self': he uses the phrases interchangeably (112, 115). Second, this boast is a boast in the fulfilment of works, as can be seen from Paul's use of the phrase 'a Law of works', which is a perverted understanding of Torah (124). With Michel, Hübner says that such an understanding reduces obedience to the Law into individual acts, and with Bultmann he asserts that because obedience to the Law was never *meant* to be the way to salvation, the effort in that direction is itself always already sin (122). Third, the kind of boasting (in God and one's sufferings) in Rom 5.1-11 is the polar opposite of this egocentric existence (124). So, he concludes on Rom 3.27: 'boasting or self-glorying is not excluded in so far as the Law is regarded from a standpoint of "works". And we may certainly go a step further: for those who take it as a "law of works", but only for those; the Law aims *of necessity* at boasting or self-glorying' (116).

It is precisely in reaction to this kind of understanding of Paul that the recent revolution in Pauline studies has taken place. The advent of the New Perspective on Paul resulted in a recasting of 'boasting' because of its integral relation to the other concepts which underwent major reinterpretation. K. Stendahl provided a key impetus to these developments, and although his *Final Account*, where he glosses boasting as 'feeling superior to another' (in the Jewish context) is recent,[29] its basis is in the revolutionary 'Paul and the Introspective Conscience of the West' (1963). E.P. Sanders does not address the question of the *nature* of boasting, except (following Stendahl) to call into question Bultmann's location of it at the heart of anthropology.[30] N.T. Wright and J.D.G. Dunn, as we shall see, then came forward with an analysis of boasting which fit with Sanders' view of Judaism. The Law served to emphasise Israel's distinctiveness, Dunn argues, and Paul's target was a boast in ethnic-social distinctiveness over against the gentiles, rather than legalistic self-righteousness.[31] For Wright, similarly, it is Israel's election and vocation to be the light of the world which 'sets [her] apart from the nations'.[32] So for the New Perspective, Israel's boast is less in relation to God (though it

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[28] Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1984.

[29] K. Stendahl, *Final Account* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995) 24. Cf also S.K. Stowers, *A Rereading of Romans* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994) 144-148, for whom Paul pictures a Jewish teacher characterized by a condescending pride over against gentiles.

[30] E.P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1977) 482-491, 508-510, which refers to K. Stendahl, 'Paul and the Introspective Conscience of the West', *HTR* 56 (1963) 207=*Paul among Jews and Gentiles* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1976) 87-88; for Sanders on the boast of Rom 2.17, see *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 550.

[31] See especially J.D.G. Dunn, *Romans* I (Waco: Word, 1988) lxiv-lxxii.

[32] N.T. Wright, 'The Law in Romans 2', in J.D.G. Dunn, ed. *Paul and the Mosaic Law* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1996)149.

is in relation to God, in some sense) than in relation to the gentiles. This will be a key issue to be analysed: in what sense Israel's boast is defined ethnically, and in what sense it is theological.

Another key issue raised both within the New Perspective and in modern scholarship more broadly concerns the relation of the boast to the attitude of the Jewish nation to the eschaton. Wilckens, who is very sympathetic to Dunn's general position, talks of the boast as a kind of *Heilsgewißheit*.[33] Similarly, Stuhlmacher (on the other side of the New Perspective debate) also sets the boast in the double sphere of *before* God and *over against* the gentile, and situates the boast very much in relation to eschatological judgment.[34] For these scholars, then, *the boast is not just an arrogant attitude before God or others, but it is a confidence in being vindicated at the time of God's eschatological judgment*. This is a vital contribution which is now recognised by the majority of commentators, and will also be explored in the present study.

L. Thurén has produced the most recent substantial treatment of boasting (remembering that 14pp *is* rather substantial by comparison with the space that the topic usually receives).[35] Looking more broadly at the problems of Paul and the Law, Thurén explores the possibility of 'whether the old, unpopular idea, that Paul wanted to reject the possibility of human boasting, could enable us to glimpse a solution' (166), while being aware of the awkward associations this approach has had, historically.

For Thurén, the boast in Rom 2 (and Rom 3.27) is in *possession* of Torah (rather than in obedience to it), and Paul's response in 2.23 is that 'one can justifiably boast of possessing the law only when complying strictly with its commands' (171). But 4.2 is broader: 'Limitation of the semantics of boasting to refer to possession of the law only, is at odds with this discussion' (169). Schreiner's position is similar, although he sees more boasting in obedience in 3.27.[36] Here are two examples of some rapprochement between 'traditional' and New Perspective exegesis. For Thurén, however, rejection of 'boasting' (cf 1 Cor 1.29) is a general rule for Paul (173), and having noted the presence of 'own' righteousness in Phil 3 (169), he concludes: 'Boasting signifies for Paul not just possessing the law, but also strict observance to it, and striving for his own righteousness. Theoretically, boasting of human righteousness is possible. It is not caused by the law, but enabled by it. God is said to have chosen another, exclusive way to salvation, in order to prevent such boasting' (177). However, he maintains that we should not return to the earlier distortions of first-century Judaism. This thesis shares with Thurén's work a concern to establish the precise relationship between boasting and obedience to Torah.

We have seen, then, the key issues concerning boasting raised by modern scholarship. Is boasting a Jewish 'feeling of superiority', or is it confidence in vindication at the

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33 U. Wilckens, *Der Brief an die Römer (Röm 1-5)*, 244-245.

34 P. Stuhlmacher, *Paul's Letter to the Romans. A Commentary* (Louisville: Westminster/ John Knox, 1994) 48, 66.

35 L. Thurén, *Derhetorizing Paul. A Dynamic Perspective on Pauline Theology and the Law* (Tübingen: Mohr, 2000) 165-178: 'Law and Boasting - a General Element of Paul's Solution'.

36 T.R. Schreiner, *Romans* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1998) 129.

eschaton? It will be seen later that the latter is often the context for the former. Secondly, is boasting in relation to God or to gentiles? It will be argued here that both are important, and we will see later how each is configured. But the most controversial issue which divides scholars is this. *On what is Jewish confidence based - election or obedience?* This requires examination of two questions. First, what was the criterion for God's saving vindication at the eschaton, in Jewish thought? Was it divine election, or was it primarily works? Second, if eschatological vindication came on the basis of works, did Jews in the Second-Temple period consider that their obedience was a basis for their vindication? These questions are insoluble without examining both boasting and the wider issues in Second-Temple Judaism, and Pauline theology.

2 The Wider Context of Pauline Studies

So, this thesis has another goal. At the same time as contributing something original to New Testament studies, in the form of an examination of 'boasting' in Romans 1-5, this thesis also has a polemical thrust. It aims to examine critically the 'New Perspective on Paul' via the subject of 'boasting', now that almost twenty-five years have elapsed since the publication of Sanders' *Paul and Palestinian Judaism.*

2.1 The Scholars

This thesis aims to look at the presentation of Second-Temple Judaism and Paul by, in particular, E.P. Sanders, J.D.G. Dunn and N.T. Wright.[37] These three figures are often considered to be the three musketeers of the so-called 'New Perspective'.

Sanders, to many the pioneer, spear-headed the attack on the Lutheran views of Judaism and Paul in 1977, and *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* has since been translated into German and Italian.[38] His portrayal of Judaism has convinced many, but his account of Paul was highly unsatisfactory. He continued with a more coherent understanding of Paul in 1983, *Paul the Law and the Jewish People*.[39] The more popular-level *Paul*, followed later (1991).[40]

J.D.G. Dunn popularised the term 'The New Perspective' in his 1983 Manson Memorial Lecture, 'The New Perspective on Paul and the Law'.[41] Dunn was also the first scholar, crucially, to carry through the implications of the New Perspective into NT commentaries: in particular, Romans in 1988, and Galatians in 1993 (as well as *The*

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37 The order in which the three are presented is fairly arbitrary. Sanders' portrayal of Judaism influenced Dunn and Wright, but the issue of who influenced whose portrayal of Paul is an open question.

38 German: *Paulus und das palästinische Judentum* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht,1985). Italian: *Paolo e il Giudaismo palestinese* (Brescia: Paideia, 1981).

39 (London: SCM Press, 1983).

40 *Paul* (Oxford: OUP, 1991).

41 'The New Perspective on Paul' in Dunn, *Jesus, Paul and the Law* (London: SCM, 1990) 183-214. [Originally, in *BJRL* 65 (1983) 95-122].

Theology of Paul's Letter to the Galatians, from the same year).[42] Dunn's *Romans* has exercised particular influence. As well as numerous important articles, not least a number on 'works of the law',[43] Dunn's *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* clarifies his position, and looks set to become perhaps his most widely read book.[44]

N.T. Wright shows the influence of Sanders already in his 1978 Tyndale Lecture.[45] Although he has not yet produced his comprehensive account of Paul's thought (expected as Volume Four of his six-volume *Christian Origins and the Question of God*) he has published considerably, and his positions are already very clear. His 1978 article, his unpublished 1980 Oxford Dissertation *The Messiah and the People of God, Climax of the Covenant*,[46] *The New Testament and the People of God*,[47] his SBL Pauline Theology essays,[48] 'Gospel and Theology in Galatians',[49] 'The Law in Romans 2',[50] *What St Paul Really Said*,[51] 'The Letter to the Galatians. Exegesis and Theology'[52] and a lecture series on Romans recorded and marketed by Regent College Vancouver give considerable insight into Wright's masterful synthesis of Pauline (and indeed Biblical) theology.[53]

Including E.P. Sanders in a treatment of the 'New Perspective' needs no justification, nor indeed should discussion of Dunn and Wright. It is necessary, however, to explain why attention will be paid to these three at the expense of others who might also be worthy.

This applies in particular to Krister Stendahl, in many ways a father to the New

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42 Dunn, *Romans 1-8, Romans 9-16*; *Galatians* (London: A.&C. Black, 1993); *Theology of Galatians* (Cambridge: CUP, 1993).

43 'Works of the Law and the Curse of the Law (Galatians 3.10-14)', *NTS* 32 (1985) 522-542; 'Yet Once More, "The Works of the Law": A Response', *JSNT* 46 (1992) 99-117; '4QMMT and Galatians', *NTS* 43 (1997) 147-153; 'A Response to Peter Stuhlmacher' in F. Avemarie, H. Lichtenberger, eds. *Auferstehung - Resurrection. The Fourth Durham-Tübingen Research Symposium* (Tübingen: Mohr, 2001) 363-368; 'Noch Einmal "Works of the Law": The Dialogue Continues', in I. Dunderberg, K. Syreeni & C. Tuckett, eds. *Pluralism and Conflicts: Early Christianity and Beyond* FS H. Räisänen (Forthcoming, 2001); 'Jesus the Judge: Further Thoughts of Paul's Christology and Soteriology' in FS Gerald O'Collins (Forthcoming, 2001).

44 *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998).

45 Wright, 'The Paul of History and the Apostle of Faith', *TynB* 29 (1978) 61-88.

46 *The Climax of the Covenant. Christ and the Law in Pauline Theology* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1991).

47 *The New Testament and the People of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992).

48 'Putting Paul Together Again: Towards a Synthesis of Pauline Theology (1 and 2 Thessalonians, Philippians, and Philemon)' in J. Bassler, ed. *Pauline Theology. Volume 1: Thessalonians, Philippians, Galatians, Philemon* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1994) 183-211; 'Romans and the Theology of Paul', in D.M. Hay & E.E. Johnsons, eds., *Pauline Theology, Volume III. Romans* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995) 30-67.

49 In L.A. Jervis, P. Richardson, eds. *Gospel in Paul. Studies on Corinthians, Galatians and Romans for Richard N. Longenecker* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994) 222-239.

50 'The Law in Romans 2' in Dunn, ed. *Paul and the Mosaic Law*, 131-150.

51 *What Saint Paul Really Said* (Oxford: Lion, 1997)

52 In M. Turner & J.B. Green, eds. *Between Two Horizons. Spanning New Testament Studies and Systematic Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000) 205-236.

53 For an annotated bibliography, see Wright, *What St Paul Really Said*, 191-192.

Perspective. He provided radical alternatives to the traditional organising themes of Pauline theology: 'call rather than conversion', 'justification rather than forgiveness', 'weakness rather than sin', 'unique rather than universal' etc.[54] Dunn and Wright have retained some of Stendahl's antitheses, but also refined his thought. In current scholarship however, Stendahl tends to influence scholars indirectly, through Sanders, Dunn and Wright in particular.

Heikki Räisänen, equally, might have been included. He is undoubtedly one of the most forceful opponents of the traditional view of Paul and Judaism, but two reasons have led to his exclusion from extended discussion here. First, he has been much discussed already in particular by T.E. van Spanje, whose excellent work is devoted in its entirety to a critique of Räisänen.[55] Second, Räisänen represents an extreme position in the debate. Although he has persuaded some in Scandinavia - Kuula, for example, has recently sought to endorse and defend Räisänen's basic positions - not many in Germany, Britain and the U.S.A. have been convinced. Similarly, L. Gaston and S.K. Stowers have not been particularly influential in their theological conclusions because they have been so radical.[56]

Other well-known scholars have been associated with the New Perspective. Francis Watson produced a monograph in 1986, but because his more recent work has been characterized by something of a *volte-face*, he will not be one of the major dialogue partners here.[57] Morna Hooker has written some short studies on covenantal nomism and related subjects, but no comprehensive work on the issue.[58] A number of monographs specifically on Galatians have built on Sanders' work, most notably by J.M.G. Barclay,[59] G.W. Hansen,[60] and B.W. Longenecker,[61] as well as Richard Hays' *The Faith of Jesus Christ*.[62] Since the πίστις Χριστοῦ debate is an area of disagreement for Sanders, Dunn and Wright, it will not receive considerable attention here. These works on Galatians will only be referred to where necessary, as this study will focus particularly on Romans. Similarly, a number of studies have supported (consciously or unconsciously) the New Perspective's approach to certain Jewish texts: B.W. Longenecker on 4 Ezra,[63] Winninge on Psalms of Solomon,[64] Abegg on the Qumran

54 Stendahl, *Paul among Jews and Gentiles*, 23, 40, 67.

55 *Inconsistency in Paul? A Critique of the Work of Heikki Räisänen* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1999).

56 See Gaston, *Paul and the Torah* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987) and Stowers, *A Rereading of Romans* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994).

57 F.B. Watson, *Paul, Judaism and the Gentiles* (Cambridge: CUP, 1986).

58 See esp. M.D. Hooker, 'Paul and "Covenantal Nomism" ' in idem, *From Adam to Christ. Essays on Paul* (Cambridge: CUP, 1990) 155-164.

59 *Obeying the Truth: A Study of Paul's Ethics in Galatians* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988).

60 *Abraham in Galatians. Epistolary and Rhetorical Contexts* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989).

61 *The Triumph of Abraham's God. The Transformation of Identity in Galatians* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998).

62 (Chico: Scholars Press, 1983).

63 See B.W. Longenecker, *Eschatology and the Covenant. A Comparison of 4 Ezra and Romans 1-11* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991); further, *2 Esdras* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1995).

64 M. Winninge, *Sinners and the Righteous. A Comparative Study of the Psalms of Solomon and Paul's Letters* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1995).

literature,[65] and G. Stemberger on Mishnah Abot.[66] These will be referred to at the relevant places.

There is an additional reason for focus on Sanders, Dunn and Wright: they all share considerable common ground in their results. The New Perspective itself is such a broad and inclusive phenomenon that one cannot defeat one protagonist and consider the battle over. There is radical disagreement in many quarters, just as there was considerable variety among exponents of traditional Pauline theologies.

2.2 The Issues

2.2.1 Works and Covenantal Nomism

In dividing the scholars above into two 'camps', I have of course been working with a number of criteria for doing so. The most significant issue is probably that of 'works' and 'faith'. On the traditional reading, works in Judaism were one's achievements by which one became acceptable before God. Since no-one in reality could be acceptable before God by works, God provided the means - faith - whereby it was possible to be acceptable by God's grace. On the New Perspective reading of Pauline faith and Jewish works, however, they are conceived as the respective *marks of* belonging (rather that *means to* belonging) to the people of God. In Judaism, works, that is to say Sabbath, the food laws, and most of all circumcision were the public signs that one was a Jew and the basis of one's assurance that one belonged to Yahweh. For Paul, on the other hand, faith is the only marker that marks out the universal people of God. For both Paul and Judaism, salvation was not dependent upon works, but on divine grace and election. G.F. Moore, on whom Sanders relies so much, had already made the point in the 1920s:

> It should be remarked, further, that "a lot in the World to Come," which is the nearest approximation in rabbinical Judaism to the Pauline and Christian idea of salvation, or eternal life, is ultimately assured to every Israelite on the ground of the original election of the people by the free grace of God, prompted not by its merits, collective or individual, but solely by God's love, a love that began with the Fathers... "A lot in the World to Come" is not wages earned by works, but is bestowed by God in pure goodness upon the members of his chosen people, as "eternal life" in Christianity is bestowed on the individuals he has chosen, or the members of the church. If one is grace, so is the other.[67]

In discussing Antigonus of Socho's famous exhortation not to work for a reward, Moore notes that 'there is a certain irony in the fact that the first recorded word of a Pharisee

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65 M.G. Abegg, '4QMMT C 27, 31 and "Works Righteousness"', *DSD* 6 (1999) 139-147.

66 G. Stemberger, *Verdienst und Lohn - Kernbegriffe rabbinischer Frömmigkeit? Überlegungen zu Mischna Avot* (Münster: Franz-Delitzsch-Gesellschaft, 1998).

67 G.F. Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era. The Age of the Tannaim. Vols 1-3* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1927-1930) 2:94-95.

should be a repudiation of the supposed "Pharisaic" wage-theory of righteousness'.[68] So the crucial point for the New Perspective, then, is that works of Torah define those who are already members of the covenant: they do not contribute to 'getting in'. At the most, they maintain one's membership in the people of God.

2.2.2 "Getting in", "Staying in", and Eschatology

My contention in the broader reconstruction of Jewish and Pauline theology here is to highlight the crucial flaw in this model usually designated 'covenantal nomism'.

The problem with the debate is that Sanders' already polemical thesis is so often repeated without much correction,[69] and even exaggerated further. That Sanders' method generally (not just in *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*) is highly polemical is pointed out most effectively by Hengel and Deines. First, 'Sanders presents in his books a clearly outlined position, which he then documents with carefully–if sometimes also one-sidedly–chosen sources.'[70] This is certainly the case with the comparison between Paul and Judaism: as we shall see, certain texts like Josephus and 2 Baruch are ignored altogether. Secondly, Sanders' opponents are 'too well chosen':[71] often, he fires at rather easy targets, and is even vitriolic, as in his opposition to 'Jeremias & co.'.[72]

Furthermore, twenty years after Sanders ignited the debate, the emotional language has not died down, and the easy targets are still fired at: Wright writes for example that 'There (in 4QMMT) "justification by works" has nothing to do with individual Jews attempting a kind of proto-Pelagian pulling themselves up by their moral bootstraps.'[73] Or again, when he objects that 'The "works of Torah" were not a legalist's ladder, up which one climbed to earn the divine favour',[74] he is reiterating the same negative as he stated in his 1978 Lecture.[75]

Still in 1998, Bruce Longenecker's work on Galatians begins by contrasting Sanders with Bultmann.[76] More recently still, Yinger's monograph again vigorously opposes legalism with a view to vindicating Sanders.[77] In his view of works, however, he is closer to Dunn and Wright, though he seems to have derived his evidential view of deeds not from them but from Roman Heiligenthal. His thesis is refreshingly bold, if a little rough around the edges, arguing that for both Paul and Judaism, 'salvation is wholly

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[68] Moore, *Judaism*, 2:96.

[69] At least with regard to Judaism: his reading of Paul has actually not won many followers.

[70] M. Hengel & R. Deines, 'E.P. Sanders' "Common Judaism"', Jesus and the Pharisees', *JTS* NS 46.1 (1995) 3.

[71] Hengel & Deines, 'E.P. Sanders' "Common Judaism"', 68.

[72] Hengel & Deines, 'E.P. Sanders' "Common Judaism"', 69 citing *Jewish Law from Jesus to the Mishnah* (London: SCM, 1990) 36.

[73] Wright, *What St Paul Really Said*, 119.

[74] Wright, *New Testament and the People of God*, 238.

[75] Wright, 'The Apostle of Faith and the Paul of History', 65.

[76] Longenecker, *The Triumph of Abraham's God*, 13-17.

[77] K.L. Yinger, *Paul, Judaism and judgment According to Deeds* (Cambridge: CUP, 1999).

by God's grace *and* the saved will be repaid (ie. saved or condemned) in accordance with what they have done'.[78] This model will be examined in more detail in chapter 3, but suffice to say that Yinger's thesis delivers a double blow to traditional Lutheran theology, both in describing Paul's view of judgment as based on works, and in asserting that Paul and Judaism are no more monergistic or synergistic than each other. This thesis, however, will show that there are serious problems with this judgment.[79]

Similarly, Kari Kuula, a student of Räisanen, who follows very much in the Räisänen tradition is obviously aware of all the scholarship that has gone before him, but still presents his anti-traditional conclusions as if they were extraordinary in the present climate (1999): 'strange as it may sound, I am of the opinion that Luther and the later Lutheran tradition thoroughly misinterpreted such fundamental themes in Paul as the Law, works and grace'.[80] Most recently, a 1999 article on 4QMMT by Martin Abegg makes the point that 'righteousness originated with God, not humans'.[81] But who has argued that 4QMMT tells us the opposite? There is little attempt to tackle the *current state of the question*: the debate often follows the same lines that it has for over twenty years now.

2.2.3 Re-establishing the Centrality of Eschatology

One of the crucial questions to be addressed when we come to the Jewish literature is whether Sanders' categories of 'getting in' and 'staying in' are really adequate. In Sanders' taxonomy, there is a great deal of past ('getting in') and present ('staying in') but very little eschatology. Hengel concludes: 'A thoroughly modern distancing from future eschatology and its implications is evident.'[82] Despite Wright's occasional mention of other categories ('getting *back* in', 'staying in when it looked as though one had been ejected'),[83] the dimension of final judgment is still missed, even if these ideas are more nuanced than those of Sanders.

One of the dominant concerns of the literature of Second-Temple Judaism, however, is eschatology. And we have noted that some scholars see it as particularly relevant to a study of *boasting*, which was concerned precisely with Jewish attitudes to

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78 Yinger, *Paul, Judaism and Judgment*, i (Abstract).

79 Yinger asserts early on that Carson, Gundry and Moule have failed to demonstrate 'that the grace-works axis in Judaism is any more synergistic or meritorious than in Paul' (4). Yet later on, he registers interest in Carson's point that grace is often conceived in Judaism as God's kind response to merit, rather than mercy in defiance of demerit (D.A. Carson, *Divine Sovereignty and Human Responsibility. Biblical Perspectives in Tension* [London: Marshall Pickering, 1991] 69, cited in Yinger, 97n153). But when it comes to responding, Yinger backs down: he acknowledges that Carson's monograph deserves consideration and response, but states that he has no space to deal with it (97).

80 Preface to K. Kuula, *The Law, the Covenant, and God's Plan. Vol. 1: Paul's Polemical Treatment of the Law in Galatians* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999).

81 Abegg, '4QMMT C 27, 31', 143.

82 Hengel & Deines, 'E.P. Sanders' "Common Judaism"', 4.

83 Wright, *Climax of the Covenant*, 155.

the eschaton. Since Sanders, 'salvation by works' has been such a taboo concept in the study of Second-Temple Judaism because the focus has been on 'getting in', 'staying in' (Sanders) or 'being defined as those who are in' (Dunn, Wright). But, if we include the dimension of the *final* vindication of God's people at the eschaton (as Paul defines the Jewish concept of justification in Rom 2.13), then the picture looks rather different. There is very good reason to distinguish in the Jewish literature between entry into the covenant, which of course is based on God's election, and *final* justification, salvation in the end. So, the category that is often missed is the role of works in 'getting in to the life in the future age'. This point has not been made with sufficient clarity by the various scholarly communities (Anglo-American, German, and Scandinavian) who have brought criticisms against the New Perspective, to which we now turn.

2.3.1 Criticism from Anglo-American Scholarship

One of the most successful defenses of a traditional Pauline theology has been Westerholm's *Israel's Law and the Church's Faith*,[84] which combines a thorough awareness of the modern debates with a view of Paul that is traditional in spirit. Westerholm avoids discussion, however, of Jewish texts at all, as does Kruse's *Paul, the Law and Justification*.[85] This is also the case with a number of responses to the New Perspective at the more popular level.[86] This might derive from a confessional desire, or hermeneutical preference, for avoiding using non-canonical texts to settle Christian theological questions, and that is indeed a legitimate issue to raise. But surely even on these terms one can employ Jewish literature to confirm what one finds already in Paul?

Another significant critique is the accusation that Sanders claims to understand Palestinian Judaism better than Paul. Kim accuses Sanders and Räisänen of historical *hubris* at this point,[87] while Stott and Schreiner use a more religious-psychological argument: Sanders' use of documents which probably reflect Judaism in theory might well not reflect what Judaism was actually like on the ground.[88] Stott draws a parallel with the history of the Anglican Church, which, despite having creeds thoroughly rooted in a theology of divine grace, has often been subject to considerable bouts of legalism in practice. Stott wonders whether Sanders knows more about Palestinian Judaism than he does about the human heart.[89] The difficulty with this criticism now is that Dunn and Wright are claiming to have integrated Sanders' understanding of Judaism with Paul in a way which (to some extent) takes account both of 'the human heart' in Judaism, and of the need for Paul to be aware of, and fair to his Jewish contemporaries.

D.A. Carson was one of the first to respond to Sanders in an extended section in

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84 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988).

85 C.G. Kruse, *Paul, the Law and Justification* (Leicester: Apollos, 1996).

86 E.g. P.H. Eveson, *The Great Exchange. Justification by Faith in the Light of Recent Thought* (Bromley: Day One, 1996).

87 S. Kim, *The Origin of Paul's Gospel* (Tübingen: Mohr, ^{2}1984) 347.

88 Schreiner, *Romans*, 174.

89 J.R.W. Stott, *The Message of Romans* (Leicester: IVP, 1994) 28-29.

his *Divine Sovereignty and Human Responsibility*.[90] This work does treat the Second-Temple Jewish literature very extensively,[91] yet unfortunately has been ignored by the academic guild.[92] A two-volume work (edited by Carson and P.T. O'Brien) on Variegated Nomism in Judaism and Paul, forthcoming from Mohr Siebeck and Eerdmans, will no doubt address these issues in more detail. Nevertheless, he makes some vital observations on the downplaying of the sins of the patriarchs in intertestamental literature and the different understandings of grace that feature in Jewish texts. His insight that grace in Jewish literature is often divine response to human obedience rather that God's mercy in defiance of demerit is a vital one, and constitutes, in its way, a significant critique of Sanders' model of covenantal nomism. Carson's (by no means fatal) weakness is his application of the term 'legalism' rather too freely to Jewish texts where different kinds of understandings of grace are exhibited. It is hoped that this present thesis will develop a vocabulary that can advance the discussion further, while leaving behind the language that has hindered debate.

M.A. Seifrid's work, which argues in a similar way to Carson, contains detailed discussion of 1QS and Psalms of Solomon.[93] Both texts, he argues, exhibit a soteriology in which human actions contribute to salvation. 1QS points to the importance of human activity for atonement. Pss. Sol. shows that mercy only comes to those with works: righteousness is constituted by right behaviour. Seifrid is right, in the current scholarly climate, to use texts which come unquestionably from the pre-70 period, and he does focus on the crucial issue of the criteria for eschatological vindication which will be a focus in this study. While ultimately Seifrid's arguments about 1QS and Pss. Sol. are correct, they do demonstrate *different* things, and so it is a pity that he confined himself to only one text in each case.[94] I hope that my concern to employ a 'criterion of multiple attestation' will set my conclusions on firmer ground.

A number of other monographs have focused on other aspects of the New Perspective from a critical stance: F. Thielman challenges Sanders' claim that Paul's thought proceeded from solution to plight,[95] and B.L. Martin's thesis concentrates on anthropological issues, and the abiding validity of the Law for Christian believers.[96] One of the most recent and substantial has come from R.H. Bell.[97] His book is a very substantial exegesis of 1.18-3.20, with a refreshing concern for its application to

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90 First published London: Marshall, 1981.

91 Part Two: 'The Sovereignty-Responsibility Tension in Intertestamental Jewish Literature', 41-124.

92 Perhaps his arguments have not been adequately discussed in the 'Paul and Law' debates, because the work focuses on John's Gospel.

93 M.A. Seifrid, *Justification by Faith. The Origin and Development of a Central Pauline Theme* (Leiden: Brill, 1992); see also *Christ Our Righteousness* (Leicester: Apollos, 2000).

94 For Seifrid, Pss. Sol. shows the role of human works in contributing to salvation at the final judgment, and 1QS shows the role of works in contributing to atonement.

95 F. Thielman, *From Plight to Solution. A Jewish Framework for Understanding Paul's View of the Law in Romans and Galatians* (Leiden; Brill, 1989).

96 B.L. Martin, *Christ and the Law in Paul* (Leiden: Brill, 1989).

97 *No One Seeks for God* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1998).

dogmatics. However, again, there is no extended treatment of the Jewish literature, although his brief discussion is excellent as far as it goes (239-244, and other scattered references to individual texts). In addition, Bell's book is a robust defence of the Lutheran position which denies obedience as playing a role in final salvation. This thesis will examine whether that can be sustained.

2.3.2 German Responses

German scholarship provides an important contrast here. The challenge to the traditional Lutheran paradigm of Judaism as a cold religion of self-salvation had been effectively articulated by M. Limbeck in 1971.[98] However, Limbeck's attack was against the language and the rhetoric of cold legalism, hypocritical self-righteousness and the like. In particular, he sought to give the lie to the position that God's living word had, in the post-exilic period, become dead letters (18), the view in which 'wenn etwas den ursprünglichen Glauben des alten Israel gebrochen hatte, dann scheint es tatsächlich „das Gesetz" gewesen zu sein' (19). He, like the New Perspective, focuses on community-definition as opposed to legalism, focusing particularly on Sabbath, food-laws and circumcision (34), and sees the main function of the Torah as determining the order of the cosmos and the basis of final judgment (51ff, 70ff, 109ff). Limbeck, unlike Sanders, maintained that final judgment in early Judaism was according to Torah, and final salvation came, in part, on the basis of Torah-observance.[99] His attack on the prejudiced accounts of Judaism (which is of course an even more sensitive issue in Germany than elsewhere) has echoed through the subsequent decades as well.[100]

Roman Heiligenthal's monograph has not received much attention in the English-speaking world.[101] It shares (independently) some of the conclusions of the New Perspective, while criticising others. Paul's law-free gospel is the necessary consequence of a message of salvation no longer tied to a law which is sociologically restricted to Israel (27). Works of Torah are 'Zeichen der Gruppengehörigkeit', and, 'Wenn Paulus von ihnen spricht, meint er konkret Speisegebot und Beschneidung' (134). But he maintains this position without the antithetical statements of Anglo-American scholarship: 'Diese Zeichen haben sowohl soziologische als auch soteriologische Bedeutung' (128). He still talks, however, predominantly of Torah-observance maintaining the present security of God's people, and thus does not relate Torah-observance to eschatological

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98 *Die Ordnung des Heils. Untersuchungen zum Gesetzverständnis des Frühjudentums* (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1971).

99 Limbeck, *Ordnung des Heils*, 117: 'Weil die Gemeinschaft, die Gott seinem Volke anbietet und in der er sich die einzelnen nahebringen möchte, allein *Sein* göttliches Werk ist, kann der Glaubende auf keinem anderen Weg zu Gott kommen und auf keine andere Weise die angebotene Gemeinschaft verwirklichen als eben in den von Gott geschenkten Möglichkeiten. Diese aber sind im *Gesetz* überliefert, das somit zum Zeugnis für das göttliche Entgegenkommen wird. *Deshalb ist das Gesetz und seine Beobachtung heilsnotwendig*'. (Emphasis mine).

100 See, for example, H. Lichtenberger, 'Das Tora-Verständnis im Judentum zur Zeit des Paulus. Eine Skizze' in Dunn, ed. *Paul and the Mosaic Law*, 7-23.

101 *Werke als Zeichen* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1983).

vindication (132). The divine reaction to human deeds is not judicial action or recompense, but rather 'eine Zwischenstufe zwichen der Vorstellung der "schicksalwirkende Kraftsphäre" und der Vorstellung von der göttlichen Vergeltung' (163). This seems, however, rather muddled. Again, in his exegesis of Rom 2, he downplays the aspects of salvation as reward for good, focusing instead on the recompense for evil (182-183). He is right to affirm that works in Judaism are not simply achievements, but absolutises this for fear of travelling the Bultmannstrasse (185). In considering Rom 2, however, he does make the useful observation that the eschatological judgment functions as the moment of the revelation of works not so much as achievements, but as reflection or revelation of true character (194-195). And it is, crucially, not self-achieved works that are in view for the Christian, but the fruit of the Spirit: 'Das heißt, Gott wohnt durch Christus den Menschen inne (Gal 3.27), wofür zeichenhaft nach außen die geistgewirkten Werke der Menschen zeugen (Gal 5.22ff)' (197). We will explore later whether this evidential view of works is quite sufficient.

H.-M. Rieger has provided the longest summary of Sanders' position in German, and a positive, yet critical response.[102] He has a number of criticisms of Sanders: the reductionistic focus on 'getting in' and 'staying in' (143), turning the diversity of Judaism into a monolithic 'common Judaism' (143), uncritical use of 'covenant' as an all-embracing term for grace and election (147). Further, he provides a number of counter examples from Rabbinic literature (148-157) which are problematic for the 'Bundesnomismus-Theorie'. For example, on Sifré Deuteronomy 306, he argues that 'staying in' is more important for soteriology than 'getting in' (151). Ultimately, however, Rieger believes that Sanders has provided the best account of the data. The evidence against the 'Verdienst-Theorie' has reached critical mass, and Sanders' model accounts for more of the data than any model so far (158-159).

Most recently, Strecker's article represents the most wide-ranging survey of New Perspective positions.[103] He deals with the works of Sanders, Dunn, Wright, and Gaston. No particular position is taken, but there is a plea to take this 'Paradigmenwechsel' seriously.

Despite these works, German scholarship in general has resisted the New Perspective. Much German literature continues to ignore the New Perspective; a few scholars such as Stuhlmacher and Hengel take issue with it at key points.[104] F. Avemarie's thesis, which poses an important challenge to Sanders' line, argues that rabbinic Judaism tolerated a good deal of tension between divine election and final

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102 'Eine Religion der Gnade. Zur „Bundesnomismus"-Theorie von E.P. Sanders' in F. Avemarie & H. Lichtenberger, eds. *Bund und Tora. Zur theologischen Begriffsgeschichte in alttestamentlicher, frühjüdischer und urchristlicher Tradition* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1996) 129-161.

103 C. Strecker, 'Paulus aus einer „Neuen Perspektive". Der Paradigmenwechsel in der jüngeren Paulusforschung', *Kirche und Israel* 11 (1996) 3-18.

104 See Hengel & Deines, 'E.P. Sanders' "Common Judaism"', 1-70. Also, the conclusions of M. Hengel & A.-M. Schwemer, *Paul between Damascus and Antioch* (London: SCM, 1997) are damaging to the New Perspective on issues such as the origin of Paul's 'law-critical' gospel, which Hengel and Schwemer argue must have originated at least as early as Paul's ministry in Arabia, where he would have been forced to deal with the issue of circumcision (see esp. 106-

vindication on the basis of works, and his monograph will be discussed at length later.[105] Stuhlmacher also argues that what is crucial for the Jewish approach is that final salvation will take place on the basis of works.[106] However, the texts that he adduces as evidence for this point are problematic: for example, 4 Ezra, which comes from the post-70 period, is reckoned by Sanders, Longenecker and others to be unrepresentative, as it arises directly out of the destruction of Jerusalem. Stuhlmacher, like Seifrid,[107] also makes use of Avemarie's work on the Rabbis. Yet, though Sanders himself relies considerably on the Rabbis, it is difficult to be sure that the final-salvation-by-works traditions in these texts do indeed date back to the pre-70 era, that is to say, to the 'Pauline period'.

2.3.3 Scandinavian Critiques

T. Laato also reacts negatively to the fact that 'Sanders' monograph has been almost unreservedly accepted, particularly in the English speaking world'.[108] He makes an important and astute point in his location of the problem in *anthropology* (Paul's being considerably more pessimistic than that of Judaism), seeing the heart of the disagreement as between Paul's monergistic theology, and Judaism's synergistic theology (77, 167). He also isolates eschatology as a key weakness in Sanders' presentation: Sanders uses the term salvation to mean the 'salvific historical action of God', or 'the present state of salvation', but not embracing '(3) the final redemption' (156). As with many other works, however, the discussion of the Jewish literature extends only to a few pages (67ff).

One of the most powerful attacks on the New Perspective has come from a recent monograph by Timo Eskola. His approach to the question of Jewish and Pauline theodicy is highly original and refreshing. His emphasis on predestination will probably not endear him to the scholarly community, yet his re-evaluation of this central Pauline theme is a helpful corrective to the more 'Arminian' paradigm, currently strong in Pauline studies. Yet Eskola tends to see predestination behind every tree, and can overstate his case.[109] His book is based on an insightful analysis of the various strands of Second-Temple Judaism, and like Laato, he concludes that Paul is opposing Jewish synergism[110] with

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105 *Tora und Leben: Untersuchungen zur Heilsbedeutung der Tora in der frühen rabbinischen Literatur* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1996).

106 P. Stuhlmacher, 'Christus Jesus ist hier, der gestorben ist, ja vielmehr, der auch auferweckt ist, der zur Rechten Gottes ist und uns vertritt' in F. Avemarie, H. Lichtenberger, eds. *Auferstehung - Resurrection. The Fourth Durham-Tübingen Research Symposium* (Tübingen: Mohr, 2001) 351-361.

107 See M.A. Seifrid, 'The "New Perspective on Paul" and its Problems', *Themelios* 25.2 (2000) 5-6.

108 T. Laato, *Paul and Judaism. An Anthropological Approach* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars, 1995) 2.

109 See for example, on the exclusion of boasting in 3.27: 'God's act of excluding is a predestining one' (T. Eskola, *Theodicy and Predestination in Pauline Soteriology* [Tübingen: Mohr, 1998] 232). Or again, 'It is the gospel which has been predestined for salvation to all mankind' (188).

110 Synergism in the sense of a concurrence of divine and human action, whereby divine initiative is supplemented by human response, or vice versa; in opposition to monergism which thinks in terms of divine action which God permits the human agent to share in.

his own predestinarian monergism.[111] In relation to our question of works and eschatological salvation, Eskola argues that if works are necessary for staying in the covenant, then works do contribute to salvation: 'Keeping the law is necessary for "staying in" and without it there is no salvation. At this point, though, Sanders is destined to be left in an ambivalent position because his main purpose is the negation of legalism' (271-272). Or again, 'If legalism means that keeping the law affects eschatological salvation, then covenantal nomism is legalistic nomism by definition' (56). Van Spanje's monograph[112] and the valuable article by R. Gundry take the same position.[113] There are, however, two serious problems with this assessment, attractive though it may seem at first. First, for Sanders it is not the case that works have a soteriological function even though they may be a *conditio sine qua non*. For in Sanders' covenantal-nomist model, obedience to the Torah is the default position for Israel, and the relation between salvation and damnation is *asymmetrical*: salvation is by God's mercy with God's election as the causal factor, damnation is on account of deeds, with wickedness as the causal factor. The second problem - not an objection to Eskola, but an issue in this thesis - is that Dunn and Wright have side-stepped the problem of Eskola's criticism here, because for Dunn and Wright works have the function of *defining those who are in*, rather than particularly *maintaining* the covenant status of the elect. Works are *boundary markers*. So even if Eskola's criticism works for Sanders, and I think it does not, it would still not apply to the majority of New Perspective scholars. Having said that, Eskola does make some other important observations, which we will pick up on later. He criticizes covenantal nomism for being 'by its very nature... a sociological theory' (53). He also rightly notes that there is a considerable lack of concern for eschatology in the covenantal-nomist model (54-55). And Eskola's book can legitimately claim to be one of the most profound and detailed books that has appeared on Paul and Judaism in the last decade.

Lauri Thurén's work we considered in the overview of models of 'boasting'. His principal aim is to strip off the rhetoric from Paul's sayings in order to see the theological ideas that are being expressed. Thurén pleads for a *dynamic* approach to the text, which takes seriously both the rhetorical and the theological aspects of Paul's letters. He considers both traditional and New Perspective approaches to have ignored what is general and what is rhetorical in Paul. "Back to Theology" is one of his rallying cries, in reaction to many anti-theological approaches: 'In current discussion it is repeated *ad nauseam* that Paul was not a systematic theologian, since he had practical goals... Of course Paul did not write timeless dogmatics. This, however, by no means proves that the historical Paul *was* a contextual thinker without a clearly organized, coherent theology'.[114] This work, like the Scandinavian literature in general, also shows the

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111 See esp. 296: 'Paul is opposing synergistic nomism which was taught by most groups in the Second-Temple period, almost without exception. He radicalises soteriological polarization and teaches full predestination'. Similarly, *passim* esp. 44, 48, 273, 306-308. He concludes: 'The original feature of Paul's theology is the radicalization of predestinarian theology' (284).

112 See T. van Spanje, *Inconsistency in Paul? A Critique of the Work of Heikki Räisänen*, 236-240.

113 R.H. Gundry, 'Grace, Works, and Staying Saved in Paul', *Biblica* 66 (1985) 1-38.

114 Thurén, *Derhetorizing Paul*, 11, 13.

importance of discussion of anthropological issues related to the interpretation of Paul and Judaism. We will see this in more detail later.

In conclusion, we have seen the key issues to be discussed here. In particular, there has still not been a substantial treatment of Second-Temple Judaism since Sanders from the standpoint of final judgment, and of the role that works play in this judgment. Many have protested against Sanders', Dunn's and Wright's views of works, but it has not been sufficiently demonstrated that final judgment in Jewish thought can be described as taking place on the basis of works, and crucially that it is so described in a number of texts from the pre-70 era. Avemarie's monograph establishes the point conclusively for the later rabbinic literature. This thesis will seek to re-evaluate Sanders' conclusions about *Second-Temple* Judaism, and the implications of this re-evaluation for the understanding of Romans.

3. Methodology

It should be evident from some of the survey above that any advance on the current state of play in Pauline scholarship will need to avoid the polemical formulations that have thus far characterised too much of the debate. One methodological commitment, then, is, in negotiating the two opposing camps of traditional and new perspectives on Paul, to aim to present each side in as positive and fair a way as possible. At this stage in the debate, the way to get a balanced picture is not to try and force the pendulum in the other direction by polemic, but rather, to present a balanced picture. A number of other methodological and presentational issues need to be stated at the outset.

3.1 Not Vocabulary-centred

If contemporary Pauline scholarship has shown anything about boasting in Paul and Judaism, it is that the contours of the concept cannot be established by more word-studies and statistics. This is in part because one is not simply comparing like with like in Paul and Judaism. Rather the aim here is to define the Jewish boast which Paul describes in Rom 2 *as it is reflected in the Jewish literature*, and also to examine it closely in the Pauline texts. This boast, as we will see, can be defined as Jewish confidence of vindication in the final judgment.

3.2 Multiple Attestation in the Jewish Literature

If one is looking to answer the question of the basis of final salvation at the judgment, it is vital to look at as wide a range of texts as possible. In this study, this means not focusing on hypothetical groups behind the texts, but as much as possible on the texts themselves.[115] (Having said that, it will be noted where a text is particularly important for

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115 Though, as can be seen from the section on Qumran, I do hold, with some modifications, to the mainstream 'Essene-hypothesis'. Also, the New Testament texts can unambiguously be attributed to Early *Christian* groups!

comparison with Paul: for example, Psalms of Solomon; 2 Maccabees with its Pharisaic tendency; Wisdom of Solomon and its stark parallels with Rom 1-2). This also means a lack of concern for source criticism (e.g. distinguishing between sectarian and non-sectarian, Essene, pre-Essene, and non-Essene texts from Qumran[116]) which might seem careless to some. What is important for this study is simply that the texts come from the Judaism of the Second-Temple period.

However, occasionally source criticism has been necessary to date material to a particular period, since chronology is a factor in the argument: it is an important concern to demonstrate that the pattern of final salvation according to works occurs before 70 CE. This is a factor in interpreting, for example, the Sibylline Oracles, where there are layers of both Christian and Jewish redaction of Jewish or even possibly pagan originals. The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* also raise the problem of Christian interpolation.[117] But I will draw more cautious conclusions where source criticism is involved, and aim not to ascribe as much weight to the results. One area of source criticism into which I will not dare to venture is that of dating the rabbinic traditions in the Talmuds: such a task is difficult enough for specialists, and I claim no expertise in this area.

3.3 Comparing Romans and Jewish texts: 'on their own terms'?

One key component of Sanders' *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* is comparing Paul and Judaism 'on their own terms' (18-19). By Sanders' own admission, this still raised areas where Paul and Judaism disagreed (19), and one *result* (even if it is not the *purpose*) of his investigation of Judaism from 200 BCE - 200 CE is that 'it will be possible in the conclusion to Part I to draw some conclusions about Judaism in Palestine in the first century and some of its characteristics at the time of Paul' (18). *Crucially, this has led adherents of the New Perspective to assume that Sanders' conclusions apply to the Judaism with which Paul is in debate.*

Is this methodologically sound? If one is exploring the dispute between Paul and Judaism, we need to understand not only the Jewish texts on their own terms, but also

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116 Though I do accept that a number of the texts from Qumran are pre-Essene, e.g. the two ways material in 1QS 3-4, following A. Lange & H. Lichtenberger, 'Qumran' in G. Müller, ed. *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 28 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1997) 45-79. Similarly, 4Q*Instruction* is probably pre-Essene (with T. Elgvin, 'The Reconstruction of Sapiential Work A', *RevQ* 16/64 [1995] 559-580, and A. Lange, *Weisheit and Prädestination* [Leiden: Brill, 1995] 45-92). In addition, I would concede that some texts (e.g. 4Q448) are thoroughly non-Essene. On 4Q448, see E. Eshel, H. Eshel & A. Yardeni, 'A Qumran Composition Containing Part of Ps. 154 and a Prayer for King Jonathan', *IEJ* 423 (1992) 199-229, though Vermes (*Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 246) takes it to be from the Qumran community.

117 Despite M. de Jonge's influential proposal of a (basically) Christian composition ('The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs', in Sparks, ed. *Apocrypha of the Old Testament*, 508-512), the majority support a Jewish origin. H.C. Kee in Charlesworth ed., *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* I, 777-778, and J. Becker, *Die Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen* (JSHRZ III/1; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1974) 23, argue that the Christian interpolations are identifiable (contra H. Dixon Slingerland, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Critical History of Research* [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1977] 105-106). See also J.H. Charlesworth, *The Pseudepigrapha in Modern Research* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1976) 212-213, and A. Hultgård, *Les Testaments des Douzes Patriarches* (Uppsala: Almquist & Wiksell, 1977) *passim*.

Judaism *on Paul's terms*. And as we shall see later, Paul gives us a crucial insight into the Judaism he is opposing in his description in Rom 2. Only then can it be asked whether Paul has done justice to Judaism.

Furthermore, another vital clarification is that this study aims to look at Paul's dispute with Israel, and with *Judaism*, not with *Judaizers*. In Paul's diatribe in Rom 1-5, Paul is (it will be argued) not in debate with Jewish Christianity, but with an imaginary *Jewish* interlocutor. He is not in Rom 1-5 opposing those who have infiltrated the Galatian churches, and thus not (as will be explained in more detail below) dealing with the circumstances under which gentiles may enter the people of God. Looking at the diatribe in Rom 1-5 entails stepping back from these issues, and looking at the objections Paul has to his Jewish contemporaries and his theology of Israel and Israel's mistakes, even if Paul is ultimately employing this diatribe in preparation for his parenesis in Rom 14-15.

One crucial methodological point here is that the Jewish literature will not be compared piecemeal with the Pauline literature, but as a whole. This may sound like a cliché, but is often missed. It is fundamental to this thesis, since it will be argued that Sanders and others have completely short-circuited the discussion by asserting (for example) that both Judaism and Christianity are religions of grace, without asking what grace means in the two different patterns of religion. This is in accordance with Sanders' insistence that 'we have to go behind terminology' (19), though it will be argued that Sanders fails at crucial points to do so.

3.4 Geography of Jewish Texts

My concern is also to use both 'Hellenistic' and 'Palestinian' works. New Testament scholars have been too eager to follow Sanders' exclusive concern for *Palestinian* Judaism, and therefore to rule out evidence that may belong in a presentation of the broader Judaism with which Paul is in dialogue. For example, it has been known for decades that Paul is intimately familiar with traditions in *Wisdom of Solomon* (esp Wis 11-15 in Rom 1.18-32, 2.1-5).[118] This has been exacerbated by a tendency in Charlesworth's *OTP* to assign works too freely to the diaspora. Often, works composed in Greek are attributed to a non-Palestinian provenance (especially Egypt). This is a strange judgment in the light of the hellenisation of Palestine. It has become a cliché to mention Hengel's *Judaism and Hellenism* in this regard, but only because his case was made so forcefully: 'auch das palästinische Judentum als "hellenistisches" Judentum bezeichnet werden muss'.[119] There is growing dissatisfaction with the view that Greek texts probably come from outside Palestine:[120] the presence of the Septuagint at Qumran,

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118 See, e.g. C. Larcher, *Études sur le Livre de la Sagesse* (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1969) 14-20.

119 M. Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1973) 459, cited in Eskola, *Theodicy and Predestination*, 50n92.

120 See e.g., Introduction to J. Tromp, *The Assumption of Moses* (Leiden: Brill, 1993). General disagreement with this view that Greek texts probably come from outside of Palestine was also expressed in the paper by M. Wise ('The Qumran Isaiah Texts') and subsequent discussion at the IBR additional meeting at the AAR/SBL Annual Meeting, Nashville, November, 2000.

as well as other Greek texts from the Judaean Desert, shows that Palestine was neither isolated from Egyptian literary products, nor incapable of producing Greek texts of its own.[121]

A few inconsistencies in the way the New Perspective treats Paul and the Jewish literature highlight some problems. Sanders considers that Rom 2 is a Hellenistic-Jewish 'synagogue sermon' which Paul has incorporated into his letter.[122] But to find the proper backdrop to Paul's controversies we ought to look to Palestinian Judaism. Sanders cheerfully acknowledges that some Hellenistic texts (such as the Testament of Abraham) affirm a final judgment on the basis of a weighing of good and evil works.[123] Dunn acknowledges that Rom 1.18-32 'echoes Hellenistic Jewish polemic',[124] and refers to Epistle of Aristeas as important evidence for Jewish exclusivism.[125] When it comes to soteriology, however, the basis is Sanders' work on *Palestinian* Judaism. Something is wrong here. This thesis aims to restore, by treating texts on a *case-by-case* basis, the balance that has been upset by a prejudicial downplaying (albeit occasionally inconsistently) of Hellenistic Jewish texts.

3.5 Dating of Jewish texts

A recent review of Richard Bell's *No One Seeks for God* by S.K. Stowers criticises the book for making use, for the purposes of reconstructing first-century Judaism, of the Bavli, 'which refers to Mohammed'.[126] This is a typical reaction in the present climate, where to try to argue for the nature of pre-70 Judaism on the basis of rabbinic evidence at all is risky: one is always open to the charge of using anachronistic evidence. Avemarie's challenge to the onesidedness of Sanders' approach, although it has been taken up enthusaistically by some, will no doubt be ignored by others because of the difficulty of arguing that material from the Mishnah, Tosefta, Tannaitic Midrashim and the Talmuds can be used to reconstruct earlier attitudes and beliefs, as Stowers's comment shows.

The present climate favours the use of texts which can be argued to be pre-70 CE, largely as a result of the datings of the Pseudepigrapha in Charlesworth's two-volume edited translation, and the growing importance of the Dead Sea Scrolls. We will use later texts as supplementary, and supporting evidence, then, rather than as independent. The focus here will be on texts that predate 70 CE in particular, since it is the destruction of

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121 See 7Q1 (LXX Ex); 4Q119-120 (LXX Lev); 4Q121 (LXX Num); 4Q122 (LXX Deut), as well as E. Tov, 'Greek Texts from the Judean Desert', *NovT* 43.1 (2001) 1-11, esp. the tables on pp. 2 and 4, which note that of the documentary remains from a variety of locations in Judaea, between one quarter and one-half are in Greek. The Esther Colophon even claims that Esther was translated into Greek in Jerusalem (Esth 11.1/10.3[l]).

122 Sanders, *Paul, the Law and the Jewish People*, 129.

123 See E.P. Sanders, 'Testament of Abraham', in J.H. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. Volume 1* (New York: Doubleday, 1983) 877, where 'everyone is judged by the same standard, whether the majority of his deeds be good or evil'.

124 Dunn, *Romans* I, 79.

125 Dunn, *Romans* I, lxix.

126 S.K. Stowers, Review of Bell, *No One Seeks for God*, in *JBL* 119.2 (2000) 370-373.

Jerusalem which, according to Sanders, initiates the rise in merit theology such as we see in 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch: 'it may be doubted if its viewpoint [sc. that of 4 Ezra] could have been held *atall* had it not been for the difficult situation of Israel after the war'.[127] This itself is a questionable assumption, but this author is willing, temporarily, to suspend disbelief. The only significant author from pre-70 CE who will not be discussed is Philo. Again, in the current climate, the use of Philo by the last generation of Pauline scholars (see, e.g. the Romans commentaries of Barrett and Käsemann) has given way to a more sceptical view of Philo's value.[128]

3.6 Theological Approach

This is a study of the comparative *theologies* of Paul and Judaism: not so much will be devoted to rhetoric, such as the nature of diatribe and the like. Similarly, textual criticism receives little attention here, for two reasons. First, in the main passages discussed, there is little at stake *theologically* in variant readings. As Hübner, for example, notes on 4.1: 'We do not need to go into the complicated text-critical problem as it contributes little to our question'.[129] Secondly, where longer sections of text are under suspicion (e.g. 2.1,[130] 2.16,[131] or even most of 5.1-11[132]), the evidence becomes very tenuous. Here, Anglo-American scholars have been more cautious than their continental counterparts, with some notable exceptions.[133]

Similarly, there is little interest in source criticism: if 3.10-18 is a pre-Pauline traditional catena, or if 3.25-26a is an earlier *theologoumenon*, this has little impact on one's assessment of Paul's theology, as they have obviously *become* Pauline. This selective approach, however, aims not to ignore other concerns, but rather to use them to illuminate Paul's theology.

3.7 'Legalism' et al.

Much discussion on the Jewish literature has run aground because of an indiscriminate use of the word 'legalism'. 'Legalism' can be used as an umbrella term under which everything bad can be subsumed, and so scholars like Sanders have (in part, understandably) wanted to present a new picture. However, there are a number of

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127 Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 427. *Ibid*: 'We should first remark, with regard to the use of IV Ezra as representative of Judaism *before* 70, that no work is more profoundly marked by the fall of Jerusalem. Its very *raison d'être* is the physical oppression of Israel by Rome'.

128 E.g. Dunn, *Romans*, 202: discussing Abraham's faith, '... as usual, Philo's exegesis is determined by his own apologetic religious and philosophic concerns and shows no other contact with Paul'.

129 Hübner, *Law*, 118.

130 Käsemann, *Romans*, 54.

131 R. Bultmann, 'Glossen im Römerbrief', in idem, *Exegetica* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1967) 278-284.

132 W. Schmithals, *Der Römerbrief. Ein Kommentar* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1988) 150-153.

133 As one reviewer famously put it, J.C. O'Neill in his commentary on Paul's postcard to the Romans (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1975). See also L.E. Keck, 'The Post-Pauline Interpretation of Jesus' Death in Rom 5,6-7', in C. Andresen, G. Klein eds. *Theologia Crucis–Signum Crucis. FS E. Dinkler* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1976) 237-248.

extremely different features which have adhered to the term 'legalism' which are not all of the same kind, and which certainly are not all mutually dependent. As a consequence, they should not all be jettisoned together.

The first feature which can be isolated in a 'legalistic' religion is the 'self-righteousness' of its participants: a puritanical self-satisfaction which might also seem particularly relevant here in a discussion of *boasting*. However, when we are discussing the character and thought of rabbinic texts, or texts from the Second-Temple period, I would argue that attitudes, or psychological dispositions of the participants in the religion really lie *outside the bounds of historical criticism of such texts.* This has two implications. First, one could not examine the rabbinic writings themselves and come to a conclusion that the rabbis were self-righteous, unless of course there were clearly outrageous statements of arrogance made by characters in the texts, and which were clearly authorized or validated by the narrator of the discourse. The second implication is that one cannot *defend* the sincerity of the authors of the texts, either. This mistake is made, for example, by Charlesworth: although the Prayer of Manasseh 'is probably attributed to Manasseh, the author must have been introspectively aware of his own frailties'.[134] It seems sensible to isolate the aspect of legalism which has been associated with 'self-righteousness' as outside the bounds of discussion.

'Works-righteousness' is a similarly problematic term, which will be avoided in our discussion because of its ill-defined character. One particularly interesting use of the term comes in Hübner's commentary on *Wisdom of Solomon.* Wis. Sol. 2.22 makes reference to 'reward', and Hübner (who does not consider *Wisdom* to be 'legalistic') absolves the text from blame by saying: 'Natürlich ist mit 22b nicht der Werkgerechtigkeit das Wort geredet. Auch das NT spricht bekanntlich von Lohn'.[135] It is interesting that it is an *apriori* consideration that whatever 'works-righteousness' is, by definition it cannot be in the NT.

The second feature of legalism is more a description of the character of the religion than the inner disposition of its participants. That is, legalism as a characteristic of a religion at the centre of which is a concern for regulations and a pettifogging obsession with correct definition of religious practice.[136] This criticism, it seems, arose out of the influence of neo-Kantianism on Lutheran theology: as Christianity increasingly abandoned external constraints (in terms of the codification of ethics) and eschatological sanctions (the lack of emphasis on final judgment of deeds in Lutheranism being exacerbated by an increasingly anti-eschatological tendency) it came to look down on a Judaism which maintained them, and even focused on them, as necessarily legalistic *in spirit.*[137]

The third element, which has been associated with 'legalism' particularly in terms

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134 J.H. Charlesworth, 'Prayer of Manasseh', in idem, ed. *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* II, 629.

135 H. Hübner, *Die Weisheit Salomons* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999) 46.

136 G.F. Moore, 'Christian Writers on Judaism', *HTR* 14 (1921) 229, 239.

137 On the Neo-Kantian concern to *internalise* law, see A.C. Thiselton, *The Two Horizons* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980) 208-217. Bonsirven (see Avemarie, *Tora und Leben*, 29) warns against being bewitched by the categorical imperative that we rule out external sanctions.

of Sanders' opposition to it, is the association of Torah-observance with the category of 'getting in'. In general, Sanders is absolutely correct in this assertion. It is, however, not true without exception: as has been noted, there is a need in the Qumran community to *prove oneself worthy of entry* into the covenant community by one's 'understanding and deeds in the Torah'.[138] In Jubilees and Tg Neofiti to Gen 27.40 (cf Ps-Philo 32.6) there is mention that Jacob's election over against Esau's non-election was grounded in Jacob's obedience to God: this, incidentally, may supply the backdrop to Paul's statement in Romans 9 that Jacob was chosen 'before either of them had done any good or evil'. And there are also the Tannaitic statements that Israel was chosen because she was worthy, in Sifré Deuteronomy 311, and the haggadic story that God offered the Torah to all the nations but they all refused it except Israel.[139] But in general this is not a prominent strand in the tradition, except at Qumran, where a kind of 'legalism' evidently played a very practical role in the life of the community. Sanders is generally, but not always correct to say that 'getting in' is not on the basis of obedience.[140]

The fourth ingredient concerns *merit*, which combines both theology and the presumed religious attitude which must accompany it. Merit theology has had a bad press, because it is presumed that a petty-minded concern to accumulate merit, an insecurity about salvation and a prideful desire to put God in one's debt must accompany it. An example from Cranfield (similar to that of Hübner above) shows how merit has been a fundamental distinguishing factor between Judaism and Christianity. In his commentary on Mark, Cranfield writes: 'In "treasure in heaven", Jesus is using a common Jewish expression (for examples, see S.-B. I, pp. 429ff), but without its associations of merit'.[141] So, it is a bad thing, which Judaism has, and Christianity does not, even though the language in the texts may be the same. The main objection that Cranfield has toward merit is that is establishes a human claim on God.[142] But this is not necessarily the case. In two very different contexts G.F. Moore and A. McGrath reject this implication on the grounds that if God has made a promise to reward obedience, then he has put *himself* under the obligation to do it.[143] But while merit theology is not the real issue here, it is a feature of the Mishnah, and can be perhaps dated back into the First

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138 1QS 5:20-21, 6:18.

139 Sifré Deuteronomy 343. See C. Pearl, *Theology in Rabbinic Stories* (Peabody, Mass: Hendrickson, 1997) 157-159: 'rather than .. a "chosen people", ... a "choosing people" ' (159).

140 He has nuanced his view on this (though not entirely satisfactorily) in the recent 'The Dead Sea Sect and Other Jews', in T.H. Lim *et al* eds. *The Dead Sea Scrolls in their Historical Context* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000) 29-30.

141 Cranfield, *Mark* (Cambridge: CUP, 1959) *ad* 10.21.

142 Cranfield, *Romans. A Shorter Commentary*, 78.

143 G.F. Moore, *Judaism*, 2:90: 'The reflection may be made that man's good deeds do not of themselves lay God under an obligation; God does not *owe* him a recompense for doing his duty. But God has put himself under obligation by his promise of reward, and in this sense man, in doing what God requires of him, deserves the recompense.' See also A. McGrath, *Iustitia Dei* (Cambridge: CUP, 1986) I.112. Moreover, Protestants can equally talk in terms of 'claiming' God's promises which he has undertaken to fulfill: to take one very reformed example, C.H. Spurgeon entitled a work *The Cheque Book of the Bank of Faith: Selected Promises for Each Day* (London: Marshall Pickering, [Reprinted] 1989), where the aim is explicitly to exhort claiming promises available, but there is nothing necessarily bad or meritorious in such theology.

Century on the basis of evidence in Pseudo-Philo, where is an incipient, primitive merit theology.

The traditions concerning the merit of the Patriarchs probably originated from OT 'for the sake of ...' passages, where for example in Isa 37.35 the Lord promises to defend the city of Jerusalem for his own sake, and for the sake of David, where the meaning is 'for the sake of the promise which the Lord made to David'.[144] The promises made to Abraham also form a basis for mercy to his successors, as in the promise to Jacob 'for the sake of Abraham' in Gen. 26.24.[145] Identical language appears in T. Ash. 7.7 (God will restore Israel δι' Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ). Similarly, in T. Reub. 15.1-4, the author is describing the destruction of the Temple and the exile. This exile is of such devastating proportions that 'except on account of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (εἰ μὴ δι' Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ), our fathers, not a single one of our descendants would be left on earth'. Here, there is no reference to God's promise, however: the implication may be that the merits of the patriarchs guarantee the survival of the people. But Pseudo-Philo is more explicit, with language that is much more reminiscent of the merit theology that we know of from the later Talmuds and Targums. Saul is plotting to kill David, and David wants to make a covenant with Jonathan before they are separated when David goes into hiding. David first boasts of his own innocence in the face of Saul's plotting, but then claims: 'But the righteousness of my father helps me so that I shall not fall into the hands of your father' (*sed iusticia patris mei adiuvat me, ut in manus patris tui non incidam*).[146] Ps-Philo 35.3b (*sed ipse [sc. Deus] miserebitur sicut nemo miseretur generi Israel, etiam non propter vos sed propter eos qui dormierunt*) is perhaps making a similar point: the *propter* no longer refers to a particular individual, but relates to Israel's ancestors in general. Jacobson sees 'the merits of the patriarchs' in evidence in this verse.[147] These texts show that merit theology was in evidence in the First Century CE.

Thus, m. Makk. 3.16, where the Holy One 'wants to give merit to Israel',[148] is perhaps not so innovative as has been presumed. Makkoth 3.16 has often been seen as the *locus classicus* for merit theology - 'ein „Hauptsatz" der rabbinischen „Rechtfertigungslehre"', and has been interpreted in different ways.[149] But the earlier

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144 Cf. also 'for the sake of David' in 1 Kings 11.12; 11.13; 11.32; 11.34; 2 Kings 8.19; 19.34; 20.6; Ps 132.10.

145 Cf 'for the sake of ...' language in P. Aza. 1.12, where again, it is Abraham who is appealed to as the basis for mercy: καὶ μὴ ἀποστήσῃς τὸ ἐλεός σου ἀφ' ἡμῶν δι' Αβρααμ τὸν δοῦλόν σου καὶ Ισραηλ τὸν ἅγιόν σου. Cf also 2 Macc 8.15.

146 Ps-Philo 62.5. H. Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's* Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum. *With Latin Text and English Translation* (Leiden: Brill, 1996) turns the sentence into a question, thus avoiding the problem (see commentary at 62.5). But Harrington, in Charlesworth, ed. *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* **I**, 374, leaves the sentence as a proposition.

147 Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo*, 914.

148 Hananiah: ca. 120-140 (H. Danby, *The Mishnah* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985 [1933] 799) or 'third generation of Tannaites', i.e. 130-160 (H.L. Strack & G. Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*. Translated by M. Bockmuehl [Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1991] 86).

149 Avemarie, *Tora und Leben*, 17, describing the view of Billerbeck.

parallels in Pseudo-Philo have not been noticed, to my knowledge. And there is a vital ideological importance in being able to detach 'merit' from 'Selbsterlösung' theology on the one hand,[150] and also from the *religious attitude* that has been assumed by older Christian theologies of Judaism to accompany it. Again, this really lies outside the boundaries of historical-critical scholarship.

The fifth ingredient of legalism is the real point of issue here, and where the most important confusion lies is on the issue of the relation of works and salvation. As has been repeatedly restated, there has not been enough of a distinction between salvation as *getting in*, and *final* vindication at the last judgment. My concern is to re-open the question of whether a view of final salvation on the basis of works was current in the Second-Temple period.

3.8 Presentation

I have devoted as little space as possible to introductory issues when it comes to Jewish and Pauline texts. It is unnecessary (or certainly, uneconomical) merely to reproduce what can easily be found elsewhere. Similarly, I am not concerned to include every Jewish, Christian or Graeco-Roman parallel: cross references will only be noted if they have not been noted by other commentators. In anticipation of objections to the lack of attention to introductory issues related to Romans, first, my exegesis aims as much as possible not to depend on any particular background to the problems (or lack thereof) in the Roman church; secondly, my thesis actually aims to *clarify* some of Paul's reasons for writing, by providing a basis in which Rom 14-15 can be understood in the light of a correct understanding of Rom 2.

When it comes to the Jewish and Pauline texts, the issues I am trying to focus on are quite narrow and specific. No doubt specialists in particular areas of the Jewish literature will notice imprecisions at various points, and it is hoped that these will be refined in the course of ensuing debate. But to reiterate, in addition to the key questions on 'boasting' highlighted above, this thesis is concerned with the impact of the answers to two key questions on the exegesis of Paul. What were the criteria for God's saving vindication at the eschaton, according to Jewish thought? Did Jewish groups believe they would be vindicated on the basis of God's election, or on the basis of their own obedience? This thesis will argue that Jewish soteriology was based *both* on divine election *and* on final salvation by works (Chapter 1) and that a number of Jewish groups express the belief that they would be vindicated on the basis of their works (Chapter 2). In Chapters 3-4, we explore the implications of this for the exegesis of Rom 2-4, affirming that Paul (*contra* the New Perspective) is arguing against a view of justification by obedience to Torah. This, however, permits a return neither to the Weberian paradigm of Judaism, nor to a Bultmannian reading of Paul. Chapter 5 completes the study of boasting with discussion of καύχησις in Rom 5.1-11, after which the results of the whole study will be summarised.

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[150] Thus Billerbeck: see Avemarie, *Tora und Leben*, 18.

Chapter 1

Works and Final Salvation in Second-Temple Judaism

Introduction

The first section of the argument, as noted in the Introduction, consists of a discussion of the Jewish literature. The primary theological theme to be investigated is that of the rôle of works in final salvation, and this chapter aims to take the chronological development of this theme seriously. The texts here span a wide chronological spectrum, from the Book of Watchers in the Third Century BCE to the Rabbinic literature of the Second Century CE, and we will see that there is a wide variety of ways in which the theme of final salvation according to works is treated. The texts cannot, of course, be strung together in a strict sequence, as if one form of soteriology died and was replaced by the next, like successive Egyptian dynasties. Nevertheless it is possible to see developments with a certain measure of linearity.

1. Sirach & Tobit

Sirach and Tobit were both written at a similar time,[1] and have very similar theological concerns. On a national level, these are focused around the Temple, but there is also considerable emphasis on personal piety, with almsgiving, endogamy and honour of parents having pride of place. Both texts could be described as being expressions of a similar symbolic universe: one a sapiential, one a narrative expression.[2]

Neither text gives any clear evidence for personal immortality, resurrection or afterlife of any kind. While a doctrine of punishment after death found its way into the

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[1] P.W. Skehan, & A.A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira* (New York: Doubleday, 1987) 1-92 and G. Sauer, *Jesus Sirach/ Ben Sira* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000) 17-35: Sirach dates from around 190 BCE. Tobit dates from around the same time, perhaps a little earlier. See e.g. C. Moore, *Tobit* (New York: Doubleday, 1996) 40-42.

[2] See R.H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha* I (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913) 193 on the relationship between the two books. There are, however, significant differences: for example, Tobit looks forward to the glorious rebuilding of Jerusalem and the Temple (14.5), whereas for Sirach, the glory of God is very much manifested in the Temple, since its repair in the time of Simon ben Onias (Sir 50 *passim*).

Greek translation of Sirach (c. 117 BCE), these are not original.[3] However, there is considerable discussion of deeds and reward in both texts, particularly focused around the ethical concerns of the authors. Sirach in particular has a prominent conception of recompense according to deeds, and uses variations on the phrase frequently (11.26, 17.23, 35.19a,22).[4] One's actions can be rewarded with varying degrees of immediacy: sickness or health or disaster (e.g. 28.1, 30.14-20), a good wife (25.8), a long life (3.1, 3.6), or one's reward can even be delayed right up to the day of death (11.26). Honouring one's mother is like collecting treasure, and almsgiving remains for eternity (40.17). Hence, even though there is no personal afterlife (14.16), actions still have eternal consequences: a good life or an evil life leads to good or evil children (16.1-4). Indeed, a life of obedience to God leads to eternal progeny which will never die out (44.12-13).

The climax of Sirach - the very last verse - is a note of reward:

ἐργάζεσθε τὸ ἔργον ὑμῶν πρὸ καιροῦ,
καὶ δώσει τὸν μισθὸν ὑμῶν ἐν καιρῷ αὐτοῦ. (51.30)

Here we see the common Jewish theme where reward is certain, but in which how or when that reward will come is uncertain.[5] The repetition of καίρος is instructive: there is clear evidence here of a divine economy, where God brings a person's labour to fruition at the appointed time (cf 35.19a, 23-24). Reward even comes sevenfold (35.13) since the pattern of God's dealing with the patriarchs (44.19ff) has not changed, while on the other hand it is certain that 'God punishes without fail the wicked for their sins'.[6]

Tobit, similarly, has no evidence of belief in the afterlife.[7] There are, on the other hand, abundant references to the pattern of works guaranteeing vindication in a crisis. Here we will look at the programmatic statements rather than the autobiographical ones, which will come into play later.[8] The first thing to notice when we look at these statements of Tobit, is the surprising overlap with the maxims of Sirach.

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3 Sir 7.17b. Heb: 'for the expectation of mortals is worms'; Gk: 'for the punishment of the ungodly is fire and worms'. Again, the Gk text of 11.26 is susceptible to an interpretation of post mortem punishment, and see 48.11b. Di Lella, 'Conservative and Progressive Theology: Sirach and Wisdom', *CBQ* 28 (1966) 146: 'This should cause no surprise, for Sirach's grandson made the translation in Alexandria shortly before the author of the Wisdom of Solomon spelt out the truth of a blessed immortality for the righteous and a miserable fate for the wicked'.

4 See especially Skehan/ Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 83-87 and the numerous entries in the index under 'doctrine of retribution' (597), and Di Lella, 'Conservative and Progressive Theology', esp. 143-146.

5 M. Abot 2.1 (cf. 2.14); Mk 9.41/ Mt 10.42.

6 Di Lella's gloss on 16.5-14 in Skehan/ Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 273.

7 At least in the Qumran fragments and the Gk versions. References here are translated from the long Gk text (S).

8 By programmatic statements, I refer to those proverbial maxims about doers of good and evil and the rewards they will receive.

Obedience to Torah is defined not primarily in terms of ritual identity markers,[9] but as focused on *almsgiving*, the function of which is very similar in each book. Sayings about alms come mostly in the testamentary passages in Tobit, as, for example, when Tobit instructs his son: 'Do not turn your face away from any of the poor, and the face of the Lord will not be turned away from you. If you have little, do not be afraid to give alms according to the little you have. For you are storing up good treasure for yourself against the day of necessity' (4.7-9). Similarly in Sirach: 'store up almsgiving in your treasury and it will rescue you from every disaster' (29.12). It fights better than spear and shield against the enemy, and will profit more than gold (29.13; 29.11).

In Tobit, alms are likened to sacrificial offerings: 'Because almsgiving delivers from death, for alms are a good gift before the most High to those who give' (4.10-11), just as Sirach writes that 'the one who returns a kindness offers choice flour, and one who gives alms sacrifices a thank offering' (35.2-3; cf 35.1). This is then taken a stage further: 'Alms deliver from death and shall purge away all sin: those who give alms and do righteousness will be filled with life' (Tob 12.9), which is similar to Sir 3.30: 'alms will make atonement for sins'. Keeping Torah and being merciful, according to Tobit, mean that 'it will go well with you' (14.8-11), and Sirach makes clear that on the other hand, good cannot come to those who do not give alms (Sir 12.1-3). Finally, almsgiving and righteousness (which are almost synonymous, especially in Tobit) 'rescue' both in Tob 14.11[10] and Sir 40.24.[11] The context of this almsgiving in both works is the community of Israel: alms are not to be given to sinners.[12]

Sirach and Tobit probably represent a community which was an ancestor of the Sadducean group,[13] who of course famously rejected resurrection.[14] One passage from the Synoptics which records this also preserves a story in the mouth of Jesus' Sadducean interlocutor which has a close link with an episode in Tobit: the woman who marries seven brothers each in turn.[15] As each one dies, according to the Levirate law she has to marry the next. There is also a very positive approach to marriage and the family in Tobit 4.12-13 and Sir 36.24-26 which accords with the Sadducean concern to 'raise up children' (Lk 20.28). This stands in contrast with the ambivalence to marriage in what

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9 Though there are significant features such as emphasis on endogamy and right burial procedure.

10 In the Vaticanus text. Sinaiticus notes instead that 'unrighteousness kills'.

11 Skehan/ Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 89: 'at least from the time of Tobit, almsgiving was considered to be righteousness *par excellence*'.

12 Tob 4.17, Sir 12.4, cf. Sir. 29.10.

13 The differences noted by Charles (in angelology and providence theology) between Tobit and later Sadducaism (i.e. as defined by Josephus and the Gospel tradition) can, I think, be accounted for by literary genre and the lapse of two and a half centuries. In any case, the providence theology of Tobit is more of a 'folk-providentialism' than a dogmatic one: it comes in the context of Tobias and Sarah being destined for one another (Tob 6.17). Many agnostic spouses in happy marriages might nevertheless express a belief in 'destiny' in this arena!

14 Josephus, *BJ* II 165; *AJ* XVIII 16; Ac 23.8.

15 Mk 12.18-27; Lk 20.27-40, Mt 22.23-33.

Boccaccini calls 'Enochic Judaism',[16] and the more useful state of singleness in early Christianity (Mt 19.12; 1 Cor 7).

So the character of the blessings promised as the reward for obedience is 'this-worldly'. It is also *individualistic* in these texts: while national restoration is also in view, there is nevertheless considerable room for personal reward for personal obedience. Most significantly for our purposes, we have in Sirach and Tobit the prominent idea that obedience to the Law functions to 'fend off' death for the individual. This is the crucial thought that will later develop into Torah-observance leading to eternal life, a development that has already taken place in the Greek translation of Sirach two generations later.[17]

2. The Book of Baruch

Baruch is a similar work, more difficult to place historically, but which does share some formal and theological characteristics with the book of Tobit. There is a similar fictional, exilic setting (1.1-2), similar concern with Temple-offerings (1.5-14), and harsh exclusivism (4.3-4).

Clear reference to the law as the means to righteousness and life is also in evidence. The people of Israel are in exile because of their disobedience, and the theological discourse of Baruch, which is remarkably dense compared to Tobit and Sirach, is thoroughly deuteronomic. The Torah is equated with wisdom, and this verse on the Torah is set in the context of Baruch's hymn glorifying wisdom:

> αὕτη ἡ βίβλος τῶν προσταγμάτων τοῦ θεοῦ
> καὶ ὁ νόμος ὁ ὑπάρχων εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα·
> πάντες οἱ κρατοῦντες αὐτῆς εἰς ζωήν,
> οἱ δὲ καταλείποντες αὐτὴν ἀποθανοῦνται. (Bar 4.1)

Here, as Dunn notes, the reference is not to eschatological life;[18] but neither is it to mere *regulation* of life, which implies that the function of the Law is merely to give shape to the

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16 The strongest language comes in Philo's description of the Essenes in *Hypothetica* 11.14; see also G. Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998) 38-46. J. Zias ('Qumran, the Essene Cemeteries and the Question of Celibacy–An Anthropological Re-evaluation', *SBL Seminar Paper*, 1999) has argued that the graves of women and children at Qumran do not date back to the time of the Qumran community, but are bedouin who lived in the area only two centuries ago. So, the possibility that the Qumran community was a celibate male one is open again.

17 As di Lella notes ('Conservative and Progressive Theology', 145-146), this deferral of eschatology is not surprising, since the translation took place in Alexandria. Eskola, *Theodicy and Predestination*, 47-48, notes here: 'The book of Sirach itself is a good example of the development of eschatological soteriology in the Second Temple period. In the stage of the Greek redaction the theology of free will was set in an eschatological soteriology'. I disagree with Eskola however, that, with the Greek translation of Sir, 'it is also possible that we are witnessing here the very birth of soteriological synergism': I think it can be shown to be earlier.

18 Dunn, *Theology of Paul the Apostle*, 152-153.

life that is being lived. But the point made in Bar. 4.1 is that those who hold fast to Torah will have their life increased. There is a parallelism between εἰς ζωήν and ἀποθανοῦνται: the 'death' is clearly a promised future, and εἰς, has a 'prospective' force, as is its normal meaning with an abstract noun. The meaning is something like 'unto', making Bar 4.1c mean something like: 'all those who hold fast to it (i.e. the *biblos* of 4.1a) will have life. Not necessarily eschatological life, but an increase (qualitatively and quantitatively) of the life which is in some measure already possessed.

3. 1 Enoch

Within the Enochic literature we can see two clear stages of eschatology, and they correspond to the conventional datings of the various constituent documents. In the Book of Watchers (1-36) there is essentially a continuation of the prophetic tradition: a historical eschatology which nevertheless envisages a definitive time when evil is eradicated, but where there is still no clear language of personal eternal life. Again, in the Astronomical Book (72-82), discussion of eschatology is 'rather restrained'.[19] Stone even says that 'the weight of their central interests lies elsewhere, not in the eschatological at all'.[20] These two sections can be confidently attributed to some time before the end of the Third/ beginning of the Second Century BCE.[21]

3.1 The Book of Watchers

Enoch's tour of the secrets of the cosmos in the *Book of Watchers* does not consist in a vision of an afterlife for the individual. There is, however, significant discontinuity between the present age and the age to come. There is talk in 10.17 that 'the righteous will escape' (πάντες οἱ δίκαιοι ἐκφευξόνται) judgment, and afterwards experience a very different kind of life, as described in the most vivid eschatological passage in chapters 1-36:

> And as for this fragrant tree, not a single human being has the authority to touch it *until the great judgment* (μέχρι τῆς μεγάλης κρίσεως), when he shall take vengeance on all and bring *a conclusion forever* (τελείωσις μέχρις αἰωνος). This

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19 J. VanderKam, 'The Prophetic-Sapiential Origins of Apocalyptic Thought', in idem, *From Revelation to Canon* (Leiden: Brill, 2000) 243.

20 M.E. Stone, 'Enoch and Apocalyptic Origins' in P.D. Hanson, ed. *Visionaries and Their Apocalypses* (London: SPCK, 1993) 95.

21 See Stone, 'New Light on the Third Century' and 'Enoch and Apocalyptic Origins', in Hanson, ed. *Visionaries*, 85-91 and 92-100, and VanderKam, 'Some Major Issues in the Contemporary Study of 1 Enoch', in *From Revelation to Canon*, 363, on the palaeographic dating of 4QEnastr[a]. VanderKam's argument for some form of dependence on the Astronomical Book on the part of Pseudo-Eupolemus is less compelling; see Stone, *Jewish Writings of the Second-Temple Period* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984) 395-396: Enoch traditions were much more likely to have been simply common currency.

(τόδε; some mss: τότε= '*then,* it...') *will be given* to the righteous and the pious. Its fruit will be food[21] for the elect for life (εἰς ζωὴν), and it will be planted upon the holy place – near the house of the Lord, the Eternal King.

> *Then they shall be glad* and rejoice in gladness,
> and they *shall* enter into the holy (place);
> its fragrance shall (penetrate) their bones,
> *long life will they live on earth,*
> such as your fathers lived in their days. (25.4-6)

There is a decisive break with the old age at the day of judgment which is a τελείωσις, after which there is both a transformation, where the cosmos is very different, but also a restoration to the days of the fathers. Thus, the promise is of longevity, rather than resurrection or immortality ('long life will they live on earth'). Yet the life spoken of here is something entirely future: the food which is for the life of the elect cannot be touched until after the great judgment. Not that this life bears no relation to the previous life: it merely has not been attained yet.

3.2 Similitudes

In the *Similitudes*,[22] there is a very clear expression of the continuity of material life of real bodies on a real earth on the one hand (1 Enoch 51.5), but the substantial difference in the character of this future life on the other. The problem comes when we try to delineate precisely how it differs, but *that it differs* in important ways cannot be disputed. Eternal life is something *to be inherited* (1 Enoch 40.9), because the day of salvation is a *future* event (50.3, 51.1-2, 62.13). Salvation takes place when 'Sheol will return all the deposits which she had received and hell will give back all that which it owes. And he shall choose the righteous and the holy ones back from among (the risen dead) for the day when they shall be selected and saved has arrived' (51.1-2). This future life is extended indefinitely: 'there will be no end to the days of their life' (58.3). But it differs *qualitatively* as well as quantitatively: the righteous will be 'in the light of the sun' and 'in the light of eternal life' (58.3) and 'thenceforth, they shall never see the face of the sinners and oppressors' (62.13).

There is a certain ambiguity as to whether the righteous pass through judgment, though on balance, the evidence suggests that they do. Their works are weighed in 38.1-2, there is a judgment that is according to mercy in 60.25, and the righteous are also 'judged in righteousness' (62.3). The final judgment is no mere 'seal' on what is already the case, it is the establishment of a new kind of life: it *is* the restoration of the old (though more extreme language of *destruction* is also found) but that restoration/

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21 Following Charles, presuming that εἰς βοράν ('in the north-east') is a scribal error for εἰς βορραν ('as food') cited by E. Isaac in Charlesworth, ed. *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* I, 26n25h.

22 Dating *Similitudes* is notoriously difficult: 'representative dates proposed are the first half of the last century BCE (Charles), the end of the first century AD (Knibb), and the end of the 3rd cent. AD (Milik)' (M. Knibb in H.F.D. Sparks, ed. *The Apocryphal Old Testament* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1984] 174).

cleansing is a great transformation.

The Similitudes indicate a judgment of the deeds of the righteous in 45.3, even though the translation of the verb is slightly uncertain: 'On that day ("the day of burden and tribulation") my Elect One shall sit on the seat of glory and make a selection (or, make trial[23]) of their deeds. Their resting places will be without number...'[24] In 38.1-2 and 41.1, the deeds of men generally are 'weighed in the balance':

> When the community of the righteous appears, and the sinners are judged for their sins and are driven from the face of the dry ground, and *when the righteous one appears before the chosen righteous whose works are weighed by the Lord of Spirits*, and when light appears to the righteous and chosen who dwell on the dry ground, where will be the dwelling of the sinners, and where the resting-place of those who have denied the Lord of Spirits? (38.1-2)
>
> And after this I saw all the secrets of heaven, and how the kingdom is divided, and how the deeds of men are weighed in the balance. (41.1)

Unfortunately, though Enoch saw it, he does not elaborate for us. He only explains a little later that the stars are also 'weighed according to their righteousness' in 43.1-4, is as much as they represent the righteous who live 'on the dry earth'. However, we do see considerable evidence here in the Similitudes at least of the fact *that* the deeds of the righteous are weighed in a final judgment.

3.3 The Book of Dream Visions

The Book of Dream Visions (chapters 83-90), including the Animal Apocalypse (85-90) do not contain much of the language of salvation for the simple reason that they are so negative, and are principally concerned with the punishment of the wicked (particularly the shepherds). However, Enoch for one is faithful (83.8), and there is a remnant who are called 'flesh of righteousness and uprightness' (84.6). There is a section discussing the salvation of the sheep in 90.30ff, and a conclusion where all the deeds of the people are revealed to Enoch (90.41). VanderKam reads the eschatology of the Animal Apocalypse as symmetrical: 'the account concludes with the final judgment on the wicked and the reward of the righteous.'[25] When the sheep in 90.33 are all assembled in a house (which in 90.29 resembles the Temple) the Lord of the sheep 'rejoiced very much because they were all good and had returned to his house'.

3.4 The Epistle of Enoch

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23 As Knibb, in Sparks, ed. *Apocryphal Old Testament*, 226n4, notes, the Ethiopic mss indicate 'perhaps a mistranslation of an Aramaic word which can mean both "to choose" and "to test" '.

24 In 61.8, the angels also go through judgment: 'He placed the Elect One on the throne of glory; and he shall judge all the works of the Holy Ones in heaven above, weighing in the balance their deeds.' This includes both their 'secret ways' and their 'conduct' (61.9).

25 Vanderkam, 'Prophecy and Apocalyptics', 267.

The Epistle of Enoch (91-107), including the Apocalypse of Weeks (93.1-10 & 91.11-17) contains material (not entirely unambiguous) which is relevant to our discussion here.[26] Enoch's words are a mixture of comforting reassurance and moral exhortation. In several places he tells his children and the righteous to 'be hopeful, you righteous ones!' (96.1) or 'be confident, you righteous ones!' (97.1) as well as reaffirming the importance of walking in the ways of righteousness (e.g. 94.1). Similarly, in 102-103, there is a combination of these same two motifs precisely because the coming judgment is a consolation to the righteous: here, the consolation of the righteous consists in the condemnation of the wicked. Judgment is synonymous with condemnation: the righteous in *Epistle of Enoch* do not pass through judgment.[27] Their personal vindication is conceived in a different way.

In 102.4, for example, the righteous need not be afraid: 'But you, souls of the righteous, fear not; and be hopeful, you souls of the pious dead'. Mockery comes from the sinners in 102.6: 'As we die, so the righteous have died, and of what use to them were their deeds?' (και τί αὐτοῖς περιεγένετο ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτων). But the author wants to make clear the deeds of the righteous are of very much use. The Ethiopic text either retains a sentence missing in the Greek, or amplifies the same sentiment, describing the righteous receiving a peaceful end 'for no wrong was found in them until the day of their death'. Thus their sinlessness, as in the Astronomical Book at 81.4 and 82.4, is the guarantee of their protection from God's judgment. On the other hand, it is the fact that the sins of the wicked are being written down 'every day' that ensures their condemnation (104.7).[28]

Although the righteous descend into Sheol after their deaths (102.5-11), their spirits shall live again (103.4).[29] Enoch reassures them that he has read and understood

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26 The concluding part of the Ethiopic version (108.1-15) is found neither at Qumran nor in the Greek text, and so is almost certainly a later addition (see VanderKam, 'Studies in the Apocalypse of Weeks (1 ENOCH 93:1-10; 91:11-17)', *From Revelation to Canon*, 366n1). The passage has a strongly reward-based soteriology. The righteous are addressed and exhorted to wait patiently because the names of the wicked will be blotted out from the Book of Life. 108.4-7 describes the destruction of these sinners, and 8-15 describes the destiny of the righteous. In 108.8, the Lord receives their pure spirits, after the suffering during which they kept their love for God. Thus, their spirits are pure because of their suffering, or their endurance of it. The reward for loving God comes in 108.10: 'And I have recounted in the books all their blessings. He has caused them to be recompensed, for they were all found loving God more than the fire of their eternal souls...'. But the wicked 'were not recompensed with honor as they (i.e. the righteous) deserved for *their* faithfulness' (108.11).

27 The judgment saying in 104.5b only makes sense if it was originally addressed to sinners (Knibb in Sparks, ed. *Apocryphal Old Testament*, 312n12). The sentence has probably been displaced.

28 Contra Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 361: 'The terms 'sinners', 'wicked', 'godless' and the like never refer to those who commit individual transgressions, but to the kinds of transgression that puts the sinners in fundamental opposition to God and his chosen people'. This, however, does not take seriously the role of the heavenly tablets, which according to Enoch contain a record of every sin, in final judgment.

29 Similarly, 'The author speaks, it seems, of the resurrection of the just in 91:10 and in 92:3', J.T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch. Aramaic Fragments* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976) 54.

what is written about them (specifically the righteous) in the heavenly tablets (103.2). And it is the way the righteous ones have lived that is the decisive factor here:

> For all good things, as well as joy and honour are prepared and written down for the souls of the pious dead (ἀγαθὰ καὶ ἡ χαρὰ καὶ ἡ τιμὴ ἡτοίμασται καὶ ἐγγεγραπται ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν ἀποθανόντων εὐσεβῶν). *Many and good things will be given to you–the offshoot of your labours. Your lot exceeds even that of the living ones. The spirits of those the righteous dead*[31] *shall live and rejoice.* Their spirits shall not perish, nor their memorial from before the face of the Great One unto all the generations of the world. Therefore, do not worry about their humiliation. (103.3-4)

Again, whether the 'many and good things' are present because the Ethiopic tradition preserves a stronger theology of reward which has been left out of the Greek tradition, or whether it is an expansion by the Ethiopic tradition (or earlier) is an open question. Knibb notes, however, that the section italicized in the citation above is omitted from the Greek by homoioteleuton.[32] Here there is a combination of different images of eschatological blessing: joy and honour written down in the heavenly books, many good things as the result of works, spiritual resurrection, and eternal remembrance by God. This is an encouraging basis for Enoch's righteous audience not to be afraid (103.4).

Most commentators see some form of reward theology in 104.13-105.1, but the textual witnesses are so diverse that it is hard to be certain. As Knibb notes, a number (though not all) of the Ethiopic manuscripts have language of reward in 104.13,[33] and he sees the same imagery in 105.1. Black on the other hand sees a recompense for all the righteous in 104.13,[34] but not in 105.1, where he sees the Ethiopic as reflecting a mistranslation of the Aramaic. Milik and García Martínez/Tigchelaar, however, reconstruct 4Q204 5 1 as referring to reward in two places.[35]

Sanders notes reward theology in 103.3 and 104.13, but tries to remove it by saying 'the reward of the righteous in the resurrection will not be earned by works, but be given by the mercy of God'.[36] However, the author of the Epistle affirms both by defining the righteous both in terms of their election and also in terms of their works.[37] Their way of life is decisive for their salvation: 'blessed are all those who accept the words of wisdom and understand them and follow the paths of the Most High, and walk in the path of righteousness and do not act impiously with the impious, for they will be

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31 Eth. 'the spirits of those who died in righteousness' is a development of נפשת מיתין קשיטין. See M. Black, *The Book of Enoch* or *1 Enoch. A New English Edition* (Leiden: Brill, 1985) 312.

32 Knibb in Sparks, ed. *Apocryphal Old Testament*, 309n10.

33 Knibb in Sparks, ed. *Apocryphal Old Testament*, 313n33.

34 Following Eth mss B & C: see Black, *Book of Enoch*, 99, 318.

35 In lines 23 & 24: see Milik, *Books of Enoch. Aramaic Fragments*, 207; F. García Martínez, E. Tigchelaar, *Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* I (Leiden: Brill, 1997) 419.

36 Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 356.

37 See 91.3-4; 91.13.

saved' (99.10). We have seen that, despite mockery from sinners, the works of the righteous do avail before God, just as the works of the righteous are weighed before God in the Similitudes. The theology of reward is not as clear here as elsewhere, but is certainly an important aspect of the theology of judgment in 1 Enoch.

4. 1 & 2 Maccabees, Assumption of Moses

As Luther pointed out, 2 Maccabees is not 'the second book of the Maccabees' on analogy with 2 Samuel, 2 Kings, or 2 Chronicles, but rather '*a* second book': a renarration of the same period in a different theological setting.[37] Furthermore, Jonathan Goldstein's learned commentaries on 1 and 2 Maccabees argue convincingly that the two works stand in irreconcilable opposition with one another.[38] 'First Maccabees is pro-Hasmonean propaganda and the work of Jason an anti-Hasmonean reply, both written in the reign of Alexander Jannaeus.'[39] He then dates 2 Maccabees, which largely consists of an abridgement of the work of Jason, to 78-63 BCE.[40] The author of 1 Maccabees, the 'Hasmonean Propagandist',[41] writes to defend the authenticity of the Hasmonean claim to the priesthood, a priesthood that had historically been held by the Oniad line.[42] In the process, important theological positions are taken. The strategy of Mattathias and his associates to take military action on the Sabbath is a crucial turning-point.[43] As Nickelsburg puts it: 'The dismal failure of Hasidic apocalyptic hopes is reflected in 1 Macc 2.29ff, and the rest of the chapter goes on to describe its replacement by the successful policy of Maccabean activism.'[44] This combines with what is tantamount to a

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37 Moffatt in R. Charles, ed. *Apocrypha*, 125.

38 J. Goldstein, *I Maccabees* (New York: Doubleday, 1976) and *II Maccabees* (New York: Doubleday, 1984). Nevertheless, Moffat in Charles, *Apocrypha*, 129, is probably right to say 'there is no obvious reason for conjecturing that the latter is deliberately and primarily an attack on the former'. J. Mejía, 'Posibles Contactos entre los Manuscritos de Qumran y los Libros de los Macabeos', *RevQ* 1 (1958-9) 52, overstates the case to say that 1 Macc 'no es una obra polémica', however.

39 Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, 64. In *II Maccabees*, 83, Goldstein summarises the probable dates of the three works in question: 1 Maccabees was written by 90 BCE, Jason's work by 86 BCE, and 2 Maccabees between 78-63 BCE. I make no attempt here to distinguish between the ideas and material in the work of Jason and in 2 Macc: Goldstein's (*passim*) labours here seem rather speculative.

40 In our manuscripts, the book is prefaced by two letters (1.1-1.10a, and 1.10b-2.18). Older arguments for the non-existence of Jason of Cyrene's work are rebutted nicely in C. Mugler, 'Remarques sur le second livre de Macchabées. La statistique des mots et la question de l'auteur', *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Réligieuses* (1931) 419-423.

41 Goldstein uses this designation in *II Maccabees*, 72 and repeatedly thereafter in the second commentary.

42 Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, 8.

43 J. Mejía, 'Posibles Contactos', 56, probably goes too far in saying '1 Macabeos permite la defensa, y quizás también el ataque, en día sábado'.

44 G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard UP, 1972) 102.

rejection of the doctrine of resurrection.[45] Goldstein is almost certainly correct in seeing a connection between the activist policy of fighting on the Sabbath and 1 Maccabees' 'drastic but tacit denial of resurrection':[46] the doctrine of resurrection was tied up with a passive conception of martyrdom, and seeking glory and restitution in the future. Mattathias on the other hand was concerned with the earthly glory of Israel and the Torah in the present, to be brought about by pulling down pagan altars and circumcision by force (1 Macc 2.45-46).[47]

2 Maccabees, which largely consists of an abridgement of the work of Jason of Cyrene mentioned above, stands in striking opposition to the first book in these respects. Here, it is everywhere presupposed that the Sabbath is strictly observed by the faithful,[48] and the reality of future bodily resurrection is enthusiastically affirmed.[49] Furthermore, rather than being the tragic failure described in 1 Macc 2.29-38, the death of the *Hasidim* has a propitiatory effect and is, as Nickelsburg says, 'the precondition for God's turning from wrath to mercy, which, in turn, is the precondition for Judas' success'.[50] This is made explicit in 2 Macc 8.1-5, where as Judas musters his force, 'the gentiles found him irresistible, because the Lord's anger was now turned into mercy'.

4.1 1 Maccabees

In the early chapters of 1 Maccabees, as the military aims of the Maccabeans are pursued, there is a considerable emphasis on righteous works leading to glory in the sense of a noble reputation and name. 'Remember the deeds of the ancestors, which they did in their generations, and you will receive great honour and an everlasting name' (2.51). This is how the gallery of heroes is introduced, a sequence which bears comparison with Sir 44.1ff. There is still no reward of eternal life, but there is promise of an eternal *name*.

Abraham is the first. Here it is his faithfulness under temptation that leads to his being granted a status of righteousness. 'Was not Abraham found faithful in temptation

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45 'We may infer that our author completely rejected the belief in immortality or resurrection since he does not allude to either', Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, 12.

46 Goldstein uses this phrase in *I Maccabees*, 26.

47 Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, 12.

48 The commonly cited passages are 2 Macc. 15.1ff, where, according to Moffatt (Charles, *Apocrypha*, 152), 'the purpose of the excerpt is simply to exalt, in ultra-Pharisaic and unhistorical fashion, the rigid sabbatarianism of the Maccabean army'. D. Arenhoevel, *Die Theokratie nach dem 1. und 2. Makkabäerbuch* (Mainz: Matthias-Grünewald-Verlag, 1967) 129 also notes 2 Macc 8.25ff. However, neither of these is as explicit as 5.21-26, where Apollonius conducts a massacre in Jerusalem on the Sabbath, and 6.11, where Philip burns those who had retreated to caves, and would not defend themselves because it was the Sabbath. Note also 12.38. Mejía notes that interestingly, Jub 50.12 specifically forbids military action on the Sabbath ('Posibles Contactos', 68). It is not forbidden in the Pentateuch, nor (according to Mejía and the texts available to him in 1958) in the DSS.

49 The unit 6.18-7.42 is dominated by this concern, and resurrection is also mentioned in 12.43-45. See also 2 Macc 14.46 where 'rather than submit to arrest by Nicanor's soldiers, Razis, a venerated Jewish elder, theatrically commits suicide, firm in his belief in the resurrection' (Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, 33).

50 Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life*, 102.

and it was reckoned to him as righteousness?' (1 Macc. 2.52) ('Αβραὰμ οὐχὶ ἐν πειρασμῷ εὑρέθη πιστὸς, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην;). Goldstein, in his general comparison of the patriarchs cited with the Maccabees, notes that Mattathias, like Abraham, was willing to sacrifice his children.[52] However, it is probably slightly anachronistic to translate the verse, with Goldstein, as Abraham's faith being 'reckoned to his merit'.[53] Joseph, next, is specifically commended for 'keeping the commandment' under testing (ἐφύλαξεν ἐντολὴν): the commandment, presumably, is the seventh commandment, and the testing or 'distress' (στενοχωρία) was the pressure under which Potiphar's wife put him. His obedience to the commandment led to his glorious position as Lord of Egypt (2.53). Next, Phinehas's zeal led to his receiving an eternal priesthood (2.54). Phinehas is particularly important rhetorically here because of his particular zeal in maintaining national boundaries (seen within the wider context of obedience to Torah).

Joshua's 'fulfilment of the Word' leads to his becoming judge of Israel (2.55). And so the list continues. Caleb's testimony was rewarded with an inheritance (2.56), and David because he was merciful inherited an eternal kingdom (2.57).[54] This term inheritance will later be seen (e.g. in Pss. Sol. and Lk 10.25ff) to have a *personal* eternal dimension, even though at this stage it is to be understood in historical terms. Elijah was taken up to heaven because of his great zeal for the Torah (2.58). Hananiah, Azariah and Mishael were saved from the fiery furnace because of their faith/ faithfulness (2.59), and Daniel's innocence meant he was not eaten by lions (2.60). It is notable that the paradigms are a mixture of purely 'moral' examples (Abraham and David) as well as those where the focus is more specifically the maintenance of national boundaries (particularly Phinehas and Elijah). These concepts are inseparably fused together.

The personal motivation for Torah-observance in 1 Maccabees is that it will be rewarded with glory and honour. This, as we have seen, is the basis of the injunction to remember the deeds of the ancestors in 2.51. Immediately after the list of ancestors, Mattathias' testament ends promising strength as the reward for faithfulness (2.61), as well as, again, honour: 'My children, be courageous and grow strong in the Law, for by it you will gain honour' (2.64). In battle, the concern of both the people (5.61) and some of the priests (5.67) is 'to do a brave deed'. Again, it is the courage of Eleazar that led him to stab the enemy's elephant, though it meant his own death under the elephant: 'So he gave his life to save his people and to win for himself an everlasting name' (6.44). Judas rejects the possibility of flight: 'If our time has come, let us die bravely for our kindred, and leave no cause to question our honour' (9.10).

So what is evident here is a strong reward theology. It does not yet contain eschatological reward, though there is a hint in the case of Elijah, whose zeal for the Torah meant that God took him up into heaven. Moreover, other figures mentioned do receive *eternal rewards*: the initial promise for deeds is an eternal name, and Phinehas

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52 Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, 7.

53 Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, 238.

54 Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, 240, may exaggerate the difference between the duration of Phinehas' priesthood and David's kingdom (cf Sir 47.11,22, compared with the Levitical priesthood in Sir 45.6).

receives an *eternal* priesthood, David an *eternal* kingdom. These examples, we shall see, will lend themselves later to an eschatological interpretation.

Dunn identifies the ideology of 1 Maccabees as perhaps the crucial background to Paul's objection to Judaism: the language of zeal, and the concern to maintain Israel's national boundaries. To this extent, Paul's pre-Christian Pharisaism had points of contact with the world-view expressed in this text. But there is a significant difference. What is absent from 1 Maccabees that was a crucial element in Paul's first-century Pharisaism is belief in the resurrection of the dead, to which we now turn.

4.2 2 Maccabees

'Con el segundo libro de los Macabeos entramos en un mundo completamente distinto'.[55] We have seen that 2 Maccabees marks a significant development from the first book in its stricter sabbatarianism, and its doctrine of the resurrection of the dead. These developments have led some to describe the book as 'Pharisaic'.[56] Furthermore, according to Goldstein, there is a possible Pharisaic *Tendenz* in the presentation of Judas' observance of Pentecost on a day other than Sunday.[57] At the same time, the book has been generally taken to come from Egypt, and Alexãndria in particular.[58] But 2 Maccabees is scarcely less focused on Temple[59] and Torah[60] than any literary product from Palestine in the period.

Whoever the author was ('Wo er lebte und wo er schrieb, ist ungewiß'[61]), 2 Macc is one of the earliest texts which attests to the phenomenon of 'deferred eschatology'. There are instances of 'realised' justice in the book: the chief opponents of Israel - Heliodorus and others - are punished by God in this life. But in the attempt to preserve God's justice and faithfulness in the face of martyrdom, judgment *after* death is strongly appealed to: chapter 7, in particular, 'deals with suffering and theodicy from the

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55 Mejía, 'Posibles Contactos', 63.

56 See Mejía, 'Posibles Contactos', 66n37 for a catalogue of older expressions of this view.

57 Goldstein, *IIMaccabees*, 444: 'The mention [in 12.29-31] of Judas' interruption of his campaign to celebrate Pentecost may well be an effort to show that he followed Pharisaic practice. On the Sadducean and Essene interpretations, Pentecost would always fall on a Sunday. Judas would have had to interrupt his campaigns for the Sabbath which preceded a Sunday Pentecost (cf 8.26-28 and 12.38). In that case, there would be no special interruption for Pentecost. Moreover, the obligatory pilgrimage to Jerusalem for Pentecost, on the Sadducean and Essene interpretation, would require arrival in the holy city, before the Sabbath.'

58 Moffat, for example, in Charles, ed. *Apocrypha*, 129, takes the author to be an armchair Pharisee in Alexandria, concerned to foster solidarity between Egyptian communities and the Jerusalem Temple.

59 See, e.g. Mejía, 'Posibles Contactos', 63-64: 'El Templo ocupa en el libro un lugar indiscutiblemente central', citing 2.19, 22; 3.12, 18, 30; 5.15; 15.18.

60 See Arenhoevel, *Theokratie*, 129, who maintains that the Torah is more prominent in 2 Macc than in 1 Macc: for example, in 2 Macc, only chapters 9 and 14 do not mention Torah, as opposed to chapters 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, and 16 in 1 Macc. See also B. Renaud, 'La Loi et les Lois dans les Livres des Maccabées', *RevB* 68 (1961) 39-67, for a comprehensive account.

61 C. Habicht, *2. Makkabäerbuch* (JSHRZ I/3; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1976) 169.

perspectives of resurrection and judgment. The martyrs die in full confidence that they will be vindicated after death and live on with God. And they warn the wicked king that he will be punished after death. The justice of God is upheld, though its full manifestation is deferred to a personal afterlife.'[62]

First, resurrection comes to those who are faithful to Torah. The reward comes explicitly to 'those of us who died for the sake of his laws' (ἀποθανόντας ἡμᾶς ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτοῦ νόμων) or because 'you forget yourselves for the sake of his laws' (ὑπερορᾶτε ἑαυτοὺς διὰ τοὺς αὐτοῦ νόμους) (2 Macc 7.9, 7.23).

Secondly, the reward comes in the form of 'poetic justice': that God will give life back to the martyrs, because they were willing to give it up for him (also 7.14). Obedience to Torah is not so much what is actually recompensed, though it is the *basis* for the recompense: what is actually recompensed is life itself. In addition, on a smaller scale, poetic justice operates at the micro-level as well: the first brother is more than willing to give up his tongue and his hands because he is confident that God will give them back to him (7.10-11). Again, Razis is willing to give up his entrails in the confidence that God would restore them to him (2 Macc 14.46). This is almost all we can know about the nature of the resurrection in 2 Macc. There are no broader eschatological ideas mentioned (which is not to say that the author had none). But in the text, at least, there is no combination of resurrection with cosmic renewal, or any other eschatological event.[63] However, this does not permit Arenhoevel's conclusion that the resurrection is an utterly private event.[64]

2 Macc 7.36, finally, contrasts the fate of the martyrs with the fate of the torturers:

> οἱ μὲν γὰρ νῦν ἡμέτεροι ἀδελφοὶ βραχὺν ὑπενέγκαντες πόνον ἀενάου ζωῆς ὑπὸ διαθήκην θεοῦ πεπτώκασιν· σὺ δὲ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ κρίσει δίκαια τὰ πρόστιμα τῆς ὑπερηφανίας ἀποίσῃ.

Text critics have disputed the status of πεπτώκασιν,[65] since it does not really make sense here. But this does not affect the meaning: what is clear is that it refers to eternal life from the covenant following a short period of suffering - the torture that the martyrs have endured. The key phrase here is ὑπενέγκαντες πόνον ἀενάου ζωῆς ὑπὸ διαθήκην θεοῦ πεπτώκασιν, which is often taken (e.g. by the NRSV translation) to refer to 'the covenant of eternal life'. However, Bückers presents convincing arguments against this reading.[66] The interpretation is important because it sheds light on the question of

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62 D.J. Harrington, *Invitation to the Apocrypha* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999) 149.

63 Contra Moffat, nothing in 2 Macc suggests that they rise 'apparently to participation in the messianic Kingdom (7.29, 33, 37; 14.15) on earth' (Moffat in Charles, ed. *Apocrypha*, 131).

64 Arenhoevel argues that 'Die Totenerweckung muß kein öffentliches, den Lebenden sichtbares Ereignis sein' (*Theokratie*, 158-159) and 'nur die Martyrer selbst werden sie gewiß erleben' (159).

65 See apparatus in Rahlfs, *Septuaginta*I, 1117.

66 H. Bückers, 'Das «Ewige Leben» in 2 Makk 7, 36', *Biblica* 21 (1940) 406-412.

whether eternal life is already present, or begins at the resurrection.[66] Bückers notes that the Latin translations of 2 Maccabees tend to take ἀενάου ζωῆς with πόνον.[67] But more importantly, he notes that while in Greek a genitive can go before or after the substantive on which it depends, and a noun can also have a genitive both before *and* after, the difficulty here is that the preceding genitive is separated from the following noun by a preposition.[68] This makes the unit 'ἀενάου ζωῆς ὑπὸ διαθήκην θεου' unlikely.[69] Rather, the first unit is ὑπενέγκαντες πόνον ἀενάου ζωῆς: the martyrs 'suffer the labour that leads to eternal life'.[70] Nickelsburg uses the language of vindication here,[71] but it is just as feasible to use the vocabulary of reward, because the reason they are vindicated is 'because they have obeyed the Torah'.[72] And Arenhoevel is correct to say that 'der Ausdruck von der »Auferstehung zum Leben« (7, 14.9) deutet an, daß das »ewige Leben« mit der Auferstehung beginnt. Auch für die erhöffte Wiedervereinigung der Martyrer wird man kaum eine Zeit *vor* der Auferstehung ansetzen können (7,29)'.[73]

4.3 Assumption (or, Testament) of Moses

The Assumption of Moses also has a version of a Maccabean martyr-narrative, but combines it with eschatological language that is more extreme than 1 and 2 Macc. Here, we see features that are not present in either of the other books: the appearance of a Kingdom (*et tunc parebit regnum illius*), the 'death' of the devil (*zabulus finem habebit*), and the eradication of *tristitia* (10.1). Then there is a description in 10.2-7 of the eschatological punishment of the wicked. This is accompanied by the traditional prophetic language of the shaking of the earth and waters, the darkening of the sun, with the moon turning to blood (10.4-6). Israel is thus vindicated, and flies up on an eagle (10.8). God then (or perhaps, thus) exalts Israel, and gives her a dwelling place in the stars, which is where he himself lives (10.9): *et altavit te deus, et faciet te herere caelo stellarum, loco habitationis eius*. Thus Israel can look down on her enemies on the earth (10.10). Clearly this goes beyond anything in the Maccabean narratives. As Licht puts it, it is 'the final supernatural salvation described in an enthusiastic poem... [which] belongs wholly to the

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66 Bückers, 'Das «Ewige Leben»', 407: 'die wichtige Frage, ob die Verheissung sich an ihnen schon erfüllt habe oder erst bei der Auferstehung erfüllen werde'.

67 Bückers, 'Das «Ewige Leben»', 410.

68 Bückers, 'Das «Ewige Leben»', 408-409.

69 Interestingly, L. Schiffmann argues that the covenant in the Rabbis relates to Torah and to Sinai, but not to the age to come ('The Rabbinic Understanding of Covenant', *RExp* 84 [1987] 289-298).

70 As Bückers, 'Das «Ewige Leben»', 412, translates the verse: 'Nachdem unsere Brüder eine kurze Trübsal, die zum ewige Leben führt, erduldeten, haben sie jetzt die göttliche Bundesverheissung erlangt'.

71 Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, Eternal Life*, 94, 96, 102.

72 Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, Eternal Life*, 96. Similarly, their obedience to Torah is the reason for their deaths (7.2, 9, 11, 23, 30, 37).

73 Arenhoevel, *Theokratie*, 159n13.

next *aeon*, the future which the writer expects to be near.'[74]

There is not such concern with individual salvation in the form of life after death. Obedience to the Torah is crucial for the survival of Israel: *facientes itaque et consumantes mandata Dei crescunt et bonam viam exigunt* (12.10). The judgment scene does not go into any detail about individual reward and punishment, though Taxo 'is rewarded in heaven for his faithfulness to the Law by his ordination as a priest'.[75] There is a kind of martyr theology at work here, it seems: Taxo is from the line of Levi, and yet is probably excluded from the priesthood because of a critical stance toward it (that at least is the position of the author of As. Mos. in chapter 5). But, after his death, what was rightfully his, perhaps, is restored to him, just as the martyrs of 2 Macc 7 give up their lives (and hands and so on) in the confidence that they will receive them back.[76] He, in fact, is God's agent of judgment, and his role in the inauguration of the Kingdom comes as a result of his obedience.[77] Tromp, while hostile to any theology of merit in As. Mos.,[78] also sees that 'Taxo will subsequently take revenge on Israel's enemies, a reward which is often expected to be given to the righteous in the eschatological time'.[79]

It is difficult to determine whether 1 Macc, 2 Macc and As. Mos. came first, but what is very likely that what we have are competing eschatological pictures from the same period. They are irreconcilable because they are exclusive: they do not allow for the other models. This is because these eschatological models are directly tied to a certain way of *acting*: 1 Macc's eschatological scepticism is connected to its politico-religious activism, 2 Macc's resurrection theology to its strict sabbatarianism, and As. Mos.'s heavenly eschatology to Taxo's radical non-violence. Taxo's behaviour does not fit into the categories of activism and passivism, because while it is non-military, it is very active, in the sense that it seeks to force God to bring in the Kingdom.[80] Albert Schweitzer's Messiah is really Taxo the Hasid. However, apart from Taxo's reward of his heavenly consecration, As. Mos. is perhaps too short and/or fragmentary to have a reward theology as detailed as that of 1 and 2 Macc. The recompense comes in an indirect form: Taxo and his sons ensure through fasting and penitence that they are pure, sinless, and

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74 J. Licht, 'Taxo, or the Apocalyptic Doctrine of Vengeance', *JJS* 12.3-4 (1961) 95-96.

75 Tromp, *The Assumption of Moses*, 231.

76 This is the line J. Tromp takes in 'Taxo, the Messenger of the Lord', *JSJ* 21.2 (1991) 209.

77 Tromp's argument that Taxo is the *nuntius* (see his commentary and 'Taxo, the Messenger of the Lord') is compelling. The appearance of a new angelic figure is problematic because we are left in the dark as to what happens to Taxo ('Taxo', 201). The 'filling hands' in 10.2 is a priestly task, not a military one (see D.C. Carlson, 'Vengeance and Angelic Mediation in *Testament of Moses* 9 and 10', *JBL* 101.1 [1982] 93-95), and it makes no sense to have a sudden priestly ordination of an angelic figure after Taxo's action: Taxo, however, is from the line of Levi. *Nuntius*/ ἀγγέλος is not *specifically* an angelic figure until Christian Latin ('Taxo', 202). As. Mos. 9 and 10 now cohere well, and Taxo is rewarded with a priestly office ('Taxo', 209).

78 Tromp, *Assumption of Moses*, 137.

79 Tromp, *Assumption of Moses*, 231.

80 Licht, 'Taxo, or the Apocalyptic Doctrine of Vengeance', 96: 'It is clearly wrong to interpret his attitude as mere quietism and passive martyrdom; it is quietistic only in the sense that it does not lead to direct military action'.

utterly undeserving of punishment.[81] Thus God, as *go'el*, is forced to avenge their blood and end Israel's calamity.[82]

As we have seen, 1 and 2 Macc, and As. Mos. can be said to have different conceptions of 'grace'. According to Oesterley, 1 Macc has the 'very sensible religious attitude' that 'God helps those who help themselves'![83] But in addition to the zealous activism of Mattathias' programme, and the conditionality of God's help in strengthening those who are faithful (e.g. 2.61), there is considerable appeal to the God's gracious election: 'And now let us cry to heaven, if he will have mercy on us, and will remember the covenant of the Fathers, and destroy this army before our face today. Then all the gentiles will know that there is one who redeems and saves Israel' (4.10-11). Again, in 2 Maccabees, there are similar ideas. In 14.15 when Nicanor's attack is announced, the Jews appeal to 'the one who established his people for all eternity and who always upholds those who are his portion'. Or again, as Arenhoevel puts it: '*Der Gottesstaat ist unvergänglich*: weder der Ungehorsam der Juden noch die Wut der Heiden können ihn zerstören... Jeder Bürger von Jerusalem hat für ewig teil an dieser Herrlichkeit.'[84] One can only wonder what Oesterley thought of Taxo's 'religious attitude'. In any case, while Taxo is, in Tromp's terms, rewarded with priesthood,[85] As. Mos. is predicated on a very strong theology of election. So we can again see concepts of election and works leading to glory or resurrection running parallel with one another in the same texts.

5. Jubilees

The book of Jubilees cannot be said to be dominated by a concern with individual eternal life. However, it is an early example of a text which does bear witness, however fleetingly, to 'apocalyptic eschatology', as Collins has defined it.[86] Davenport's attempt, in the only major monograph on the eschatology of *Jubilees*, to subsume the language of 'afterlife' under the umbrella of prophetic-historical expectation is reductionistic. Jub 23.31 points to a belief in a spiritual revivification for the righteous: 'Then their bones shall rest in the earth; and their spirits shall have much joy'.[87] As Davenport himself says in a footnote: 'this is a more lively existence than that in the general Old Testament view, but it is not so far in the direction of resurrection as the view in Daniel xii,12... Here [in Jub 23] the faithful are in their graves'.[88] But only bones are in the grave: there could be

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81 Thus Licht, 'Taxo, or the Apocalyptic Doctrine of Vengeance', 98.

82 Carlson, 'Vengeance and Angelic Mediation', 87, 93.

83 Oesterley in Charles, *Apocrypha*, 61.

84 Arenhoevel, *Theokratie*, 162.

85 Tromp objects to other interpretations of the *nuntius* in 10.2 that they inadvertently leave 'the almost unacceptable impression that there will be no special reward for those who are prepared to die for the sake of the Law': Tromp, 'Taxo, the Messenger of the Lord', 201.

86 J.J. Collins, 'Apocalyptic Eschatology as the Transcendence of Death' in Hanson, ed. *Visionaries*, 71-72.

87 Jub 23.31 is also found in 4Q176a.

88 Davenport, *Eschatology of the Book of Jubilees*, 40n2.

reference here to a spiritual resurrection.

When it comes to the expression of the everlasting punishment of the one who devises evil against his brother, Davenport states that there is a tension between the language of destruction and everlasting visitation of punishments. His resolution of the problem is as follows: 'Vs 11, however, is best understood as a barrage of words indicating the severity of Edom's plight rather than as a blueprint to what will happen to her. In such passages concerning the plight of the enemy, emotions are usually oblivious to strict logic.'[90] So, according to Davenport, the author is being illogical and emotional. But in fact, the passage is a relatively clear expression of an ongoing punishment after death:

> And on the day of turbulence and execration and indignation and anger, with flaming, devouring fire, as he burned Sodom, so will he burn his land, his city and all that is his. And he shall be blotted out of the book of the discipline of the children of men and not be recorded in the book of life, but in that which is appointed to destruction. *And he shall depart into eternal execration, so that their condemnation may always be renewed in hate and in execration and in wrath and in torment and in indignation and in disease forever.* (Jub 36.9)

The final sentence here seems far too extreme and explicit to be confined to the sphere of national history. The language of 'departing' to eternal desecration implies a 'dismissal' model of judgment reminiscent of some of the sayings of Jesus.[91] And similarly, the 'eternal execration' language is reinforced with 'always' and 'forever'.

The aspects of Jubilees most relevant to our argument here are the discussions concerning righteous deeds which result in the names of the doers being recorded as righteous, or as friends of God.[92] The first text comes in the account of Jacob's visit (with Levi and Judah) to Isaac, where Isaac puts Jacob's two sons to bed either side of him 'and it was counted to him as righteousness' (Jub 31.23), using the same language as the biblical account of Abraham's 'crediting' (cited in Jub 14.6). Shortly afterwards, Rebecca commands Jacob to honour his father and his brother all his life, which Jacob agrees to do, 'because this thing is an honour and a greatness and a righteousness for me before the Lord' (Jub 35.2). Again, as in the Maccabean texts, there is a reward of greatness and righteousness for deeds. As we shall see later in Pss. Sol., righteousness is not merely a category of status, but is contingent upon behaviour, and describes a person's obedience.

The most significant passage is the extensive narrative - which survives in Latin - about the punishment of the Shechemites by Jacob's sons (30.17-23).

> 17 propter quod mandaui tibi dicens testare testificatione ista in istrahel et uide quid factum sit sychimis et filiis ipsius quomodo traditi sunt in manu hominum

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90 Davenport, *Eschatology of the Book of Jubilees*, 68.

91 E.g. Matt 7.23; 25.30; 25.46.

92 Two texts which we will not discuss at length but which are indicators of the importance for Jubilees of 'doing' righteousness are 20.2 and 21.15. Abraham's 'reward' is mentioned in 14.1.

filiorum iacob et *occiderunt illos in iudicio et conputatum est illis in iustitia*
18 et adscriptum est semen leuui sacerdotium et leuitas ut deseruiant in conspectu domini sicuti et nos omnibus diebus et benedicitur leuui et filii eius in saecula quoniam aemulatus est ueritatem ut faceret iudicium et defensionem ab omnibus qui positi sunt super istrahel
19 *et sic refertur illi in testimonium in tabulis caeli benedictio et iustitia in conspectu dei omnium*
20 et memorabitur iustitia quam faciet homo in uita sua in omnibus temporibus anni usque ad mille annos offeretur et ueniet illi et semini eius post eum *et scriptus est amicus iustus in tabulis caeli*
21 scripsi tibi omnes sermones istos et mandaui ut adnunties filiis istrahel ut non faciant malignum et non praetereant praecepta et non dissipabunt testamentum dispositum super ipsos et faciant ea. *et adscribentur amici dei.*
22 si autem transgressi fuerint testamentum et fecerint ex omnibus uiis abominationem quaecumque scripta sunt in tabulis caeli inimici dei erunt et delebuntur de libro uitae et scribentur in libro perditionum inter eos qui eradicantur a terra
23 et in die qua percusserunt filii iacob sycimam *ascendit illis scriptura in caelis facientes ueritatem et iudicium et uindictam in ipsis et scripti sunt in benedictione.*

A number of points emerge from this important text. First, the deed of the children of Jacob is reckoned to them as righteousness. As we have seen, this parallels both the deed of Abraham in Jub 14.6 (par. Gen 15.6) as well as Isaac placing his grandchildren either side of him (31.23). But the closest parallel is probably that of Phinehas in Ps 105.31 LXX.

First, the deed of the sons of Jacob is a defense of the people of God by violence. The Ethiopic text reads that Levi and Judah killed them 'painfully', while the Latin reads 'in justice/righteousness' or 'in retribution' (*in iudicio*). Second, this Levi is described as having 'acted zealously' according to the Ethiopic: the Latin is a slightly weaker 'aemulatus est ueritatem' (he imitated truth/ faithfulness). And the language 'he was zealous *to do righteousness against all who rose up against Israel*' is reminiscent of Phinehas as well.

At this stage, in 30.17, all we have is the 'reckoning' of righteousness (*conputatum est*).[93] *Et conputatum est* is almost certainly a translation of καὶ ἐλογίσθη, which in turn derives from ויחשבה.[94] This reckoning of righteousness is explained in 30.19 by the heavenly tablets. As García Martínez has shown, the heavenly tablets have multiple functions in Jubilees,[95] but here the reference is clearly to a 'book of

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93 Despite the Ethiopic's 'it was written down for them as righteousness'.

94 Here I am relying on VanderKam's classification of the version-history of Jubilees: original language being Hebrew; a Greek translation from the Hebrew; a Latin translation from the Greek (J.C. VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees* [Missoula, 1977] vi, cited by Wintermute in Charlesworth, ed. *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* II, 41).

95 F. García Martínez, 'The Heavenly Tablets in the Book of Jubilees' in M. Albani, J. Frey & A. Lange eds. *Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1997) 243-260.

righteousness', a ledger where each person either has 'righteousness' or 'sin' ascribed to them. So deeds of righteousness do lead to a favourable record in the heavenly ledger.

This then becomes the basis for parenesis. 30.20 talks of works of righteousness being remembered (probably) not by God or by a recording angel, but rather by Israel in her annual festivals. But verse 21 clearly goes on to talk about the purpose of all this being written down, *viz.* so that Israel might obey the covenant and its commandments 'and they will be written down as friends of God' (*adscribentur amici dei*: 30.21). So, the covenant opens up the possibility for Israelites either to be obedient or disobedient. The hope is that Israelites will obey the commandments and in the end be recorded as 'friends of God'. *This points to an understanding of relationship with God which is future, and which depends upon (of course, covenantal) obedience to the Law.* Sanders is right to say that there is no final universal assize in Jubilees,[96] but on the other hand, there is also a sense of 'salvation' and 'damnation' (as he admits). Sanders creates something of a false dichotomy when he describes the thought of Jubilees thus: 'obedience, as is generally the case in Judaism, is the *condition* of salvation (when it is coupled with repentance for transgression) but not its cause'.[97] This may not be quite accurate, however. In 30.21, if Israel obeys the commandments, Jubilees says, they will be written down as friends of God. This does not merely describe a maintenance of status already possessed, but is a verdict given subsequent to obedience: *ut non faciant malignum et non praetereant praecepta et non dissipabunt testamentum dispositum super ipsos et faciant ea. et adscribentur amici dei.* The converse is true for those who break the covenant: they will be written down in the heavenly tablets as enemies (30.22).

There is a degree of asymmetry as well. It seems that those who break the covenant did originally have their names written in the book of life, but forfeited their place in it. As García Martínez notes, strictly speaking one's future destiny is only determined by the book of deeds in as much as one is inscribed in the Book of Destruction.[98] But the presentation in Jubilees here is not systematic: those who do righteousness have their names written in subsequent to their righteousness as well. In the case with the sons of Jacob, 'on the day that the children of Jacob shook Shechem, a record went up for them to the heavens that they had done truth and justice and vengeance, and it was written down for a blessing' (30.23).

The deed of the sons of Jacob in itself is a deed whereby national boundaries are maintained, but the concept of justification is not determined by the character of those deeds. Justification (*iustitia*) stands in parallel with *benedictio* in verse 19, and is defined as 'friendship with God' in verse 20. Both of these are records made in the heavenly tablets. We will see the importance of this passage later as a background to Paul's discussion of 'reckoning', 'righteousness' and 'blessing' in Rom 4.5-8.

Though the dimension of zeal is very important here in Jub 30.17-23, it should not be used to neutralise the theology of justification through deeds: other instances of people being recorded in the heavenly books have nothing to do with an expression of

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96 Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 372.

97 Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 371.

98 García Martínez, 'The Heavenly Tablets in the Book of Jubilees', 247.

zeal. Also, justification by deeds does not make it impossible for the author to express belief in election. It is interesting that people can be both 'written into' the heavenly book (i.e., they are *not yet* there) and 'deleted from' (i.e., they are *already* in the book). Thus, we should not try and systematise the relationship between election and justification through deeds in Jubilees: we should allow both to stand, and not to insist on an either/or.

6. Psalms of Solomon

The Psalms of Solomon are dated with a considerable degree of scholarly consensus to the First Century BCE, in particular to the time following the invasion and death of Pompey (63/48 BCE).[99] They are also particularly important because of their Palestinian provenance, and probably hail from Jerusalem.[100] And the opinion of many scholars that the Psalms are Pharisaic, if true, would make them particularly important for a comparison with Pauline theology. M. Winninge's very impressive new monograph argues convincingly for a Pharisaic provenance, though this point is not vital to the argument here.[101]

The Pss. Sol. present a fairly consistent eschatological picture in which there is a definite period or day of judgment at which the righteous will be vindicated with resurrection to eternal life, and the wicked consigned to eternal death.[102] In 2.34-36, when the righteous and the sinners are separated out, God will repay sinners according to their deeds 'everlastingly':

> To distinguish (τοῦ διαστείλαι) between the righteous and the sinner,
> To recompense sinners for ever according to their deeds.
> (ἀποδοῦναι ἁμαρτωλοῖς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν). (2.34)

His rescue of the righteous is still articulated as a rescue from the oppression of the wicked, who will be punished in kind for what they have inflicted on God's people:

> And to have mercy on the righteous, delivering him from affliction from the sinner,
> And to recompense the sinner for what he has done to the righteous.
> (καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ἁμαρτωλῷ ἀνθ' ὧν ἐποίησεν δικαίῳ).
> For the Lord is good to those who call on him in patience,
> Acting according to his mercy towards his holy ones. (2.35-36)

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99 See the surveys by Wright, in Charlesworth, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*ll, 640-641 and Winninge, *Sinners and the Righteous.*

100 Winninge, *Sinners and the Righteous*, 14.

101 Though of course, if the soteriological pattern expressed in Pss. Sol turned out to be that of a group as important as the Pharisees, then so much the better.

102 See references to resurrection in 2.31, 3.12, and probably 13.11, 14.9f, 15.12f.

God is merciful, however, to those who call on him with perseverance. The fact that the reward for the righteous is *eternal*, or everlasting, is evident from 3.11-12:

> The destruction of the sinner is for ever;
> (ἡ ἀπωλεία τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα)
> And God will not remember him when he visits the righteous.
> (καὶ οὐ μνησθήσεται, ὅταν ἐπισκέπτηται δικαίους)
> This is the portion of sinners for ever;
> (αὕτη ἡ μερὶς τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα)
> But they that fear the Lord shall rise to eternal life,
> (οἱ δὲ φοβούμενοι τὸν κύριον ἀναστήσονται εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον)
> And their life shall be life in the light of the Lord and will never come to an end.
> (καὶ ἡ ζωὴ αὐτῶν ἐν φωτὶ κυρίου καὶ οὐκ ἐκλείψει ἔτι)

It is notable how futuristic the language of the reward of the righteous is: it cannot be confined to preservation and blessing in this life but is described in terms of an *inheritance* (also 12.6). Just as the death of the sinner is εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, so the 'rising up' (in the future) of those who fear the Lord will be for everlasting life. References to resurrection life in the Pss. Sol. are plentiful.[102] This life will be of a different quality: not merely an extension of a life which they already have. Moreover, it will be indestructible (καὶ οὐκ ἐκλείψει ἔτι).

Pss. Sol. 9.1-5 describes salvation very clearly in terms of just recompense. This is reminiscent of Tobit and Sirach, although now these concepts are cast in the setting of *final* judgment and an 'age-to-come' eschatology. The Psalm begins by describing the justice of God's judgment, and the impossibility of avoiding repayment from God. This is true because the evil actions of the wicked and the righteous actions of the holy are always watched by God:

> For the one who does wickedness cannot be hidden from your knowledge,
> And the righteous deeds of your holy ones (αἱ δικαιοσύναι τῶν ὁσίων σου)
> are before you, o Lord.
> And where can any man hide from your knowledge, o God? (9.3)

Winninge, following R.B. Wright, mistranslates δικαιοσυναι here, in keeping with his tendency to describe righteousness as status, not behaviour.[103] Holm-Nielsen renders it correctly: δικαιοσυναι cannot mean the ambiguous 'righteousness' but must refer

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102 Winninge, *Sinners and the Righteous*, 132, notes (contributing to his argument for a Pharisaic context for the Psalms) PssSol 2.31, 3.12, 13.11, 14.9f, 15.12f.

103 Winninge, *Sinners and the Righteous*, 73; similarly, Wright, in Charlesworth, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* II, 660.

rather to the concrete deeds which characterize the life of οἱ ὅσιοι.[104] Then comes the interesting statement about the ability of humans to determine their own destiny:[105] the deeds of each person are judged by God in his righteousness.[106] Then the criterion of judgment is described as being the individual's deeds, both for the righteous and the wicked, symmetrically:

> Our works are in the choosing and in the power of our souls
> To do righteousness (τοῦ ποιῆσαι δικαιοσύνην) and unrighteousness in the deeds of our hands.
> And in your righteousness you judge the sons of men. (9.4)
>
> The one who does righteousness stores up life for himself with the Lord,
> (ὁ ποιῶν δικαιοσύνην θησαυρίζει ζωὴν αὐτῷ παρὰ κυρίῳ)
> and the one who does wickedness is the cause of the destruction of his own soul.
> For the judgments of the Lord are in righteousness according to the individual and the household. (9.5)

'The one who does righteousness stores up life for himself' in 9.5, and the converse is true for the one who is wicked. In the exegesis of this passage, Winninge leaps to the defence of Sanders in asserting that 'righteousness by works' cannot be in view.[107] Sanders rightly points out that perfection is not being spoken of here, and that the author can in the very same Psalm speak in definite terms of Israel's election:[108] 'For you have chosen the seed of Abraham above all the nations, and have set your name upon us, o Lord; and you will never cast us off' (9.9). Election language is abundant in Pss. Sol.[109] But as we have seen elsewhere, these concepts can (and must) be held together in the theology of Second-Temple Judaism. Here there is very clear 'treasure in heaven' imagery, where a store is imagined to be situated 'near' God (παρὰ κυρίῳ) 'up' in heaven. This treasure is 'life' (9.5), which in the context of the Pss. Sol. is most likely to be future eternal life at the resurrection. Sanders justifiably opposes Braun, and the view that the Pss. Sol. reflect uncertainty of salvation, love for God as camouflaged self-love, and so forth.[110] But Winninge is wrong to see the views of Sanders and Braun as the

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104 S. Holm-Nielsen, *Psalmen Salomons* (JSHRZ IV/2; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1977) 82. See especially Tobit, *passim*.

105 With Winninge, assuming that Qumran Essenes would not have made the statement in 9.4.

106 Interestingly, as Braun notes, it is only in this Psalm that the reward of the righteous is described as a function of God's righteousness: usually its result is the punishment of the wicked. See H. Braun, 'Von Erbarmen Gottes über den Gerechten. Zur Theologie der Psalmen Salomos', in *Gesammelte Studien zum Neuen Testament* (Tübingen: Mohr, ³1971) 8-69 (36).

107 Winninge, *Sinners and the Righteous*, 74-75.

108 Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 393.

109 See esp. Psalms 7, 11, and 18, where Winninge rightly observes that 'Israel is completely passive here, being the object of the actions of the Lord and his Messiah' (*Sinners and the Righteous*, 123).

110 Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 394.

only two options. In fact, what we have here is probably the clearest expression from Second-Temple times of a symmetrical judgment according to works, leading to salvation or condemnation.

The same eschatological scheme and theology of salvation as reward can be seen in Pss. Sol. 14, where the future life is referred to again as an *inheritance*: οἱ δὲ ὅσιοι κυρίου κληρονομήσουσιν ζωὴν ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ (14.10), 'the holy ones of the Lord *will inherit* life with joy'. Again, the discontinuity is assumed. How will the righteous inherit this life? The righteous are equated with 'those who walk in the righteousness of his commandments, in the Torah' (14.2).[111] Even Winninge here acknowledges, against the general argument of his book, that 'their righteousness is connected with the demands of living according to the Torah'.[112] The Psalmist describes the 'us' in 14.3 as having been instructed by the Lord 'for our life' (εἰς ζωὴν ἡμῶν). Again, as in Baruch, this is unlikely to denote time-during-which: εἰς does not describe duration, but means more like 'unto'.

Lev 18.5 is used here in 14.3 where 'the righteous ones of the Lord will live by it (the Law) forever' (ζήσονται ἐν αὐτῷ εἰς αἰῶνα). Two elements of Lev. 18.5 are present: the future tense of ζήσονται accords with the future description of the inheritance we have just seen. ἐν is usually taken to be locative[113] but could equally be instrumental: the previous line indicates that God gave the Torah εἰς ζωὴν ἡμων. So future life comes ἐν αὐτῷ: it is dependent upon obedience of Torah. εἰς αἰῶνα is also ambiguous: however, since the later part of the Psalm (14.10) assumes the inherited, future character of 'life', this earlier section probably also works within that framework. This runs counter to Dunn's understanding of Pss. Sol. 14.2-3 in terms of a 'way of life', and not of a life yet to be achieved or attained.[114]

Again, Winninge tries to assert here that 'this does not imply righteousness by works, because the mercy of God is basic for their life and salvation'.[115] He refers the reader to Pss. Sol. 15.12f and the relevant page in *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*,[116] but Lev 18.5 is clearly being used here to show that doing Torah is the precondition of future life. The role of works in final vindication cannot be ruled out simply by asserting that the mercy of God is basic for life and salvation: both viewpoints are held simultaneously.

7. Wisdom of Solomon

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111 The righteous one is again defined in terms of his actions in 5.17 (Winninge, *Sinners and the Righteous*, 133: 'righteousness is a positive achievement of the pious Jew'), and 15.4, where the righteous one is ὁ ποιῶν ταῦτα.

112 Winninge, *Sinners and the Righteous*, 119. He leaves vague *how* they are connected, however.

113 As translated by Wright in Charlesworth, ed. *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* II, 663 and taken by Dunn, *Theology of Paul the Apostle*, 153n126.

114 Dunn, *Theology of Paul*, 152-153.

115 Winninge, *Sinners and the Righteous*, 119n75.

116 Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 393.

The Book of Wisdom is an important text for us here, for two principal reasons. First, there is a strong emphasis on the deferral of eschatology. As Harrington puts it: 'The emphasis on immortality is the writer's most original and influential contribution to biblical theology... In this way he deferred the vindication of the righteous to their life after death or to the last judgment.'[117] Secondly, there is a strong note of reward theology, which is where our focus will lie here.

The book may well have an Alexandrian provenance,[118] but in view of the well-known common ground between traditions in *Wisdom* and Paul (especially in Rom. 1.18-32)[119] this does not mean that the book can be dismissed as a diaspora irrelevance, as we saw in the Introduction. Furthermore, Grelot and Georgi note the striking similarities between parts of *Wisdom* and 1 Enoch. Grelot goes so far as to suppose literary dependence[120] and the presence (as in 1 En. 96f) of resurrection of the soul in *Wisdom*,[121] and Georgi is persuaded to push the book to an earlier date, and nearer to Palestine than is customary among scholars.[122]

Vital to the soteriology and reward theology of the book is a three-part historical schema:

> ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἔκτισεν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐπ' ἀφθαρσίᾳ
> καὶ εἰκόνα τῆς ἰδίας ἀιδιότητος ἐποίησεν αὐτόν;
> φθόνῳ δὲ διαβόλου θάνατος εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον,
> πειράζουσιν δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ τῆς ἐκείνου μερίδος ὄντες. (2.23-24)

This passage shows the first two components: that humanity is created as immortal, and secondly, that death entered through a trick of Satan. The third component is that the solution to, and reversal of, this state of death is holiness. And this holiness consists in keeping of Torah (expressed here as the commandments of wisdom):

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117 Harrington, *Invitation to the Apocrypha*, 75. See also Di Lella's comparison of the approaches of Sirach and Wis. Sol. to the question of eschatology in 'Conservative and Progressive Theology: Sirach and Wisdom', *CBQ* 28 (1966) 139-154. The precise nature of the immortality is left open here. It is not directly related to my argument whether there is no explicit language of resurrection (see M.-J. Lagrange, 'Le Livre de Sagesse, sa doctrine des fins dernières', *RevB* 4 [1907] 85-104), a spiritual resurrection (thus P. Grelot, 'L'Eschatologie de la Sagesse et les Apocalypses Juives' in Bibliothèque de la Faculté Catholique de Théologie de Lyon, eds. *À la Rencontre de Dieu. FS A. Gelin* [Le Puy: Xavier Mappus, 1961] 165-178), or a bodily resurrection (thus P. Beauchamp, 'Le Salut corporel des justes et la conclusion du livre de la Sagesse', *Bib* 45 [1964] 491-526).

118 According to Hübner's introduction, only Dieter Georgi differs from the consensus view in opting for a Syrian provenance. See Hübner, *Die Weisheit Salomons*, 19.

119 Almost all modern commentators admit that the common ground is considerable.

120 Grelot, 'L'Eschatologie de la Sagesse' , 169: 'Le parallelisme est tel qu'on peut poser la question d'un emprunt'.

121 Grelot, 'L'Eschatologie de la Sagesse', 174.

122 D. Georgi, *Weisheit Salomons* (JHSRZ III/4; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1980) 395-397.

ἀγάπη δὲ τήρησις νόμων αὐτῆς,
προσοχὴ δὲ νόμων βεβαίωσις ἀφθαρσίας. (6.18)

As Lagrange puts it: 'l'auteur emploie le raisonnement, dans son célèbre sorite [6.17-20], l'incorruptibilité dépend du désir de la Sagesse. Le commencement de la sagesse est un très sincère désir de s'en instruire; avoir le souci de l'instruction, c'est déjà l'aimer; l'aimer c'est observer les lois; l'attachement à ses lois, c'est l'assurance de l'immortalité... l'immortalité approche de Dieu: donc le désir de la Sagesse conduit à la royauté'.[123]

So, immortality is the destiny of righteous (3.1, 4.1, 4.7, 8.13, 8.17, 12.1). As Reese notes, immortality is not an intrinsic quality of the soul, but is rather a gift bestowed by God. It lies (at least since the fall) in the future.[124] This is where Lagrange goes astray, in thinking that righteousness is the way to 'stay in' an already-granted immortality: 'L'immortalité est donc la récompense des justes, ou plutôt la justice leur conserve l'immortalité que Dieu avait en vue dans la création, car Dieu a créé l'homme pour immortalité'.[125] Two points are in order here. First, ἐπὶ with the dative is much more likely to be descriptive of the state in which humanity stood in creation in 2.23, rather than defining the goal. That is, the ἐπὶ is not *prospective*. So God created humanity *as* immortal, not specifically *for* immortality (at least in this verse). Second, and more importantly, Lagrange has neglected the 'fall' as it is portrayed in Wisdom: that death entered the world through Satan's deception (2.24). This, as we have seen, follows straight on from the author's depiction of the creation of humanity as immortal (in 2.23). So righteousness in the present does not maintain an already natural 'immortality'.

Moreover, the immortality to come is not merely determined by God's grace; rather the language of reward for works is very prominent:

Δίκαιοι δὲ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ζῶσιν,
καὶ ἐν κυρίῳ ὁ μισθος αὐτῶν,
καὶ ἡ φροντὶς αὐτων παρὰ ὑψιστῷ. (5.15)

Here, the prophecy first (5.15) places in parallel three eschatological realities - eternal life, reward in the Lord, and devotion to the Most High. The first of these is unproblematic in the context of the book's repeated emphasis on immortality for the righteous. The third is

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123 Lagrange, 'Le Livre de Sagesse, sa doctrine des fins dernières', 94.

124 J.M. Reese, *Hellenistic Influence on the Book of Wisdom* (Rome: Biblical Institute, 1970) 62: 'the sage does not look upon immortality as a metaphysical entity. For him, it is not the inherent indestructibility of the soul, as Platonic tradition conceived it, but rather a state of eternal, blessed communion with God and his saints'. Again, 'it always designates something that happens to man... not a quality of his nature as such, but of a particular condition, whether he receives it as a gift, or as a recompense' (64).

125 Lagrange, 'Le Livre de Sagesse, sa doctrine des fins dernières', 94.

grammatically difficult because of the possibility of an objective genitive.[127] But the second, most important for the argument here, leaves open the exact nature of the reward. The referent might be the eternal life, to which it is parallel, or it might, as Hübner also notes, be God himself, as might be implied by the phrase ἐν κυρίῳ ὁ μίσθος αὐτῶν.[128] In fact, Hübner combines these two possibilities: 'Das ewige Leben der Gerechten ist nach 15b Lohn für ihr so standhaft gewesenes irdisches Leben. Besteht nun dieser Lohn „im Herrn", so läßt sich diese Aussage zuspitzen: Gott *ist* ihr Lohn. Für die Gerechten wird Gott in alle Ewigkeit *ihr* Gott sein.'[129] In any case, whether one or another or both, there is a clear description of eschatological salvation as reward, μίσθος.

Verse 16 expands on this, providing richer imagery with more rhetorical power, and theological depth:

> διὰ τοῦτο λήμψονται τὸ βασίλειον τῆς εὐπρεπείας
> καὶ τὸ διάδημα τοῦ κάλλους ἐκ χειρὸς κυρίου,
> ὅτι τῇ δεξιᾷ σκεπάσει αὐτοὺς
> καὶ τῷ βραχίονι ὑπερασπιεῖ αὐτῶν. (5.16)

The righteous will at this time receive the Kingdom of God, and not just in the sense of 'entering' it;[130] rather they receive it as co-regents with God, as in Dan 7. The crown is not a στέφανος awarded for the winning of a race (as in, say, 1 Cor 9.25 and 2 Tim 2.5 where the race and the crown have their eschatological analogy),[131] but rather a διάδημα, the symbol of royal power.

By contrast, the wicked do not understand the 'reward for holiness':[132]

> καὶ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν μυστήρια θεοῦ
> οὐδὲ μισθὸν ἤλπισαν ὁσιότητος,
> οὐδὲ ἔκριναν γέρας ψυχῶν ἀμώμων. (2.22)

They are ignorant of the mysteries of God (that God has created humanity for

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[127] Hübner (*Weisheit Salomons*, 75) offers the choice of a subjective ('Und ebenso beim Höchsten das, worum es ihnen letzlich geht') or an objective genitive ('Und beim Höchsten die Sorge für Sie') here. I prefer the subjective reading.

[128] Cf the same ambiguity in Gen 15.1.

[129] Hübner, *Weisheit Salomons*, 77.

[130] As is so common in the Gospels and Acts: Mt 5.20, 7.21, 18.3, 19.23-24, 23.13; Mk 9.47, 10:15, 23-25; Lk 18.17, 24-25; Jn 3.5; Ac 14.22.

[131] In a number of other places, στέφανος is used as eschatological reward (2 Tim 4.8, Jas 1.12, 1 Pet 5.4, Rev 2.10, 3.11), though not explicitly as the prize in a race. It could also, in a political context, be a civic award, as Josephus mentions in *contra Apionem* II 217-218, comparing Graeco-Roman civic awards unfavourably with God's reward of salvation (see below).

[132] Or, they do not know that there is one. Thus W. Werner, '„Denn Gerechtigkeit ist unsterblich". Schöpfung, Tod und Unvergänglichkeit nach Weish. 1,11-15 und 2,21-24' in G. Hentschel, E. Zeuger, eds. *Lehrerin der Gerechtigkeit* (Leipzig: Benno Verlag, 1991) 59.

immortality: see above on 2.22),[132] and because they do not understand their createdness and their destiny, they cannot see that the result of being holy is eschatological reward or prize. 'En effet, les justes ont raison d'attendre une rémunération our la saintété, un récompense pur les âmes pures (II,22bc).'[133] As Hübner paraphrases the summary of the book that comes in 1.15, that 'righteousness is immortal': 'Wer die unsterbliche Gerechtigkeit übt, ist (so ist die Rede von der Unsterblichkeit der Gerechtigkeit zu interpretieren) als Gerechter unsterblich'.[134]

This is not to say that works-righteousness is the primary model of soteriology in the book. As we have seen elsewhere, there is a tension at work, a double-sided soteriology. In *Wisdom*, however, the tension is not between election and works being decisive for final judgment, but rather between the language of *gift* and works. As has long been noted, immortality is presented to humans as a grace in 3.5-9 and 4.10-15 and as a reward in 2.22, 3.13-15, 5.15.[135] 3.14 is particularly interesting in its combination of works and election:

> And the eunuch, who has done nothing lawless with his hands,
> And has conceived no evil thoughts against God:
> For his faithfulness, God will give him the grace which is in his choosing.

Here 'faithfulness to God'[136] on the human side is balanced with God's choosing: both are the basis of the reward which the eunuch receives. Reward is considered to be something gracious, and granted by God's free choice.[137] As Reese puts it: 'On the one hand, man needs justice and personal virtue. But on the other hand, immortality is a gift of divine wisdom'.[138]

8. Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs

Introductory questions about the Testaments are widely acknowledged to be very difficult. All that is generally agreed is that the book was written in Greek, probably outside of Palestine.[139] Some are sceptical about the amount of pre-Christian Jewish

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132 Lagrange, 'Le Livre de Sagesse. Sa Doctrine des Fins Dernières', 93: 'Ce mystère de Dieu est celui de l'autre vie, des récompenses des justes et des châtiments des pécheurs'.

133 Grelot, 'L'Eschatologie de la Sagesse', 168.

134 Hübner, *Weisheit Salomons*, 36.

135 First, H. Bückers, *Die Unsterblichkeitslehre des Weisheitsbuches: ihr Ursprung und ihre Bedeutung* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1938), cited in Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 64n149. Also, see C. Larcher, *Le Livre de la Sagesse ou la Sagesse de Salomon* (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1983) I, 265.

136 As Hübner notes here, πίστις is not merely faith, but faithfulness (*Weisheit Salomons*, 57).

137 Lagrange is probably correct to define χάρις here as 'récompense gracieuse'. Compare Carson's definition of grace in some Jewish literature as God's kind response to works, rather than his grace in defiance of lack of works (*Divine Sovereignty and Human Responsibility*, 69).

138 Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 143.

139 See, among others, Kee, in Charlesworth ed., *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 776-778.

material in the book, but it is generally agreed that most of the work was composed in the Second/ First Century BCE.

The eschatology of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs has been much discussed, but the focus has very much been on the pattern of sin-exile-restoration, and messianic expectation, rather than the topics of resurrection and final judgment which will be looked at here. The nature of the expectation is sometimes that of a historical end to exile, sometimes of a universal resurrection to judgment, and sometimes a mixture of the two.[140] There is significant variety in the presentation of future hope, and often different pictures are combined in the same sentence. Hultgård demonstrates particularly effectively, however, that the co-existence of different eschatological models does not entail numerous layers of redaction.[141]

The Testaments are dominated by ethics: Hollander and de Jonge maintain, for example, that 'the Testaments have to be regarded as a collection of exhortatory writings, and the ethical sections form the centre of the individual testaments'.[142] These moral concerns are cast both in traditional biblical language, but also in the language of Hellenistic ethics, though as Slingerland argues, this neither diminishes the importance of the law, nor does it eliminate the aspects of circumcision and *kashrut* as part of the law, even though the moral aspects may come to the fore.[143] Furthermore, righteousness consists in obedience to the law: '... hold fast to the righteousness of the law of the Lord' (T. Dan 6.10) and '... in order to do righteousness and all of the law of the Most High' (T. Gad 3.1).[144] T. Gad 4.7 describes a kind of cosmic dualism which is the context for the specific role of the law:

> τὸ γὰρ πνεῦμα τοῦ μίσους διὰ τῆς ὀλιγοψυχίας συνεργεῖ τῷ Σατανᾷ ἐν πᾶσιν εἰς θάνατον τῶν ἀνθρώπων· τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀγάπης ἐν μακροθυμίᾳ συνεργεῖ τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς σωτηρίαν ἀνθρώπων.

Here the νόμος is part of the solution to the problem of how evil is to be dealt with, as is the case in *Wisdom*, though the difference is that here it is explained in existential terms, rather than the 'salvation-historical' terms in which it appears in Wis 2.23-24. Here in T. Gad, the Law in the second half of the couplet is the counterpart to 'Satan' in the first half. This verse fits well with Boccaccini's analysis of the anthropology of the Testaments, where humanity is not described as under the power of an evil originating

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140 On 'sin-exile-return' , and expectations about Levi and Judah in 56-61, see H.W. Hollander & M. de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. A Commentary* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1985) 53-56.

141 A. Hultgård, *L'Eschatologie des Testaments des Douze Patriarches. 1 Interprétation des Textes* (Uppsala: Almquist & Wiksell, 1977) esp. 265 (but *passim* 230-268).

142 Hollander & de Jonge, *Commentary*, 41.

143 Slingerland, 'The Nature of *Nomos* (Law) within the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*', *JBL* 105 (1986) 39-48.

144 See Slingerland, 'Nature of *Nomos*', 44-45. In my view, de Jonge further 'generalises' the ethical injunctions in his consistent translation of 'ποιεῖν δικαιοσύνην' with 'do what is right' in Sparks, ed. *The Apocryphal Old Testament*, 505-600.

with fallen angels; rather human responsibility is equally important (see e.g. T. Iss. 7.7; T. Reu. 5.6-7; T. Benj. 3.4).[146] So the contrast in this verse is between humanity in co-operation with Satan (rather than under his power) and humanity 'in co-operation with' the νόμος τοῦ θεοῦ.[147] Slingerland argues convincingly that this νόμος is not a general principle (*contra* de Jonge) nor a Stoic understanding of natural law (*contra* Kee), but rather 'a specific body of written material to be read, studied, and taught'.[148] And the final sentence here - τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀγάπης ἐν μακροθυμίᾳ συνεργεῖ τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς σωτηρίαν ἀνθρώπων - is obviously important for our theme. We can see that perseverance in love (the parallel of the πνεῦμα τῆς ἀγάπης with the πνεῦμα τοῦ μίσους shows that it is anthropological *pneumata* with which we are dealing here) works together with (συνεργεῖ) the Law of God, and crucially, the result is salvation: εἰς σωτηρίαν ἀνθρώπων.

The ethical concerns of the book(s) are widely acknowledged to be fundamentally eschatological in orientation: 'In all the Testaments, the exhortatory section is, in one form or another, connected with a prediction concerning the future of the tribe or the patriarch'.[149] Elsewhere however, Hollander and de Jonge note that the *nature* of the connection is different in different books.[150] The aim here is to show evidence for (resurrection to) eternal life on the basis of works in the Testaments, which contain some of the strongest language in the Second-Temple literature about the relationship between Torah observance and eternal life.[151]

8.1 T. Judah 24-26

The final section of T. Judah, chapters 24-26, is a good example of a combination of historical and individualistic post-mortem eschatologies. As Hultgård notes, there is an appearance of the Davidic Messiah in 24.4-6, then the resurrection of the patriarchs to rule Israel (25.1-2), the destruction of evil (there will be no more sin because Beliar will be thrown into eternal fire in 25.3), and then the resurrection of the righteous (25.4). 'On

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146 See Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis*, 141-142.

147 This law is the commandments of the patriarchs which had been handed down. In particular, 'Enoch is the great authority of the past for the sons of Jacob, who, for obvious reasons, are not able to quote from the Law of Moses': Hollander & de Jonge, *Commentary*, 40. Slingerland notices one hiccup: 'with the exception of one slip (*T. Sim.* 9:1 [though *T. Zeb.* 3:4 also in MSS c h i j]) the writers avoid referring to Moses or to the giving of the law at Sinai' ('The Nature of *Nomos*', 41).

148 Slingerland, 'The Nature of *Nomos*', 43. See 42 for the disagreement with de Jonge and Kee.

149 Hollander & de Jonge, *Commentary*, 31; also 46 where they give the specific examples of T. Jud. 26.1, T. Dan 6.10, T. Jos. 19.6.

150 Hollander & de Jonge, *Commentary*, 51.

151 Aims to determine the most 'original' eschatology and what constitutes the eschatology of the later redaction seems to me to be fraught with difficulty. Hultgård's assertion, for example, that in the earliest stage, what is important is the expectation of divine intervention rather than the coming of a particular figure seems somewhat speculative. See Hollander & de Jonge, *Commentary*, 6.

voit donc que Juda 25.1-5 est une péricope, composée de plusieurs thèmes eschatologiques'.[151] The final element, the resurrection of the righteous, is striking:

> καὶ οἱ ἐν λύπῃ τελευτήσαντες, ἀναστήσονται ἐν χαρᾷ,
> καὶ οἱ ἐν πτωχείᾳ διὰ Κύριον πλουτισθήσονται,
> καὶ οἱ ἐν πενίᾳ χορτασθήσονται,
> καὶ οἱ ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ ἰσχύσουσι,
> καὶ οἱ διὰ Κύριον ἀποθανόντες ἐξυπνισθήσονται ἐν ζωῇ. (25.4)

The resurrection brings a reversal of fortunes: poverty to riches, lack to fulness, weakness to strength, all bracketed within the inclusio of resurrection in the first ('they will rise in joy') and fifth ('they will be awakened in life') lines. Death for the sake of the Lord is recompensed with life, as it is in 2 Macc 7. Immediately following this, however, comes the ethical implication in 26.1: 'Observe the whole Law of the Lord, therefore, my children, because there is hope for all who pursue its/his way' (φυλάξατε οὖν, τέκνα μου, πάντα νόμον Κυρίου, ὅτι ἐστὶν ἐλπὶς πᾶσι τοῖς κατευθύνουσι τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ). The hope, in the context, must refer to the eschatological hope of reward of future, post-mortem life (ἐξυπνισθήσονται). As de Jonge & Hollander note, 'there is a connection here with 25.4-5'.[152]

8.2 T. Levi 13

The Testament of Levi, similarly, combines eschatological expectation with its implications for present behaviour. Again, there will be a reversal of fortunes, in the shape of poetic justice:

> ποιήσατε δικαιοσύνην, τέκνα μου, ἐπι τῆς γῆς,
> ἵνα εὕρητε ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς·
> καὶ σπείρετε ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν ἀγαθὰ,
> ἵνα εὕρητε αὐτὰ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ ὑμῶν. (13.5-6)

What each person will be given in the future life is a mirror image of their deeds on earth. There is a clear distinction between present and future life here: the antithetical parallelism contrasts ἐπι τῆς γῆς with ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς (13.5), and, rather more unusually, ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς with ἐν τῇ ζωῇ (13.6). This refers to a contrast between the earthly soul, or ψυχή, which, as in 1 Cor. 15.45-46 is the important 'sphere' of this age, and the

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151 Hultgård, *L'Eschatologie des Testaments*, 243. Hultgård shows nicely how the author combines various different eschatological images into a unity (243-245).
152 Hollander, de Jonge, *Commentary*, 231.

eschatological sphere of ζωή which is a feature of the age to come.[154] The parallelism breaks down if 'life' is not taken to be futuristic (as it was in T. Jud. 25.4). And the means to this future life is, unsurprisingly, doing righteousness, or laying up good things in one's soul. In the context of T. Levi 13, this 'doing righteousness' is obeying the law and teaching it to others.[155]

8.3 T. Asher 5-6

In his Testament, Asher tells his children that in everything there are two opposing factors, 'one against the other, one concealed in the other' (ἓν κατέναντι τοῦ ἑνος, καὶ ἓν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑνὸς κέκρυπται) in 5.1. Life, glory, day and light are all followed ineluctably by death, dishonour, night and dark. But, in 5.2, 'all these things lead ultimately to day: as righteous actions are under life, since eternal life waits for death' (καὶ ὑπὸ ζωὴν τὰ δικαία· διὸ καὶ τὸν θάνατον ἡ αἰώνιος ζωή ἀναμένει).[156] The first part of the sentence is very difficult to interpret, but the implication of the last clause is clear: eternal life begins *after* death. It is certainly not a present reality, but probably is not - in this instance - part of a universal eschatological setting either.[157] Then comes Asher's boast of having lived entirely in accordance with the commandments (to be discussed in the next chapter) which is the basis of the parenesis in chapter 6. This parenesis consists in injunctions to keep the commandments (6.1-3) which has further grounding in the two-ways eschatology in 6.4-6:

> ὅτι τὰ τέλη τῶν ἀνθρώπων δείκνυσι τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτῶν, γνωρίζοντες τοῦς ἀγγέλους κυρίου καὶ τοῦ σατανᾶ. ἐὰν γὰρ τεταραγμένη ἡ ψυχὴ ἀπέχεται, βασανίζεται ὑπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ πνεύματος, οὗ καὶ ἐδούλευσεν ἐν ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ ἔργοις πονηροῖς. ἐὰν δὲ ἡσύχως ἐν χαρᾷ, ἐγνώρισε τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς εἰρήνης, <ὃς> παρακαλέσει αὐτὸν ἐν ζωῇ.

Here we see, again, the fact that judgment takes place on the basis of righteousness, and

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[154] Contra Hollander, de Jonge, *Commentary*, 166: 'probably not "life with God", but life on earth'. This is a false dichotomy: the future, eternal life is not necessarily a disembodied, ethereal existence, but life in the Messianic, patriarchal kingdom *on the renewed earth* after evil has been eradicated, and final judgment effected. As Hultgård puts it, 'il est vraisemblable que la résurrection se situe sur la terre et non dans les cieux' (*L'Eschatologie*, 260).

[155] 13.1: '...live in sincerity in accordance with all his law' (de Jonge); 13.2: teaching it to children; 13.3-4: knowing the law is a benefit wherever you go.

[156] 'Since eternal life wards off death' in Charlesworth, ed. *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* I, 818, is a mistranslation: ἀναμενεῖν is more likely to mean 'wait for' (cf. 1 Thess 1.10). De Jonge glosses the phrase correctly as 'eternal life has to wait for death' (in Sparks, ed. *Apocryphal Old Testament*, 580).

[157] Thus Hultgård: 'On trouve dans le Testament d'Aser deux passages qui abordent le thème d'une vie après la mort, mais dans un contexte qui n'est pas eschatologique' (*L'Eschatologie*, 261).

that eternal life is a reality to be given by the angel in the future. Interestingly, similar language was used in Sirach, where the manner of one's death gave an indication of the direction of one's life. Here, however, τὰ τέλη have a post mortem, ongoing sense.

8.4 T. Joseph 18.1

A large part of Joseph's testimony comes in the form of his claim to obedience, which, again, is the basis of the parenesis at the end of the book. (Chapters 19-20 consist of Joseph's prophetic visions of the future and his instructions for his own burial.) But the ethical maxim which Joseph finally pronounces is important for the eschatological ideas it reflects:

> Ἐὰν οὖν καὶ ὑμεῖς πορευθῆτε ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς Κυρίου, τέκνα μου, ὑψώσει ὑμᾶς ἐνταῦθα, καὶ εὐλογήσει ἐν ἀγαθοῖς εἰς αἰῶνας. (T. Jos 18.1)

Thus, according to de Jonge's translation, obedience to the commandments leads to the Lord raising up the doer both 'here' (ἐνταῦθα), and 'for ever' (εἰς αἰῶνας).[157]

8.5 Final Judgment in T. Ben. 10.1-11 and T. Zeb. 10.1-3

These statements need to be set in the context of the final judgment. In T. Ben., Enoch, Noah and Shem, then Abraham, Isaac and Jacob will be resurrected at the eschaton, followed by the twelve patriarchs. Then there is a statement of universal resurrection (similar to Daniel 12.1-2) which probably refers to Israel and the nations, and not just Israel.[158] Some are raised to glory, some to disgrace (10.8). The account in T. Zeb. (though it has some Christian interpolation) is particularly strong in the way it expresses obedience and disobedience as determinative of one's destiny, rather than election:

> ἀναστήσομαι γὰρ πάλιν ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν ὡς ἡγούμενος ἐν μέσῳ υἱῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ εὐφρανήσομαι ἐν μέσῳ τῆς φυλῆς μου, ὅσοι ἐφύλαξαν νόμον κυρίου καὶ ἐντολὰς Ζαβουλὼν πατρὸς αὐτῶν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦς ἀσεβεῖς ἐπάξει κύριος πῦρ αἰώνιον, καὶ ἀπολέσει αὐτοὺς ἕως γενεῶν. (T. Zeb. 10.1-3)

Here, the reference is clearly to the 'ungodly' as those members of the tribe who do not obey the commandments, in contrast to those of the tribe who have kept the Law, who will be saved.

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157 In Sparks, ed. *Apocryphal Old Testament*, 592.

158 Contra Hultgård, *L'Eschatologie*, 260. The language is too universalistic to indicate a resurrection of Israel: as de Jonge puts it: 'Then, too, all men will rise, some to glory and some to disgrace'.

The individual judgment which takes place in these passages makes comprehensible the various images of salvation as reward. The Testaments of Gad and Asher reflect a 'two-ways' eschatology whereas in T. Gad the human spirit of love works together with the law for salvation, and in T. Ash. the final judgment reveals the righteousness of the person. The Testaments of Levi and Judah on the other hand reveal a more martyrological structure where giving up life is rewarded with life, and observance of the law is hope for the future. The Testament of Joseph gives the most pithy formulation of a bifurcation of the ages, where obedience to the commandments leads both to exaltation in this world and for all eternity.

9. Pseudo-Philo

The Biblical Antiquities, a rewriting of large parts of the Hebrew Bible, is usually considered to be from 'the milieu of the Palestinian synagogues at the turn of the common era'.[160] Near the end of the work, Saul persuades the witch of Endor to raise up Samuel, who then appears as a divine being (*deus*, 64.6), accompanied by two angels. But Samuel himself is enraged to have been disturbed; he thought that the time had come for him to receive the reward for his works:

> Et dixit ad eum Samuel: Ut quid me inquietasti, ut elevares me? Putavi quod appropinquasset tempus reddendi merces operum meorum. (64.7)

Because of the book's provenance, this attitude that the day of judgment was the time when one would receive the reward for their works was probably quite common, and considered 'orthodox' by many. We shall see later that Josephus certainly thought that was the case.

The more important passage from Pseudo-Philo, however, comes in Chapter 3. The context is God's promise to Noah that he will never again destroy the living creatures in the world (3.9). He will however, punish them for their sin, and when the end of the age comes, there will be a final judgment:

> But when the years of the world will be complete, then the light will cease and the darkness will be extinguished, and I will bring the dead to life and raise up from the earth those who are sleeping. The underworld will pay back its debt, and the place of perdition will return its deposit so that I will render to each according to his works and according to the fruits of his own deeds, until I judge between soul and flesh. (3.10)

Yinger misunderstands this passage in seeing it as merely referring to the punishment of the wicked (following Harrington's OTP translation).[161] However, to understand Sheol

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160 Harrington, in Charlesworth, ed. *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* II, 300.

161 Yinger, *Paul, Judaism, and Judgment according to Deeds*, 80. Harrington, in Charlesworth, ed. *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* II, 307.

repaying its debt as referring to the judgment of the wicked only is very problematic. Yinger also sees resurrection here as only for the righteous. But Jacobson, in his *magnum opus* on Pseudo-Philo, is more correct in his description of the eschatology here: 'After a set period of time, the regular phenomenon of nature will cease. At that point God will resurrect all the dead and judge them according to their deserts...'.[162] Resurrection, Jacobson deduces, is not a reward, but an intermediate state for *all*. Afterwards, 'punishment and reward are then allotted by God'.[163] The language of 3.10 is simply too all-encompassing to refer simply to the wicked. Yinger is led in the wrong direction by Harrington's translation of the Latin word *adinuentiones* as 'devices'.[164] But the word need not be negative: in the places where it occurs in the Vulgate (it is actually very rare) it is generally a translation of the Greek ἐπιτήδευμα (in Jdg 2.19; Isa 3.8), which is wholly neutral. ἐπιτήδευμα in turn could be a translation of any number of Hebrew words.[165] Jacobson is probably correct to render *adinuentiones* simply as 'deeds'.[166] So he concludes that here Ps 62.13 is being used in the soteriological sense, as in Matt 16.23.[167]

10. 2 (Slavonic) Enoch

The traditions recorded in the Slavonic Enoch have both elements in common with, and points of difference from those in 1 Enoch.[168] On the one hand, the 'heavenly books' are the basis for final judgment (44.5) and judgment according to deeds is widely asserted. On the other hand, there is a considerably developed notion of 'poetic justice': this is not simply 'an eye for eye', but is developed with a great deal of sophistication. Treating one's neighbour in a certain way is, because of their possession of the *imago Dei*, tantamount to treating God the same way:

> The Lord with his own two hands created mankind; and in a facsimile of his own face. Small and great the Lord created. Whoever insults a person's face insults the face of the Lord; whoever treats a person's face with repugnance treats the face of the Lord with repugnance. Whoever treats with contempt the face of any person treats the face of the Lord with contempt. (44.1-2)

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162 Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's* Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum, 327.

163 Jacobson, *Commentary*, 327.

164 Yinger, *Paul, Judaism, and Judgment according to Deeds*, 81: 3.10 'more likely has reference only to the punishment of the wicked, since the phrase "fruits of his own desires" hints at evil deeds'.

165 See Hatch-Redpath *ad* ἐπιτήδευμα.

166 Jacobson is, however, attempting a translation of the Hebrew original, not the extant Latin text.

167 Jacobson, *Commentary*, 324.

168 2 Enoch is generally supposed to date from the First Century, but is of unknown provenance. See discussion by Andersen, in Charlesworth, ed. *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* I, 91-94.

This Apocalypse highlights the soteriological character of deeds when they are noted down in the Heavenly Tablets. Zephaniah sees two angels who 'write down all the good deeds of the righteous upon their manuscript as they watch at the gate of heaven. And I take them from their hands and bring them up before the Lord Almighty; he writes their name in the Book of the Living' (3.6-7). There are also the corresponding (presumably *two*) angels who tell the accuser about all the sins of men. Then *the accuser* writes them down and uses them as evidence. Chapter 10 gives three examples of this: describing in grim detail the respective punishments for those who accepted bribes (10.3-5), or who lent money at compound interest (10.6-7), or who heard the word of God but did not do obey it (10.8-10). In Chapter 7.1-8, Zephaniah is shown the manuscript with all his sins written down: 'if I did not go to visit a sick man or widow, I found it written down as a short-coming upon my manuscript', etc. Then, another manuscript is unrolled before Zephaniah, presumably containing his good deeds, but here our manuscript breaks off, and there are two pages missing.

It is interesting to note the *asymmetry* here. There is no weighing of good deeds and evil deeds for all. Only the righteous have good deeds in the book, but the list of sins is *universal*. The sinner has no stock of good deeds, but is punished for his sins, whereas the righteous have their sins blotted out and are saved on the basis of their righteous actions. What we see here is a classic case both of what Sanders affirms (probably) and of what he denies. Here, as Sanders would affirm, there is no sharp distinction between election and reward according to works. But the emphasis here is certainly on the value of the works, and their *soteriological* function: they move God to write the names of the doers in the Book of Life.

12. Testament of Job

The Testament of Job is a Greek work which shows the influence of LXX Job, by all accounts originating from Egypt, and most likely, Alexandria.[170] It has been suspected that the book was written by a group such as the *Therapeutai*, and the work interests us here because of its concern with eschatology. The focus on works and resurrection gradually develops more and more starkly in the transition from the Hebrew Job to LXX Job to T. Job, which is generally dated to the First Century CE.

An excellent study of the imagery, which relates indirectly to the theme of salvation as reward, has already been done by C. Haas.[171] He notes how, throughout T. Job, the three principal terms used in connection with Job's perseverance (ὑπομένω, καρτερία, μακροθυμέω) occupy similar semantic territory, but are used with different imagery in mind. ὑπομένω apparently refers to a strong determination to resist one's enemy *in battle*,[172] and thus, Job's reward is - as it is for the war-heroes in the early

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170 See Spittler in Charlesworth, ed. *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* I, 833-834.

171 C. Haas, 'Job's Perseverance in the Testament of Job', in M.A. Knibb, P.W. van der Horst, eds. *Studies in the Testament of Job* (Cambridge: CUP, 1989) 117-154.

172 Haas, 'Job's Perseverance', 118-119. The battle, as Haas notes, is against Satan (123).

Then the book reiterates the principle of judgment according to the deeds written down in the heavenly books:

> Because on the day of the great judgment every deed of mankind will be restored by means of the written record. Happy is he whose measure will prove to be just and whose weight just and scales just! Because on the day of judgment every measure and every weight and every scale will be exposed as in the market; and each one will recognize his measure, and according to measure, each shall receive his reward. (44.5)

The outworking of this is that God repays each person in a form which is very similar form to the deed being judged:

> He who is prompt with his oblations before the Lord, the Lord will be prompt with his compensations. How who makes lamps numerous in front of the face of the Lord, the Lord will make his treasure stores numerous. (45.1-2)

> Do not diminish the sacrifice of your salvation, and the Lord will not diminish the work of your hands. Do not be ungenerous with the Lord's gifts; the Lord will not be ungenerous with his donations in your storehouses. (2.2)

So there is a considerably more developed theology of reward and punishment in 2 Enoch than in the earlier Enochic material, or than in most Second-Temple literature generally. (The rewards here, however, might be confined to rewards *within* eternal life). There is also a pronounced emphasis, in keeping with the other Enochic material, on the future character of the reward and the life to come: Enoch's children are exhorted to 'live in patience and meekness... so that you may inherit the endless age that is coming' (50.2). The treasure that is the reward for righteousness comes 'on the day of judgment' (50.5) and similarly, the reward for enduring affliction (51.3). The reward is an 'inheritance' (53.1). 66.6 speaks of going out 'from this age of suffering', and becoming inheritors of the never-ending age (Recension J).

11. Apocalypse of Zephaniah

Wintermute dates the fragments of this Apocalypse to the First Century BCE, but is much less decisive about provenance.[169] He favours Egypt, but has for some reason rejected Palestine as a possible provenance because the book was probably composed originally in Greek. Nevertheless, there are no features of this text which seem out of place in a trajectory which begins with 1 Enoch and Jubilees. The book is a tour of Heaven and Hell. 'Its special interest lies in the fact that it seems to depict an apocalyptic seer following the path of a dead person through the other world.'[170]

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169 Wintermute in Charlesworth, ed. *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* I, 500-501.
170 R. Bauckham, *The Fate of the Dead* (Leiden: Brill, 1998) 91.

chapters of 1 Maccabees - renown in battle.[173] There is also a heightening of the reward imagery by comparison with the LXX.[174]

καρτερία on the other hand is 'perseverance as stubbornness or toughness', particularly in the context of the *pankration*, the man-to-man fight in the arena. Job is the athlete wrestling his opponent, Satan.[175] This naturally carries with it a prize for the winner:[176]

> In 4.9 we are told that Job will be raised up to take part in the resurrection (cf. 53.8 MS V) and will then receive the crown, the prize for the winner in the *pancration*. So in addition to the earthly reward, connected with the battle with Satan, he will receive a heavenly one... Also in 18.5 one reads about a reward for Job as one for the winner in the match in the arena. Here the word 'crown' is not mentioned, but the passage refers to the 'panegyrics' (ἐγκώμια) with which the crown is presented.[177]

The fascinating literary observation that Haas makes is that the image of the battle where Job displays his ὑπομονή, and the image of the pankration where Job exhibits καρτερία, *invariably follow one another*. He notes 4.4-8 and 4.9-11, 27.1-2 and 27.3-5, as well as 18.5. They are obviously 'closely connected', and are both ways of describing the meaning of perseverance in suffering,[178] as well as the reward that accompanies it. T. Job 18.5 combines the imagery of the battle through which Job must pass, and the speeches in his honour which await him (μνησθεὶς μάλιστα τοῦ προσημανθέντος μοι πολέμου ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου διὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου αὐτοῦ και <τῶν> ἐγκωμίων τῶν λαληθέντων μοι). T. Job 27.1-5 combines battle language (πολεμήσον, 27.2) with the image of Job defeating Satan through his καρτερία in the wrestling match (27.5-7).

The place where the battle, the *pankration*, Job's perseverance, judgment according to deeds, the resurrection and Job's prize of salvation all come to explicit expression is in 4.4-11. Verses 4-5 are noteworthy because they change the character of the Job narrative. In the canonical Job, Job does not understand why his afflictions have come upon him, whereas in T. Job, God informs Job that he will be the victim of an attack from Satan (ἀναστησεταί σοι μετὰ ὀργῆς εἰς πόλεμον), who has

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173 Haas also cites a number of Jewish and Early Christian texts where there is a conjunction of battle imagery with ὑπομονή (138-142).

174 Haas, 'Job's Perseverance', 121: 'Here, however, it receives much more emphasis; in the book of Job it is a rather loose statement at the end, but in T. Job it is found in the opening chapters of the book in a promise of reward uttered by an angel to incite Job to stand firm in the coming battle.'

175 Haas, 'Job's Perseverance', 125-126.

176 Haas gives a number of parallels to the life of faith as having a prize, as in games (142-145).

177 Haas, 'Job's Perseverance', 127.

178 Haas, 'Job's Perseverance', 127.

nevertheless not been permitted to take Job's life (εἰ μὴ μόνον θάνατόν σοι οὐ δυνήσεται προσενεγκεῖν). He will, however, strip Job of his possessions and his servants/ children (ἀφαιρεῖταί σοι πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, τὰ παιδία σου ἀναιρεῖ).

In this context, the Lord promises Job that if he displays what is to become his characteristic virtue, then he will be rewarded with a reputation that will survive until the end of the age, as well as being reimbursed two-fold for everything which Satan had stolen from him. The basis for this is, as it is for Paul in Rom 2, God's impartiality in returning good things to those who obey him:

> ἀλλ' ἐαν ὑπομείνῃς, ποιήσω σου τὸ ὄνομα ὀνομαστὸν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς γενεαῖς τῆς γῆς ἄχρι τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος· καὶ πάλιν ἀνακάμψω σε ἐπὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντά σου, καὶ ἀποδοθήσεταί σοι διπλάσιον· ἵνα γνῷς ὅτι ἀπροσωπόληπτός ἐστιν, ἀποδιδοὺς ἑκάστῳ τῷ ὑπακούοντι ἀγαθά. (4.6-8)

The 'this-worldly' theology of reward which is promised here is distinguished from the 'heavenly' reward, which comes later in the book. At this stage, Job's patience which wins him a reputation that lasts for the entirety of this aeon (ὄνομα ὀνομαστὸν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς γενεαῖς), just like the patriarchs and the 'war-heroes' in 1 Macc 2-9. But unlike the 'Hasmonean propagandist', T. Job envisages a final consummation of this age (συντελεία τοῦ αἰῶνος) when this earthly glory will fade, and be replaced by a lasting eternal glory. In T. Job. 33.3-4, Job declares that his throne is in the upper world, and that this is what he truly values: 'The whole world shall pass away and its splendour shall fade' (33.4). His throne is in the eternal kingdom of God, not in this world (33.5-9). 'The point is that, in place of his throne and splendour in this world, which is passing away, Job has an eternal splendour reserved for him in heaven... his heavenly reward as the eternal reality of which his kingdom in this world has been only a worthless shadow.'[179] As in *Wisdom*, a share in the rule in the eschatological Kingdom is allotted as a reward for obedience. But, to return to T. Job 4, having spoken in 'earthly' terms thus far, God moves to the future dimension of the reward of the resurrection (4.9-10):

> καὶ ἐγερθήσῃ ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει· ἔσῃ γὰρ ὡς ἀθλητὴς πυκτεύων καὶ καρτερῶν πόνους καὶ ἐκδεχόμενος τὸν στέφανον·

Verses 9 and 10 are linked by the explanatory γὰρ, and thus the promise of being raised 'at the resurrection' (cf the same phrase in Jn 11.24) is expanded on through the athletic metaphor. This athlete 'spars', 'endures hardships' and then receives the crown. The crown is obviously to be equated with resurrection here, and is here limited to its Graeco-

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179 R. Bauckham, *God Crucified* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1998) 30-31.

Roman context of the ἄγων, and probably does not have connotations of participation in the rule in the Kingdom.

What might be surprising, however, by comparison with standard interpretations of the Jewish material again, is how easily this stands nexts to a doctrine of election. In the very next verse, these rewards come as God 'strengthens his elect ones' (4.11): τότε γνώσει ὅτι δίκαιος καὶ ἀληθινὸς καὶ ἰσχυρὸς ὁ κύριος, ἐνισχύων τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς αὐτοῦ.

This fits with Haas's categorisation of the the three ways in which Job's patience is described in T. Job. So far we have examined two. The third term, μακροθυμία, is interesting because it actually highlights rather the aspect of Job's waiting for divine grace and intervention. The imagery of reward falls out of the picture. In T. Job 26, for example, Job rebukes his wife because she has lost patience, and Job exhorts her to wait expectantly for the Lord to act. 'Let us be patient, till the Lord in compassion shows his mercy' (26.5). As Haas puts it: 'Job's patience is no passive resignation, but implies waiting intently for God's saving intervention founded on one's hope in God'.[180] So, in the mind of our author, there is no either/or: the two-sided soteriology is maintained. *Election* stands side by side with the eschatological future of heavenly *reward*.

13. Sibylline Oracles

The Sibylline Oracles are generally assigned to Egypt, and date from a very wide chronological period. Of the principal passages which relate to our discussion, all but one come from the second Sibyl.[181] The other Sibyls are either too uncertain in date to be used safely, or certainly come from a later period, or have a less eschatological bent (e.g. Sibyls 5 &11), or have heavily eschatological passages which are too riddled with Christian interpolations to be useful for our purposes (e.g. Sibyl 1). Collins offers 30 BCE and 250 CE as the *termini* for dating Book 2, but he considers the work to derive essentially from around the turn of the era.[182] There are also the problems of the Christian interpolations to be reckoned with.

13.1 Oracle 2

There are various images used in the Sibyls to drive home the importance of deeds for final salvation. The first is the standard OT imagery of judgment according to deeds, where the forensic language of κρίσις and δοκιμασία is used.

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180 Haas, 'Job's Perseverance', 128.

181 Final judgment in the Sibyls has actually received very little attention: most scholars have focused on Sibyl 3. See for example, J.J. Collins, *The Sibylline Oracles of Egyptian Judaism* (Missoula: Society of Biblical Literature, 1972) and J.R. Bartlett, *Jews in the Hellenistic World* (Cambridge: CUP, 1985) 35-55. And J.-D. Gauger, *Sibyllinische Weissagungen. Griechisch-deutsch.* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1998) has 10pp on Book 3, and only 2pp on Books 1-2.

182 Collins in both Charlesworth, ed. *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* I, 331-332 and also in Stone, ed. *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period*, 76.

τὸ ζῆν ἐν θανάτῳ δοκιμάζεται· εἴ τις ἔπραξεν
ἔκνομον ἢ δίκαιον, διακρίνεται εἰς κρίσιν ἐλθών. (2.93-94)

These verses come within the interpolation of the Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides into the Second Sibyl. This insertion is difficult to date, and verses 93-94 here are not part of the 'original' text of Ps-Phoc. (i.e. the text which has survived independently) and so are probably later than the rest of the collection of sayings which are usually placed in Egypt in the First Century BCE/ CE.[183] Beyond that, it is impossible to be any more specific. This passage describes final judgment as the time when it is revealed what course a person's life has taken. This is described symmetrically in terms of either 'doing' lawlessness (presumably, doing what is against *Torah*) or 'doing' righteousness, which are determinative for the destiny of the person in final judgment.

Later, these forensic categories combine with apocalyptic imagery, where the dominant image of punishment is the river of fire, and the dominant image of salvation is being saved from punishment in that river. The final quarter of the second Sibyl (2.252-338) is concerned with the distinction of the righteous and the wicked at final judgment. 'All will pass through the blazing fire', the section begins, but the righteous will be saved, and the impious destroyed (252-254). The punishment that all the wicked receive consists in this, that 'they will repay threefold for each evil deed committed' (304). On the other hand, the righteous, defined as those 'ὁπόσοις τε δίκη καλά τ' ἔργα μέμηλεν ἠδὲ καὶ εὐσεβίη τε δικαιότατοί τε λογισμοί' (313-314) are lifted out of the fire by the angels: the righteous are, crucially, defined entirely by their behaviour in this instance. This group is saved from judgment because of these deeds which have characterised their lives. The new world that these righteous are brought into is characterised by 'wine, honey and milk' (318) and a community of property (321), but also by timelessness: there is no night or tomorrow or yesterday, and no seasons (325-327).

The interpolated section from Ps-Phoc. (56-148) interrupts a passage on the heavenly contest. So as it stands, the ἀγών passage sandwiches the interpolation (39-55 and 149-153). Collins is somewhat suspicious of the whole passage because of the explicitly Christian character of 45-55, and Suárez de la Torre hints that it is perhaps more likely to have a Christian provenance.[184] But this seems rather unnecessary: ἀγων imagery comes very frequently in pre-Christian Jewish writings, as we have seen. And 2.39-44 and 45-55 are somewhat discrete: Jesus does seem to appear somewhat 'out of the blue' in 2.45. So, we are left with 39-44 and 149-153.

The passage is introduced by God's announcement that he will save the pious in 2.27-33, and he will indicate this with a crown of stars in the heavens that will be visible

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183 See van der Horst in Charlesworth, ed. *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* II, 567-568 and also J.-D. Gauger, *Sibyllinische Weissagungen*, 439.

184 E. Suárez de la Torre in A. Diez Macho, ed. *Apocrifos del Antiguo Testamento* (Madrid: Ediciones Cristiandad, 1982) III.280: 'esta competición espiritual es un tema preferemente cristiano'.

to those on earth (34-37). Then, in a very strange transition, this crown-constellation in the sky 'becomes' the crown that awaits those who persevere in the contest.[185] In 2.37-44, there appears a crown in heaven for those who strive in the contest, and this is 'a great contest for entry to the heavenly city' (2.39-40), where no-one 'can shamelessly buy a crown for silver' (2.43-44). This contest with its prizes is also discussed later in similar terms:

> οὗτος ἀγών, ταῦτ' ἐστιν ἀέθλια, ταῦτα βραβεῖα,
> τοῦτο πύλη ζωῆς καὶ εἴσοδος ἀθανασιῆς,
> ἣν θεὸς οὐρανίος δικαιωτάτοις ἀνθρώποις
> ἔστησεν νίκης ἐπαέθλιον· οἳ δὲ λαβόντες
> τὸ στέφος ἐνδόξως διελεύσονται διὰ ταύτης. (2.149-153)

The race is, to mix the metaphors as the author himself does, the gateway to the age to come. It is a precursor to a life and an immortality which has not yet been attained: otherwise the 'gateway' (πύλη) and 'entrance' (εἴσοδος) metaphors would be an unusual choice. The race's winners are the 'most righteous', and they receive the prizes and crowns because of their victory.

13.2 Oracle 4

The Fourth Sibyl in its original form is dated by Collins to shortly after the time of Alexander. It also underwent redaction in the First Century CE, although fortunately for our purposes, there is no evidence of Christian redaction.[186] Rather, it is more likely that the Sibyl was originally purely Hellenistic, according to Collins, and was later taken up and worked over by Jewish editors.[187] Vermes and Goodman perhaps imply more authorial activity on the part of the redactor(s), and date it to about 80 CE.[188] Lines 171ff contain some of the starkest language in Jewish tradition about the *discontinuity* between this world and the next, and this may be explained by a Hellenistic ur-text, though even so, it is interesting that it was still adopted. God will burn up the whole earth, humanity will be destroyed, along with all cities, rivers and the sea. 'He will destroy everything by fire, and it will be smoking dust' (178). Out of the ashes, however, God will reconstitute humanity: here the Sibyl speaks clearly of a doctrine of resurrection (179-182), and it is a

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185 E. Suárez de la Torre in *Apocrifos*, III.243: 'La mención de una señal luminosa que aparecerá en el cielo da paso a una curiosa serie de imágenes deportivas, que describen la competición por entrar en el reino de los cielos'.

186 Collins, in Charlesworth, ed. *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* I, 381-382.

187 Collins, in Charlesworth, ed. *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* I, 381-383, and in Stone ed. *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period*, 363

188 E. Schürer, with G. Vermes, F. Millar, M. Goodman, eds. *History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1973-1987) III/1.641: 'With respect to Book IV, a far-reaching consensus has developed among scholars concerning its Jewish authority and a date of about AD 80'. The date is set by reference to the destruction of Jerusalem in 115-127 and to the destruction of Pompeii in 130-136, putting the work not much later than 80 CE.

resurrection of the righteous and the wicked. Collins perhaps allows too much to the ur-text when he says that it is possible that the universal resurrection might also have been a feature of the original Hellenistic version.[189] Given the choice between Hellenistic, Persian or Jewish influence as the source of the teaching on the resurrection we should probably see it as a Jewish addition. Following the resurrection comes judgment: as we might expect, the division occurs between 'ὅσοι δ' ὑπὸ δυσσεβίῃσιν ἥμαρτον' (104-105) and 'ὅσσοι δ' εὐσεβέουσι' (187-188). It is a symmetrical judgment according to deeds.

14. The Qumran Literature

Introduction

The most recent affirmation of Sanders' position on the Qumran literature is M. Abegg's '4QMMT C 27, 31 and "Works Righteousness"'.[190] Abegg will provide a convenient dialogue partner here. His article attempts to show that the category of 'works-righteousness' is highly inappropriate as a description of the pattern of religion in the Qumran literature as a whole. Abegg's support for this approach comes principally from two areas.

First, his understanding of the phrase 'works of Torah' in 4QMMT. Abegg follows Dunn in defining the phrase extremely generally. Dunn gives a literal definition, 'what the Torah requires', but it is also a pattern of religion ('covenantal nomism'),[191] and comes to refer specifically in *sociological* terms to the boundary-marking sabbath, circumcision and food-laws.[192] Abegg does something different again, by defining works of Torah in terms of the claim that is embodied within the phrase, namely, 'the claim that ...' (141). Beyond that, the phrase is, according to Abegg, 'quite agile and allows for any number of strictures, the only condition being that they find their source in Torah, and are concerned with practice which defines relationship to God in a particular sort of Judaism' (141).

Second, Abegg draws on programmatic statements from other Qumran documents (in particular 1QS, CD, 1QH and 1QM) which talk of righteousness originating from God, not humans, and argues that the only entry requirement for the covenant community is repentance.[193] Thus there is no sense of earning God's favour through works: the Qumran literature, like Judaism more broadly, presents works simply as the response to God's grace. This approach is common, and has its strengths. But such an understanding

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189 Collins, in Stone, ed. *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period*, 363.

190 Abegg, '4QMMT C 27, 31', maintains that *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* still contains 'an as yet unequalled study of religion as determined by the Qumran texts' (142).

191 Dunn, *Theology of Paul the Apostle*, 355: ' "Works of the Law" is the Pauline term for "covenantal nomism"' (also 358).

192 Dunn, *Theology of Paul the Apostle*, 358: 'But in a context where the relationship of Israel with other nations is at issue, certain laws would naturally come more into focus than others'.

193 Abegg, '4QMMT C 27, 31', 142-146.

of 'works of Torah' and the soteriology of the Qumran documents is at best only half correct. The aim here is to show (1) that the phrase 'works of Torah' should be understood primarily as 'deeds done in obedience to the Torah', and (2) that the soteriology of the Qumran literature is not so simple as Sanders and Abegg imply.

14.1 'Works of Torah' as 'deeds done in obedience to Torah'.

14.1.1 Background in the Hebrew Bible

One important, but neglected aspect of the background to the phrase 'works of Torah', is the many instances in the OT where we see the verb עשׂה followed by the noun תורה, either as a direct object, or one more indirectly related.

The familiar Dt 27.26 is one example: 'Cursed is the man who does not uphold the words of this **law** by **doing** them'. This is an example of an indirect relation between עשׂה and תורה; there is, however, a closer connection elsewhere, as in Dt 31.12: 'Assemble the people —men, women and children, and the aliens living in your towns —so they can listen and learn to fear the LORD your God and **do** carefully all the words of this **law**.' This phrase עשׂה כול הדברי התורה is a frequently repeated formula (Dt 28.58; 29.28; 32.46). From these texts we see the necessity to carry out Torah *in its entirety*. A very similar formula comes in Joshua: 'Be careful to **do** all the **law** my servant Moses gave you' (1.7-8; cf 22.5, 23.6).[194]

In the other historical books there are examples of an indirect grammatical relation between עשׂה and תורה (2 Chr 33.8; cf. 2 Kings 17.34, 17.37, 21.8; Ezra 10.3; Neh 10.30). However, תורה can also follow עשׂה directly, providing us with perhaps the closest parallels to the construct phrase מעשׂי התורה:

> 2 Chr 14.3: He commanded Judah to seek the LORD, the God of their fathers, and to **do** his **law** and commands (ולעשׂות התורה והמצות).
>
> Neh 9.34: Our kings, our leaders, our priests and our fathers did not **do** your **law** (לא עשׂו תורתך); they did not pay attention to your commands or the warnings you gave them (cf Ezra 7.10).

So there are actually much closer parallels in the Hebrew Bible to the Qumran and Pauline phrase than is generally assumed. Most scholars merely protest the lack of evidence: 'La consultation d'une concordance, soit grecque, soit hébraique, montre que la jonction génitivale entre érgon et nómos, ou leurs correspondants maᶜaseh et tôrah, n'est attestée nulle part dans le Premier Téstament.'[195] But the phrase מעשׂי התורה has its roots firmly established in the Hebrew Bible, and the noun phrase we see in Qumran and Paul is a

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194 T.C. Butler, *Joshua* (Waco, TX: Word, 1983) 245: 'The command [in 22.5] echoes that given to Joshua in 1:7. It is a summary of the charge of Deuteronomy'.

195 P. Grelot, 'Les Oeuvres de la Loi (À propos de 4Q394-398)', *RevQ* 63 (1994) 442. Cf also Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 338, as well as his 'The Qumran Scrolls and the New Testament after Forty Years', *RevQ* 13 (1988) 613.

very natural development.

14.1.2 4QMMT itself

4QMMT divides neatly into a 'halakhic' section (B 1 - C 7),[196] and a parenetic section (C 7 - end),[197] but the overall purpose of the two sections is the same. García Martínez rightly criticises those who think 4QMMT two separate documents because of the co-existence of these two forms: 'partes "legales" y partes "escatólogicas" conviven juntas en muy diversos documentos como *CD* o *1QS*.'[198] To take one example, in B 9-13, in the halakhic section, there is the discussion of when the cereal offering is to be eaten, which the author concludes 'For the sons of the priests should take care concerning this practice so as not to cause the people to bear punishment'.

It is the end of the document which focuses on the *function* of works of Torah:

> Consider all these things, and ask him that He strengthen your will and remove from you all the plans of evil and the device of Belial so that you may rejoice at the end of time, finding that some of our words are true (מקצת דברינו כן). And this will be reckoned to you as righteousness, since you will be doing what is righteous and good in his eyes, for your own welfare and for the welfare of Israel. (4QMMT C 28-32)

This passage shows that the issue concerns concrete deeds which are rewarded on the day of judgment, not just halakhic formulations which regulate proper living. That the מעסים are not just formulations but also concrete deeds is shown by the reference in C 23 to the מעסים of the kings of Israel which the author is calling upon his readers to emulate. Again in C 25, the paraenesis is based on the faithful deeds (חסדים) of David. And finally the eschatological rejoicing promised in C 30 which will be a sign of the salvation of the 'you' group comes as they are reckoned righteous at the end of time (באחרית העת) for 'doing' (בעשׂותך) what is right. The good of the addressees and of all Israel also embraces prosperity in the 'near' future as well, but that is not in dispute. This is one of the clearest texts that shows that what is at stake is also life in the future age, which is predicated on future justification. As Schiffman writes: 'His repentance will be considered as a righteous deed, beneficial both for him and all Israel, presumably in the

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196 Although of course these rulings were not the precepts of an oral Torah: O. Betz, 'The Qumran Halakah Text Miqsat Ma'ase Ha-Torah (4QMMT) and Sadducean, Essene, and Early Pharisaic Tradition' in D.R.G. Beattie & M.J. McNamara eds. *The Aramaic Bible. Targums in their Historical Context* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994) 183.

197 The calendar is a separate document, not referred to later in 4QMMT proper (L. Schiffmann,'The Place of 4QMMT in the Corpus of Qumran Manuscripts' in J. Kampen & M. Bernstein, eds. *Reading 4QMMT. New Perspectives on Qumran Law and History* [Scholars Press: Atlanta, GA, 1996] 84-85). García Martínez also argues that the line-lengths in the calendar and 4QMMT militate against a connection ('Dos Notas sobre 4QMMT' *RevQ* 16 [1993] 294-295).

198 García Martínez, 'Dos Notas', 295.

eschatological sense'.[199] Eschatological rejoicing is a familiar theme from Qumran,[200] accompanying the vindication of the righteous, and it signals entry into the life of the future age. The New Perspective's emphasis on 'works of Torah' as boundary-defining[201] to the detriment of their role in final salvation is hard to sustain in the light of this eschatological focus.

14.1.3 Other Qumran texts

A crucial section of 4QFlorilegium concerns nothing less than the *raison d'être* of the community (4Q174 6-7): 'to send up, like the smoke of incense, works of the Law' (מעשׂי תורה). However, this is not a unanimous reading.[202] Strugnell, Brooke and Puech read מעשׂי תודה ('works of thanksgiving'), but for Fitzmyer, 'a glance at Plate XIX reveals that Allegro has read the phrase correctly, maᶜaseh tôrah; the letter is *resh*, not *daleth*.'[203] García Martínez is equally certain that the opposite is correct.[204] There has been a tendency more recently to say that palaeography cannot answer the question.[205] A solution must be sought elsewhere, and there is an interesting parallel in 2 Baruch, where the angel Ramael reports to Baruch that what is missing from Zion is, in an impressive sequence of genitives, 'the flavour of the smoke of the incense of the righteousness of the law' (67.6). This offers a close parallel to the works of Torah which go up, like the smoke of incense in 4QFlorilegium.

There are two other groups of parallels. First, the category 'deeds in Torah', which is a criterion for candidates' entry into the community (1QS 5:21, 6:18) as well as for promotion and demotion within the community (4Q258 1 ii 3-4). Secondly, the Habakkuk Pesher, the Psalms Scroll and other texts talk about 'those who observe Torah'.[206] These will be dealt with in more detail more later. For now, it is sufficient to note that 'deeds in/ of the Torah' in the OT, 4QMMT, 4QFlorilegium (?) and the S texts should be understood primarily as concrete deeds done in obedience to the Law:[207] the polemical context in which the phrase is used in 4QMMT, for example, cannot be transferred wholesale into the Pauline context. Only in a secondary sense (if at all) should

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199 L. Schiffmann, 'The New Halakhic Letter (4QMMT) and the Origins of the Dead Sea Sect', 64.

200 CD 20:32-34; 4Q403 1 1 40; 4Q511 1 5 & 4Q511 28-29; 4Q544 12; 11QPs, *passim*; 1QM 14:3?

201 E.g. Dunn, '4QMMT and Galatians', 151.

202 For a discussion of the debate up to 1994 see Grelot, 'Les Oeuvres de la Loi', 443-445.

203 J.A. Fitzmyer, 'Paul's Jewish Background and the Deeds of the Law' in idem, *According to Paul. Studies in the Theology of the Apostle* (New York/ Mahwah, N.J.: Paulist Press, 1993) 20.

204 F. García Martínez, '4QMMT in a Qumran Context', in Kampen & Bernstein, eds. *Reading 4QMMT*, 24.

205 J.C.R. de Roo, 'David's Deeds in the Dead Sea Scrolls', *DSD* 6.1 (1999) 52. Abegg, '4QMMT C 27, 31', 139n3 notes that Elgvin's examination under a microscope shows the 'the visual evidence (at least in the visible spectrum) is ambiguous'.

206 4Q426 1 i 2; 4Q171 i 5 (עושׂי רצונו), cf 4Q185 1-2 ii 1-2; 4Q171 i 15, 23 (עושׂי התורה).

207 Of course, this is the Law as interpreted by the community, but that meant that all other understandings of Torah were not actually Torah.

'works of Torah' be taken as boundary markers and it seems questionable whether Bachmann's reading of the phrase as 'halakhic rulings' can be sustained at all.[208] In any case, the impetus for the understanding of 'works of Torah' as defining rather than 'saving' has been triggered not initially by philological concerns, but rather by the broader picture of Qumran soteriology, to which we now turn.

14.2 The Future Soteriology of the Qumran Texts

14.2.1 Legal Texts[209]

The peculiar character of the Qumran community's thoroughgoing pre-determinism has important implications for the role of works and consequently, for reward theology. Because, according to 1QS, the portions of the spirits of men are assigned to them before the creation of the world (cf 4QD^a 2 ii 6-7), their works are merely the outworking of this distribution:

> Before they existed he established their entire design. And when they have come into being, at their appointed time, they will execute all their works according to his glorious design, without altering anything. (1QS 3:15-16).[210]

> Every deed they do (falls) into their divisions, dependent on what might be the birthright of the man (נחלת איש), great or small, for all eternal times. (1QS 4:15-17)

Nevertheless, despite this predeterminism, there is still a strong reward theology which implies that the community vigorously emphasised individual responsibility. The language of reward for the righteous and recompense for the wicked comes even in the same section of 1QS, and is frequent in the Qumran literature.[211] Both García Martínez and Vermes identify reward theology in 1QS 3-4, though they differ slightly on where precisely it is located. In García Martínez's translation, the Maskil in 1QS 3:13ff is instructed to teach the sons of light about the gradations of spirits which exist in each

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208 M. Bachmann, '4QMMT und Galaterbrief', *ZNW* 89.1 (1998) 91-113.

209 I shall not discuss Sanders' observation that works do not have any role in 'getting in'. Josephus notes that the candidate must first prove his ἐνκρατεία in the first year, and then his καρτερία is tested for two more years (*BJ* II, 138). Only then can he swear the 'tremendous oaths' (ὅρκους ... φρικώδεις) to God, promising to be righteous. 1QS 6:13-15 records the initial examination of 'understanding and deeds'. The candidate cannot touch the pure meal until 'he has been examined according to his spirit and his deeds' a year later (6:16-17). Another year later he is examined again before he can 'touch the Drink of the Congregation' (6:20-21). This is out of step with Abegg's (and Sanders') discussion, e.g. that 1QS 'denies that anything might be done to join the covenant short of repentance' (Abegg, '4QMMT C 27,31', 143). The candidate has to prove himself worthy to join the community, which for the group, was coterminous with joining the covenant.

210 Translations are taken (occasionally in modified form) from F. García Martínez & E.J.C. Tigchelaar eds. & tr., *Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition Vols. 1 & 2* (Leiden: Brill, 1997-1998).

211 In the legal texts, see 1QS^b 2 23; 4Q256 9 5-6=4Q260 4:4-5; contra Sanders who asserts that reference to reward is scarce at Qumran (*Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 287, 320).

person, and about how these are determinative of their deeds, and about the 'visitation of their punishments' (פקורת נגועיהם) and the 'times of their reward' (קצי שלומם).[212] This thoroughgoing symmetry demonstrates that works are determinative at the final judgment. Sanders sidesteps this issue by drawing a sharp distinction between final salvation and rewards alloted to the righteous.[213] But 1QS 4 shows that final salvation *is* the reward. 1QS 4 then gives another symmetrical description of the deeds of the righteous and the wicked as determinative for their destiny both in the immediate, and in the eternal future. After a long list (ll. 2-6) of the qualities and virtues of the sons of truth - such as intelligence, wisdom, purity from idols and the like - the result of these virtues is described:[214]

> These are the foundations of the spirit of the sons of truth in the world. And the reward (פקודת) of all those who walk in it will be healing, plentiful peace in a long life, fruitful offspring with all everlasting blessings, and eternal enjoyment with endless life (ושמחת עולמים בחיי נצח), and a crown of glory with majestic raiment in eternal light (באור עולמים). (1QS 4:6-8; cf 4Q257 2 i 3-6)

M. Philonenko sees here reference to individual eschatology juxtaposed with a vision of world history: 'les récompenses terrestres promises aux justes... puis les récompenses éternelles'.[215] This fits much better than Nickelsburg's emphasis on eternal life as already possessed. The emphasis is very much on the future, as is indicated by פקודת:[216] all the standard translations render the sentence in the future,[217] and Nickelsburg's description that the share of the righteous 'consists of' the benefits listed is unsatisfactory.[218] In 1QS 4, we do not see eternal life as something already attained: another soteriological model is at work here.

The sons of darkness on the other hand, who have a list almost as long (ll. 9-11), consisting of attributes such as wickedness, falsehood, pride, blindness of eyes, blasphemy of tongue and the like have this destiny:

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212 The language of payment of wages (ישלם לאיש גמולו) at the judgment comes in 1QS 10:18.

213 See esp. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 320.

214 Compare CD-B 20:27-34: 'But all those who hold fast to these precepts, going and coming in accordance with the Law... they shall rejoice and their hearts shall be strong, and they shall prevail over all the sons of the earth, God will forgive them and they shall see His salvation because they took refuge in his holy name.'

215 M. Philonenko, 'L'Apocalyptique Qoumrânienne', in D. Hellholm, ed. *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East* (Tübingen: Mohr/ Siebeck, 1983) 214.

216 The -ל before the elements of the content of the reward is prospective.

217 García Martínez/ Tigchelaar, *Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 77; G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (Harmandsworth: Penguin, 41995) 74; M. Wise, M. Abegg, E. Cook, tr. *The Dead Sea Scrolls. A New Translation* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1995) 130. Likewise, Wernberg-Møller's translation and commentary (*The Manual of Discipline* [Leiden: Brill, 1957] 26).

218 Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, Eternal Life*, 156.

> And the visitation of those who walk in it will be for an abundance of afflictions at the hands of all the angels of destruction, for eternal damnation by the scorching wrath of the God of revenges, for permanent terror and shame without end with the humilation of destruction by the fire of the dark regions. And all the ages of their generations (they shall spend) in bitter weeping and harsh evils in the abysses of darkness until their destruction, without there being a remnant or survivor among them. (1QS 4:11-14)

Again, in 1QS 4:26, there is a 'determined end' (קצ נחרצה), which is also the '[time] of visitation' (הפקודה [מועד]) and also 'new creation' (עשות חדשה).[219] This is when God grants the 'result of their deeds for all times everlasting' (García Martinez) or 'the reward of their deeds from all eternity' (Vermes). The abundance of 'eternal' language here points towards an unending glorious state for the righteous, and the corresponding opposite for the wicked. Again, this is not yet a present reality (for either side), nor even a reality which is entered immediately after death, but rather one which comes at the end, on the day of judgment. This day of judgment will be final, as far as salvation is concerned: a time after which no-one will subsequently be able to enter the community (CD 4:10-12). It is probably this day of judgment that the community looks forward to for its 'justification', which in the hymn at the end of 1QS (esp. 11:13-18) is described in wholly futuristic terms. Until this time, the community must wait, and observe Torah 'in the age of wickedness',[220] even *through* the age(s) of judgment to come:[221] the legal texts do not envisage solely a 'day', but an age of judgment.[222] This goes on until the 'end of days' or the 'completion of the end of these years',[223] and consists of a total destruction of wickedness once and for all: as we saw above, there will be no remnant or survivor from among the wicked.[224] This destruction is attributed, in the same text, both to God, and to the agency of the elect.[225] The age that follows will not consist of any wickedness at all. 'La Communauté vit dans l'attente d'une purification définitive qui sera réalizée à la fin de temps par l'effusion de l'esprit de sainteté. Cette intervention

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219 See J.D.M. Derrett, 'New Creation: Qumran, Paul, the Church and Jesus', *RevQ* 13 (1988) 599ff.

220 CD 6:10, 14; 12:23; 14:19; 15:7, 10. Phrases like this abound in CD: the age of 'Israel's sin', of 'anger', of 'the desolation of the land', etc. For these references, see J. Pryke, 'Eschatology in the Dead Sea Scrolls', in M. Black, ed., *The Scrolls and Christianity* (London: SPCK, 1969) 49. See also P.R. Davies, 'The Temple Scroll and the Damascus Document', 202.

221 Though there may be a certain amount of overlap between the age of wickedness, the age of judgment, and the end of days. A. Steudel, in 'אחרית הימים in the Texts from Qumran', *RevQ* 16/62 (1993) 225-246, points out the wide variety of senses possible for this last phrase: see García Martínez, '4QMMT in a Qumran Context', 18-19.

222 The War Rule constructs a periodisation of the final war in 4QM^{f} and 1QM 15-19. Philip Davies notes that that 1QM 15-19 contains a much more complex account of the war than 7:19ff (seven encounters as opposed to one), and attributes this to a growing complexity as the work was redacted. See P.R. Davies, *1QM. The War Scroll from Qumran* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1977) 75, 123.

223 CD 4:4; 4:9-10. See Davies, 'The Temple Scroll and the Damascus Document', 202.

224 1QS 4:11-14; 4Q491 frr. 1-3 4; 4Q496 4 11.

225 4Q491 frr. 1-3 4 and frs 8-10 5.

purificatrice de Dieu mettra fin au combat que l'esprit de perversion et l'esprit de vérité disputent dans le cœur de l'homme'.[226] This all takes place within a strictly predetermined schematisation of history. Although this includes all the 'kinds' having been predestined by God for each person, there is still a strong theology of eternal reward granted at the appointed time of judgment.

Excursus: Lev. 18.5 in CD 3:14-16

One important passage in the Damascus Document contributes to the question of the presence/ futurity of the reward of life, which, as we have noted, has been a point of debate.[227] The Genizah manuscripts of CD begin with an account of the unfaithfulness of Israel: her rejection of God, and persecution of those who pursue the way of perfection. To the faithful remnant however, God has revealed his secret will, the substance of which is contained in this document, and which the author commands the community to heed. At this point, in CD 3:14-16, there is an interesting gloss of Leviticus 18.5 which challenges the assumption that Torah primarily *regulates* life: rather, it appears that obedience to Torah leads to the reward of eternal life. The text begins with an explanation of the importance of the halakhic rulings of the community: they are the means by which the community can produce the works of Torah which are pleasing to God, and thus receive the eschatological reward:

García Martínez:

'...the hidden matters in which all Israel had gone astray: his holy sabbaths and his glorious feasts, his just stipulations and his truthful paths, the wishes of his will *which man must do in order to live by them* (אשר יעשה האדם וחיה בהם). He disclosed [these matters to them] and they dug a well of plentiful water; *and whoever spurns them shall not live* (ומואסיהם לא יחיה).'

Davies:

'...the hidden things in which Israel had gone astray–His holy sabbaths, and his glorious festivals, His righteous testimonies and His true ways, and the desires of His will, *which a man should do and live by*. He opened to them and they dug a well of copious water. <And those who despise it shall not live.>'[228]

On the smaller syntactic point of the object of ומואסיהם, the García Martínez version is the odd-translation-out, taking the catalogue of synonyms for the community's teachings as the grammatical object of the 'spurning'. Other translators line up with Davies here.[229] Davies and García Martínez share the same Hebrew text, but the 'abundant waters' (מים רבים) might seem more likely to be the object, being the last plural noun mentioned.

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226 J. Pouilly, *La Règle de la Communauté de Qumran. Son Évolution Littéraire* (Cahiers de la Revue Biblique 17; Paris: Gabalda, 1976) 75.

227 See above, and Dunn, *Theology of Paul*, esp. 153-155.

228 P.R. Davies, *The Damascus Covenant. An Interpretation of the "Damascus Document"* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1983) 241.

229 Vermes, *Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 99; Wise, Abegg, Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 54.

However, the catalogue of lines 14-15 have constituted a strong element in the discourse, and are combined with the reference to Lev 18.5. So, the parallelism works better if one takes the negated form of Lev 18.5 ('they shall *not* live') to refer to those who despise *these same community teachings*.

Where Davies is certainly wrong is in taking the וחיה ('and live') as regulative, rather than as a promise. Here, other translators oppose him.[230] The 'regulative' reading ignores the parallelism with the following sentence, which Davies unaccountably places in parenthesis in his translation. The first half of the contrast is a direct quotation from Leviticus 18.5. If this first half were left standing alone, the meaning could refer to 'regulation'. However, the contrast is not obedience/ disobedience (living by them/ not living by them) but rather life/ not life (reward/ punishment). Here the contrast is stark: this is no mere *regulation* of life: Torah-observance leads to life in the future age, but the one who rejects the Torah as the community understands it *shall not live*. Further support for this reading comes from 4QD[a], where the texts talks of the precepts being given 'so that man could carry them out and live', omitting the difficult phrases 'by them', and thus (at least for the modern reader) clarifying the meaning.[231]

Furthermore, the 'life' is not merely lengthened life in this age. Daniel Schwartz picks up on this text in his discussion of Lev 18.5. He is arguing against the usual usage of Lev 18.5 in later Jewish tradition as a prohibition of martyrdom: by definition, if the purpose of *doing* the commandments is to *gain life* by them, then martyrdom does not achieve that.[232] Schwartz's arguments are relevant here, though directed at different opponents. He argues that in Ezekiel 20, the Septuagint, and Philo, *Congr.* 86-87, it is uncertain whether the reference is to life in this world (in which case, Schwartz argues, it refers to *lengthened* life) or to life in the age to come. But because of the contrast of 'living' and 'not living', in CD III the reference is to life in the age to come. 'Hier also wird ganz deutlich angenommen, daß unser Leviticus-Vers Leben als Lohn für Einhalten der Torah verspricht, und hier ist weiter auch ausdrücklich gesagt, daß das Leben, das hier versprochen ist, das ewige Leben ist (חיי נצח - CD III,20).'[233] This final point is also an important observation: that the חיה in 14-16 is partly explained by line 20, where the reference is indisputably to 'eternal life'. It is also interesting that Tg. Onkelos and Tg. Jonathan 'translate' Lev. 18.5 as referring to eternal life.

Sanders starts by asserting that this is 'gratuity' not 'self-salvation': 'human obedience, though necessary, does not initially open the path of salvation, for God brings man into the right path by pardoning his transgressions and building "a sure house in Israel" (3.18f).'[234] To say nothing of the false either/or of thoroughgoing grace *or* autosoterism, Sanders has again set up the question to get the desired answers. Of course

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230 *Ibid.*

231 4QD[a] 11 11-12. Cf also statements like 'the path to life' in 4Q185 1-2 ii 1-2.

232 D.R. Schwartz, *Leben durch Jesus versus Leben durch die Torah. Zur Religionspolemik der ersten Jahrhundert* (Münster: Franz-Delitzsch-Gesellschaft, 1993) 5: 'Dieser Vers dient als Hauptbeweis dafür, daß man kein Märtyrer sein darf.'

233 Schwartz, *Leben durch Jesus versus Leben durch die Torah*, 9.

234 Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 295.

Sanders is right that 'human obedience though necessary does not *initially open the path of salvation*'. But the point is rather that obedience to the commands here does secure the *final end of salvation.*

14.2.2 Pesharim and Apocrypha[235]

The Pesharim and Apocrypha share a similar pattern to legal texts. There is an appointed time for the end, when the enemies of God and of the community will be destroyed once and for all. Meanwhile, the community must be faithful to Torah, and await the time when their works will be rewarded, when they enter into a restored Israel of eternal life and everlasting blessing.

First then, the appointed time.[236] When this end will come is unknown to all except God, 'for all the ages of God reach their appointed end as he determines for them in the mysteries of his wisdom' (1QpHab 7:10-14). This is the time when retribution will come to the ungodly, the sons of darkness, who 'will double their guilt upon themselves, and it shall not be forgiven them when they are judged' (1QpHab 7:15-17)'. This is variously described as taking place through the agency of his elect (1QpHab 5:2-4), or through the mediation of Melchizedek, 'le chef des anges, qui exercera la vengeance des jugements de Dieu et délivrera les captifs de la main de Bélial.'[237] There are both sinful Israelites and gentiles in view: gentiles are particularly guilty of the sin of idolatry, and apostates Israelites are defined by their calendrical infidelity.[238] The effect of God's judgment will be the permanent removal of wickedness from the earth.[239] Again, this appointed time of judgment needs to be seen in the context of a schematisation of history,[240] which is seen most starkly in 4Q*Ages of Creation*:

> Interpretation concerning the ages which God has made: An age to conclude [all that there is] and all that will be. Before creating them he determined their operations [according to the precise

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235 Apocrypha in the sense of 'rewritten bible'. This section 14.2.2 is a broad category embracing the biblical commentaries of various kinds, the Targums, and other texts which feature biblical characters, though I have neglected to discuss works which generally come under the heading of 'Pseudepigrapha' (i.e., those contained in Charlesworth) as they are discussed elsewhere.

236 The 'ordained time of judgment' (4Q369 1 i 6); 3Q4 6: 'a day of judgment'; 4Q161 2-6 ii 6: a 'time of visitation' and 'laying waste of the land'; 4Q162 ii 1-2: a 'day of slaughter' when 'many will perish'.

237 M. Philonenko, 'L'Apocalyptique Qoumrânienne', 216. The eschatological vengeance wrought by Melchizedek is followed by the peace described in Isa 52.7, 61.2-3. See F. García Martínez, 'The Eschatological Figure of 4Q246' in idem, *Qumran and Apocalyptic* (Leiden: Brill, 1992) 176-177.

238 4QPs 2:12f; 1QpHab 2:1f; 4QpHos 2:15; 4Q389 1 ii 4 refers to a general rejection of Torah by apostate Israel. Though if Sanders is right, some Qumran texts (probably earlier ones) anticipate a restoration of the nation of Israel as a whole. See Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 249.

239 1Q15; 4Q381 76-77 3-4: 'eternal destruction... annihilation without (a remnant?)'.

240 R. Beckwith, 'The Significance of the Calendar for Interpreting Essene Chronology and Eschatology', *RevQ* 10/38 (1980) 168-169, ties the chronology of 4Q180f to that of Jubilees.

> sequence of the ages], one age after another age. And this is engraved on the [heavenly] tablets for the sons of men], for all the ages of their dominion. (4Q180 1 1-4)[241]

4Q180 also describes the 'seventy weeks' during which Azazel leads Israel astray, perhaps coterminous with the 'age of wickedness'. This age of wickedness ends 'with the coming of the Messiah and with atonement'.[242] Then comes the future age:

> and he will wipe out [al]l iniquity on account of his pio[us] ones, for the age of wickedness is fulfilled and all unrighteousness will [pass a]way. [For] the time of righteousness has arrived, and the earth is filled with knowledge and the praise of God. In the da[ys of ...] the age of peace has arrived, and the laws of truth, and the testimony of righteousness, to instruct [all] in God's paths [and] in the mighty acts of his deeds [...f]or eternal centuries. Every cr[eature] will bless him, and every man will bow down before him, [and they will be] of on[e mi]nd. (4Q215a 1 ii 2-7)[243]

The duty of the community, 'those who do the Torah' (עושׂי התורה) as they are called,[244] is precisely to observe the Law in this interim period until the establishment of this new age.[245] They are to observe the whole Torah (ועשׂו את כול התורה):[246] from their own point of view, there is no sense of certain laws having particular prominence over others. Torah observance preserves the community from judgment in the present, whether that be God's judgment through 'withholding rain', or attacks on the community by its enemies (1Q22 ii 7-10; 4QPs 2:13f & 20f). Obeying the Law is also a delight to the patriarchs (4Q542 1:11-2:1), and is likened to sacrifices pleasing to God.[247]

But, against Abegg, this is not merely about present 'standing' before God:[248] it also applies in the eschatological frame, when works of Torah will be rewarded by God with eternal blessing at the appointed day of judgment.[249] Likewise, the destiny of the

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241 The periodisation of the end is complex: the texts follow different models. See Beckwith, *ibid*, and P.R. Davies, 'The Teacher of Righteousness and the "End of Days"', *RevQ* 13 (1988) 315.

242 Beckwith, 'The Significance of the Calendar', 172.

243 Cf the reign of the Son of God figure in 4Q246 ii. There is a pattern of war where everything is crushed (ii 2-3), followed by peace (ii 4), then an eternal kingdom of peace (ii 5-9).

244 For the phrase עושׂי התורה, see: 4QPs 2:15, 23; 1QpHab 7:11 & 8:1.

245 4Q542 ii1: '... according to all that you have been commanded and according to all that I will have taught you in truth from now for all the age'; also 4Q461 1 8.

246 4Q174 ii 2; 4Q470 1 4, where Michael or, more likely, Zedekiah is described as leading the people to do the whole Torah. See E. Larson, L.H. Schiffman, J. Strugnell, '4Q470. Preliminary Publication of a Fragment Mentioning Zedekiah', *RevQ* 16/63 (1994) 343. Cf. also 4Q375 i 1-4.

247 'They observed Thy word and kept thy covenant. They shall cause Thy precepts to shine before Jacob and thy Law before Israel. They shall send up incense towards thy nostrils and place a burnt offering upon thine altar' (4QTestimonia 17-21).

248 In the different context of the end of 4QMMT, 'the promised result was not salvation, but "good standing"' ('4QMMT C 27, 31',146).

249 These rewards are, as in the legal texts according to the predetermined 'kinds' inhering in each individual (see 4Q384 8 3).

wicked is described as their 'reward' (4Q171 4 9; 4Q369 2 3f). Torah observance does *define* those who will be saved at that time:[250] 'all who freely pledged themselves to join the elect of God to keep the Law in the Council of the Community, who will be saved on the day of judgment.'[251] But we must go further. Torah observance is also precisely that which God rewards: 'Interpreted, [Hab 2.4] refers to all who do the Torah in the house of Judah, whom God will free from the house of judgment, *on account of* their toil and their faithfulness to the Teacher of Righteousness' (1QpHab 8:1-3). An Ezekiel Apocryphon talks similarly about 'acts of faithfulness being rewarded'.[252] Other criteria of judgment are 'thoughts' and 'ways', and what is written in the heavenly books.[253]

Here we see the same point as was made at the end of 4QMMT, where obedience to Torah leads to justification and rejoicing on the final day. References in these texts to 'eternal life' as the destiny of the righteous in an era, and in a land/earth in which there is no wickedness, imply that there is a personal dimension of eternal reward[254] which goes beyond the purely 'historical' eschatology of Tobit and Sirach which we saw previously.

14.2.3 Liturgical & Sapiential Works

Possibly the longest sustained theological reflection on final judgment comes in *4QInstruction*, also known as Sapiential Work A. Here, all the concepts which have been treated thus far collocate together. One of its central admonitions - it is in large measure a wisdom text - is that a person must understand the 'secret of what will be' (רז נהיה),[255] and 'the visitation of (his) work' (פקודת מעשה(ו)), i.e., how one's actions are going to be judged. This is explained at length in the work. Harrington notes that 'what can be deciphered from the beginning of the work indicates that it started with a cosmic and eschatological theological framework'.[256] Fundamentally, it means 'in heaven he passes judgment on the work of iniquity, and all the sons of his truth will be favourable' (4Q416 1 10). The eternal reward that comes to the sons of truth is, in part, restitution for the

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250 Elsewhere, the community is defined as those who obey Torah: 4Q171 i 5 (עושי רצונו), cf 4Q185 1-2 ii 1-2; 4Q171 i 15, 23 (עושי התורה).

251 1QpMic 6f. They are also called שומרי מצות אל in 4Q254 4 3.

252 4Q385 2 3 = 4Q386 1 2 = 4Q388 8 5. Ezekiel is asking Yahweh 'and how will their acts of faithfulness be rewarded?' (והיככה ישתלמו חסדם). Cf 'the rewards of glory' (4Q 391 62 ii 2). However, the nature of the genitive is hard to determine in such a fragmentary text.

253 Thoughts and ways: 4Q370 i 3; heavenly books: 4Q530 2 18ff. Of course, thoughts, ways and works of Torah are, implicitly, a unity in the Qumran texts.

254 4Q181 1 ii 3-6. Cf reference to 'eternal sleep' in an 'eternal dwelling' (4Q549 2 2, 6).

255 4Q416 2 i 5. García Martínez renders the phrase 'the mystery of existence', though Golb's translation 'the secret of what will be' is perhaps better (N. Golb, *Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls?* [London: Michael O'Mara Books, 1995] 96), as the association here, as elsewhere in 4QInstruction, is directly with final judgment. The expression also occurs five times in 1Q27. See J. Carmignac, 'L'Apocalyptique à Qumran', *RevQ* 10/37 (1979) 26-27, who translates it 'le secret (ou: le mystère) de l'avenir'. D.J. Harrington (*Wisdom Texts* [London: Routledge, 1996] 45) renders it 'the mystery that is to be/ come': 'It (*nihyeh*) appears to have a future sense here and elsewhere ... and its occurrences in their contexts suggest that it has both cosmic and eschatological dimensions, as well as moral or practical consequences.'

256 Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran*, 41.

suffering they have experienced ('and for their sorrows, eternal joy': 4Q417 1 i 10-12), but there is also focus on inheriting the eternal glory as a reward for one's deeds:

> in the correctness of understanding are made kno[wn the sec]rets of his thought, while one walks [per]fect[ly in all] one's [d]eeds. Be constantly intent on these things, and understand [al]l their effects. And then you will know et[ernal] glory (ואז תדע בכבוד עולם) [wi]th his wonderful mysteries and his mighty deeds. And you, understanding one, inherit your reward (רוש פעלתכה) in the remembrance of the [..f]or it comes. Engraved is /the/ {your} portion, and ordained is all the punishment, for engraved is that which is ordained by God against all the ... [... of] the sons of Seth, and a book of remembrance is written in his presence for those who keep his word (לשמרי דברו). (4Q417 2 i 11-16)

There is a symmetrical duration of the glory that is the destiny of the righteous[257] ('they will inherit an eternal property', 'whose inheritance is eternal life', '*He* is your portion and inheritance'),[258] and the punishment that is to come to the wicked ('your return will be to the eternal pit': 4Q418 69 ii (+60) 6). Judgment consists of 'their visitations for all eternal periods, and eternal visitation. And then you will know (the difference) between [goo]d and [evil in their] work[s]'.[259] As for the various ages of history, 'with the scales of justice he has weighed all their right times and with truth [...]' (4Q418 127 6). This will take place on an appointed day, after which there will be no more iniquity: '[on the day of] its [judg]ment. And all unrighteousness will end again, and the time of tr[uth] will be complete [...] in all periods of eternity' (4Q416 1 12-14 = 4Q418 2 5-6 = 4Q418 212-213). As with unrighteousness *per se*, so also with its perpetrators: 'all the foolish of heart will be annihilated, and the sons of iniquity will not be found any more' (4Q418 69 ii 8).

Other texts pick up the same themes. The Apocryphal Psalm Scroll from Cave 11 contains a citation of Ps 62.12, where 'Man is tried according to his way, each is repaid according to his deeds' (11QPs 22:10). In this text, the address is to Zion, as a metaphorical way of addressing God. Zion has the attributes and abilities that God himself has: on the day of restoration, Zion will 'glorify herself' and 'cleanse violence from her midst'. In addition, she shall 'remember the pious deeds of her prophets' - applying the principle of judgment according to deeds, which follows shortly after, to the deeds of the righteous.[260] The fact that the many texts from Qumran still speak of 'the righteous' is not irreconcilable with the more pessimistic theology of 1QH. Despite the continued transgression of the righteous, they have still been allotted a holy spirit, 'according to their kinds' by God (1QS 3:21-26). The liturgical texts speak frequently of the rejoicing that awaits the righteous in the future, as they rejoice in Zion's glory (11QPs 22:7, 15), and share in the rejoicing of the land and the seas because the wicked will no longer exist after the appointed day of judgment (4Q511 fr. 1). 1QMysteries talks of the

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257 'All those who exist forever' (כול נהיה עולם) in 4Q418 69 ii 7; see also 4Q403 1 i 22-23.

258 4Q418 55 12; 69 ii (+60) 13; 81 3 cf. 122 11.

259 4Q417 2 i 7 = 4Q418 43-45 i 4-6.

260 Who are 'those who obey the whole Torah' (4Q426 1 i 2), God's 'perfect ones' (4Q528 4).

same eradication of unrighteousness: 'When those born of sin are locked up, evil will disappear before justice as darkness disappears before light. As smoke vanishes, and n[o] longer exists, so will evil vanish for ever.'[261] 4QHodayot even talks about the earth in the same terms: of every tree, green or dry, being destroyed by the fire of Belial, and similarly (line 6) it consumes all the wicked.[262] This is one of the 'places [in 1QH] which clearly demand an eschatological understanding of the judgement in an absolute sense'.[263] In general, however, Holm-Nielsen goes too far in reducing all dimensions of salvation to that which is already experienced, or already in process. Hence, he falls into the trap of seeing the eradication of evil as bolted on to an inaugurated eschatology.[264] Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifices speaks of God's powerful hand returning for the judgment of reward (4Q404 4 8-9). This reward is 'eternal peace', 'eternal life', not eternal destruction but 'houses of glory where the holy ones are'.[265] 4Q525 also describes the contrast between the inheritance that comes to the wicked 'when *you* are snatched away to eternal rest', when 'you shall inherit glory' (4Q525 14 ii 14-15). So the pattern is as we have seen before: a period in the present of obedience to the Torah, obedience which is rewarded at the judgment with eternal joy and glory , so that 4QWays of Righteousness can even say of the righteous one that 'by righteousness he will be redee[med] ... through insight'.[266]

Conclusion

If this analysis has seemed repetitive, it shows that a similar pattern is shared by the various different kinds of literature found at Qumran. This is of course not the only way the eschatology is presented: there are other models which have a more national-political

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261 1Q27 1 i 5-6; cf. 4Q427 7 ii 8, 10; 4Q431 1 7, 9, where the wicked suffer eternal destruction and are wiped out without a remnant. Philonenko, 'L'Apocalyptique', notes that 1Q27 is similar on this point to 1QS 4:18-19 which also discusses how 'le mélange de l'Esprit du Bien et de l'Esprit du Mal prend fin par l'extermination de la Perversité... C'est bien là le "terme décisif" de l'histoire de la monde, celui du "Renouvellement" ' (213-214).

262 4Q432 4 ii. This is the most 'otherworldly' eschatology to be found at Qumran: see J. Pryke, 'Eschatology in the Dead Sea Scrolls', 54, 57.

263 S. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot. Hymns from Qumran* (Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget i Aarhus, 1960) 295.

264 'In the text of the Hodayot as we have it, there is not really a single place of which it can be said that it gives a portrayal of the eschatological salvation, *apart from the negative side of it that ungodliness shall be brought to an end*' (Holm-Nielsen, 296). This is to misunderstand eschatological salvation, of which the removal of ungodliness is an integral part. More importantly for the argument here, it shows that removal of ungodliness is crucial evidence for a final-judgment based eschatology.

265 4Q440 3 i 16; 4Q442 1; 4Q511 8 11.

266 4Q420 1 ii 6. Here, 'righteousness' is the person's righteousness. See T. Elgvin, 'Wisdom in the Yahad: 4Q*Ways of Righteousness*', *RevQ* 17 (1996) 213. García Martínez translates 'is redeemed'. But Elgvin notes that it 'should be translated in the future sense (sic) because of the context' (218).

character.[267] As John J. Collins puts it, 'while the Scrolls entertain hopes of "everlasting blessing and eternal joy in life without end" (1QS 4) and envisage a conflagration where the torrents of Belial devour as far as the great abyss (1QH 3), they also envisage, in the words of S. Talmon, a "New order to be established by the Anointed" which is "not otherworldly, but rather the realization of a divine plan on earth, the consummation of history in history"'.[268] But the pattern described above occurs with such frequency that it must be taken seriously, and it is certainly unnecessary to prioritise national-political eschatology over individual eschatology, as Stegemann does.[269] Furthermore, 'realized' eschatology should not be prioritised over future eschatology: 1QS 4 is a very nuanced description which cannot be discarded. In any case, it would be almost impossible to pick apart the eschatological concepts in the Qumran texts and assign them to one or other model of expectation: rather, there is a nexus of images which all cluster together.[270] There are differences in the way this pattern is presented in the different kinds of texts, texts which must be read on their own terms. But one should not conclude, with Golb, that the War Scroll and 4QMMT must come from different theological communities simply because 4QMMT is lacking in gory details.[271] Nor is there too sharp a contrast between the admittedly stylised abodes of the immortal souls living in eternal bliss beyond the sea, which is Josephus' description of Essene eschatology, and the descriptions in the Qumran literature.[272] Precisely how the reward of eternal life was implemented is beyond the scope of this study: the Qumran community may have held to a belief in the immortality of the soul,[273] or a doctrine of the resurrection.[274]

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267 It is quite likely that the personal eschatology which transcends death developed from the historical eschatology, but it is very difficult to locate any progression of thought among the Qumran community itself. As G.J. Brooke observes, 'at the moment, the texts from Qumran refuse to be arranged in chronological order or presented as ideologically uniform in any one period' (Review of G.S. Oegema, *Der Gesalbte und sein Volk*, in *DSD* 4.3 [1997] 367).

268 Collins, ' "He shall not Judge by what his Eyes See": Messianic Authority in the Dead Sea Scrolls', *DSD* 2.2 (1995) 145, citing Talmon, 'Waiting for the Messiah at Qumran', in J. Neusner, W.S. Green, E. Frerichs, eds., *Judaisms and their Messiahs* (Cambridge: CUP, 1987) 131.

269 H. Stegemann, 'Die Bedeutung der Qumranfunde für die Erforschung der Apokalyptik', in Hellholm, ed. *Apocalypticism*, 521-522: 'Die zentrale Zukunfterwartung der Qumrangemeinde war, daß Gott die Hasmonäer beseitigte und wieder ein Saddoqid als Hoherpriester amtieren würde. Dies ist der Kern qumranischer "Eschatologie" um den herum sich mancherlei weitere eschatologische Vorstellungen sammelten und entwickelten'.

270 As above, Philonenko describes how 1QS 4 'a integré dans sa vision de l'histoire du monde des elements propres à une eschatologie individuelle' ('L'Apocalyptique Qoumrânienne', 214).

271 Golb, *Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 199: 'the stark eschatological imagery of such writings as the *War Scroll* and the *Habakkuk Commentary* contrasts sharply with the language of the *Acts of Torah*, which lacks all the bizarre elements of those other works.'

272 Golb, *Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 200.

273 Boccaccini (*Beyond the Essene Hypothesis*, 174ff) maintains that immortality of the soul was an important tenet of the Enochic Judaism from which the Qumran community originated. See also Pryke, 'Eschatology in the Dead Sea Scrolls', 56-57: 'The bliss of the elect described in the Manual is much nearer to the "immortality of the soul" to the "resurrection of the flesh"' (57). E. Merrill, *Qumran and Predestination* (Leiden: Brill, 1975) states that 'nearly all scholars [sc. in 1975] believe that the Scrolls teach the immortality of the soul' (54).

274 4Q521 provides the main evidence for belief in resurrection, though some (e.g. Dupont-Sommer) had assumed such a belief before the publication of the fragments of 4Q521.

Finally, the problematic elements can be boiled down to two points, which each skew the parallels which Abegg makes between Paul and Qumran in crucial ways.

First, the chief problem with Abegg's understanding of works of the Law lies in the priority it gives to the sociological factors over against theological factors, at a crucial stage in the argument. Or, to put it another way, the bird's eye view of the sociologist-historian displaces what the community actually perceive themselves to be doing in 'works of Torah'. Of course, the Qumran community do see themselves as opposed to other branches of Judaism because of their misunderstanding of Torah. But the issue of separation is *subsidiary* to the primary issue, which is the highly *theological* factor of the need to obey Torah in order to be vindicated/ rewarded on the last day. We have seen this theological matrix in abundance above, and this pattern is precisely the substructure of the exhortation at the end of 4QMMT.

Secondly, in common with Sanders and Dunn, Abegg upsets the balance which the Qumran texts maintain between realised and future eschatology. Sanders' approach to the Jewish literature in general and the DSS in particular, where he is followed by Abegg, loads the theological freight on the past ('getting in') and the present ('staying in'). The taxonomy of 'getting in' and 'staying in' itself considerably downplays eschatological judgment (and by extension the role of works in that judgment) in the pattern of Jewish soteriology. The mystery of existence, 'the secret of what *will* be' includes the 'birth-times of salvation' and 'who is to inherit glory and trouble',[275] implying a considerable future dimension in the theology of the group which is often considered to have the most 'realised' eschatology of all the Jewish groups of which we have evidence.[276] Final judgment on the basis of works permeates Jewish theology, Qumran included, and we shall see in due course the problem with Abegg's statement that 'Paul was not likely reacting against against a Judaism that argued that one earned final salvation as a result of works'.[277]

15. Earliest Christian Texts

There are two distinct ways in which the NT gives us evidence for the soteriology of Second-Temple Judaism. First, there are the traditions which Early Christianity took over from Judaism: when we find early Christian traditions that are familiar from earlier Jewish texts, we can be reasonably sure that those Jewish traditions survived into the time of the emergence of Christianity. Secondly, we find in many of the earliest Christian texts characterisations of (non-Christian) strands of Judaism, which can therefore (with due care) be used for the reconstruction of the world-view of at least some Jewish communities. Finally, we shall see briefly how Paul gives evidence for both.

Despite the scepticism of some about using the NT as a source for first-century Judaism, it is both possible and necessary to do so. It is possible, because as Kim notes,

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275 4Q417 1 i 11. See Harrington, *Wisdom Texts* 51.

276 E.g. Boccaccini's judgment: 'The emphasis on individual predestination and inaugurated eschatology prevented the doctrine of resurrection from evolving at Qumran as much as in Enochic Judaism' (*Beyond the Essene Hypothesis*, 177).

277 Abegg, '4QMMT C 27, 31', 147.

even if there were distortions of Judaism in the NT, 'it belongs to the requirement of an effective polemic that the NT must exaggerate or caricature the tendencies of Judaism which really exist'.[278] And it is necessary, because without the 'control' of the New Testament, we really have no idea as to what kind of Judaism Paul and other early Christians are actually in dialogue with.

15.1 The Jewish Eschatological Framework of Early Christian Theology

15.1.1 Matthew

Matthew's Gospel is full of examples where we can see that reward for deeds, and judgment according to works are very much in evidence.[279] For example: 'I tell you the truth, anyone who gives you a cup of water in my name because you belong to Christ will certainly not lose his reward' is very typical of the kind of sayings that are included in Matthew's portrait of Jesus (e.g. Mk 9.41/Mt 10.42). But there is also a very clear affirmation of the soteriological dimension of reward:

> Then Jesus said to his disciples, "If anyone would come after me, he must deny himself and take up his cross and follow me. For whoever wants to save his life will lose it, but whoever loses his life for me will find it. What good will it be for a man if he gains the whole world, yet forfeits his soul? Or what can a man give in exchange for his soul? For the Son of Man is going to come in his Father's glory with his angels, and then he will reward each person according to what he has done. (Mt 16.24-27)

In the quotation from Psalm 62.12 in Matt. 16.27 here, the reward is soteriological, just as it is when the Psalm is quoted again in Romans 2.6.[280] The saying here in Matt 16 follows straight on from Jesus' description of those wishing to save their lives, losing them, and vice versa. The reward cannot be for individual deeds *within* the future Kingdom. In Matt 25.31-46, deeds of hospitality or justice are certainly the criterion for judgment, however much disagreement there may be on the other details of the parable.[281] On the other hand, election and grace are prominent in Matthew's Gospel: salvation is a matter of revelation purely by divine initiative (11.25-27) and is impossible for people without divine activity (19.25-26). 'At the same time, Matthew still believed that salvation was God's gift'.[282]

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278 Kim, *Origin of Paul's Gospel*, 347. Horbury, 'Paul and Judaism', 117 also notes the absence of evidence from the Gospels and Acts in Sanders' work.

279 See Mt 5.12, 5.46, 6.1-6, 6.16-18; esp. 19.28-29; 25.31-46.

280 The reference to the same Psalm in 11QPs 22:10 could go either way.

281 See for example the survey of discussions of the identity of the 'little ones' , and the question of on whom the judgment comes in G.N. Stanton, 'Once More: Matthew 25.31-46', in idem, *A Gospel for a New People. Studies in Matthew* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1992) 207-231.

282 (Following Przybylski), W.D. Davies & D.C Allison, *Matthew. Vol II* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1991) 676. Davies and Allison go further, asserting that there is no contradiction with Paul in the matter of soteriology. See also *Matthew. Vol III*, 76

15.1.2 Jn 5.28-29

Despite the realised eschatology in John by comparison with the emphasis in the Synoptics, there is still a good deal of reference to a 'final' day. John 6 in particular contains a Johannine 'eschatological discourse' in which Jesus refers to a last day four times.[283] There is also Martha's confession about Lazarus's final resurrection in 11.24, and another saying of Jesus about a last day in 12.48. So there is still plenty of room for a final judgment according to works, despite Bultmann's assertion that 'the ecclesiastical redactor has been busy in 5.26-30, specifically in 28-29, trying to conform John's realised eschatology to the official eschatology of the church'.[284] In one of the clearest statements in the NT about a resurrection for both believers and unbelievers, John's Jesus exhorts the disciples:

> Do not be astonished at this; for the hour is coming when all who are in their graves will hear his voice and will come out–those who have done good, to the resurrection of life, and those who have done evil, to the resurrection of condemnation. (5.28-29)

This resembles what we will see in Josephus: the souls of the good passing into new bodies at the revolution of the ages, whereas the wicked are punished. The raw material in the Jewish tradition which is the basis of both John's Jesus and Josephus is that the criterion for whether one is punished or receives life at the eschaton is the 'doing' of good or evil.

15.1.3 Jn 6.26-29

Certainly John does not understand 'doing good' in terms of obedience to Torah, however. The concept of 'doing' has undergone a good deal of transformation. The principle of works leading to eternal life is particularly clear in a passage which also describes the new nature of these 'works':

> "Do not work for food that spoils, but for food that endures to eternal life (τὴν βρῶσιν τὴν μένουσαν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον), which (ἣν) the Son of Man will give you. On him God the Father has placed his seal of approval." Then they asked him, "What must we do to do the works God requires?" Jesus answered, "The work of God is this: to believe in the one he has sent." (6.26-29)

The image is most likely that of the farmer, who has a choice of which crops to grow. The labour that the farmer exerts results in the harvest of food. Jesus tells his hearers that

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283 John 6.39; 6.40; 6.44; 6.54.

284 Actually the words of R.E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John. I-XII* (New York: Doubleday, 1966) 220, describing Bultmann's exegesis.

if they will only labour for the right kind of food, then Jesus will give them either that food at the harvest, or the eternal life to which it leads. It is not clear whether the gift which the Son of Man will give is the food, or the eternal life (both are feminine singular nouns which could be the antecedent of the ἣν). Jesus in John's gospel gives both 'the water which wells up to eternal life' (Jn 4.14), and also the bread of his own flesh, 'for the life of the world' (6.51), and on the other hand he gives life itself (5.21, 10.28, 17.2). These are combined in 6.33, where Jesus is the 'bread of God' who comes down to give life to the world. The precise 'chronology' of τὴν βρῶσιν τὴν μένουσαν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον (6.27) is a little unclear! What is clear, however, is that the food enables a person to survive *into* or *through* eternal life (cf 1 En. 25.4-6 above). Interestingly, it is still a gift, even though it is worked for.

The raw material - before the reconfiguration, and which is still visible even after it - is 'reaping and sowing' imagery, where the 'work' with which a person works in his or her life results in their reaping of divine reward or punishment. This common both in the OT,[285] and in the post-canonical literature.[286] Stone notes that in 4 Ezra, for example, 'the fruit of the Torah is therefore eternal reward'.[287] Sowing and reaping imagery is also seen in some of the seed parables in the Synoptics, as well as Gal 6.8-9 and 2 Cor 9.6ff.

The 'work' required for eternal life, however, has been reconfigured and re-interpreted as believing in Jesus. Brown, for example, glosses the 'those who have done good' in 5.28-29 as those who 'have listened'.[288] This fits well with Jesus' definition of the work that avails before God as believing in Jesus in 6.29. There is no polemic against 'works' in John's Gospel, and so believing is itself a kind of 'doing', or a kind of 'work'. So John testifies in two ways to a judgment according to 'work', first with the more abstract picture of good leading to resurrection life while doing evil leads to condemnation, and second with the more concrete 'sowing and reaping' imagery. These statements both provide confirmatory evidence of the basic Jewish substructure of judgment according to works on which John's Jesus draws, as well as bearing witness to the subsequent reconfiguration. So Brown can say on the gospel traditions: 'that men will be rewarded or punished according to their deeds is common to John, Paul (Rom ii 6-8) and the synoptics (Matt xxv 31-46)'.[289]

15.1.4 James 2

An eschatological perspective on the role of works might also clarify the position with regard to the soteriology of James 2. This is not the place to mount a defence of James's

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285 Though it is usually *God* who harvests (cf Rev 14.14-20): see e.g. Jer 51.33, Hos 6.11, Joel 3.13. It is a 'common idea in the Bible': J.M. Myers, *I and II Esdras* (New York: Doubleday, 1974) 174.

286 4 Ezra 3.20, 4.28ff, 9.31 and 2 Bar 70.2ff are particularly important.

287 M.E. Stone, *A Commentary on the Book of Fourth Ezra* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990) 73.

288 Brown, *Gospel According to John*, 219.

289 Brown, *Gospel According to John*, 220.

essential agreement with the position expressed in Rom. 2.1-16, but it is noteworthy for our purposes simply to remark that James is not concerned with the kind of *realised* justification (such as is expressed for example in Rom 5.1) when he refers to justification and salvation.[290] The discussion of justification in James is serving the purpose of undergirding his theology of love. In 2.1-7 he opposes the sin of showing favoritism to the rich. In 2.8-11, he grounds his criticism in the royal law: favoritism is a transgression of the law to love one's neighbour as oneself, and thus makes one a transgressor of the Law. In 2.12-13 he exhorts his readers, rather than being sycophants to the rich, to act and speak 'as those who are to be judged by the Law of liberty. For judgment will be without mercy to anyone who has shown no mercy; mercy triumphs over judgment.' Here the scene is eschatological judgment, as it frequently is in James (cf. also 3.1, 3.6, 4.12, 5.7). So when James asks immediately, 'Can faith save you?', he is not asking about a conversion experience, but rather about final salvation. As Penner argues in his chapter entitled 'The Eschatological Framework of the Epistle of James', the community addressed is the eschatological community of God, desiring to be found perfect, having been obedient to the parenesis of the letter, when the Judge comes.[291]

When James moves on to using justification language, the context is the same framework of final salvation. Perhaps even in Jas 4.4 when James uses the language of friendship and enmity with God, he has in mind concepts that we have seen expressed in the heavenly books traditions in Jubilees, where justification is equated with friendship with God and condemnation comes to his enemies in 30.21-22 (*inimici dei*, and *amici dei*). Recently some have argued for friendship with the world and enmity with God in Jas 4.4 as language of Graeco-Roman patronage,[292] but Jubilees would seem to be a more plausible background. In Jas 4, the destiny of the friends of God and the enemies of God is made very clear in the explicit description of final judgment (4.12). So the eschatological nature of the justification in Jas 2 fits both the immediate argument in which it operates, and the wider context of the book.

So what is the rôle of faith and works in this final justification? Many scholars point to the fact that when James is denying 'justification by faith alone' (2.24b), he is operating with an understanding of faith that makes his statement fairly uncontroversial. He is talking about a 'faith' or, better, a belief which consists simply in theism, or monotheism, and which is shared by the demons (2.19). It does not have any works which flow from it, and is dead (2.20).[293]

The question, then, that has caused most problems is not what James denies, but what he affirms: that is, that a person is justified by works (2.22a). There is only space

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290 Which, incidentally, seem to be synonymous for James: cf 2.14-17 with 2.21-26.

291 T.C. Penner, *The Epistle of James and Eschatology. Re-reading an Ancient Christian Letter* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996) 121-213.

292 See for example W.H. Wachob's discussion (though it is predominantly concerned with 2.1-13) in *The Voice of Jesus in the Social Rhetoric of James* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000) 178ff.

293 L. Thurén, *Derhetorizing Paul*, 35: 'James 2, 14-26 might well be another correction to a naive understanding of Paul's heavy rhetoric, where the conception 'faith' is misunderstood'. Thurén gives numerous examples of Paul's heavy rhetoric (33-34) as well as numerous examples of Paul having to correct misunderstandings of such rhetoric (31-32).

here for a very simply taxonomy of treatments of this issue. Solutions to this problem divide roughly into three approaches. In the first, works are described as *evidential*, rather than the instrumental cause of justification: there is therefore no contradiction with Paul's doctrine of justification as traditionally understood.[294] This falls down however, in that in 2.24, ὁρᾶτε ὅτι ἐξ ἔργων δικαιοῦται ἄνθρωπος, James does attribute to works a causal function in eschatological justification.[295] The second approach attempts to reconfigure justification as something different from Pauline justification. This is in part correct: James does not have a 'realised' conception of a justification 'already', as Paul does. Nevertheless, it is difficult, as Moo (to cite the most recent exponent) reckons, to say that James's 'δικαιοῦται' does not belong in the category of justification, but is more a 'final judgment'.[296] This seems to be a somewhat casuistical approach to solving the Paul/ James problem. A third approach sees James as in some continuity with his Jewish background on the issue.[297] Thus, works have a genuine instrumental rôle in eschatological justification for the believers James is addressing.[298]

15.1.5 Rev 20.11-15

Here in the vision of the great white throne, before the last vision of the new heaven and the new earth, comes the scene of judgment.[299] The imagery is the common apocalyptic vision of judgment according to the heavenly books, which record the deeds of each person:

> And I saw the dead, great and small, standing before the throne, and books were opened. Another book was opened, which is the book of life. The dead were judged according to what they had done as recorded in the books. The sea gave up the dead that were in it, and death and Hades gave up the dead that were in them, and each person was judged according to what he had done. Then death and Hades were thrown into the lake of fire. The lake of fire is the second death. If anyone's name was not found written in the book of life, he was thrown into the lake of fire. (Rev 20.11-15)

Most commentators recognize the tension here between judgment according to the deeds written down in the Book of Deeds, and the salvation of those whose names are written

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294 See e.g. R.Y. Fung, '"Justification" in the Epistle of James' in D.A. Carson, ed. *Right with God* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1992) 154.

295 Though Fung, 'Justification', 154, renders justification as 'showing to be righteous'.

296 See D.J. Moo, *James* (Leicester: Apollos, 2000) 42.

297 For a recent expression of this, see R. Bauckham, *James* (London: Routledge, 1999) 120-131, though I do not find his explanation of the independence of James and Paul here convincing.

298 James is not drawing a precise parallel between the two justifications, because he is probably not thinking of Abraham's justification in eschatological terms.

299 This judgment was first announced by the twenty-four elders in 11.18: see R. Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy. Studies in the Book of Revelation* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1993) 21.

in the Book of Life. With Caird, for example, first 'the judgment is described with a stark economy',[300] but juxtaposed with judgment according to deeds comes the 'gracious predestining purpose of God'.[301] The tension is not always resolved by commentators in the same way, however. Beale, for example, equivocates as to whether the righteous go through the 'judgment according to deeds'.[302] Knight and Prigent on the other hand see rather less tension because they assume that those whose names are in the Book of Life also have a corresponding 'entry' in the Book of Deeds,[303] that is to say, their sins have been removed from the record through the atonement of the Lamb, and their faithfulness to God is the only remaining record. This latter option seems preferable, because of the universality of the language in 20.12-13 as to who will pass through the judgment: in 20.12, τοὺς νεκρούς/ οἱ νεκροὶ certainly has a comprehensive sense. The fact that the category of τοὺς νεκρούς consists of τοὺς μεγάλους καὶ τοὺς μικρούς points to a universal scope: in any case, there is nothing to suggest any restriction of the group to the wicked. All are judged according to deeds without distinction. In 20.13, again, there is no evidence that those who have died at sea or those who are at present held by death and hades are only the wicked. Even though it does primarily refer to the condemnation of the wicked, it is likely that judgment does not have a merely negative sense in Revelation. In 11.18, the time of the judgment of the dead is the occasion for God both to destroy the wicked 'who destroy the earth' and to reward his servants (δοῦναι τὸν μισθὸν τοῖς δούλοις σοῦ). As Caird noted, however, this is held together with the strong emphasis on election in the book.

These emphases are appreciated properly neither by the New Perspective, nor by Lutheran exegesis. The New Perspective, as I have been maintaining, has tended to remove works from any positive functional role in *Jewish* eschatology and soteriology. Lutheran theology, on the other hand, has tended to neglect the role of works in the soteriology of the NT, and has so stressed the role of faith that it has swallowed up both the area of initial and final justification, and excluded works from *both*.

15.2 The Representation of Jewish Soteriology in the NT

15.2.1 Lk 10.25-37

The Parable of the Good Samaritan is one text which, at least within the rhetorical world of Luke's Gospel, gives us an insight into the Jewish theology of final salvation by works. The parable reveals the same kind of interpretation of Leviticus 18.5 that we saw

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300 G.B. Caird, *A Commentary on the Revelation of St John the Divine* (London: A. & C. Black, 1996) 259.

301 Caird, *Commentary on Revelation*, 260.

302 G.K. Beale, *The Book of Revelation* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999) 1034.

303 J. Knight, *Revelation* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999) 133 talks about an 'ethical dualism' and thus 'salvation for the righteous alone'; P. Prigent, *L'Apocalypse de St Jean* (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1988) 318, notes also that for the early Christians, the elect were also those who by definition lived righteously.

above in CD 3:14-16. In Luke 10, a *nomikos*, a teacher of the Law, comes to ask Jesus: 'What must I do to inherit eternal life?' The view of the *nomikos* is extremely clear: he assumed that inheriting eternal life resulted from obedience to the two great commandments. This is his interpretation of Torah, as is clear from verse 26. And Jesus says to him, 'Do this and you will live'.

The use of Lev 18.5b in Luke 10.25 and 10.28 here is not quite as explicit as the formulation in *CD*. The original form is 'καὶ ποιήσετε αὐτά· ἃ ποιήσας αὐτὰ ἄνθρωποὶ ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς' (LXX Lev 18.5b). But the differences between the Lukan and original version do not militate against a connection between Lev 18.5 and Luke 10; rather they *encourage* a connection. What has happened is in accordance with what we have seen elsewhere. There is a deferral of promises to a future eschatology: the ambiguous (in the sense of reference to this life or future life) ζήσεται becomes ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσω, about which there can be no doubt. Furthermore, there is an 'eternalisation' of the life which in its original context in Leviticus would have been understood in terms of lengthened life, and prosperity of one's descendants. As well as 'eternalisation', then, it is also an *individualisation*. There are also smaller changes of tense and person: first, the form of words in Luke 10.25 in the question of the *nomikos* retains the aorist participle ποιήσας, but ζήσεται is expanded into ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσω, which is also a shift to the first person. When Jesus replies in 10.28, ποιήσετε becomes the *singular* imperative ποίει, and ζήσεται is adapted from third person to second person ζῇση. Thus:

> Lev 18.5b: καὶ ποιήσετε αὐτά· ἃ ποιήσας αὐτὰ ἄνθρωπος ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς
> Luke 10.25: τί ποιήσας ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσω;
> Luke 10.28: τοῦτο ποίει καὶ ζῇση.

The importance of Lev 18.5 for this whole section (Luke 10.25-37) becomes more apparent when one notes Nolland's observation that 'Luke creates an inclusio around the episode by using again at the end of v 28 ποιεῖν, "to do," and the ζω root ("life/live"), which have occurred in the opening verse (v 25). The challenge will be reiterated in v 37 at the termination of the linked parable, where the same imperative form of ποιεῖν will recur.'[304]

There is even a compelling argument that the Parable of the Good Samaritan is a kind of midrash on Lev 18.5. This is developed by Ellis and Stegner. Ellis 'has shown how Leviticus 18:5 establishes the unity of the pericope.'[305] It is not only the imperative of ποιεῖν which recurs at the end of the pericope, as Nolland noted above, but also the aorist participle ποιήσας. Stegner develops his argument further by arguing that Luke 10.25-37 taps into an existing exegetical tradition along typical rabbinic lines, focusing on

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304 J. Nolland, *Luke 9:21-18:34* (Waco: Word, 1993) 582.

305 W.R. Stegner, 'The Parable of the Good Samaritan and Leviticus 18:5', in D. Groh, R. Jewett, eds. *The Living Text. FS E.W. Saunders*, (Washington: University Press of America, 1985) 29; see E.E. Ellis, *The Gospel of Luke* (London: Marshall, 1974) 161.

the words ποιήσας and ἄνθρωπος: 'Jesus [and his interlocutor] probably followed the conventional exegesis of this passage that was later incorporated into the Sifra and the Targums.'[306]

Luke 10 is usually omitted from discussions of the relation between Torah-observance and 'life': the New Perspective emphasis is to see Torah as regulating life (expressed in the use of Lev 18.5), and not so much in terms of leading to future life.[307] Dunn claims that 'the law was given primarily to *regulate* life within the people of God'.[308] But Luke 10, in combination with the reference to the same position in the Damascus Document must call for a re-evaluation of the place of Lev 18.5 in Second-Temple Judaism.

15.2.2 Mk 10.17-22

Very similar again is the triple tradition in Mark 10.17-22 and parallels. Jesus replies to an *archon* who comes to him and asks 'What must I do to inherit eternal life? (τί ποιήσω ἵνα ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσω;)'. With the *nomikos* in Luke 10, the concern with one's destiny in the age to come was clearly an issue for at least two people in the life-time of Jesus.[309] Again, the futurity of the life is implied by the verb κληρονομήσω. The bifurcation of 'this age'/ 'the age to come' basic to rabbinic thought is also ingrained in the thinking of Jesus and his contemporaries.[310] There is also an *individualism* implicit in the question.[311] In any case, Jesus replies, on the *archon*'s own soteriological terms, in the language of Second-Temple orthodoxy: 'You know the commandments: Do not commit adultery, do not murder, do not steal, do not bear false witness, honour your mother and father.' Obedience to the commandments is the way to inherit life in the age to come. Works are again related to the attainment of an individual, future, eternal life. The difference in here lies in Jesus' additional stipulation that the *archon* follow him and sell all his possessions. Jesus does not reject reward theology, but reconfigures it as reward for service to himself and the Kingdom.

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306 Stegner, 'Parable of the Good Samaritan',32.

307 Dunn, *Theology of Paul the Apostle*, 153n26, cites Howard saying that 'Tannaitic Judaism interpreted Lev. 18.5 not in terms of perfection by rather in terms of making Yahweh's law the foremost aspect of one's life' (G.E. Howard, 'Christ the End of the Law: The Meaning of Romans 10.4ff', *JBL* 88 [1969] 331-337).

308 Dunn, *Theology of Paul the Apostle*, 153.

309 As noted by Horbury, 'Paul and Judaism', 117. Cranfield, *Mark* (Cambridge: CUP, 1959) 327, notes that the *archon* 'at least asks the question that really matters'!

310 For the 'this age/ the age to come' antithesis in the teaching of Jesus, see: Mk 10.30 (and possibly 3.29), Mt 12:32, Lk 18:30, Lk 20.34-35. Cf. also 'this world' (with a more spatial sense, though clearly in antithesis to 'eternal life') in Jn 12:25, 16:33. Paul also refers to 'this age' (though without the corresponding 'age to come') in 1 Cor 1.20 , 2.8, 3.18, 2 Cor 4.4. As Davies and Allison note (*Matthew. Vol II*, 348), however, systematic formulations of the dichotomy only come later.

311 J. Gnilka, *Das Evangelium nach Markus. (Mk 8,27 - 16,20)* (Zürich: Benziger Verlag, 1979) 85.

15.2.3 Parables of the Prodigal Son (Lk 15.11-32) and Labourers (Mt 20.1-16)

As in Pauline studies, there has been a (partly understandable) reaction against the traditional portrait of Judaism which takes the parables as a starting point.[312] N.T. Wright, for example, takes the crucial issue in the parable of the two sons to be christological by virtue of the parable of the two sons being 'Israel's-story-in-miniature', and brackets the relation of works and final salvation.[313] R. Hoppe also reacts very strongly against using the parable of the labourers or the parable of the two sons as shedding light on the relationship between grace and works: both are concerned with a certain portrait of God, and with Christology.[314]

It is of course necessary to exercise even more caution than usual in trying to reconstruct attitudes of 'real people' from a parable. On the other hand, the Parables can embody in a *character* what theological discourse can only do with difficulty: that is, to capture the spirit of what Jesus perceived himself to be 'up against'. And in the characterisation of the Jewish opponents of Jesus, the role of works cannot be eliminated, even if it is not primary.

The essential characteristic of the two 'villains' in the two parables under discussion here is *envy*. In the parable of the lost son, it is implicit in the reaction of the elder brother in Lk 15.28-30:

> The older brother became angry and refused to go in. So his father went out and pleaded with him. But he answered his father, 'Look! All these years I've been slaving for you and never disobeyed your orders. Yet you never gave me even a young goat so I could celebrate with my friends. But when this son of yours who has squandered your property with prostitutes comes home, you kill the fattened calf for him!'

This bears a startling resemblance to the parable exclusive to Matthew, where the labourer who has worked all day is jealous of the eleventh-hour workers:[315]

> "The workers who were hired about the eleventh hour came and each received a denarius. So when those came who were hired first, they expected to receive more. But each one of them also received a denarius. When they received it, they began to grumble against the landowner. 'These men who were hired last worked only one hour,' they said, 'and you have made them equal to us who have borne the burden of the work and the heat of the day.'(Mt 20.11-12)

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312 E.g., Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism*, 180, 277-278 opposes the use of Lk 18.9-14 in this regard particularly virulently.

313 See N.T. Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996) 125-131.

314 R. Hoppe, 'Gleichnis und Situation. Zu den Gleichnissen vom guten Vater (Lk 15,11-32) und gütigen Hausherm (Mt 20, 1-15)', *BZ* 28 (1984) 1-21.

315 D.A. Hagner, *Matthew 14-28* (Dallas: Word, 1995) 571: 'The Parable [sc. of the labourers] resembles that of the prodigal son and the reaction of the elder brother.' Also, Davies & Allison, *Matthew. Vol. III*, 74, who on Mt 20.11-12 note, 'compare the complaint in Lk 15.28-30.'

The protest of the elder brother and the all-day labourers that they have *worked* so hard contributes to our argument here. The elder brother's protest is even couched in covenantal language: 'τοσαῦτα ἔτη δουλεύω σοι καὶ οὐδέποτε ἐντολήν σου παρῆλθον' (15.29). Fitzmyer comments on the verb δουλεύω that 'in the fuller Lucan context the vb. alludes as well to the loyal service of keeping the commandments on the part of Jesus' critics'.[316]

It seems likely that in these two characterisations there is an implicit criticism of Jesus' opponents. And this attitude of envy must be rooted in a theology of reward. The expectation in the Matthaean parable is that the reward should be in proportion to the amount of work done. The protest is not that the eleventh-hour workers received a denarius, but that those who worked all day received the same amount. In the case of the older brother, the protest is that he has worked much harder (δουλεύω),[317] and received (in his own eyes at least) *less* by way of reward than the prodigal. If one transposes (cautiously) these protests into the analogous context of Jesus' treatment of sinners in the eyes of his Jewish opponents, one can conclude that Jesus is attacking an attitude on the part of these opponents whereby their reward theology had become a means of confining God's grace to those worthy of it. It is often assumed that the critique of exclusivism is a way of circumventing the accusation of 'works-righteousness', legalism or the like. But leaving aside those ideologically loaded terms, it is quite plausible from these parables that reward theology is actually the *basis* for the exclusivism: in both cases, the distinction is between the protesters who have done the hard work, and the 'upstarts' who, having arrived late on the scene, have not.

15.3 Jewish and Pauline Judgment by Works in Rom 2

What is particularly important about Rom 2 here is that it contains expression *both* of the Early Christian theology of judgment according works, *and* a representation of this same theology in contemporaneous Judaism. It is no surprise, considering what we have seen in the Jewish texts above, that Paul's dialogue partner in Romans 2 (which we will examine in more detail later) believed firmly in a final judgment according to works. Significantly, though, Paul makes no attempt to disagree with this tenet of Second-Temple Judaism. Indeed, he cheerfully affirms it.

In Rom 2.2, this view of judgment is a point of contact on which Paul and his interlocutor can agree, and the basis for further discussion:[318] οἴδαμεν δὲ ὅτι τὸ κρίμα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστιν κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ἐπὶ τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα πράσσοντας. As Elliott puts it, Paul argues *from*, not *for* divine impartiality.[319] In 2.5-6, it is the means by which Paul indicts his dialogue partner, culminating in a citation of Ps 62.13: (τοῦ

316 J.A. Fitzmyer, *Luke X-XXIV* (New York: Doubleday, 1964) 1091.
317 Fitzmyer, *Luke X-XXIV*, 1091: 'conscious of his fidelity, he stresses it'.
318 See especially Käsemann, *Romans*, 54-55.
319 N. Elliott, *The Rhetoric of Romans* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990) 122.

θεου) ὃς ἀποδώσει ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ. As Yinger nicely points out, this judgment is both universal (as in the compass of both Jew and Greek in 2.9-10) and individual, as seen by the use of ἕκαστος in 2.6.[320] In 2.7-10, the deeds in question are clarified: those who by perseverance in good work seek glory, honour and immortality will receive eternal life; but wrath and anger come to those who disobey the truth.[321] The soul of the man 'τοῦ κατεργαζομένου τὸ κακόν' (2.9) is contrasted with anyone 'τῷ ἐργαζομένῳ τὸ ἀγαθόν' (2.10). There is a stark symmetry which is particularly clear in the final two verses here.

This 'individualism' which Paul which Paul shares with his Jewish interlocutor raises problems for a view of Jewish eschatology which focuses on the historical aspects of restoration. Wright, for example, focuses on the national dimensions of vindication over against an individualistic Jewish theology.[322] While there is much to be said for this, and the historical dimension of eschatology should not be pushed out by more 'heavenly' models, there is equally an individual and eternal dimension which comes to explicit expression here in 2.6-10. And crucially, this is not merely one model among many, but is the one which Paul focuses on as characterising his Jewish dialogue partner.

Another misunderstanding on the part of some scholars is that Paul's language in 2.6-11 is merely hypothetical.[323] Scholars consistently give two reasons why Paul must be speaking hypothetically. First, from the wider context of Paul's theology, it is said that Paul would not conceive of people being saved by works. The second reason scholars give is that the wider argument in which chapter 2 comes is all about humanity under sin, *before* the divine solution of the revelation of the righteousness of God in Christ. So Romans 1.18-3.20 could not refer to Christians at any point because the whole argument is situated 'B.C.'.

There are three reasons, however, why 1.18-3.20 can still be an account of humanity as subject to the power of sin and the present and future judgment of God, while also dropping hints about the 'AD' age. The first reason is that Paul's discussion of the symmetrical judgment of the righteous and the wicked in 2.6-10 grows directly out of what Paul says in 2.2 is the basis of his agreement with his interlocutor: namely, that wicked deeds will be punished by God. Verses 3-6 continue, uninterrupted, the theme of divine judgment, and the argument depends upon Paul and his dialogue partner being in agreement on the general principle. There is no evidence that Paul in 2.6-10 is introducing a new mode of argumentation, be it *ad hominem* or hypothetical. Rather the linear continuity of the argument suggests the opposite.

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320 Yinger, *Paul, Judaism and judgment according to Deeds*, 153-154.

321 Schreiner is probably right to understand 2.9 as the 'human experience of misery that accompanies this wrath' (*Romans*, 113), contra Käsemann, (*Romans*, 60) who takes it as objective, and 'not to be interpreted psychologically'.

322 This is a recurrent feature of Wright's work: see e.g. 'Romans and the Theology of Paul', 32-33.

323 At least as far as the recompense of *salvation* is concerned. 'The problem, of course, lies less with the negative side of Romans 2 than with the positive. That Paul counted evildoers as worthy of destruction is seldom disputed.' Yinger, *Paul, Judaism and judgment according to Deeds*, 146.

The second reason is Rom 2.14-15, where the gentiles who have the law written on their hearts will be justified on the final day. This passage demonstrates particularly, contra Thielman, that 2.13 is not hypothetical.[324] There is growing support for this reading,[325] and I have discussed it elsewhere.[326] The evidence for the 'Christian' reading of this passage boils down to four arguments. First, the φύσει of 2.14, contra Dunn, can go just as easily (in fact, more easily) with what precedes than what follows.[327] Second, τὰ τοῦ νόμου are not isolated parts of Torah but refer to the Torah in its entirety: τὰ τοῦ (or τὰ τῆς) phrases in the NT have comprehensive, not partial reference.[328] Thirdly, as a result of this, those who do Torah in 2.14 bear a very strong resemblance to those who do Torah in 2.13b (who are subsequently justified). Finally, when it comes to the accusing and defending thoughts in 2.15, the rhetorical point Paul is making to his Jewish interlocutor is that *some* gentiles may even have *defending* thoughts on the day of judgment (transformed from the kind of thoughts described in 1.21, 28). Thus, to sum up, 2.14-15 is providing concrete examples of those in 2.13 who are justified on the final day by virtue of their works.

Thirdly, Rom 2.25-29 is clearer still. Paul first states that a law-breaking Jew becomes a non-Jew (verse 25). And verse 26: The uncircumcised person who keeps the commandments will be reckoned circumcised:[329] a simple reversal in each case. The Jew can forfeit his election through wickedness, and the non-Jew can be reckoned as elect through his obedience. But it could still be hypothetical: we are still in the sphere of conditional clauses.[330] In verse 27, though, we see less hypothetical language: 'The one

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324 Thielman, *Plight to Solution*, 94-96.

325 For the modern period, see Barth (*Shorter Commentary on Romans* [London: SCM 1959] *ad loc*; *CD* II/2, 604; IV/1, 33ff, 395; IV/2, 561; IV/4, 7ff), followed by F. Flückiger, 'Die Werke des Gesetzes bei den Heiden' *TZ* 8 (1952) 17-42 and Cranfield (*Romans*, *ad loc*). See recently N.T. Wright, 'Romans and the Theology of Paul', 41n21, and R. Bergmeier, 'Das Gesetz im Römerbrief' in idem, *Das Gesetz im Römerbrief und andere Studien zum Neuen Testament* (Tübingen: Mohr, 2000) 53-54.

326 See my 'A Conversion of Augustine. From Natural Law to Restored Nature in Romans 2.13-16', *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers, 1999* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999) 327-358.

327 See for example, Wis. Sol. 13.1; Ignatius, *Eph.* 1.1. Bergmeier, 'Das Gesetz im Römerbrief', 53, also notes Josephus, *AJ* VIII 152: 'αὐτὴν οὖσαν ἀχυρὰν φύσει'.

328 This is, admittedly, a *contra mundum* position. Dunn and Byrne read it as 'vague', and Stendahl as 'many aspects of the law' (*Final Account*, 18). But in fact, while a τὰ τοῦ phrase is *general*, it is also *inclusive* and *comprehensive*. In the NT two antithetical 'spheres' are often contrasted: τὰ τοῦ X in opposition to τὰ τοῦ Y: 'οὐ φρονεῖς τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀλλὰ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων' (Mt 16.23, Mk 8.33). These antitheses constitute the majority of the usage of the construction. There is also τὰ Καίσαρος and τὰ τοῦ θεου (Mk 12.17 and parallels); τὰ τῆς σαρκὸς and τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος (Rom 8.5) and a couple of other examples. There are three cases where there is no antithesis: Rom 14.19, 1 Cor 13.11, and 2 Cor 11.30, but the sense is the same: general, but in no sense 'limited' as many would describe τὰ τοῦ νόμου. Räisänen is surely correct: 'There is in the expression τὰ τοῦ νόμου nothing to suggest a limitation of the number of precepts fulfilled' (*Paul and the Law* [Tübingen: Mohr, ²1987] 103).

329 As Wilckens (*Der Brief and die Römer*, 155) and Schreiner (*Romans*, 141) note, at the eschaton (λογισθήσεται).

330 Eskola, *Theodicy and Predestination*, 133, insists 2.26 is hypothetical: 'Here we have a prospective conditional clause (ἐὰν οὖν) which is of an unreal nature'.

who is not circumcised physically and yet obeys the law will condemn you who are a lawbreaker'. Wilckens astutely observes that there is almost certainly a reversal of 2.1 here.[331] As far as the phrase 'doing the law' in concerned, Schreiner notes that it is almost certainly a paraphrase for obedience,[332] as opposed to Wright's gloss of covenant status,[333] and Moo's understanding of it as 'faith and the indwelling of the Spirit'.[334] 'Doing the law' is after all contrasted with transgression of it. This obedience is not constituted by deliberate obedience to the terms Mosaic covenant, however: rather the relationship between the Christian believer and the Torah is redefined in two distinct ways.

First, the *content* of the Law is redefined: that is to say, the law and circumcision are reconfigured as they are in Phil 3.3, where Paul asserts that the people who insist upon circumcision are in fact not 'the circumcision'; the 'circumcision' are in reality those who are not (necessarily) circumcised in the flesh, but who 'worship in the Spirit of God'. The precise nature of how the content is redefined need not occupy us here.

Second, fulfilment of the Torah is a by-product, rather than the goal of Christian obedience. The Christian believer does not *set out* to fulfil Torah, but the Torah is nevertheless fulfilled *in* him or her: 'Paul is describing, not prescribing Christian behaviour' when he talks of Torah-fulfilment.[335]

In verses 28-29, we see the identity of this uncircumcised, yet obedient, person. The secret Jew, who has a circumcision of the heart by the Spirit, is a real person, a gentile Christian, in whom the promises of Ezekiel and Jeremiah are coming to fulfilment through God's work in Christ and by the Spirit.[336] As Díaz-Rodelas nicely puts it: 'El cumplimiento de las exigencias de la Ley puede hacer de ellos realización viva de la esperanza profética de la efusión del Espíritu y del corazón circunciso.'[337] There is now a considerable body of opinion which accepts that 2.25-29 talks of real Christian gentiles: Wright talks about the 'old consensus... that the person in 26f is a non-Christian' breaking down.[338] Käsemann and Cranfield, as well as Dunn and Wright, and now Schreiner find the hypothetical interpretation unacceptable: what might have been hypothetical language in 2.25-26 simply cannot be in 2.27-29. Similarly, Dodd's 'godly pagan' reading is also untenable:[339] even more than the very similar terms in 2.14, the language of fulfilment of Torah is far too strong to point to a partial obedience. Finally, as Schreiner notes, this has important implications for one's understanding of works and

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331 Wilckens, *Der Brief an die Römer*, 156.

332 Schreiner, *Romans*, 140.

333 Wright, 'The Law in Romans 2', 138-139.

334 Moo, *Romans*, 171.

335 Westerholm, *Israel's Law and the Church's Faith*, 201. This line of thought is also important to R. Longenecker, *Galatians*, 242-243; Hansen, 'Paul's Conversion and his Ethic of Freedom in Galatians', in R. Longenecker, ed. *The Road from Damascus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997) 227-230; also Barclay, *Obeying the Truth*, esp. 140.

336 Wright, 'The Law in Romans 2', 134-139.

337 J.M. Díaz-Rodelas, *Pablo y la Ley* (Estella: Editorial Verbo Divino 1994) 91.

338 Wright, 'The Law in Romans 2', 133.

339 Dodd, *Romans*, 66.

final salvation: 'The last clause in verse 29 shows that obedience to the law produced by the Holy Spirit includes eschatological reward... Ἔπαινος denotes an eschatological reward from God (cf 1 Cor 4.5, 1 Pet 1.7). The reward should not be construed as something given above and beyond eternal life. Rom 2.26 suggests that eternal life itself is the reward since there, the uncircumcised person who observed the law "will be reckoned" as circumcised, as a member of God's covenant people. Most likely, the reference to ἔπαινος communicates the same thought'.[340]

In 1.18-3.20 Paul *is* showing the hopelessness of the whole of humanity under sin: it is, as Bell describes it, a 'Verdammnisgeschichte'.[341] But the argument is carefully structured. 1.18-32 concerns gentiles, and 2.1-29 the Jewish people, and crucially, one of the ways in which he shames his Jewish interlocutor in Rom 2 is to show him gentiles who have forced their way into the Kingdom ahead of Jews. Paul is perhaps provoking his Jewish interlocutor to jealousy, enacting Rom 11.13-14. So, while Paul's overarching argument in 1.18 - 3.20 is 'BC', he does make reference occasionally to 'AD'. Moreover, if Paul can really envisage the 'uncircumcision' keeping the commandments and fulfilling the Law, then there is no reason to exclude Christians from Rom 2.6-10, where he articulates the truth of judgment according to deeds. This, as we noted above, grows out of the 'οἴδαμεν' of 2.2, where Paul and his interlocutor establish what they agree on, so Paul is not merely using an *ad hominem* argument.

Romans 2, while unique,[342] is by no means a solitary Pauline witness to final salvation by works. Col. 3.23-25 is another particularly clear example:

> Whatever you do, work at it with all your heart, as working for the Lord, not for human masters, since you know that you will receive an inheritance from the Lord as a reward (ἀπὸ κυρίου ἀπολήμψεσθε τὴν ἀνταπόδοσιν τῆς κληρονομίας). It is the Lord Christ you are serving. Those who do wrong will be repaid for their wrongs, (ὁ γὰρ ἀδικῶν κομίσεται ὃ ἠδίκησεν) and there is no favouritism.

Here Paul expresses a symmetrical judgment where salvation and condemnation are according to deeds: condemnation is a 'measure for measure' judgment, and salvation is (with something of a mixture of metaphors!) an inheritance that is repaid. Obedience is defined as 'working for the Lord' (3.23), as 'it is the Lord Christ you are serving': we can see a difference from works of Torah, as the obedience is Christocentric.

Gal 6.7-8 has a more pneumatological emphasis: 'Those who sow to please their sinful nature (σάρξ) from that nature will reap destruction; those who sow to please the Spirit, from the Spirit will reap eternal life'. Though a different image is at work - the agricultural image of planting and harvesting - the cash value is the same: one's actions

340 Schreiner, *Romans*, 144.

341 Bell, *No One Seeks for God*, 90, despite the criticism of Stowers, 'Review: No One Seeks for God', 371.

342 Wright, with characteristic panache, describes it as 'the joker in the pack': 'The Law in Romans 2', 131.

determine one's eschatological destiny.

Rom 6.21-22 is rather similar, though the agricultural image is probably a dead metaphor in this case:[343] τίνα οὖν καρπὸν εἴχετε τότε; ἐφ' οἷς νῦν ἐπαισχύνεσθε, τὸ γὰρ τέλος ἐκείνων θάνατος. νυνὶ δὲ ἐλευθερωθέντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας δουλωθέντες δὲ τῷ θεῷ ἔχετε τὸν καρπὸν ὑμῶν εἰς ἁγιασμόν, τὸ δὲ τέλος ζωὴν αἰώνιον. Here, Paul establishes a soteriological sequence in verse 22: the new *karpos* leads to holiness which in turn leads to eternal life. Unlike the sequence in, for example, Rom 8.29-30, the causal link between the elements in 6.22 is more sharply defined by the preposition εἰς and the substantive τέλος. There is an unmistakable causal connection between the behaviour encapsulated in the phrase τὸν καρπὸν ὑμῶν εἰς ἁγιασμόν - hard as it may be to define that behaviour with any precision - and the eschatological destiny of ζωή αἰώνιος. The 'judgment seat' images in Rom 14.10-12 and 2 Cor 5.10 also deserve note, though they are not as clear as other examples.[344]

No less important in the broader task of the reconstruction of early Christian theology is the fact that, as we have seen, a doctrine of final salvation by works is an important feature of other New Testament texts. On the one hand, Paul is likely to have been influenced by Jesus-traditions which presuppose this view. And later, Paul saw himself as preaching the same gospel as the other Apostles (1 Cor 15.11). It seems unlikely that he could have made such a statement of solidarity if he saw the others as holding to a doctrine of final judgment fundamentally at variance with his own. So Paul is not a lone, isolated voice either in the texts of the NT or in the history of the early church; rather, he affirmed the importance of final salvation according to works as part of his theology, and it also has an important place in New Testament theology as a whole.

Two misunderstandings of Paul's view here need to be dealt with. The first concerns the *content* of the deeds that are done in Christian obedience. On the traditional Reformed view,[345] which is also retained by Dunn,[346] the law continues to be normative for the Christian life, though for the Christian it is in some sense divested of its ritual-ceremonial (or for Dunn, its 'boundary-marking') aspects.

However, for Paul, Christian obedience is very different from 'works of Torah', that is, works done in obedience to Torah. In the first place, Paul never uses Torah *tout simple* for the purpose of parenesis.[347] Second, there are Paul's radical statements

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343 As Dunn, *Romans*, 347-348, notes the broader meaning of κάρπος as 'return', or 'appropriate result' is widely attested.

344 Contra J.-B. Matand-Bulembat, who dilutes the reference to judgment according to deeds in 2 Cor 5, by placing the emphasis on the need for both the dead and the living to be present and by focusing on what we *do not* know from the passage ('Or Paul ne précise pas la nature de cette récompense' [181]; similarly, that we do not know whether the recompense is *post mortem* or at the eschaton). See *Noyau et Enjeux de l'Eschatologie Paulinienne* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1997) 180-182.

345 For a recent expression, see B.L. Martin, *Christ and the Law in Paul.*

346 See e.g. Dunn, *Theology of Paul*, 662.

347 Contra, e.g. Dunn, *Theology of Paul*, 632.

concerning the temporariness of the Torah, and the reconfiguration of its ethical function.[348] Third, there is the Christocentric nature of Paul's ethics, such that Paul can exhort his readers on numerous occasions to imitate Christ (as well as himself).[349] The burden-bearing of Christ in Galatians is the model for Christian obedience:[350] the same point is made in Rom 15.1-3.[351] By bearing one another's burdens, believers follow Jesus: the Torah is fulfilled as a result, though that is not the intention.[352] The Christ-centredness of Paul's theology of obedience is also evident from the fact that Paul sees the primary 'work' of the Christian as imitation of, and obedience to, Christ. The Law, by contrast, bound Israel to the στοιχεία when it was in force. The Law no longer fits the new cosmos which is a reality now Christ has come: it belongs to an old, and now past era. Longenecker puts it eloquently: 'Ironically scripture plays a part in demarcating and binding everything to be held within the clutches of the power of sin. This does not go contrary to the intentions of God but, in fact, in a strange fashion, is held within God's purposes and forms part of God's own plan, through the instrument of Scripture itself'.[353]

The second misunderstanding is at the heart of the difference between Jewish and Pauline theologies of work(s). Paul's theology of the divine empowerment of Christians can be approached from two angles: that of Paul's autobiographical statements, and that of Paul's general description of Christian perseverance and obedience.

First, Paul's self-representation as one whose obedience and ministry comes wholly from indwelling divine grace. In Galatians, Paul claims the empowerment in his ministry as a relativisation of the importance of Peter (Gal 2.8). Paul can even say shortly afterwards that it is not he himself who lives, but Christ in him (2.20). Similarly in Colossians, Paul paradoxically struggles 'with all *his* energy which so powerfully works in me' (Col 1.29). Secondly, Paul describes Christians as not so much obeying out of gratitude to God's redemption, but out of the reality of the divine presence and indwelling of the Spirit. In Gal 5, these come in a parenetic context, but Paul also presents as fact that Christians are 'led by the Spirit'. Rom 8.6, 9, 11 are also similar. So Christian obedience is, according to Paul, not so much the believer's response to what God has done in Christ, but it is the effect of God's continuing work in the believer, the 'fruit of

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348 J.L. Martyn, 'The Crucial Event in the History of the Law' in E.H. Lovering and J.L. Sumney, eds., *Theology and Ethics in Paul and his Interpreters*. FS V.P. Furnish (Nashville: Abingdon, 1996) 48-61. Though I disagree with Martin on what 'the crucial event' is, he makes a very good case for how the ethical dimensions of the Torah are redefined in Galatians. See also Wright, *Climax of the Covenant*, 157-174, and B. Longenecker, *Triumph of Abraham's God*, 117-140.

349 See for example R.B. Hays's 'Christology and Ethics: The Law of Christ', *CBQ* 49 (1987) esp. 272-283, which provides an excellent description of how Paul's ethics are rooted in the pattern of the life of Christ.

350 Gal 1.4, 2.20, 3.10-14 and 3.23-4.5 depict Christ in various different ways as the 'burden-bearer' *par excellence*. This becomes the basis for ethics in 6.2.

351 Hays, 'Christology and Ethics', 286-287.

352 It is notable that here, as ever, no Torah (not even a Torah of Christ) is held out as something to be 'observed'. Rather, after Paul's ethical aphorism of burden-bearing has been carried out, then the conclusion can be drawn *post eventum* that the Torah of Christ has been observed.

353 B. Longenecker, *Triumph of Abraham's God*, 125.

the Spirit'. The dimension of perseverance also comes to the fore in Paul's letters.[354] In Philippians in particular, the work which God began in the Philippian church will unfailingly be brought to completion at the Parousia (1.6). Similarly, the Philippians must work out their salvation because God is working it out in them for the sake of his plan (2.12-13). Finally, at the Parousia, Christ himself will transform the bodies of believers into the likeness of his own (Phil 3.21). Again, in Col 1.11 Paul draws attention to 'all [God's] power' which is drawn on to gain 'great endurance and patience'. Paul's theology of empowerment is not merely pneumatological, however, but also christological, as is evident from Gal 2.20 and his designation of the Holy Spirit as the Spirit of Jesus (Phil 1.19) or the Spirit of Christ (Rom 8.9-10). Paul's pneumatology in both his self-representations and in his more programmatic descriptions of the obedience of Christians in general poses a particular challenge, as Campbell has already noted, to Arminian conceptions of libertarian obedience.[355] It is perhaps noteworthy that three of the most important scholars to attribute a covenant-nomist shape to Paul's theology, Sanders,[356] Dunn[357] and Hooker,[358] stand or function in the Methodist tradition.

Paul's theology of final judgment according to works, then, exhibits both continuity and discontinuity in relation to other Jewish texts: continuity as to works being a criterion for final judgment, discontinuity as to the character of the work(s). Similarly, Paul's theology does not fit comfortably into either a Lutheran mould of thought (because of this judgment theology),[359] nor into a Reformed one (because of the different attitudes to the Law in Jewish and Christian obedience). On the other hand, neither can covenantal nomism suffice as a description of either Jewish or Christian religion, again, because of the *function* of works at final judgment. And the New Perspective's attempt in general to draw attention to the similarity between Jewish and Pauline soteriological patterns runs aground on the rocks of Paul's pneumatology. If Yinger is correct to deny that 'the grace-works axis in Judaism generally is any more synergistic... than in Paul'[360] then the Holy Spirit came at Pentecost for nothing (cf Gal 2.21!). Except at Qumran, there are no close

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354 For a longer exposition of this theme, see my 'The New Testament and Openness Theism', in A.J. Gray & C. Sinkinson, ed. *Reconstructing Theology. A Critical Assessment of the Theology of Clark Pinnock* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2000) 49-80.

355 D.A. Campbell, 'The ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ from Durham. Professor Dunn's *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*', *JSNT* 72 (1998) 102-103.

356 Sanders does not see covenantal nomism as a *sufficient* description of Paul's thought, though he does see a large measure of continuity. For covenantal-nomist elements, see *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 511-513: see 513-514 for Sanders' qualifications of this view.

357 Dunn, *Theology of Paul the Apostle*, e.g. 632.

358 Hooker, 'Paul and "Covenantal Nomism" ', 157 cited in Dunn, *Theology of Paul the Apostle*, 632.

359 Again, for recent expressions see Käsemann, *Romans*; Gundry, 'Grace, Works, and Staying Saved in Paul'; Stuhlmacher, 'Christus Jesus ist hier, der gestorben ist'; Bell, *No One Seeks for God*.

360 Yinger, *Paul, Judaism and Judgment according to Deeds*, 4.

parallels to Paul's theology of divine empowerment in Second-Temple Judaism.[361] Even the Qumran parallels are questionable, however, because of the emphasis in the Qumran texts on the *illumination* provided by the Spirit, rather than on the empowering.[362] Nevertheless, Paul does not seem to be arguing against the kind of world-of-thought expressed in 1QH, and would in any case deny the presence of the Holy Spirit - who is the Spirit of Christ - in the Qumran community. However, on the framework of eschatological judgment of every individual as according to deeds, resulting in condemnation or eternal life as the response of God to those deeds, Paul and the Qumran community would have agreed.

We have seen, then, that the importance of works in NT soteriology is a problem for some forms of Lutheran theology. When it comes to the New Perspective, however, there is considerable reluctance to allow works to have any functional role in the soteriology of Judaism. Here the point made by Daniel Schwartz is salutary.[363] In his rabbinic exegesis of the New York graffito "JESUS SAVES... MOSES INVESTS", he highlights the point that so much scholarship has an inbuilt hostility to the concepts of merit, reward, righteousness through works and the like. Schwartz wonders what is wrong with them. Like Avemarie, he wants to preserve the traditions of merit and reward theology as integral to authentic Judaism, and New Testament scholars should be more cautious before removing them from the earlier traditions in attempts to build ecumenical bridges.[364]

In fact, it has not been recognised sufficiently what the common ground between the traditions of early Christianity and early Judaism really are. The common ground is not that both consist in initial grace that fully accomplishes salvation followed by works which are evidence of that; rather both share an elective grace, as well as assigning a determinative role to works at final judgment. We have also seen, however, how Paul's theology can still make a radical break from Judaism, due to the way this structure is precisely framed. As a general conclusion, we have seen the double attestation of a Jewish works-based soteriology in the NT: first, in how it left its mark on early *Christian* soteriology; second, in how it is attributed to the Jewish parties in the 'Jewish-Christian dialogue' in the NT, as well as our evidence from Paul for both.

16. 4 Ezra

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361 The kind of thought expressed in texts such as Ep. Ar. 18, 231, 237, 255; Jub 5.12; Pss. Sol. 16.12-13; HSP 12.65; 2 Macc 1.3-4 which do speak of divine strengthening are still at a considerable distance from Paul's conception of obedience being the fruit of the inward work of God's Spirit.

362 See e.g. 1QS 4:2ff (cf 1QSb 5:25) for something of a definition of the work of the Spirit in this regard. 1QS 11:11-15 does refer to the active work of God in the believer, however, in a sense beyond the merely revelatory.

363 D.R. Schwartz, *Leben durch Jesus versus Leben durch die Torah. Zur Religionspolemik der ersten Jahrhundert* (Franz-Delitzsch-Vorlesung 1991) 3.

364 Thurén makes a similar point to Schwartz: 'If the alternatives "works" and "grace" represent exclusive lines of salvation, why should the latter be preferred?' (Thurén, *Derhetorizing Paul*, 166).

We saw above in the Introduction that 4 Ezra is, for Sanders, the exception that proves the rule: it represents what happens when 'covenantal nomism has collapsed'.[365] The main discussion of works, righteousness and judgment comes in the Third Vision (6.35-9.25), and the extended dialogue between Ezra and the Lord is prompted by Ezra's initial question: Why does Israel not possess the world which was appointed for her inheritance? Why is she oppressed by those nations who are far more wicked than she is? (6.55-59)

A large part of Chapter 7 deals with the point that only a few are righteous and will be saved. Ezra asks: 'Blessed are those who are alive and keep your commandments! But what of those for whom I prayed? For who among the living is there that has not sinned, or who among men that has not transgressed your covenant?' (7.45-46) The answer is not that there are none who are righteous; merely that they are few: 'while they were alive, they kept the Law which was given them in trust' (7.94). They are described in 7.88-89: 'Now this is the order of those who have kept the ways of the Most High when they shall be separated from their mortal body. During the time that they lived in it, they laboriously served the Most High, and withstood danger every hour, that they might keep the Law of the Lawgiver perfectly.' But in view of the similar language of perfection elsewhere (we will see more examples in the next chapter), there is no need to take the view that 4 Ezra is the exception that proves the rule, legalism gone mad.[366]

The negativism of 4 Ezra has, in my opinion, been overplayed. There is no doubt that the opinion represented by Ezra himself is deeply pessimistic about the ability of humanity to do good works. However, these statements by Ezra are not always read with proper attention to narrative dynamics. For Ezra's position is consistently qualified and even opposed by the Angel or the Lord himself. This can be traced through Chapter 8:

> For we and our fathers have passed our lives in ways that bring death, but you, because of us sinners, are called merciful. For the righteous, who have many works laid up with you shall receive their reward in consequence of their own deeds. But what is man, that you are angry with him; or what is a mortal race, that you are so bitter against it? For in truth there is no one among those who have been born who has not acted wickedly, and among those who have existed there is no one who has not transgressed. For in this, o Lord, your righteousness and goodness will be declared, when you are merciful to those who have no store of good works (8.31-36).

This is a fascinating passage. Ezra sets out his position, meditating on the Second-Temple orthodoxy that the righteous are rewarded for their deeds, just as the wicked are punished for theirs. But finally he comes to the point where he concludes, in somewhat Pauline fashion, that no-one is righteous, not even one. Ezra's sole consolation comes in the fact

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365 Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 409.

366 As we shall see later, Sir 31.10, 44.17; also *passim* at Qumran: ' "Perfection" imagery fairly abounds in the literature at Qumran... One has phrases like "the Perfect of the Way", "walking in perfection" ' (R. Eisenman, M. Wise, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered* [Harmandsworth: Penguin, 1996] 33).

that at least the Lord is merciful, and has pity on those who have no good works. But the surprise here is that the angel comes out in strong opposition to this view, especially where Ezra himself is concerned: 'But you have often compared yourself to the unrighteous. Never do so!' (8.47). This is sometimes misunderstood, for example by Wilckens,[367] and Winninge.[368] This is perhaps because this rebuke does not come directly after Ezra's prayer, but in the Angel's reply to the *following* dialogue: but in terms of content, the angel's 'Never do so!' refers to the occasions such as 8.31ff above, which was the last mention by Ezra of his depravity, when Ezra compares himself to the unrighteous. Equally, 7.76-77 is the same: Uriel rebukes Ezra, saying '... do not confuse yourself[369] with those you have shown scorn, nor number yourself among those who are tormented. For you have a treasure of works laid up with the Most High; but it will not be shown to you until the last times.' Longenecker points out clearly that the *author* certainly does not hold to a doctrine of the justification of the ungodly, as expressed in 8.36.[370] Stone attributes (I think, a little too harshly) to the author contradictory soteriologies in the apocalypse.[371] Bauckham's analysis of the relation between Ezra and Uriel perhaps expresses the truth more accurately: the author takes seriously the views of Ezra, without actually agreeing with them.[372]

So the pattern is established that we have seen elsewhere, where works are the basis on which final justification will take place:

> And it shall be that everyone who will be saved and will be able to escape on account of his works, or on account of the faith by which he has believed, will survive the dangers which have been predicted, and will see my salvation in my land and within my borders, which I have sanctified for myself from the beginning (9.7-8).

This passage has been the subject of some debate. At first sight, Metzger's translation seems to suggest two groups: one saved by their works, and one saved by faith. Myers is in agreement with this way of translating the text, but then merely equates the soteriology

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367 Wilckens, *Der Brief an die Römer*, 152.

368 Winninge, *The Sinners and the Righteous*, 210-211.

369 Metzger in Charlesworth, ed. *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 543: 'do not be associated with'. The sense of *noli commisceri* is that Ezra should not *think* that he is as bad as the wicked.

370 See esp. Longenecker, *Eschatology and the Covenant*, 83n2. See also Sanders' observation that in the matter of the pleading for the final salvation of Israel by Ezra, 'who does not represent the author's viewpoint'. See Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 412.

371 M. Stone, *Fourth Ezra* 233n49, 275. Though I do not agree with this, Stone is correct that in the narrative, *Ezra's* position is not consistent (see 8.33 and 8.35), and that we must be aware of over-systematising the author's thought (*Fourth Ezra*, 230). However, one cannot argue that the author is contradicting himself if Ezra and Uriel disagree. Stone argues that the author wishes to assert that all are sinners (275, *ad* 8.33) whereas the author's actual position is more likely that of the angel, who in 8.47 reassures Ezra that he (among others) is *not* a sinner. See Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 284-285.

372 R. Bauckham, 'The Conflict of Justice and Mercy: Attitudes to the Damned in Apocalyptic Literature', in idem, *Fate of the Dead*, 138.

here with that of James 2, whereby salvation is through faith plus works.[373] Longenecker on the other hand translates the 'fidem in qua credidit' as 'the faithfulness in which they put their trust'.[374] This translation is much more satisfactory both grammatically and theologically. '*In*' after *credo* is more likely to determine the object of belief than the instrument of belief, and it is unlikely that two different ways of salvation are being proposed here.[375]

17. 2 Baruch

The Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch is a text which remains untouched by Sanders in *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*. It is mentioned only four times in the book, and no passages from the Apocalypse are actually discussed.[376] And it has largely remained outside the mainstream discussion of Jewish soteriology in Paul's day since Sanders. The reasons for this can perhaps be seen when one sees that an important modification of Sanders' thesis is required by the text: not merely because of its content, but also because of that content it means that 4 Ezra is no longer *sui generis* as Sanders vehemently maintains. However, there are parallels, which are 'especially striking with the Pauline Epistles, in particular Romans and 1 and 2 Corinthians'.[377] These point to a close date (probably early Second Century CE) and provenance (Palestine). The similarities include explanation of the problem of evil in terms of Adam (18.2, 54.15, 19), and emphasis on the impartiality of God (13).

At the beginning of the Apocalypse, the Lord gives the message to Baruch that works and prayers ensure the security of the city (2.1). Baruch is to pass this on to Jeremiah. But later Baruch complains to the Lord that he has destroyed Zion despite the righteous 'who have knowledge' and 'did not walk in vanity like the rest of the nations' (14.5). After all, 'If there are others who did evil, Zion should have been forgiven on account of the works of those who did good works and should not have been overwhelmed because of the works of those who acted unrighteously' (14.7). This causes Baruch to despair, and, essentially, defer the promised security to life in the age to come: 'For the righteous justly have good hope for the end and go away from this habitation without fear because they possess with you a store of good works which is preserved in treasuries' (14.12). In the Lord's reply which follows, these assertions by Baruch are affirmed: 'And with regard to the righteous ones, those whom you said the world has come on their account, yes, also that which is coming is on their account' (15.5).

Then Baruch consistently contrasts two groups:

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373 Myers, *I and II Esdras*, 248.

374 B.W. Longenecker, *2 Esdras*, 49.

375 The Ezra tradition further develops in an interesting way, but I have neglected discussing Quaest. Ez. A 11-15; B 8-9 and Ap. Ez. 1.12 because they are most likely Christian compositions.

376 Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 91n26, 226, 409, and 427.

377 Klijn, in Charlesworth, ed. *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* I, 619.

21.9 Those who sin	Those who have proved themselves to be righteous
21.11 Many [who] have sinned once	Many others [who] have proved themselves righteous
24.1 All those who have sinned	All those who have proved themselves righteous

This comes to a climax in 2 Baruch 51, where 'those who proved to be righteous on account of my law' (51.3) are promised this: 'Miracles, however, will appear at their own time to *those who are saved because of their works*, and for whom the Law is now a hope and intelligence, expectation and wisdom a trust' (51.7).[378]

It remains for us to *define* these important phrases that come again and again in 2 Baruch: 'the treasuries of stores of good works', 'those who have proved themselves to be righteous' and 'those who are saved by their works'. There is no dispute in the secondary literature as to what these refer to: those who have proved themselves to be righteous are those who act according to the Law, and will thus be saved at the eschaton. The stores of good works are the deeds done by these righteous in obedience to Torah, and these same works are an instrumental cause of their final salvation.[379]

Räisänen reckons that the legalism of 4 Ezra has been toned down,[380] but if this is the case, then it is only in in the sphere of the perfectionism, not in the area of salvation by works. This aspect is affirmed more clearly and frequently even than in 4 Ezra. But when it comes to 2 Baruch, Sanders's basic paradigm is correct in what it asserts: that election is compatible with reward and punishment. But it goes astray in denying that the reward for works is actually salvation.

Against the background of the soteriology of 2 Baruch, we can see the function of what happens to the 'works' in 3 Baruch (First/ Second Century CE).[381] As the angel is guiding Baruch around the fifth heaven, they have to wait for Michael to come with the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven (11.1-2). Michael is described as the one who reveals interpretations to 'those who pass through life rightly': as opposed to those who pass through life badly (11.7), who are eaten by a special dragon (4.5). Then Michael, when he comes to the door, takes hold of 'a very large bowl, its depth being so great as from heaven to earth, its width so great as from north to south' (11.8). Then the bowl is described:

> τοῦτο ἐστιν ἔνθα προσέρχονται αἱ ἀρεταί τῶν δίκαιων καὶ ὅσα ἐργάζονται ἀγαθά, ἅτινα ἀποκομίζονται ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἐπουρανίου Θεοῦ. (11.9)

The Slavonic text here has removed the reference to the virtues and good works of the

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378 Unsurprisingly, Sanders does not mention this text.

379 So P. Bogaert, *Apocalypse de Baruch* (Paris: Gabalda, 1969) I, 419: 'tout au plus l'état glorieux des justes est-il prédit (LI ,7-14) ainsi que leur bonheur, récompense de leurs œuvres (*passim*)'; also Sparks, ed. *The Apocryphal Old Testament*, 870 (Index entry to 'Justification').

380 H. Räisänen, *Paul and the Law* (Tübingen: Mohr/ Siebeck, 1987) 123 following, to some extent Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 427.

381 Gaylord's dating in Charlesworth, ed. *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* I, 656.

righteous, but since the Slavonic is a translation from the Greek, one would be hard pressed to prove a later redaction in the Greek of 11.9. In particular, this verse accords well with the theology of 2 Baruch. The righteous are saved by their works (2 Bar 51.7), and 3 Baruch is expanding on this describing this mechanism as these works are brought by Michael to God.

By the time of the reworking of the tradition that we know of as 4 Baruch,[382] there is clear equation of eschatological joy, the resurrection, and reward:

> Ἔστι θεὸς ὁ παρέχων μισθαποδοσίαν τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ. Ἑτοίμασον σεαυτὴν, Ἡ καρδία μου, καὶ εὐφραίνου, καὶ ἀγάλλου ἐν τῷ σκηνώματι σου, λέγω τῷ σαρκικῷ οἰκῷ σου· τὸ πένθος σοῦ γὰρ μετεστράφη εἰς χαράν. Ἔρχεται γὰρ ὁ ἱκανὸς, καὶ ἀρεῖ σε ἐκ τοῦ σκηνώματος σου. οὐ γὰρ γέγονέ σοι ἁμαρτία (4 Bar 6.6-7; Gk: 6.2-3).[383]

This final reward is given because of the perfection (however that is defined) of the ἁγίος, in whom sin has not come. Baruch continues his account, referring to the basket of figs which Abimelech had when he fell asleep for sixty-six years: the figs, however, did not go bad in all this time. This Baruch takes as proof of the resurrection. 'Be refreshed in your tabernacle, in your virgin faith, and believe that you will live. Look at this basket of figs... Thus it will be for you, my flesh, if you do the things commanded by the angel of righteousness (6.7-9).' So, if the flesh is obedient to the commandment, then one will be led in through the gates of paradise by Michael, who opens them.

18. Josephus

Steve Mason helpfully categorises the statements in Josephus on judgment and the afterlife into three groups: the eschatological views of the Essenes and Pharisees (including the 'Fourth Philosophy'), the eschatological views of Josephus himself, and the views attributed to other individuals.[384]

18.1 Josephus' own Views

As has been commonly noted, thoroughly ingrained in Josephus's construction of history is that God rewards the righteous and punishes the wicked. Indeed, it is explicitly stated

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382 Robinson (Charlesworth, ed. *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* II, 414) puts the most likely date at the first third of Second Century CE.

383 The translation by Robinson has a different versification to that of the Greek edition by J.R. Harris.

384 S. Mason, *Flavius Josephus on the Pharisees* (Leiden: Brill, 1991) 156-157.

that one of the main purposes of *Antiquities* is to demonstrate this fact.[385] However, Josephus also raises the issue more relevant to our purposes, namely that this has an eschatological dimension: that works are the basis for reward and punishment in the future age.[386] When the resurrection comes, those who have been obedient to the Torah will be rewarded with new and better life.[387] There are five significant passages in this regard, from the *War* (75-79 CE), the *Antiquities* (around 93/94 CE) and the *contra Apionem* (96 CE).[388]

18.1.1 *BJ* III 374-375

In this first passage, Josephus is trying to exhort his fellow Jews not to follow a course of suicide, which in their eyes was preferable to slavery (III 357). In the course of his argument, Josephus reveals a belief both in the immortality of the soul, and also in resurrection. There are numerous rhetorical strategies by which he tries to persuade his fellow-Jews: first, 'why do we set our soul and body, which are such dear companions, at such variance?' (III 357). Second, if the Romans conquered them and - as their enemies - spared their lives, how much more should these Jews spare their own lives (III 364). Suicide is not an act of bravery but cowardice (III 368). Suicide is also a sin against God (III 369) and nature (III 370), injuring what God has given. Then Josephus explains how the soul, though encased in a corruptible body, is immortal and is a gift of God, perhaps even the indwelling *of* God in the individual.[389] In any case, it is a deposit which has been lent to us, and just as if one destroys the property of another person when it has been lent, the other person will be angry, how much more will that be the case with God (III 372). Then comes the key passage for our purposes:

> Do you not know that those who depart out of this life (τῶν μεν ἐξιόντων τοῦ βίου) according to the law of nature, and pay the debt which was received from God

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385 See *AJ* I 14 (though this is in the this-worldly arena). D.A. Carson captures Josephus' purpose nicely: 'In *Bellum* he defends the Romans, in *Antiquities* the Jews, and always the proposition that God in his providence rewards virtue' (*Divine Sovereignty and Human Responsibility*, 110).

386 As Sievers has noted, Josephus' eschatology has fared rather badly in recent scholarship. The abundance of monographs on Jewish eschatology have neglected Josephus and most work on Josephus has neglected his eschatology . See J. Sievers, 'Aussagen des Josephus zu Unsterblichkeit und Leben nach dem Tod', in F. Siegert, J.U. Kalms, eds. *Internationales Josephus Kolloquium, Münster 1997* (Münster: Lit Verlag, 1998) 78.

387 Josephus does not choose between belief in bodily resurrection and immortality of the soul: see Sievers, 'Aussagen des Josephus', esp. 79 (Josephus' talk of bodily post mortem existence), 85 (Abraham's belief in the immortality of the soul), 86-87 (Josephus' description of death as the liberation of the soul). Sievers, p. 90, provides a very useful list of all the passages in which Josephus describes (according to his own view, not representing the beliefs of, e.g., the Essenes) life after death.

388 For these dates, see for example, T. Rajak, *Josephus* (London: Duckworth, 1983) 237-238, and R. Bergmeier, *Die Essener-Berichte des Flavius Josephus* (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1993) 12.

389 But the phrase θεοῦ μοῖρα is too ambiguous to be certain of this.

when he that lent it to us is pleased to require it back, enjoy eternal fame (κλέος ... αἰώνιον)? That their houses and their generations are sure? *That their souls are pure and obedient, obtaining a most holy place in heaven, from whence, in the revolution of ages, they are again sent into pure bodies?* (καθαραὶ δὲ καὶ ἐπήκοοι μένουσιν αἱ ψυχαί, χῶρον οὐράνιον [or: -ου] λαχοῦσαι τὸν ἁγιώτατον, ἔνθεν ἐκ περιτροπῆς αἰώνων ἁγνοῖς πάλιν ἀντενοικίζονται σώμασιν) (III 374)

This is balanced by the opposite for those who end their lives by suicide: 'the souls of those whose hands have acted madly against themselves, are received by the darkest place in Hades, and while God, who is their father, punishes those that offend against either of them in their posterity' (III 375). As the Law states, the bodies of those that kill themselves should be left unburied until sunset: even enemies are buried sooner than that (III 377).

In this situation, suicide has become a critical issue of faithfulness, such that those who die according to the law of nature receive their reward. For Josephus, there is a direct correlation, which is borne out in the syntax of the passage above, between purity and obedience, and entering the holiest part in heaven. The statement that suicide leads to the darkest place in Hades, and avoiding suicide leads to the holiest part of heaven is reminiscent of the Rabbinic statements of (among others) Rabbis Meir and Akiba who talked of salvation and damnation according to one deed.[390] (However, it is also possible that here it is the *degree* of reward and punishment that is at issue here ['holiest', 'darkest'], not salvation and damnation *per se*). Again, it is noteworthy in this passage that the reward is an eternal one, which is not received yet, but one which will come at the 'revolution of the ages', when the body is renewed. It is not merely a continuation of the present life, because, Josephus says, the present life is one which is 'departed from'.

18.1.2 *Contra Apionem* II 217-218

The more important passage comes towards the end of Josephus' *apologia* in the *Contra Apionem*. Here, Josephus is not responding to Apion, but turns in II 145ff to Apollonius Molo and Lysimachus, who have accused Moses of deception and the laws of leading to wickedness. Josephus promises a reply where this will be the desired effect: 'I suppose it will thence become evident that the laws we have are disposed after the best manner for the advancement of piety, for mutual communion with one another, for a general love of mankind, and also for righteousness, and strength in trials, and a contempt for death' (θανάτου περιφρόνησιν). This last item does not in itself imply a reward of transcendence of death, though it does imply a martyr theology, such as we saw above in, for example, 2 Macc 7. Josephus can represent the Jewish nation as an idealised state, in the Hellenistic fashion,[391] maintaining that the Jewish people do observe the laws,

390 See Avemarie, *Tora und Leben*, 39, on j. Qid. 61d and b. Sanh. 81a.

391 See Lebram's point in 'Der Idealstaat der Juden', in O. Betz, K. Haacker, M. Hengel eds., *Josephus-Studien* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974) 253.

whereas other nations have not. This tends to refer not merely to righteousness, but also to the fact that the Jewish people have not *changed* their legal system at all (II 221). Contrast the lackadaisical Spartans who 'did seem to observe their laws while they enjoyed their liberty, yet when they underwent a change in their fortune, they forgot almost all those laws' (II 227). While Josephus says it is not his business to criticise other systems of law, he does maintain the distinctiveness of the Mosaic law, which 'continues immortal' (II 277). In the end, he goes beyond merely defending the reasonableness of the Torah in relation to other legislations, despite his claim in II 147 not to be writing in praise of his own people.[392] Kamlah talks rightly of a 'Nationalstolz': 'dieser Stolz gründet sich vornehmlich auf der von Mose gelehrten Gotteserkenntnis'.[393] Having said that, Josephus concludes that the distinctive feature of Israel's law over against other systems is the reward which accompanies it:

> However, the reward (γέρας) for such as live exactly according to the laws (νομίμως βιοῦσι) is not silver or gold; it is not a garland of olive branches or of parsley, nor any such public sign of distinction. Rather, each person trusts, with the witness of his own conscience, that to those who keep the laws (τοῖς τοὺς νόμους διαφύλαξασι) and willingly die if it is necessary to die for the laws, God has granted them a renewed existence and a better life at the transformation (δέδωκεν ὁ θεὸς γενέσθαι τε πάλιν καὶ βίον ἀμείνω λαβεῖν ἐκ περιτροπῆς). Of this the lawgiver has prophesied, while God has provided sure confirmation. (II 217-218)

A number of the theological components that have been noted elsewhere come to the fore here. First, the identity of the 'reward' and the future life: there is no distinction between a salvation which is merely the working out of God's gracious election, and then a system of reward on the basis of works subsequent to that. Here, the two concepts are co-extensive. Second, this taps into the tradition of martyr theology ('if it is necessary to die for the laws'), which we saw in such detail in 2 Macc 7, an important feature of which was the restoration of what one gave up for God (γενέσθαι τε πάλιν) but Josephus also speaks of the reception of a βίον ἀμείνω. Third, there is, as above in BJ III, a decisive moment at which the transformation of reality occurs, when the reward of new life is received, and the heavenly world is brought into existence. This is the great περιτροπή, or περιτροπή αἰώνων (BJ III 374): the 'revolution of the ages'. Finally, the destiny of each person when this time comes, is determined with reference to their obedience to Torah: those who receive new life at the eschaton are those who live according to the commandments.

18.2 Josephus on the Pharisees and Essenes

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392 'οὐ γὰρ ἐγκώμιον ἡμῶν αὐτῶν προειλόμην συγγράφειν'.

393 E. Kamlah, 'Frömmigkeit und Tugend. Die Gesetzesapologie des Josephus in c Ap 2,145-295' in Betz, Haacker, Hengel eds., *Josephus-Studien*, 221

In addition, there is Josephus' witness to the eschatology of the Essenes and Pharisees in the two comparative discussions of the different groups within Judaism. Josephus' relation to Pharisaism is much disputed, and I do not wish to take up the question here. Whatever his attitude to Pharisaism elsewhere, or the truth of Josephus' claim to be/ have been a Pharisee, and the origin of his negative statements about the Pharisees, he presents the *eschatological* views of the Pharisees and Essenes as having his almost unqualified support. Moreover, he also claims they had the support of the majority of the populace.

18.2.1 *AJ* XVIII 12f

In *Antiquities*, Josephus describes not just Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes, but also the 'Fourth Philosophy'.[394] Josephus begins with the Pharisees, and after their view of providence, he attributes to them a belief in the 'immortal power of souls' (ἀθάνατόν τε ἰσχὺν ταῖς ψυχαῖς). He locates reward for virtue and punishment for vice as taking place 'under the earth' (ὑπὸ χθονὸς). Eternal imprisonment comes to evil souls, while the good find 'an easy way to new life' (ῥᾳστώνην τοῦ ἀναβιοῦν). Interestingly, Josephus claims that because of these things, δι' αὐτὰ, (the αὐτὰ certainly includes these eschatological views, and possibly refers exclusively to them) the Pharisees are very influential among the δήμοι. Not that this claim is necessarily true.[395] Nevertheless, Josephus also states that Pharisaic positions are held by the Fourth Philosophy (one of the its founders was a Pharisee)[396] in all respects apart from in the zeal of the Fourth Philosophy for political liberty (*AJ* XVIII 23).[397]

18.2.2 *BJ* II 162ff

In *War*, Josephus describes the Pharisees as οἱ μετ' ἀκριβείας δοκοῦντες ἐξηγεῖσθαι τὰ νόμιμα, as well as τὴν πρώτην ... αἵρεσιν. The first statement in particular corresponds with the statement in the *Antiquities* that the Pharisees' views are very influential. Again, after explaining the Pharisaic position on providence, he states that all souls are imperishable (ἄφθαρτος), but that only the souls of the good pass into new bodies. The souls of the wicked suffer (a presumably *disembodied*) eternal punishment. It is notable that in this presentation, there is no racial component to the category of the 'good' and their deeds are not specifically determined by works of Torah:

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394 This term was probably coined by Josephus, as part of his schematisation of groups within Judaism: the group was not necessary a sect that had broken off from and defined itself in opposition to the others. See Rajak, *Josephus*, 88-89.

395 As D. Schwartz, 'MMT, Josephus and the Pharisees', in J. Kampen, ed. *Reading 4QMMT*, 73-74, insists.

396 Saddouk, co-founder with Judas the Galilean, was a Pharisee: see M. Black, 'Judas of Galilee and Josephus's "Fourth Philosophy"' in Betz, Haacker, Hengel eds., *Josephus-Studien*, 45, 52.

397 A number of scholars identify this fourth philosophy with the Zealots: see e.g. Bergmeier (following Schürer and Hengel) in *Die Essener-Berichte*, 58.

there is merely a fairly abstract use of the term 'good', at least in this passage. Too much should not be read into this, however: the Pharisees are specifically referred to as those acknowledged to be experts in the understanding of the laws, and 'goodness' is probably to be understood in this light.

18.2.3 *BJ* II 154-158

This description of the Pharisees is preceded by a description of the (similar) views of the Essenes. They shared the view that souls are immortal, and that wicked souls are imprisoned and subjected to never-ending punishments. These views of the Essenes are not only pleasing to Josephus, but 'irresistibly attract all who have once tasted their philosophy' (*BJ* II 158). The destiny of good souls, however, is rather different. Because of the Essene doctrine that the body is a prison-house for the soul ('to which they are dragged down by a sort of natural spell'), the death of the body is a liberation for the good soul, which thereupon travels to an abode beyond the ocean. This is the principal difference from the Pharisaic view: there is no resurrection or reincarnation, for the Essenes.

Mason seems to favour identifying Josephus' views most closely with those of the Essenes, because of (a) more extensive description of Essene views, which are verbally closer to his own position;[398] (b) in *War* II, the Essene view receives warm approval from Josephus, whereas the Pharisaic position goes without comment; and (c) despite Josephus' agreement with the Pharisees on the issue of reincarnation/ resurrection as opposed to the Essene's 'disembodied' bliss, this distinction should not be pressed because 'bodily immortality and (at least temporary) disembodied bliss are not mutually exclusive ideas'.[399] Two points can be made in response to this. First, there is no hint in the accounts of the Essenes that the disembodied state is temporary; rather, the departure of the soul to the 'abode beyond the ocean' shows every sign of being permanent. Second, a little later in *War*, Josephus is quite hostile towards the Essene view that the body is an unpleasant prison for the soul. When he is trying to persuade his comrades, as we saw above, not to commit suicide, he asks them: 'why do we set our soul and body, which are such dear companions, at such variance?' (*BJ* III 357) So it seems that Josephus' position, despite his commendation of Essene theology, is closer to Pharisaic eschatology, with which he has no disagreement at all.[400]

18.3 Eschatological Beliefs of other Individuals

Mason notes a number of examples of concepts of immortality which Josephus puts into the mouths of other individuals. Titus's exhortation to his troops is not relevant to us here, because he is not Jewish; nor are the concepts of immortal fame, since we are

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398 Mason, *Flavius Josephus on the Pharisees*, 159.

399 Mason, *Flavius Josephus on the Pharisees*, 160.

400 Mason presents a useful table comparing the elements of Josephan, Essene and Pharisaic anthropology and eschatology in *Flavius Josephus*, 159.

focused on the context of personal afterlife. When it comes to Eleazar and his policy of mass suicide, his teaching on the afterlife is more similar to the Essene view than to the Pharisaic (*BJ* VII 344), but there is no discussion of the role of righteous or wicked living, and its effect on one's destiny. But there is one example which is relevant here.

In *BJ* I 650, Josephus reports two Rabbis (he calls them σοφισταί) who enjoyed very great glory in the whole nation, because they were especially expert in the laws (μάλιστα δοκοῦντες ἀκριβοῦν τὰ πάτρια). The conjunction of expertness in the Law and wide popularity recalls Josephus' depiction of the Pharisees. These Rabbis, called Judas and Matthias, proclaimed a policy that the golden eagle, set up over the Temple should be pulled down. Even if it were dangerous, this course of action should be followed:

> For to those who die in this way, there is an immortal soul and the eternal consciousness of dwelling in goodness (τοῖς γὰρ οὕτω τελευτῶσιν ἀθάνατόν τε τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν ἐν ἀγαθοῖς αἴσθησιν αἰώνιον παραμένειν). But those who, unaware of their wisdom (sc. the wisdom of Judas and Matthias) are ignorant of love for the soul, and choose death by disease rather than a virtuous death. (*BJ* I 650)

The form of the first, positive half is very similar to that of Rom 2.7-10: to those who..., there will be (understood) X, Y, and Z. On this paragraph, Mason unaccountably asserts that there is a 'superior form of immortality' for those who die in this way, as if this death merited a special kind of reward aside from salvation.[401] But there is no evidence of that here: rather the promise is of eternal life itself, in rather stereotyped expression, similar to what we see elsewhere in Josephus. And the contrast is not between one salvation and a superior form of salvation, but between, it seems salvation and ignoble death by disease, which, most likely, marked one out as a sinner.

One noteworthy observation is that Josephus talks of reward and punishment in a context that is not, or at least is not explicitly, connected with final judgment. It does take place 'at the revolution of the ages', but the analogy that Josephus draws, in the *contra Apionem* at least, is that of civic honours. The rewards and punishments do not have a forensic context in Josephus, though they are eschatological, and the direct result of good or bad living. As noted by Horbury, Sanders does not take any account of the data from any of Josephus's works.[402] The reasons for this are unclear, but it has been seen that Josephus' understanding of eschatology, and his understanding of the eschatology of others, is problematic for a covenantal-nomist model of Jewish religion.

19 The Rabbis

401 Mason, *Flavius Josephus on the Pharisees*, 160.
402 Horbury, 'Paul and Judaism', 117.

As we noted in the Introduction, the dating of the texts and traditions in Rabbinic literature is a constant problematic. The pendulum swings back and forth between those who favour the rabbinic literature as a source for a dominant strand within Judaism (or perhaps better, as the one from which early Christians faced most opposition, and in the face of which they formulated their theology) and those who regard the Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha and the Dead Sea Scrolls as more applicable because of the greater certainty that can be reached with regard to their relevance to the Second-Temple period. The scepticism of the Neusner school has not stopped Sanders and Avemarie applying the Rabbinic views of Torah to NT studies.[403]

It seems that it used to be the case that prioritising use of the Pseudepigrapha over against the Rabbinic literature had a theological agenda. Moore notes, in his discussion of the work of Bousset, that 'The censure which Jewish scholars have unanimously passed on *Die Religion des Judentums* is that the author uses as his primary sources almost exclusively the writings commonly called Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, with an especial penchant for the apocalypses'.[404] Moore then comments, in a way that is surprising to our ears, that if one ascribes priority to the non-rabbinic texts then of course one will in end up with a more remote view of God, and a more advanced case of legalism:

> Whoever derives the Jewish idea of God chiefly from apocalypses will get the picture of a God enthroned in the highest heaven, remote from the world, a mighty monarch surrounded by a celestial court, with ministers of various ranks, of whom only the highest have immediate access to the presence of the sovereign, unapproachable even by angels of less exalted station, to say nothing of mere mortals.[405]

Moore's treatment of Bousset has some features in common with the modern debate on the relation between the Rabbis and the Apocryphal/ Pseudepigraphic literature as sources for first-century Judaism. Bousset declared that he was confining himself to literature contemporaneous with the NT, and the rabbinic literature could only firmly be dated to the end of the Second Century, and thus was separated from the NT by a long period of time, a time during which, crucially, the cataclysmic events of the destruction of the Temple and the aftermath of the Bar-Kochba revolt took place.[406] Furthermore, Bousset was aiming to determine the thoughts of common Jews, not the thoughts of the school-

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403 Avemarie says that his investigation into the rabbinic materials helps us understand better the NT views on the Torah (*Tora und Leben*, 4).

404 Moore, 'Christian Writers on Judaism', 243.

405 Moore, 'Christian Writers on Judaism', 247-248.

406 For his scepticism about the validity of the Mishnah as evidence for earlier thought, see W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums in späthellenistischen Zeitalter* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1966) 40: 'Es kann nicht beleugnet werden, daß Quellen auch des 2. Jahrh. oder gar noch späterer Jahrhunderte n.Chr. bisweilen den ihnen vorangehende Zeitraum zu erhellen vermögen, aber das gilt immer nur unter besonderen Umständen, die in jedem Einzelfalle einer besonderen, sorgfältigen Begrunden bedürfen'.

men.[407] Moore protested that the age of the writings was 'of much less importance than their relationship to the main line of development which can be followed from the canonical Scriptures through many of the postcanonic writings...'[408]

I have no intention in this section of trying to argue that this or that tradition from the Yerushalmi or the Bavli goes back to the first century. The function of my argument about the Rabbis here is that they are a supporting witness to the evidence of the Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha and the Dead Sea Scrolls we have seen above: I am neither assessing nor asserting their value as independent evidence. On the other hand, however, for Sanders the Rabbis are very much independent evidence, so I will bring some of the criticisms that have been made against Sanders' interpretation of the Rabbis into the discussion.

My aim here is to show that the pattern of religion here has considerable elements in common with that shown in the Second-Temple literature. My concentration on the earlier texts above is certainly not intended to make a statement about their greater 'orthodoxy'. I hope, moreover, that with the current climate of research on the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha being what it is, there is no need to defend oneself against the accusation of Moore that, in opting to concentrate on this literature, one is inexorably doomed to a distant God and a legalistic religion.

Avemarie notes the problem (which has already been raised) with the categories of 'getting in' and 'staying in' being the concepts according to which each rabbinic text is treated. 'Und schließlich bringt es die Reduktion des soteriologischen Geschehens auf ein „Eintreten" und „Verbleiben" mit sich, daß die Aussagen relevanter Quellentexte nur nach diesen beiden Kategorien beurteilt werden kommen.'[409] But more important is that Avemarie notes one of the crucial ways in which the getting in/ staying in schema is reductionistic. He observes that Sanders ignores, and positively excludes, the importance of works for final salvation:

> Wenn Sanders aber hinsichtlich widersprüchlicher Erwählungsaussagen feststellt, sie alle seien „explanations of the same conviction, the conviction that God chose Israel" (98), und zu den verschiedenen Sühnevorstellungen anmerkt, sie spiegelten alle „the view that there is a means of atonement for every transgression, although they differ as to which transgressions are atoned for in which way" (157), warum gelangt er dann nicht zu dem Schluß, daß auch den „three groups of sayings - damnation for one transgression, salvation for one fulfilment and judgment according to the majority of deeds" (141) ein wesentliches inhaltliches Merkmal gemeinsam ist: daß sie nämlich die Bedeutung der *Taten* eines Menschen für sein *endzeitliches Heil* unterstreichen?[410]

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407 See e.g., Bousset, *Religion des Judentums*, 4: 'Wir werden also fragen, was der einzelne Fromme von seinem Gotte hatte and hielt, wie er zu ihm betete, welche Stimmungen der Gedanke auslöste; wir werden fragen, was für einen Klang die Wörte: Gerechtigkeit, Verdienst, Gnade und Barmherzigkeit, Sündenvergebung, Büße für ihn hatten'.

408 Moore, 'Christian Writers', 244.

409 Avemarie, *Tora und Leben*, 36.

410 Avemarie, *Tora und Leben*, 40.

This is just one example - these three sayings of Rabbi Akiba - of Sanders' exclusion of the eschatological function of works. Avemarie attributes this exclusion more to Sanders' systematising tendency than to Sanders' model of 'getting in' and 'staying in', and it is this systematising tendency that, for Avemarie, is Sanders' undoing: just as the same tendency had the same effect on the work of Weber. This is a particularly powerful criticism, considering what a bête-noir Weber is for Sanders.[411]

In addition to the statements of R. Akiba about damnation for one transgression, salvation for one fulfilment (j. Qidd. 61d, b. Sanh. 81a) and judgment according to the majority of deeds (m. Abot 3.15), Avemarie supplies two other examples where Sanders explicitly removes the sense of eschatological salvation and damnation by works.

In T. Sanh. 13.3, there is dispute between the houses of Hillel and Shammai over the destiny of the 'third man': there is the man who is heading for eternal life, the man who is heading for eternal damnation, and then there is the man who is 'equally balanced'.[412] Avemarie notes that because of Sanders' refusal to attribute judgment according to the majority of deeds to the Tannaim, he emphasises that the man who is wholly wicked and destined for hell is not someone who has a majority - even a huge majority - of bad deeds: he is someone who has no intention to obey God. 'Vielleicht ist diese Auskunft richtig, doch wer ist dann ‚equally balanced'? Sind es die mit einer ‚halben' Intention? Bezeichnenderweise zeigt Sanders hierfür kein Interesse.'[413]

Again, in T. Qid. 1.14, R. Shimonin recalls a statement of R. Meir in which he had said that man and the world will be judged according to the majority of deeds. But Sanders immediately appeals to another saying of R. Meir that 'almsgiving rescues from Hell'. Therefore, if the deed of almsgiving is sufficient, then judgment by majority of deeds cannot really be the basis for judgment. And Sanders appeals to the familiar principle that one cannot draw a systematic soteriology from such sayings. Avemarie notes, however, that: 'Umgekehrt läßt sich Sanders aber durch diesen Ausspruch nicht davon abhalten, eine Soteriologie zu entwerfen, die die Vorstellung von einem Gericht nach der Mehrzahl der Werke definitiv ausschließt.'[414] One might also add the observation that Avemarie made above about the damnation for one transgression, salvation for one fulfilment and judgment according to the majority of deeds sayings. If one juxtaposes the statements that 'almsgiving rescues from hell', and that 'judgment is according to a majority of deeds', the very least that one should conclude from these two statements is that, according to the tradition that was attached to R. Meir, eschatological salvation or damnation was dependent on one's deeds.

Sanders attributes all these statements above about the role of works in final salvation to a rhetorical attempt to encourage obedience. But as Avemarie asks, if none of

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411 Sanders' starting point in his analysis of the Tannaitic literature is G.F. Moore's observation about the role Weber played in turning Christian scholarship on Judaism *from* being a mine of proofs for the truth of Christianity *into* being the antithesis of Christianity. See Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 33, and *passim*.

412 This is probably a very early tradition, since the question of the 'equally balanced' person arises in T. Abr. (Rec. A) 12.12-17.

413 Avemarie, *Tora und Leben*, 39.

414 Avemarie, *Tora und Leben*, 39.

the rabbis actually believed in salvation or damnation by works, then how could 'diese pädagogische Zwecklüge' have ever occurred to the rabbis?[415] And one might also ask, how would they ever have convinced anyone with them?

Sanders' systematising tendency, then, leads him into just the same mistakes as that which characterised the work of Weber. Texts which are problematic for the main thesis are *underinterpreted*, and texts which might just support the main thesis are stretched beyond their limits. Avemarie's criticism of Weber was that he read the entire soteriology of other parts of rabbinic literature into individual texts. But Sanders is guilty of precisely the same, particularly in his use of the term 'covenant'. After works and eschatology, the second half of Avemarie's treatment of *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* deals with Sanders' overloading of the term covenant with concepts which do not belong with it in rabbinic literature:[416] 'covenant' becomes not merely an organizing concept by which the material in the rabbinic literature can be ordered, but is also a framework for *excluding* the data about the relation between works and eschatology which does not fit the system.[417]

The best solution is to recognize the *diversity* of rabbinic views about reward. Neither Billerbeck's 'Selbsterlösung' nor Sanders 'covenantal nomism' are correct: 'Für die systematische Zuordnung von Erwählungsgnade und Vergeltung scheint aber weder Sanders' noch Billerbecks Modell eine vollauf befriedigende Lösung zu bieten.'[418] The better model is rather one of tension:[419] the rabbis had two distinct - though not from their perspective at all incompatible - models of salvation which they could draw on. If they wanted to exhort to obedience, perhaps, they spoke of judgment by works (as in the sayings above). If they wanted to define unacceptable beliefs as excluding one from the world to come, for example, they spoke of those beliefs as forfeiting election, as in m. Sanh. 10.

Heikki Räisänen noted in 1982 that Sanders's discussion of the rabbinic literature had already won the day:

> Whereas Sanders has been criticized by other experts in Rabbinics for imposing the pattern of Paul's religious expression on Tannaitic sources, even the harshest critic has admitted that the thesis of 'covenantal nomism' is 'wholly sound' and 'in this regard the work is 'a complete success'. That is: regardless of how other aspects of Sanders' work will stand the test, with respect to the topics relevant to Paul's treatment of the law he has made his point.[420]

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415 Avemarie, *Tora und Leben*, 40.

416 Following Schiffman, Avemarie (*Tora und Leben*, 41 fn100) notes that the covenant is not associated with the life in the world to come in Rabbinic Judaism, and notes Segal's observation of the rarity of covenant language in the tannaitic literature.

417 Avemarie, *Tora und Leben*, 43: 'Der Bundesbegriff liefert Sanders ein Deutungsmuster, mit dem er nicht nur integriert, sondern auch festlegt und ausgrenzt.'

418 Avemarie, 'Erwählung und Vergeltung', 113.

419 Avemarie describes Rabbinic soteriology as ' "optional" strukturiert' in 'Erwählung und Vergeltung', 108.

420 Räisänen, *Paul and the Law*, 168. The 'harshest critic' is Neusner.

It is hoped that the case can now be re-opened, to examine whether this is in fact right, now that Sanders has finally come under such devastating criticism in precisely the area which is the foundation of his comparison between Paul and Judaism. If the rabbinic literature in fact does assign a role to works in (final) vindication, then Paul's statement 'by works of Torah will no flesh be justified' might have a radically different meaning from that which Sanders develops in *Paul, the Law and the Jewish People*, and which is also developed by Dunn and Wright.

20. The Targums

The same problems of dating attend study of the Targums as do investigation of the rabbinic literature. And as with the Rabbis, the Targums will not be employed here as independent evidence: nevertheless they must taken seriously, because a number of the editors of the new *Aramaic Bible* series date some of the Targums early. Levey, for example, dates the Ezekiel Targum to immediately post-70 CE, as one of the documents produced in the wake of the crisis of the destruction of Jerusalem.[421] He defines its social context as 'basically Pharisaic-rabbinic'. Ribera dates the Targum less precisely, but no less early: 'it appears to be situated chronologically between the Second Century BCE and the Second Century CE, that is, before what is known as rabbinic literature.'[422] Similarly, Targum Pseudo-Jonathan to the Minor Prophets is dated by Robert Gordon to after, but not long after, 70 CE.[423] Again, the Ruth Targum is reported to be Tannaitic: 'it may not be out of place to recall that the Tosafists, in contradicting Rashi's statement that there was no Targum of the writings, observed that it was made in the time of the Tannaim. That is the oldest known opinion on the origin of this Targum, and it may very well be right.'[424] There is certainly no internal evidence to push the date later. In addition, some other Targums are very early, but they will be of less interest to us because they are also the most literal translations, and so do not give us so much evidence of development in theology upon the Hebrew Bible.[425]

Again, there is much in the Targums that has been labelled 'legalistic'. As Chilton protests in his introduction to the Isaiah Targum: 'legalism is a travesty of Jewish religion... Despite the rhetorical impact to be enjoyed..., it impoverishes understanding of Christian origins.'[426] Chilton goes on to talk of the joy of the law and how 'documents

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421 S.H. Levey, *The Targum of Ezekiel* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1987) 4.

422 J. Ribera, 'The Image of Israel according to Targum Ezekiel', in K.J. Cathcart & M. Maher, eds. *Targumic and Cognate Studies. Essys in Honour of Martin McNamara* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996) 121.

423 See Introduction to R.P. Gordon, *Targum to the Minor Prophets* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1989).

424 D.R.G. Beattie, *The Targum of Ruth* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994) 12. Beattie, 11-12, supplies other arguments in favour of the Targum's antiquity, including law that perhaps predates the Mishnah, and exegesis which might be earlier than that of Ruth Rabba.

425 E.g. Tg. Jon. to the Former Prophets and the Proverbs Targum.

426 B. Chilton, *The Targum of Isaiah* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999) xxvii-xxviii.

such as the Targums witness to living vitality' in Judaism.[427] As with the rabbinic material, we need to be careful not to associate a *theology* of merit and doctrines of reward in the world to come with *attitudes* of self-righteousness, uncertainty about salvation, or obsession with definition of legal practice. We will restrict discussion here to the theology of the texts, leaving aside whether they reflect either negative *or positive* religious attitudes: *contra* Chilton, the latter are just as difficult to discern as the former. We will confine our attention here to the theology of the three Targums noted above which might well date from the first two centuries CE.

We can see evidence in the Ezekiel Targum of an interesting tension for our purposes. There is on one level an acknowledgement of the merits of the patriarchs in 16.6-7, where 'the liberation, prosperity and expansion of Israel .. depends for Targum Ezekiel on the merits of the forefathers'.[428] But there is also denial of the efficacy of transferrable merit: for Levey, Tg. Ezk. 14.14 is evidence that 'no-one, not even Noah, Daniel or Job, righteous as they were, could save anyone apart from themselves'.[429] Perhaps the distinction is between the destiny of Israel as a nation and the destiny of the individual. Certainly there is reflection on the issue here. But the debate about merit, as we have said above, is peripheral. What is clear is that 'the righteous, by observing Torah, will be rewarded with eternal life (20.11, 13; 21)', while the destiny of the wicked is hell (1.8; 26.20; 31.14, 16; 32.18ff).[430] There is also the issue of Lev 18.5 to be revisited, since the Hebrew text of canonical Ezekiel alludes to Lev 18.5 at 20.11, 13, 21 (mentioned above). 'Eternal life in the world to come is granted to those who observe the statues and ordinances given by God.' L. Smolar and M. Aberbach note further that while the MT reads '... [statutes and ordinances] by whose observance man shall live', this becomes in Tg. Ezk. '... if a man observes them, he shall live an everlasting life through them'. This is almost identical to Onkelos Lev 18.5, which we noted above in discussion of CD 3:14-16.[431]

Beattie, in the introduction to his translation of the Ruth Targum, notes that its purpose was, unsurprisingly, 'to expound the story in the biblical book'.[432] However, in the "extra" passages, 'it is possible to glimpse something of the mind of the meturgeman, whose chief interests may be said to have been the importance of piety and of the observance of the law'.[433] The Targum clearly contains a theology of reward, which is defined both in this-worldly terms of 'rest' (1.9),[434] but also as salvation in the world to

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427 Chilton, *Targum of Isaiah*, xxviii.

428 Ribera, 'Image of Israel', 114.

429 Levey, *Targum of Ezekiel*, 12.

430 Levey, *Targum of Ezekiel*, 12.

431 *Studies in Targum Jonathan to the Prophets* (New York and Baltimore, 1983) 180 (& n335).

432 Beattie, *Targum of Ruth*, 11.

433 Beattie, *Targum of Ruth*, 11.

434 'The Lord has given you a perfect reward for the kindness which you have done to me, and through that reward you will find rest, each one in the house of your husband' (1.9).

come, on the basis of merit:[435]

> May the Lord repay you a good recompense in this world for your good deeds and may your reward be perfect in the next world from before the Lord, God of Israel, under the shadow of whose glorious Shekinah, you have come to become a proselyte and to shelter, and by that merit you will be saved from the judgment of Gehenna, so that your portion may be with Sarah, and Rebekah, and Rachel, and Leah. (2.12)

Gordon (on Tg. Minor Prophets) describes the duty of every Israelite to obey Torah as 'the basis of Israel's relationship with God and the *sine qua non* for the continued enjoyment of his favour (Hos 4.14; 10.1; Amos 9.1)'.[436] Torah observance leads to prosperity (Hos. 9.13).[437] 'Concomitant with the doctrine of Torah goes that of meritorious deeds which protect the doer of them on the day of judgment and in the world to come (Zeph 2.3, 7; Zech 3.4, 8.4)'.[438]

So we can see from a brief look at the earlier Targums here that there is a similar picture to that of the Rabbis, even if a direct historical connection between the Rabbis and the Targums cannot be made with any certainty. There is a pattern where 'getting in' and 'staying in' are important: there is considerable interest in 'this-worldly' merit and reward. But a theology of life in the age to come is crucial for the Targums, and there is a bifurcation of the ages in the Targums that is just as marked as in the rabbinic literature, which is why observance of the Torah occupies such a crucial role.

Chapter 1: Conclusion

In the course of investigating the soteriology of the Jewish Literature from the Book of Watchers to the Targums, a number of points have become clear. Working backwards, we noted Avemarie's criticisms of Sanders' approach to the Rabbinic literature, such that it must be concluded that Sanders is right to affirm the importance of grace and election in the Tannaitic literature, but wrong to exclude the rôle of works in final salvation as a result. As Avemarie notes, both are held in tension: works are also determinative for whether one enters the life in the age to come or not. When it comes to the Apocalyptic literature that was written in the wake of the destruction of Jerusalem, we saw that works have the same crucial function for final salvation: Longenecker has laid to rest the myth that 4 Ezra propounds a theology of *iustificatio impii*. This position, while hoped for by the character Ezra, is corrected by the angel Uriel, and so not reflective of the position held by the author.

But these conclusions are of limited value as evidence for the Judaism with which Paul is in dialogue: it could be objected that the soteriology of the Rabbis and 4 Ezra/ 2

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435 Boaz's merit is also the basis for God remembering to give bread to his people in Tg Ruth 1.6.

436 Gordon, *The Targum of the Minor Prophets*, 8.

437 'When the congregation of Israel fulfils the law it is like Tyre in her prosperity and ease.'

438 Gordon, *Targum of the Minor Prophets*, 8.

Baruch are indelibly marked with effects of the destruction of the Temple, and so are not reflective of a pre-70 world of thought. So, we have concentrated our attention on the pre-70 material. Here the very early material from the Third Century BCE (Watchers, Astronomical Book, Tobit?) and from the early Second Century (Sirach) has no concern with individual, *post mortem* eschatology. The same goes for 1 Maccabees. Then there is an intermediate group of texts, where there is a concern for post mortem eschatology, and in which works have varying degrees of importance: Jubilees, and the Epistle of Enoch, for example. Finally, there are texts which cause very serious problems for the paradigm of covenantal nomism which Sanders (followed by New Perspective scholars) proposes for Second-Temple Judaism. These texts are, as we have seen, Psalms of Solomon and Pseudo-Philo, Wisdom of Solomon and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. The first two hail from Palestine, while the latter two are commonly acknowledged to have many concepts in common with the NT writings even though they probably come from Egypt and Syria (?) respectively. Within these texts, there is no monochrome theology of reward, but rather a rich diversity of imagery and models. We saw also that the earliest Christian theology, in the NT, shares the same component of final salvation by works, in common with the Judaism represented within the same texts. Qumran has the same pattern, though set in the context of its determinism which is not a feature of the other Jewish literature. Then there is the Egyptian material, consisting of the Sibylline Oracles, the Testament of Job, and the Apocalypse of Zephaniah, which has in any case always been acknowledged to have a theology structured more around the importance of works for final salvation. But we have seen in this chapter that final salvation according to works is not a diaspora tenet which only emerges in the Palestinian literature after the crisis of the destruction of the Temple, but an integral part of the theology of Palestinian Judaism by the First Century BCE at the latest.

Chapter 2

Boasting in Second-Temple Judaism

Introduction

In the Introduction to the thesis, we raised the key issues surrounding the nature of boasting in Rom 1-5. This chapter aims to provide some Jewish background to the questions of whether the confidence is eschatologically oriented, whether it is confidence in relation to God or to gentiles, and whether this confidence is based on obedience or merely on election. The aim here is not so much to present a systematic picture, but rather to emphasise what has been neglected in past portrayals. There are two different understandings of boasting, one broadly 'traditional' and one associated with the New Perspective which, according to the interpretation of the Jewish texts to follow, require radical modification.

First, the 'traditional' understanding. I am not qualified to deal with the historical-theological issue of the relation of insecurity about salvation to the Reformation debates, but Sanders and Avemarie document well how prevalent the contrast is, in twentieth-century scholarship, between the *Heilsgewißheit* of Protestantism and the *Heilsunsicherheit* of the Judaism contemporary with Paul. Sanders, in *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, particularly criticises Weber (*Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 38), Köberle (41), Bultmann (45), Rössler (49), Conzelmann (52), Bousset (216), Rengstorff's article on 'ἔλπις' in *TDNT* (225-226), and Braun (394-395). Avemarie adds Holtzmann's *Lehrbuch der neutestamentlichen Theologie*,[1] and Balz's article on 'fear' in *TDNT*.[2]

Broadly speaking, according to the traditional position, Paul sees lack of assurance (*Heilsunsicherheit*) as one of the most significant problems within Judaism. This problem, for Paul, is solved by the gospel of justification by faith: 'Wenn die Rechtfertigung des Sünders nicht auf dessen eigenem Verdienst, sondern allein auf dem Glauben an die Jesus Christus geschehene Heilstat beruht, so folgt daraus eine absolute

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1 Avemarie, *Tora und Leben*, 20n34.

2 Avemarie, *Tora und Leben*, 209n17.

Heilsgewißheit für jeden einzelnen Gläubigen'.[3] It should become clear from the following analysis that the portrayal of Judaism as a religion of uncertainty cannot be demonstrated from the *texts*, whatever the existential reality may have been. And most importantly for the argument here, Paul never seeks *any* argumentative mileage in the insecurity of his contemporaries about salvation. Rather, as we see from Romans 2, Paul's dialogue partner is very *confident*, albeit with a *misplaced* confidence. Bultmann tried to have his cake and eat it, seeing 'boasting' as the attempt to express success in the sphere of the visible, and stemming from the 'care' with which human life is burdened.[4] There may be psychological and theological truth here, but is it Paul's concern in his dispute with Judaism?

Second, the New Perspective position, which is a response to the traditional understanding. Here the portrait is of a Judaism which does not have an existential angst about final salvation, but which lives in the 'joy of the law'.[5] In consciousness of their individual sinfulness,[6] the Jewish people based their confidence in final vindication purely on God's election and gracious mercy, not on their works.[7] Their assurance of vindication came from God's faithfulness to his promises, and was not earned by their own obedience.[8]

Both these pictures, it will be argued, require significant correction. It is hoped that what is presented here in their place can be *balanced*, without being systematic: equal *importance* can be attached to features which are not discussed in detail here, despite the disproportionate space that other material might receive. It is the tone of a presentation that is essential for a balanced picture: the lack of detailed discussion of Israel's distinctive vocation as light to the gentiles, and her claims to a spiritual enlightenment that other nations do not possess will be assumed here, and acknowledged in passing, rather than discussed in detail. They have received attention elsewhere.

The broad outline of the argument presented here is as follows. The Jewish people is portrayed in numerous texts from the Second-Temple period as an obedient/ holy/ pious nation. This obedience can be described in relation to God, or in relation to gentiles (or occasionally, both). This is, needless to say, a kind of national boast or self-praise, since the authors of these presentations are themselves Jewish. This is also paralleled on a smaller scale by the claims of individuals to comprehensive observance of Torah, or to perfection and other related concepts. It can be argued that such claims are unremarkable for two reasons. First, because of the abundance of third-person

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3 J. Wohlmuth, 'Heilsgewißheit' in *Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche*, 1344. The article by Hägglund in *TRE* 14 (1985) 759 is similar, but does not contrast the assurance of justification faith with merit.

4 R. Bultmann, *New Testament and Mythology*, 16-17.

5 The phrase, from S. Schechter's, *Aspects of Rabbinic Theology* (London: A.&C. Black, 1909)148-169, is used frequently by Sanders, esp. *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 110-111.

6 See especially Sanders' section 'The Nature of Religious Life and Experience', *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 212-233.

7 Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, *passim*. This is perhaps the single most important contention in the book.

8 See Dunn (e.g. *Romans* I, lxv) who contrasts Sanders' portrayal of Judaism with one based on merit.

representations of blamelessness, perfection and fulfilment of Torah. Furthermore, it seems to have been legitimate, if one was obedient, to be entitled to praise from oneself, from others or from God. In Chapter 1 we saw that the hope of final vindication was grounded in both election and works. This chapter aims to demonstrate that the element of 'works' was indeed believed by a number of Jewish writers to be not only possible, but also done, both by the nation as a whole as well as by individuals. As a result, it can be said that works too are a basis for confidence in final vindication, and not just divine election.

1. Examples of Claims to Obedience

1.1 Israel as a Holy and Blameless nation

It will not be claimed here that there was a unanimous consensus in the Second-Temple period that Israel was living up to her vocation. Such praise of Israel's behaviour as we will see later is notably absent from most of the Qumran literature. Other 'protest' literature such as Jubilees harks back to the days of Joseph, when there was no evil among the people of Israel (46.1-2), though this is manifestly not Jubilees' opinion of the current 'state of the nation'. On an individual level, there are prayers of repentance (Pr. Man.; 1QS 11): these will be dealt with in the next chapter. Although we have no idea of their actual social function, these texts do on the face of it stand in tension with other, more confident assertions.

There is, however, also a very clear and very wide-ranging tradition of *optimism* about obedience to Torah in the Jewish literature. Psalms of Solomon, despite its pessimism in other places, still identifies Israel with the ὅσιοι κυρίου (12.6); Wisdom of Solomon talks of how wisdom has redeemed 'a holy nation and a blameless seed' (λαὸν ὅσιον καὶ σπέρμα ἄμεμπτον) from the gentiles (10.15). And 1 Enoch's constant reference to the 'elect and righteous' (1.1, 97.5, 99.3 *et passim*) perhaps combines Israel's elect status with a comment on her behaviour. But we must examine the places where the Jewish claim to obedience is more explicit: in some cases, there are texts where it is an important aim of the work to argue for the virtuous behaviour of the Jewish people, and their consistency in obeying Torah. It should be clear from the following texts that such claims are made in a wide variety of different texts, texts which originate from both inside and outside Palestine, and both before and after the destruction of the Temple.

1.1.1 As. Mos. 9.3-6

One example comes in the Assumption of Moses, at the point when Taxo is introduced as the priestly deliverer figure. He bemoans the cruelty which Israel is suffering at the time:

> For what nation, or what land, or what people rebellious against the Lord, having committed many crimes, has suffered woes as great as have come over us? Now

then, my sons, hear me! See, then, and know that neither our parents, nor their ancestors have tempted God by transgressing his commandments. (*videte enim, et scite quia numquam temptantes Deum nec parentes nec proavi eorum, ut praetereant mandata illius*.) Surely you know that they (sc. the commandments) are our strength.[9] (*scitis enim, quia haec sunt vires nobis.*) And this we shall do: Let us fast for three days, and on the fourth day let us enter into the cave which is in the field and let us die rather than transgress the commandments of the Lord of lords, the God of our Fathers. (9.3-6)

Embedded here is an assumption that must be connected with the author's own perception of the people of Israel, and which he must have expected to be plausible to his readers. The author is validating the discourse of an *obedient* Israel, either in response to a more pessimistic view, or because it is simply a given for his community[10] that Israel's suffering, because of her obedience, is undeserved. It cannot be argued that the author is merely saying that Israel's suffering cannot be attributed to specific sins on her part. Rather, the thoroughgoing obedience to Torah by the ancestors is the basis on which Taxo can be confident that his plan, which is about to go into effect, will work (*scitis enim, quia haec sunt vires nobis*).[11]

1.1.2 Baruch 3.7

M. Seifrid glosses Bar 3.7 as showing that 'those who are obedient may await the future with confidence'.[12] The author asks God not to judge the exiled people on the basis of the sins of their fathers, but rather on the basis of the obedience of his contemporaries:

> Now, Almighty Lord, God of Israel, hear the prayer of Israel's dead and of the sons of those who sinned against thee. They did not heed the voice of their God, and so we are in the grip of adversity. Do not recall the misdeeds of our fathers, but remember now thy power and thy name, for you are the Lord our God, and we will praise thee, o Lord. It is for this that you have put the fear of yourself in our hearts, to make us call upon your name. *And we will praise you in our exile, for we have put away from ourselves all the wrongdoing of our fathers who sinned against you.* (καὶ αἰνέσομέν σε ἐν τῇ ἀποικίᾳ ἡμῶν, ὅτι ἀπεστρέψαμεν ἀπὸ καρδίας πᾶσαν ἀδικίαν πατέρων ἡμῶν τῶν ἡμαρτηκότων ἐναντίον σου) (Bar 3.5-7)

This is a curious appeal, which begins with an address to God on the basis of his power

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9 Tromp's translation 'here lies our strength' is a bit vague: the *haec* refers specifically to the commandments. Otherwise, the translation is from Tromp, *Assumption of Moses*, 19.

10 By which I do not mean that there is an 'Assumption-of-Moses-community': I simply refer to community in the weak sense, viz. the circles in which the author moved.

11 Tromp, *Assumption of Moses*, 226: 'the sinlessness of their ancestors somehow increases the purity of Taxo and his sons... thereby enhancing the effectiveness of the (vicarious) suffering'.

12 Seifrid, *Christ Our Righteousness*, 23.

and his name, and asks him to overlook the wrongs of Israel's previous generations. But the address by no means comes on the basis of God's mercy and electing grace alone: the author also asks within the framework of the current generation's covenantal faithfulness and obedience. Nevertheless, this text differs from what we saw in As. Mos. in a significant way: As. Mos. looks back into the past as a basis of confidence and makes no comment of the behaviour of Israel in the present (indeed, the rest of the work is very critical of it), while Baruch here contrasts the sin of previous generations with the faithfulness of Israel in the present. Of course, it needs to be borne in mind that the 'present' generation for the historical Baruch is not the same as the generation of the real author of the book, so the difference is not cut and dried.

1.1.3 Wis. Sol. 15.1-4

As was stated in the Introduction and in the previous chapter, the Wisdom of Solomon is probably not Palestinian, and yet has close links with Paul's discourse in Rom 1-2. The key passage is frequently misunderstood by Pauline scholars:

> But you, our kind and faithful God,
> Are patient, and treat everything with mercy.
> For even if we sin (καὶ γὰρ ἐὰν ἁμάρτωμεν),
> We are yours, for we know your power.
> But we will not sin, for we know we are counted as yours.
> (οὐκ ἁμαρτησόμεθα δέ, εἰδότες ὅτι σοὶ λελογίσμεθα)
>
> For to know you is complete righteousness,
> And to know your power is the root of immortality.
> For neither has the evil intent of human art led us into error,
> Nor the fruitless toil of painters... (15.1-4).

Here we see a similar expression of confidence both descriptive of past obedience (as in *Assumption of Moses*) but also an obedience projected into the future. First, verse 1 contains a very traditional assertion about God's love, faithfulness and mercy. Then, comes the difficult statement in 2a: 'even if we sin, we are yours'. This could be a perfectly orthodox statement, referring to God's provision for the forgiveness of sins within the covenant. Hübner takes it this way: Israel cannot be separated by God because they are his own possession, in the context of the '*Bundesexistenz Israels*'.[13] On the other hand, it is taken by many New Perspective scholars to be an unorthodox statement of over-confidence in election.

Whichever is the case, the statement in 2a is rendered hypothetical by the statement in 2b. God is so kind that he would protect his people even if they sinned, but this becomes entirely hypothetical since they resolve not to sin. This is persistently misinterpreted in New Perspective exegesis of Romans 2. In fact, the misunderstanding

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13 Hübner, *Weisheit Salomons*, 184.

begins as long ago as C.H. Dodd's commentary on Romans, which declares: 'too many Jews, doubtless, stopped short of the last clause [i.e. 15.2b]'.[14] But how can Dodd be so 'doubtless'? The 'we' in Wis 15.1ff appeal to their knowledge of God, which is 'complete righteousness', and which presupposes an abstinence from sin: '... for neither has the evil intent of human art misled us'. Among more recent commentators, Wilckens is a stark example. His understanding of this passage could hardly be further from the truth: 'Er vertraut, wo er selbst sündigt, darauf, durch die Güte, Geduld und Langmut Gottes verschont zu werden.'[15] Longenecker is clearly one of C.H. Dodd's 'too many Jews': he cites the first half of verse 2, misses off the Jew's resolution to be faithful in 2b, and thus understands the problem to be 'Jewish confidence in the mercy of God, despite their own sin'.[16] Dunn, similarly, sees an expression of 'the confident assumption that God's mercy is upon his elect'.[17] Even Schreiner, who usually swims against the tide of the New Perspective, sees in this passage 'a Jewish view of covenant privilege by which they believed themselves protected from God's wrath even if they transgressed'.[18]

The claim made in Wis. Sol. here is, in fact, very different. The nation has not fallen into sin, because of its abstinence from idolatry.[19] Hübner and Winston are probably correct in saying that the text claims an *immunity* from idolatry.[20]

> 'The writer is thinking of his own period. The consensus among the rabbis of the third century was that all idolatrous impulses had been eradicated from Israel as early as the beginning of the Second Temple Period (*BT Yoma* 69b; *Sanh.* 64a; *Arakhin* 32b). For this view there is parallel evidence in Judith 8.18: "For there has not risen in our generations, nor is there today, a tribe, a family, a clan or a city that worships idols made by human hands, as there was once in olden times"'.[21]

The New Perspective reading of Wis. Sol. 15.2 is based on an absolutising of the hypothetical conditional 'even if we sin, we are yours': but this statement is then entirely corrected by the assertion which follows immediately after ('but we will not sin') and the point in 15.4 that 'neither has the evil intent of human art led us into error'. This part of Wis. Sol. can in no way be read as a confidence in election which takes no account of Israel's responsibility to remain faithful. 15.2 shows, as Hübner puts it: 'gerade weiß er

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14 Dodd, *Romans*, 58.

15 Wilckens, *Der Brief an die Römer*, 124.

16 B. Longenecker, *Eschatology and the Covenant*, 182.

17 Dunn, *Romans* I, 82.

18 Schreiner, *Romans*, 109.

19 For this reason, Lagrange is wrong to import the historical idolatry of Israel into Wis. Sol. in 'Le Livre de Sagesse, sa doctrine des fins dernières', *RevB* 4 (1907) 97.

20 D. Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon* (New York: Doubleday, 1979) 281; cf Hübner, *Weisheit Salomons* 185: 'Gegen ihre Verführung ist dieses Gott ergebene Volk immun'.

21 Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 282.

[sc. 'unser Autor'] auch um die Verpflichtung, die aus dem Dasein als Bundesvolk erwächst.'[22]

1.1.4 2 Bar 48.22-24

Dunn makes reference to this passage in his commentary on Romans to illustrate something of the content of Paul's phrase 'ἐπαναπαύῃ νόμῳ'.[23] Bell, similarly, uses the verse to illustrate 'boasting' in Rom 2.17 in his monograph.[24] Dunn notes that in the way of life centred around and regulated by Torah, the 'distinctiveness of the Jew from the non-Jew was always to the fore... What Paul is attacking, therefore, is precisely the Jewish reliance on this distinctiveness. The attitude in view is well expressed in *2 Apoc. Bar.*':

> In you we have put our trust, because, behold your Law is with us,
> and we know that we do not fall as long as we keep your statutes.
> We shall always be blessed; at least, we did not mingle with the nations.
> For we are all a people of the Name.
> We who received one Law from the One.
> And that Law which is among us will help us,
> And that excellent wisdom which is in us will support us. (2 Bar 48.22-24)

This text is very significant for our purposes here because it combines the themes of obedience to Torah, election, and confidence in vindication. It is important, however, to define their inter-relation, rather than simply noting their juxtaposition. The first line expresses the fact that the presence of the Law with the Jewish people is a basis for their confidence in God: this is the emphasis that a number of New Perspective scholars have noted. However, the addition of the second line makes a substantial contribution as well. It means that what New Perspective scholars often *deny* is also a part of Jewish identity, namely, that confidence also rests on *Jewish fulfilment of Torah*: 'we know that we do not fall as long as we keep your statutes' (48.22b). So the author is not *merely* expressing distinctiveness in relation to other nations (though that is expressed in 48.23a), but also the fact that Israel's relationship to God *depends* on her Torah observance (48.22b). This comes in the context of talk of God's judgment: 'How then can our strength withstand thy wrath, or how can we endure thy judgment?' (2 Bar 48.17). Interestingly, the author then goes on to ground that same confidence not in Torah observance, but in election, alongside which there is a kind of parenthesis noting the separation of Israel from the nations. Then, in no particular relation to what precedes, come traditional-sounding statements about the help and strength that the Law and wisdom provide, as we saw in As. Mos., and which we will see in the Maccabean literature. But the essential point here is that if one is to say, with Dunn, that 2 Bar 48

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22 Hübner, *Weisheit Salomons*, 184.

23 Dunn, *Romans* I, 110.

24 Bell, *No One Seeks for God*, 187.

describes Israel's reliance on her distinctiveness, that distinctiveness according to 2 Bar does not exclusively lie in possession of the Torah, but also in obedience to it.[25]

1.1.5 4 Ezra 8

4 Ezra might seem a strange place to look for an expression of confidence in Torah-obedience. It is much more commonly understood to be a very negative, pessimistic work. However, as was argued in the previous chapter, it has been significantly misunderstood in this regard. Wilckens is a typical example: his verdict is that Paul and the author of 4 Ezra agree in their verdict on Israel, a mistake which comes about by equating the voice of Ezra with the voice of the author of the apocalypse.[26] As we saw above, Longenecker and Bauckham pay better attention to the narrative dynamics. It can be seen however, that at the rhetorical level of the text, there is a dispute over whether there are indeed any people who can rely on having any works, and so be saved. Ezra initially rejects this, and so falls back on a theology of *iustificatio impii* (8.36). This, however, is strongly rejected by Uriel, who reasserts the traditional theology of reward on the basis of obedience. This may reflect actual real theological debate which took place after the destruction of the Temple, or which even took place within the Second-Temple period:[27] one could find evidence in texts like the *Hodayot*, for instance, of Ezra's position here. But it is a position which is anathematised by the angel:

> Ezra: For we and those who were before us have done deeds in ways that bring death. But you, because of us sinners, are called merciful. *For if you have desired to have pity on us, who have no good works, then you will be called merciful... For in this, o Lord, thy goodness will be declared, when thou art merciful to those who have no store of good works.* (8.31-32, 36)
>
> Uriel: He answered me and said, "Things that are present are for those who live now, and things that are future are for those who will live hereafter. For you come far short of being able to love my creation more than I love it. *But you have often compared yourself to the unrighteous. Never do so!*" (8.46-47)

Thus, the faithful few are encouraged not to be so self-deprecating, and to place their confidence in their obedience as the basis of their life in the age to come.[28]

1.1.6 2 Maccabees

We discussed above the martyrdoms of 2 Macc 7. The trigger for the events of 2 Macc 8

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25 As Bell notes, *No One Seeks for God*, 187, obedience *vs* possession is a false antithesis. See also Schreiner's critique of Dunn's use of 2 Bar here (Schreiner, *Romans*, 129).

26 Wilckens, *Brief an die Römer*, 152. We noted above in Chapter 1 Winninge's similar mistake.

27 I am grateful to Prof. Hermann Lichtenberger for this suggestion.

28 Despite the complexities (and indeed contradictions) in 4 Ezra 8 as a whole, not least in the surrounding context (8.29-30 and 8.33-35), this basic point remains unproblematic.

is the turning of the wrath of the Lord (seen in 2 Macc 7) into mercy (2 Macc 8.5). Judas Maccabeus immediately meets with astonishing military success, and 'drops of mercy' begin to fall on the people of Israel (8.27). Nicanor had attempted to make up the two thousand talents for the Roman tribute (8.10) by selling the Jewish people into slavery, and had even brought a group of a thousand slave traders with him. But it was a consummate failure. Nicanor just escapes with his life, and in the end is made to say, in 2 Macc 8.36, that 'the Jews had a Defender, and therefore the Jews were invulnerable because they followed the Laws ordained by him' (ἀτρώτους εἶναι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους διὰ τὸ ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς ὑπ'αὐτοῦ προστεταγμένοις νόμοις). As Goldstein puts it: 'Nicanor had undertaken to injure the Jews and in the end had to proclaim to the world the power of their divine protector'.[29] But it is not only God's power which is proclaimed. This expression of Jewish assurance of obedience in 8.36 is also neatly attributed to a pagan adversary.

1.1.7 4 Maccabees

In 4 Maccabees, there is a feeling that possession of the law and doing the law are virtually inseparable: 'We, o Antiochus, who have been persuaded to govern our lives by the divine law, think that there is no compulsion more powerful than our obedience to the Law' (5.16).[30] This is, in part, a consequence of the basic philosophical principle of the work: that 'devout reason is sovereign over the emotions' (1.1). 4 Macc 13.22, 24 talks of how discipline and education in the Torah themselves have morally strengthening effects. The mind (διανοία) is ultimately determinative of actions in the anthropology of this text, and so it is no surprise that the eldest of the martyrs can say just before his execution:

> You abominable lackeys, your wheel is not so powerful as to strangle my reason (λογισμὸν). Cut my limbs, burn my flesh, and twist my joints; through all these tortures, I will convince you that children of the Hebrews alone are invincible where virtue is concerned (μόνοι παῖδες Ἑβραίων ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς εἰσιν ἀνίκητοι). (4 Macc. 9.17-18)

Here the distinctiveness of the Jews is clearly articulated in terms of their virtue, which is here grounded in their education in the law which has elevated their reason to the point where it rules perfectly over the emotions.

1.1.8 Josephus, c. Ap. 2.176-178

A similar idea without the same philosophical setting can be seen in Josephus's *contra Apionem*. One passage in particular links possession and performance very closely. Josephus compares both the knowledge which individual Jews have of their laws in

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29 Goldstein, *II Maccabees*, 341.

30 Cf. Add. Esth. 16.15.

comparison with other nations, and also Jewish and pagan obedience to their respective legal systems:[31]

> And indeed, the greatest part of mankind are so far from living according to their own laws, that they hardly know them; but when they have sinned, they learn from others that they have transgressed the law. Those also who are in the highest and principal posts of the government confess they are not acquainted with those laws and are obliged to take such persons for their assessors in public administrations as profess to have skill in those laws; but for our people, if anybody do but ask any one of them about our laws, he will more readily tell them all than he will tell his own name, and this in consequence of our having learned them immediately, as soon as ever we became sensible of anything, and of our having them as it were, engraven on our souls. Our transgressors of them are but few (σπανίος μὲν ὁ παραβαίνων); and it is impossible, when any do offend, for them to escape punishment. (c. Ap. 2.176-178)

This creates, Josephus goes on, both a wonderful unanimity among the Jewish people (179-180) but also a common way of life: 'nor can anyone perceive amongst us any difference in the conduct of our lives; but all our works are common to all' (181). Josephus reiterates both the willing adherence of the Jewish people to their laws (τὴν ἐθελούσιον ἡμῶν τοῖς νόμοις ἀκολουθίαν [2.220]), as well as the fact that the Jewish laws have never changed, unlike those of their neighbours (2.221-231). 'In a culture that placed an almost absolute value on antiquity, Josephus gave at least one primacy (and what a primacy!) to the people of Israel: their faithfulness to the laws inherited from their forefathers'.[32] But Josephus's intention, he claims, is not to write an encomium on the Jewish people, but merely to defend them (2.147). As he says in 2.237: 'The custom of our country is not to accuse the laws of others, but rather to keep our own (τὰ γὰρ αὐτων ἡμῖν φυλάττειν)'. This is similar to the sentiment embodied in the claim above, that transgressors in the Jewish nation are few.

1.1.9 Sibylline Oracles

This self-praise comes to a high point in the Sibylline Oracles, where Israel's distinctiveness is perhaps most clearly defined in terms of her *behaviour*. There are numerous references to Israel's distinctive behaviour scattered through three of the earliest oracles: the second (Jewish base text: pre-70 CE; Christian redaction pre-150 CE), third (in the main: late Hellenistic/ early Roman) and fifth (end of 1st/ beginning of

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31 See further E. Kamlah, 'Frömmigkeit und Tugend. Die Gesetzesapologie des Josephus in c Ap 2,145-295' in Betz, Haacker, Hengel eds., *Josephus-Studien*, 220-232.

32 G. Boccaccini, *Middle Judaism. Jewish Thought, 300 B.C.E. to 200 C.E.* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991) 245.

2nd Century CE) Sibyls.[33] The second Sibyl refers to 'the faithful chosen Hebrews' (2:174),[34] combining reference to election and behaviour. Scattered references abound in the fifth Sibyl. The Jews are εὐσεβέων ... ἀνδρῶν ('pious men', 5:36), ἔθνος ἀληθές ('a true nation', 5:149), πολίτας λαοὺς ... ὅσους ὕμνησα δικαίως ('citizens and peoples whom I rightly praised', 5:150-151), λαόν [-ου] τε δίκαιον [-ου] ('a righteous people', 5:154, 226), and πολλοὶ ... Ἑβραίων ἅγιοι πιστοὶ καὶ λαὸς ἀληθές ('many holy faithful Hebrews and a true people', 5:160-161).

But there are three long passages in particular which are extended meditations on the piety of the Jewish people.[35] The first comes in Book III, generally held to be 'the oldest part of the Jewish and Christian corpus',[36] and appear in a section (ll. 211-294) which is 'a clear eulogy of the Jews':[37]

> There is a city... in the land of Ur of the Chaldeans,
> whence comes a race of most righteous men.
> They are always concerned with good counsel and noble works
> for they do not worry about the cyclic course of the sun
> or the moon or monstrous things under the earth
> nor the depth of the grim sea, Oceanus,
> nor portents of sneezes, nor birds of augurers,
> nor seers, nor sorcerers, nor soothsayers...
>
> But they care for righteousness and virtue
> and not love of money, which begets innumerable evils
> for mortal men, war, and limitless famine.
> They have just measurements in fields and cities
> and they do not carry out robberies at night against each other
> nor drive off herds of oxen, sheep or goats,
> nor does neighbour move the boundaries of neighbour,
> nor does a very rich man grieve a lesser man
> nor oppress widows in any respect, but rather helps them,
> always going to their aid with corn, wine and oil.
> Always a prosperous man among the people gives a share
> of the harvest to those who have nothing, but are poor,

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33 Datings are according to Collins, in Charlesworth, ed. *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* I, 317-472.

34 There is a strange distinction between the 'chosen and faithful ones' and the 'Hebrews' in 2:168-170, which is not explicable by Christian redaction.

35 Collins (*Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* I, 367,375, 399) gives them the headings 'Praise of the Jews' (3.218-264), 'Eulogy of the Jews' (3.573-600), 'Praise and Exaltation of the Jews' (5:238ff).

36 J.J. Collins, *The Sibylline Oracles of Egyptian Judaism* (Missoula: Society of Biblical. Literature, 1972) 21.

37 Collins, *Sibylline Oracles*, 26.

fulfilling the word of the great God, the hymn of the law,
for the Heavenly one gave the earth in common to all. (3:218-225, 234-247)

This passage picks up a considerable number of the features of the Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides, which are also imported, in the main, into Oracle 2. In the Sentences, and Oracle 2, however, these ideals are presented in the form of imperatives, sapiential couplets in the traditional form found in wisdom literature. Here in Oracle 3, however, they are presented as fulfilled by the Jewish people in their daily existence.[38] As Collins says of the author: 'He emphasises that they are distinct from other peoples by their refusal to worship the elements and their practice of justice, for which reasons they normally enjoy prosperity'.[39]

There is another, similar passage later in Oracle 3, whose date can be fixed in the Second Century BCE.[40] The author concedes that the Babylonian exile was the result of Israel's sin, but that it was an 'exceptional lapse in the relations between god (sic) and the Jews'.[41] After this exile, the people will be restored. 'They will be marked by their care for the Temple, and their observance of certain moral and ritual norms'.[42] Because of the rhetorical location of the narrator *before* the exile, the prophecies (which concern the end of the Babylonian exile) have actually been fulfilled by the time of the actual composition of the text in the Second Century:

There will again be a sacred race of pious men
who attend to the counsels and intention of the Most High,
who fully honour the temple of the great God
with drink offerings and burnt offerings and sacred hecatombs,
sacrifices of well-fed bulls, unblemished rams,
and first-born sheep, offering as holocausts fat flocks of lambs
on a great altar, in holy manner.
Sharing in the righteousness of the law of the Most High,
they will inhabit cities and rich fields in prosperity,
themselves exalted as prophets by the immortal,
and bringing great joy to all mortals.
for to them alone did the great God give wise counsel
and faith and excellent understanding in their breasts.
They do not honour with empty deceits works of men,
either gold or bronze, or silver or ivory,
or wooden, stone or clay idols of dead gods,

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38 See further V. Nikiprowetzky, *La Troisième Sibylle* (Paris: Mouton, 1970) 251-268, on 'la piété des Justes et le judaïsme traditionnel'.

39 Collins, *Sibylline Oracles*, 35-36.

40 Collins, *Sibylline Oracles*, 28: 'Vss 574-the end is clearly Jewish because of its propaganda for the Temple. Its date is fixed by a reference in 608 to the seventh King of Egypt'. This means either Ptolemy VI Philometor (180-145 BCE) or Ptolemy VIII Euergetes (170-163, 144-117 BCE), depending on whether Alexander is counted as the first King or not.

41 Collins, *Sibylline Oracles*, 36.

42 Collins, *Sibylline Oracles*, 36.

red-painted likenesses of beasts,
such as mortals honour with empty-minded counsel.
For on the contrary, at dawn they lift up holy arms
toward heaven, from their beds, always sanctifying their flesh (or: hands)
with water, and they honour only the Immortal who always rules,
and then their parents. Greatly surpassing all men,
they are mindful of holy wedlock;
and they do not engage in impious intercourse with male children,
as do Phoenicians, Egyptians, and Romans,
spacious Greece and many nations of others,
Persians and Galatians and all Asia, transgressing
the holy law of immortal God, which they transgressed. (3.573-600; cf 5.403-407)

So, because this prophecy looks forward to the time after the Babylonian exile, it is a description of Israel's life from the restoration up to the time of the author. Here various motifs from OT traditions about Israel's vocation are worked together: the cultic ideal in 3.573-579, prosperity in 581, the call to Israel to be a light to the nations in 583-4, the purity of Israel from idols (which is presented as fact) in 586-590. They are described as 'sharing in the righteousness of the law of the Most High' (3.580; ἐν δὲ δικαιοσύνῃ νόμου Ὑψίστοιο λαχόντες),[43] 'greatly surpassing all men' (3.594-5; μέγα δ' ἔξοχα πάντων ἀνθρώπων). The context of this 'surpassing' is clearly in the ethical sphere of Jewish marriages.

The third passage is perhaps not as significant as the first two. Collins reckons the Christian interpolations to be minimal, but there is a considerable discursive unity to the passage, and the Jewish original I take to be residual, rather than constituting the majority of the 'hymn'.[44] But the end of the passage is very likely to be part of this 'residual' Jewish element,[45] so Collins is correct to describe it as concerning 'presumably the Jews' and as 'an exaltation of the Jewish race'.[46] However, Collins analyses the Sibyl's 'Attitude to Egypt',[47] and her 'Attitude to Rome' in the fifth oracle,[48] but not the representation of Israel, which comes to the fore in this passage:

> But the holy land of those who alone are pious will bear all these things:
> a honey-sweet stream from rock and spring,
> and heavenly milk will flow for all the righteous.
> For with great piety and faith they put their hope

43 Cf. T. Dan 6.10, and the pursuit of righteousness in Ep. Ar. 232.

44 I take 5.238-241, the introduction to the passage, as a Christian description of Christ, rather than a Jewish portrait of Israel. The singular, 'a shining light of the sun', while not conclusive, points in that direction, as all of the other 'Praise of the Jews' passages have been cast in the plural. Collins concludes that only 5.257 is *certainly* Christian.

45 The emphasis on the 'holy land' implies as much.

46 Collins, *Sibylline Oracles*, 74.

47 Collins, *Sibylline Oracles*, 76-78.

48 Collins, *Sibylline Oracles*, 78-79.

in the one begetter, God, who alone is eminent. (5.281-285)

The passage can be dated fairly confidently to the First Century CE, on account of the interest in Nero in the surrounding context. This commendation is of the Jewish people's 'great piety and faith' (εὐσεβίην μεγάλην καὶ πίστιν), and the Jews are accorded with the epithets 'δικαίοις' and 'εὐσεβέων δὲ μόνων'.

So, the distinctive moral character expressed in the obedience of Israel to the terms of her covenant with God (I do not dispute that the obedience is *covenantal* obedience) is a feature of a wide variety of different texts. Reviewing the texts, Assumption of Moses and Baruch almost certainly come from Palestine, and are pre-70 CE. Wisdom of Solomon, while not Palestinian, is still significant enough to impinge on the Apostle Paul's worldview. 2 Maccabees is pre-70 CE, and speaks, as we noted in Chapter 1, from a more or less Pharisaic standpoint, though again, it is not Palestinian. Likewise Josephus, though the *contra Apionem* is post-70 CE.[49] 4 Maccabees dates from the First Century, and as Hengel and Schwemer argue, shares some common ideas with Paul, probably because it has an Antiochene provenance.[50] 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch, while Palestinian, date from after the destruction of the Temple. The Sibylline Oracles are early, but originated in Egypt. Together, these texts constitute a considerable 'multiple attestation' of the same attitude.

1.2 Boasts of Individuals

There are also numerous examples in the Second-Temple literature of claims to obedience on an individual level. These vary considerably from fictional to conventional autobiography, from passing comments to extended self-representations. There are a great variety of paradigms: the various patriarchs, whether Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, or the 'Twelve', would have been further removed in the imaginations of Second-Temple Jews by comparison with figures like Mattathias and Josephus. And it is difficult to understood how immediate the examples of figures like Job and Qahat might have been felt to be.[51] But what they all have in common is that they contribute to the argument here because they crucially *exemplify* and *validate* the self-understanding of the faithful Jew as one who has been obedient to God, and qualifies to be described as 'righteous'. These texts all function to strengthen this literary (self-) representation of the faithful Jew, and

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49 I will not enter into these arguments here. Rajak (*Josephus*, e.g. 100) sees Josephus as a Pharisee, and Schwartz argues that the anti-Pharisaic passages in Josephus come from his using Nicolaus of Damascus as a source ('Josephus and Nicolaus on the Pharisees', *JSJ* 14.2 [1983] 157-171). Wright is attracted to Mason's hypothesis that Josephus generally holds Pharisaic positions, while not actually being a Pharisee (*New Testament and the People of God*, 182-183).

50 See Hengel & Schwemer, *Paul Between Damascus and Antioch*, 191-204.

51 Job claims to be 'fully engaged in endurance' (T. Job 1.5); T. Qahat (Third-Century BCE): 'Hold on to the word of Jacob, your father, and hold fast to the judgments of Abraham and the righteous deeds of Levi and of me (ואתקפו בדיני אברהם ובצדקת לוי ודילי): be holy and pure from all mingling, holding on to the truth and walking in uprightness and not with a double heart' (4Q542 1 1 7-8).

therefore promote it as an ideal and a possibility for the text's audience.

1.2.1 Jubilees: Abraham & Jacob

In the idealised portraits of Abraham and Jacob in Jubilees, the author also constructs self-representations in the fictionalised speeches where the patriarchs make claims to obedience and an avoidance of sin.[52] The first is that of Abraham:

> Behold, I am one hundred and seventy-five years old, and throughout all the days of my life I have been remembering the Lord and sought with all my heart to do his will and walk uprightly in all his ways. I hated idols, and those who serve them I have rejected. And I have offered my heart and spirit so that I might be careful to do the will of the one who created me... (Jub 21.2-3)
> Lat: ... *in diebus uitae meae deum nostrum in memoria habens semper et exquirens eum in omni uirtute mea ut facerem omnem uoluntatem eius et ut dirigerem in omnibus uiis eius.*

Although the Latin and the Ethiopic differ slightly, the overall sense is the same. Abraham claims to have always 'remembered' the Lord, and to have done his will all through his life.[53] There is a correspondingly similar claim in the mouth of Jacob:

> And Jacob said: "I will do everything just as you have commanded me because this thing is an honour and a greatness for me and a righeousness for me before the Lord, that I should honour them. And you, mother, know from the day I was born until this day all of my deeds and everything which is in my heart, that I always think of good for everyone." (... *usque in diem hunc et uniuersa opera mea et omnia quae sunt in corde meo quoniam omnibus diebus ego [...] bona facere [...] omnibus).*" (Jub 35.2-3)

We will return later to the important implication that this text has for the relationship between works, righteousness and boasting. For now, it is sufficient to note the surprising extent of the claims that Jacob is making, namely that on the most obvious reading of the text, all his thoughts and deeds have been altruistic.

1.2.2 Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs

The dominant theme in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs is the need for the sons to follow their fathers in their obedience, and to avoid falling into the sins to which the patriarchs succumbed in their youth. In terms of content, some of the patriarchs portray themselves as negative examples, where they warn their children against the sins that they

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52 I owe this reference, and several others in this section, to the discussions of 'bragging' in Carson, *Divine Sovereignty and Human Responsibility*, esp. 51 (in non-apocalyptic Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha), 60 (in Apocalyptic),112 (in Josephus).

53 Cf LAB 6.11, where Abraham implies his righteous character by inviting God to burn him up if any of his sins merits such punishment.

themselves committed. But Issachar, Asher, Zebulun, and Joseph follow a different pattern, as can be seen from these opening statements:[54]

> I am Zebulun, a good gift to my parents, for when I was born of my parents, my father prospered exceedingly, in flocks and herds, when he got his share of them by the spotted rods. I am not aware, my children, that I have sinned in all my days, except in my mind. Nor do I recall having committed a transgression, except what I did to Joseph in ignorance... (T. Zeb. 1.2-5)

> My brothers and my children.
> Listen to Joseph, the one beloved of Israel.
> Give ear to the words of my mouth.
> In my life, I have seen envy and death.
> But I have not gone astray: I continued in the truth of the Lord. (T. Jos. 1.2-3)

Here, Zebulun has fallen into no *hamartia* or *paranomia*: 'these verses give a double declaration of innocence'.[55] Mental aberrations and an *agnoia* do not qualify, and so Zebulun deserves the title of blamelessness. Later on, speaking of his work as a sailor and fisherman (5.5-7.4) 'his compassion for people in distress is emphasised'.[56] Joseph, similarly, was not deceived, but continued in the (moral quality of) truth.[57] Joseph's Testament, more than any other, is full of claims to enduringly blameless behaviour.[58] Similarly, Issachar and Asher both talk of having abstained from all immorality and having loved the Lord with all their strength throughout their lives and (as we saw with Joseph) not straying from the truth.[59]

This also has a personal-eschatological orientation: we have seen in the previous chapter the numerous references to the connection between righteous living and the reward of resurrection to life. The obedience that we see claimed in these Testaments is the basis for the patriarchs' confidence before God at the ends of their lives. Issachar's testament, for example, ends on his statement that at the age of 122, he has commitedly no 'deadly sin' (7.1). 7.2-6 provides a catalogue of his virtues and blameless behaviour, after which 7.7-8 contains a final parenesis before his death and sleeping the 'eternal sleep' in 7.9. And so the pattern is established that the Jew can be confident at the judgment if s/he is leading a blameless life: this scheme is reinforced and validated by the ideal literary paradigm.

1.2.3 Pseudo-Philo: Joshua and David

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54 And see T. Iss. 7.1ff, T. Ash. 5.1-6.3.

55 Hollander/ de Jonge, *Commentary*, 257.

56 Hollander/ de Jonge, *Commentary*, 253. Cf also T. Zeb. 4.2; 5.1-5.

57 See H.W. Hollander, *Joseph as an Ethical Model in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (SVTP 6; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1981).

58 T. Jos. 1.3-4; 2.7; 10.1; 11.1; 11.17ff.

59 T. Iss. 7.1-6, T. Ash. 5.4.

The Biblical Antiquities contain rewritten narratives of Joshua and David, where similar claims are made. LAB 20.6 consists of a testament by Joshua (though he is addressing the sons of Caleb), where he tells the narrative of how he and Caleb went as spies and they 'alone fulfilled the word of the Lord'. 'And behold, we are alive today', he says.[60] Survival has become an evidence of righteousness. Caleb then uses the same argument shortly afterwards in 20.10. The testamentary character of Joshua's injunction is clarified by his exhortation: 'imitate your father and you also will live' (20.6). For Joshua, the fact that he is alive is visible proof of his righteousness, while others are dead as the result of their unrighteousness.[61]

David's claim to obedience in LAB 62.5f is of a much more general kind. Joshua and Caleb refer in all likelihood only to their obedience in the matter of the spying episode: David lays claim to a more comprehensive avoidance of sin: 'I am just and have no wickedness' (*iustus enim sum et iniquitatem non habeo*) (62.5).[62] Although he also claims that he has never done anything to cause offence to Saul (62.6), his assertion is more general: his innocence is the basis of the incomprehensibility of Saul's persecution (cf. As. Mos. above).

1.2.4 Tobit

In Tobit, there is a substantial autobiographical introduction, though the majority of the narrative is told in the third person: 'from 3:7 on the story is told in the third person by the omniscient narrator who observes the action from above.'[63] Tobit is an example similar to the Patriarchs, and his self-confidence especially grates with British self-deprecation:

> I, Tobit have walked all the days of my life in the way of truth and justice, and I did many alms-deeds to my brethren, and my nation, who came with me into Nineveh, into the land of the Assyrians.[64]

The claim here has no particular rhetorical force: it is not parenetic in the way such self-descriptions are in the Testaments. Rather, it serves the narrative function of introducing the main character in the story. Here is another claim to conduct that is described in very comprehensive terms as characterised by full obedience.

1.2.5 Josephus' Vita

More direct self-representations occur within non-fictional autobiographical passages in

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60 See Joshua 14.8, 10 for the biblical background to these sayings (Jacobson, *Commentary*, 670).

61 Cf the similar reverse logic in Pss. Sol. 1.1-3: Jerusalem is righteous because of her many offspring.

62 See Jacobson, *Commentary*, 190 for a discussion of the text-critical problems with this verse.

63 Moore, *Tobit*, 105.

64 Tobit 1.3.

Second-Temple literature. These are quite rare, because of the rarity of first-person narration, except in pseudonymous texts. But Philo and Josephus do record historical events in which they played important parts. Philo was of course one of the spokesmen in the embassy to Gaius; and although he is not exactly a model of humility,[65] there is no specific reference to Philo's *obedience*. The emphasis, in keeping with Philo's agenda throughout his work, is on the spiritual enlightenment that the Torah provides, and the importance of education as an antidote to sin.

However, Josephus takes the view in his autobiography that his numerous escapes from difficulty were the result of God rewarding him on the basis of his righteousness:

> Although, when I twice took Sepphoris by force, and Tiberias four times, and Gadara once, and when I had subdued and taken John, who often laid treacherous snares for me, I did not punish [with death] either him, or any of the people forenamed, as the progress of this discourse will show. And on this account it was, that God, who is never unacquainted with those that do as they ought to do, delivered me still out of the hands of these my enemies, and afterwards preserved me when I fell into those many dangers which I shall relate hereafter.[66]

Whiston comments in a footnote to his translation here: 'Our Josephus shows, both here and everywhere, that he was a most religious person, and one that had a deep sense of God and His providence upon his mind, and ascribed all his numerous and wonderful escapes and preservations, in times of danger, to God's blessing him, and taking care of him; and this on account of his acts of piety, justice humanity, and charity to the Jews his brethren.'[67] This is of course still within the framework of reward within this life, but we at least at this stage have works leading to 'lengthened life' and, therefore, a boast.

1.2.6 Saul the Pharisee

This is perhaps the ideal framework within which to read Paul's autobiographical reminiscences in Phil 3.5-9, where he describes himself as '...in regard to the Law, a Pharisee; as for zeal, persecuting the church; as for the righteousness of the Law, blameless.' Here, he is looking back to his previous career: his halakhot were Pharisaic, though even within Pharisaism, his zeal probably led him to go beyond the moderate position of his teacher Gamaliel (Acts 5.34-40) and to persecute the church. Paul's perception of righteousness, then, was related to his behaviour, as Thurén notes.[68] And, crucially, his self-perception as far as obedience to Torah was concerned was that he was *amemptos*, confident that he, like the Jews in Oracle 3.580, 'shared in the righteousness of the Law of the Most High'.

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65 Embassy to Gaius, XXVIII 182: 'But I myself who was accounted to be possessed of superior prudence, both on account of my age and my education, and general information...'

66 Jos. *Vita* 15 (82-83).

67 Whiston, *The Works of Josephus*, 6.

68 Thurén, *Derhetorizing Paul*, 169, 177.

Within this framework, it is possible to agree with Sanders against NT scholars of previous generations who spoke of a Jewish soteriology consisting of a weighing of merits and demerits, which resulted in uncertainty about salvation. 'New Testament scholars have concluded that the requirement of more fulfilments than transgressions produced uncertainty.'[69] This is clearly a misreading of the Jewish literature, as we have seen that there was often considerable confidence (rightly or wrongly) in future vindication, grounded both in election and in confidence of having been obedient. The reaction of Sanders and others, however, in replacing this uncertainty with *confidence merely in national status to the exclusion of obedience* is also misleadingly one-sided, however.

2. The Validity of Self-praise

A confidence in God's mercy, then, which rested partly on the foundation of election, but also on the obedience of the people to the Law, is widely attested. Furthermore, both the national and individual boasts we have seen above are related to the numerous 'third-person' descriptions of people as 'perfect', 'blameless', and obedient to the Torah. And secondly, there is a well-established theological train-of-thought in the literature, that one who was obedient had a righteous status before God, and was worthy of honour. Both these principles, on which the instances of self-praise above rest, will be explored here.

2.1 The Abundance of Third-Person Representations

2.1.1 The Nature of the Claims

This of course raises an important question. What claims are being made in these assertions of, positively, life-long obedience, and, negatively, life-long avoidance of sin? We have seen abundant examples of both the former (Tob 1.3, Jub 35.2-3, T. Jos. 1.3, 2.7, 4 Ez 8, Sib. Or. 3 *passim*), the latter (As. Mos. 9.4, Wis. Sol. 15.1-4, Jud 8.18-20, T. Zeb. 1.2-5; T. Jos. 1.3-4; 10.1), and both juxtaposed together (Jub 21.2-3, T. Jos. 1.3-4; 10.1, T. Iss. 7.1-6, T. Ash. 5.4, LAB 62.5, cf Hist. Rech. 11.2). New Perspective scholars might well protest that righteousness, sinlessness, blamelessness and the like are categories of *status*, with no reference to perfect obedience, or to a majority of good deeds. But investigation into this issue has also run aground because of Sanders' polarisation of the debate between perfectionism or weighing of good deeds against bad deeds on the one hand, and his own minimalist conception of covenant faithfulness as *intention* to obey, on the other. Sanders expresses this throughout *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*: 'Obedience, especially the intention to obey ('confessing') is the *conditio sine qua non* of salvation, but it does not earn it' (141). Or again, Sanders expresses the synonymity of obedience and intention even more directly: 'The opposite of denying the commandments (and consequently the God who gave them) is not obeying

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69 Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 227.

them with perfect success, but 'confessing' them. What is required is submission to God's commandments and the intent to obey them' (138). That is, one is somewhat forced by Sanders' rhetoric, to choose between a perfectionistic heaping up of achievements, and the model of intention.[70] Sanders affirms that the Rabbis also saw actual obedience as important, but this tends to get swallowed up in the argument. For example, 'the Tannaitic emphasis on intention could lead to the view that intention can actually be a substitute for fulfilment' (109). He gives the example of intention replacing sacrifices after the destruction of the Temple, but this obviously could not relate to the pre-70 period. As for Sanders' other main example, that reward is given *both* for intention *and* accomplishment in the Mekhilta particularly in the case of almsgiving does not prove his point: intention does not *substitute* for achievement here. Sanders' one example that might be relevant ('once they undertook to do it, it is accounted to them as if they had already done it' [Mek. Piska 12]) is valid, but hardly enough to substantiate that 'we have repeatedly seen the emphasis in the surviving Rabbinic literature on intention' (219).

Sanders is right to assert that perfection is not a requirement for future vindication in Second-Temple Judaism. However, his replacement of perfection with a mere 'intention' to remain in the covenant is equally implausible. Its profound un-Jewishness (it seems to be something of a product of the modern attitude that 'it doesn't matter what you do as long as you are sincere'!) does not do justice to the texts. Sanders' examples of it being indifferent whether a man offers/ does much or little (what matters is the direction of the heart) do not mean that it is indifferent how much a man obeys Torah.[71]

The Mishnah is a particularly stark demonstration of the problem with Sanders' theology of intention, because of its halakhic nature: a quasi-halakhic text such as 4QMMT would demonstrate the same point. So much of the Mishnah is particularly concerned with what *practice* constitutes fulfilment of Torah. Of course, intention is a requirement as well, but it is very minimalistic to say it is co-extensive with covenant faithfulness. Numerous examples in the first Tractate, Berakhot, show the importance of what one *does* as a criterion of whether one has fulfilled one's obligation to God. For example, the first clauses of the Mishnah concern *when* one should recite the Shema in the evening (m. Ber. 1:1), then *when* in the morning (1:2), and whether one should recline and stand or not (1:3). Then the tractate deals with which blessings one should recite before and after the Shema (1:4). 2:1 states that it should of course be one's conscious intention to fulfil the obligation in hand: when the set time comes to do it, one must direct one's mind to the fulfilment of the commandment to read Torah, even if one is already reading Torah.

Sanders' position is seen most starkly in his discussion of m. Ber. 2.1. He stated, in the paragraph previous to his treatment of the clause, that intention to be faithful to the

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70 Sanders chooses Hübner as his interlocutor (see *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 138n61), who argues that Pharisees believed in judgment by a majority of deeds, except for the Shammaites who were perfectionistic in their theology.

71 Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 107: b. Ber. 17a refers to *study* of Torah, and b. Men. 13.11 to offerings. T. Ber. 3.4 ('the one who prays must direct his heart') shows that direction of the heart is *necessary*, not that it is *everything*.

covenant did not entail intention to obey specific commandments. 'It is not a question of whether or not a man intends that his sacrifice, study or prayer fulfils the commandment to sacrifice, study and pray, but of whether or not what he does is done from pure religious motives, and with a mind fixed on God' (107-108). Then Sanders mentions m. Ber. 2.1 afterwards as an example of the importance of intent, rather than concrete achievement. In discussing whether one could accidentally fulfil a commandment, he concludes: 'the point is that a man could accidentally say or hear something which he is commanded to say or hear, but it counts as fulfilling the commandment only if he intends for it to do so and pays attention to it' (108). Such a complete separation of intention to stay in the covenant from obedience to the commandments is not only nonsensical, but it goes against what Sanders says elsewhere about concrete obedience also being important to the Rabbis: he talks later, as we have seen, about the *sine qua non* of salvation being 'obedience, especially the intention to obey' (141). In his discussion of Berakhot 2.1, Sanders has succeeded in pitting the intention to obey *against* concrete obedience. To fulfil a commandment, one must direct oneself to fulfilling the commandment. To be faithful to the covenant, that is not required: what is required is direction of the heart towards God.

Thereafter, 2:3 goes on to discuss what constitutes 'fulfilling the obligation' to recite Shema and intention does not enter into the discussion: it is everywhere assumed. Rather, the discussion is over how loudly, and how accurately and articulately it must be done, and so on. It is concerned with *getting the practice right*.

A number of Qumran texts also show the problem with this definition of obedience as 'intention'. The language of perfection, in its usage at Qumran, can only be understood in relation to what is actually *done*. First, phrases such as 'the men of perfect holiness' and 'those who walk in the way of perfection' refer to the status in the community of those who have been appointed to the council of holiness.[72] But it is not merely a description of status: they are named as such because they observe Torah to a more rigorous degree, and are judged more strictly, it seems, if they fail.[73] Secondly, it can also embrace the members of the community in general:

> They shall keep apart from every uncleanness according to the statutes relating to each one, and no man shall defile his holy spirit, since God has set them apart. For all who walk in these (precepts) in perfect holiness, according to all the teaching of God, the Covenant of God shall be an assurance that they shall live for thousands of generations. (CD 7:3-6)
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> They shall consider ... (the Torah) of God, protect her paths and walk in [all her ways] ... her statutes, and not reject her admonishments. Those with understanding will bring forth [words of insight]... (and) walk in p[eace]. The Perfect will thrust aside Evil. They will not reject her chastisements... (4Q525 II fr4 4-6)

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72 אנשי התמים קודש and ההולכים בתמים דרך (1QS 8:20-21).

73 1QS 9:1-2: 'someone who sins through oversight shall be tested for two full years with respect to the perfectness of his behaviour and of his counsel according to the authority of the many, and shall then be enrolled according to his rank in the Community of holiness.'

The first passage, from the Damascus Document, has purity of heart largely in view. The emphasis is on not defiling one's spirit with the contaminating influences from outside, where the cultic language of purity is used as metonymy for comprehensive obedience. This is 'perfect holiness': living in accordance with the regulations by which God sets apart his people, and both the attitude of the heart, and the actions are vital. Similarly, 4Q525 is concerned with those who have knowledge and wisdom and who do not intermarry with foreigners. This life according to the commandments here consists much more in concrete deeds and existential obedience than in an orientation of the mind. Similarly, the texts about fulfilment of Torah as a criterion for entry into the community, which we saw in the previous chapter, are clearly visible, testable, practical fulfilments of the commandments: the candidates are judged according to their 'understanding and deeds in the Torah' (1QS 5:21, 6:18). Of course, the possibility of secret apostasy is there (1QS 2:11ff), but in the vast majority of places, intention is *presumed*: in itself, it is not sufficient. It is this same doing of Torah which in 1QpHab is observance of the Torah as taught by the Teacher of Righteousness, and it is this obedience which leads to vindication, and avoidance of God's wrath (1QpHab 8:1ff).

Outside of Qumran, in the Maccabean literature, one of the chief aspects of fulfilment of Torah is the maintenance of Israel's historic Laws in the community. During the crisis of the Second Century, Judas Maccabeus' army consisted of 'all who observe the Law' (1 Macc 2.67-68), and Simon later settled in Gazara 'those who observe the Law' (13.48). In 2 Maccabees, the assumption is that the Torah is observed: 'the holy city was inhabited in unbroken peace and the laws were strictly observed because of the piety of the high priest Onias and his hatred of wickedness' (3.1). In 4 Maccabees, there is the presupposition that the people obey Torah: but Antiochus Epiphanes 'had not been able in any way to put an end to the people's observance of the Law' (4.24). This same assumption is reflected throughout the work.[74] And the aphorisms in ben Sirach about 'the one who fulfils the Law' suggest that it is an observable, everyday occurrence.[75] Again, these are visible, concrete instances.

The fact that these kinds of deeds are concrete and visible does not take away from their spiritual character in relation to God. The term 'blamelessness' is a case in point here. It can denote a qualification for office or service, such that it must by definition consist in visible deeds. Judas chose 'blameless priests devoted to the Law' to cleanse the sanctuary in 1 Macc 4.42, somewhat like the NT qualifications for ἐπισκόποι and διακόνοι to be, respectively, ἀνεπιλήμπτος and ἀνέκλητοι (1 Tim 3.1, 10). The term also extends to qualification before God, however: the term is used most commonly in the LXX in Job, to designate Job's innocence of sin before God, and therefore the incomprehensibility of his suffering (cf LAB 62.5f, As. Mos. 9).[76] Worshippers following the liturgy of *Hellenistic Synagogal Prayers* are designated the 'righteous, devout, and blameless' (*HSP* 2.5). For Paul it has an especially eschatological connotation: in Phil 2.15, 1 Thess 3.13, and especially 5.23, 'das Urteil

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74 4 Macc. 5.29; 7.9; 9.2; 12.11; 12.14; 15.9-10; 18.4.

75 Sir 19.20; 21.11; 29.1; 32.15; 32.23; 34.8; 35.1ff; 37.12.

76 W. Grundmann, 'ἄμεμπτος', *ThWNT* IV, 578: 'es geht um ein ἄμεμπτος vor Gott'.

ἄμεμπτος ist das eschatologische Urteil Gottes an seinem Tag'.[77]

This eschatological sense is most relevant to our study here, as we were concerned in the previous chapter to observe the relationship between works and final vindication. Therefore, what is of concern chiefly is how claims such as those we are discussing relate to that final vindication. As with the eschatological conception of 'blamelessness'/ 'perfection'/ 'purity' in the Pauline letters,[78] where Paul's goal is to 'present' his churches to Christ in this condition, there is also an eschatological focus, especially in connection with the term 'sinless', or 'without sin'.[79] Sinlessness is an epithet attributed to the three patriarchs: Pr. Man. 8 contrasts the sinfulness of the narrator with the perfection of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, who did not sin against God, and therefore had no need of repentance. But it is also more widely applicable. In 1 Enoch 81, Enoch sees the book of the tablets of heaven (81.1), on which 'all the deeds of men' are recorded (81.2). Within this framework, blessing is pronounced on the sinless: 'blessed is the man who dies righteous and good, concerning whom no book of iniquity has been written, and against who no guilt has been found' (81.4). Enoch then repeats this when he passes the books on to Methuselah in chapter 82: 'Blesed are all the righteous, blessed are all those who walk in the way of righteousness, and do not sin like the sinners' (82.4). These sinless ones are thus those who escape wrath. Similarly, in 2 En 41.2, when Enoch visits hell, he says: 'Blessed is he has not not been born, or who, having been born, has not sinned before the face of the Lord, so that he will not come into this place, nor carry the yoke of this place'. A similar connection comes at Qumran: in *4QInstruction*, 'sinlessness' consists in avoiding covetousness:

> Also, do not take riches from a man you do not know, lest it only add to your poverty. If (God) has ordained that you should die in [you]r poverty, so He has appointed it, but do not corrupt your Spirit because of it. Then you shall lie down with the Truth, and your sinlessness will He clearly proclai[m to th]em (the recording angels). As your destiny, you will inherit [eternal] bliss. (4Q416/418 fr10 II 6-9)

Here sinlessness consists in avoiding moral sin that would 'corrupt the Spirit'. This then leads, as in 1 Enoch, to the record of sinlessness in the heavenly tablets, and thus, the certainty of vindication. Here again, there are problems for Sanders' thesis: the recording angels and the heavenly tablets refer to concrete deeds, not to intention per se.

Avemarie notes an analogous problem in his discussion of T. Sanh. 13:3.[80] In the discussion of the three classes of men (also discussed above), there are those destined for eternal life, the wholly wicked, and the 'equally balanced'. Sanders states that the wholly wicked is not defined by his deeds, but simply that he has no intention to obey God.[81]

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77 Grundmann, 'ἄμεμπτος', 578.

78 See e.g. 2 Cor 11.2, Col 1.22 Col 1.28, Eph 5.27.

79 See Charlesworth's note on 'sinless' figures: Idem, ed. *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* II, 629n52.

80 Avemarie, *Tora und Leben*, 38-39.

81 Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 142-143.

Not only does he supply no evidence for this, but Avemarie also notes the problem with defining the 'equally balanced' cases in this way. Are they the ones with *half* an intention?[82] In the parallel tradition in T. Abr. 12.15-16, where the records in the heavenly tablets of the equally balanced men are the subject of discussion, the question concerns the equal balancing of their *deeds*: 'And the judge said to one of the angels that were waiting on him, "Open this book for me and find me the sins of this soul". And when he had opened the book he found that its sins and its good deeds were balanced evenly'.

So, the claims to righteousness, to lifelong obedience and to abstinence from sin cannot *merely* be based in intention.[83] Of course, they do not presuppose perfection either, nor necessarily a consciousness of having done more good deeds than bad. But these claims do consist in concrete deeds lived out in the Jewish community and before God. On the other hand, it is extremely difficult to define with any precision what the actual content of these terms 'blamelessness', 'sinlessness', 'perfection' or Torah-fulfilment consisted of, in the minds of Jews of the Second Temple period. The problem is that one immediately has to resort to generalisations, because the terms are never discussed at any length (let alone in any *systematic* way) in the texts themselves. They all relate to behaviour that consists in the avoidance of certain sins, but also to positive practice which means that they are not merely expressions of 'status': the claims expressed in these texts, therefore, are to concrete obedience.

2.1.2 The Literary Function of Idealised Patriarchs

VanderKam and Ego have independently articulated the importance of these third-person descriptions of righteousness for parenetic purposes. VanderKam's essay 'The Righteousness of Noah' explores in particular the literary functions of the representations and 'self-representations' of Noah, and how they become paradigmatic. In the first case, he surveys the various texts, and as we have already seen, Noah's righteousness is especially common: 'Noah as one of the great heroes of biblical antiquity receives fairly frequent mention in Palestinian Jewish literature of the so-called intertestamental period, and when his name appears, one will almost always find either *righteousness* or *righteous* in the same context'.[84] Next VanderKam makes the connection between the depiction of Noah as righteous, and its parenetic function: 'the righteousness of Noah is held aloft as a model which the readers should emulate... The everpresent power of God is seen at work in the events that happened in and around this upright man's lifetime' (see Tob 4.12, Sir 44.17-18, Heb 11.7).[85] This concept of the idealised literary figure providing a model of perfect righteousness to be followed is common. Hollander and Niehoff, for example,

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82 'Sind es die mit einer ‚halben' Intention?' (Avemarie, *Tora und Leben*, 39).
83 On the category of righteousness, see 2.2.2 below.
84 VanderKam, 'The Righteousness of Noah', 13.
85 VanderKam, 'The Righteousness of Noah', 23.

discuss the idealised portrait of Joseph.[86] Tromp notes that Taxo's idealised ancestors are used for their parenetic value: 'Taxo reminds his sons of the innocence of their ancestors, who are thus held up as an example of righteousness'.[87] However, VanderKam makes a final, most interesting observation which makes the depictions of Noah even more relevant for our purposes here:

> 'In the final analysis the theologians who composed these books [sc. Jub & 1 En] employed and edited the stories about Noah and his times because of their intense concern with the eschatological judgement and the righteousness that would guarantee salvation on that day. That is to say, Noah's flood was for them a type of the last judgement, and his righteousness (much the same could be said for Enoch) serves as a model of that obedience to the divine will which will enable one to endure the Lord's universal assize... Only the righteous, that is, those who obeyed the Lord and avoided the sins of the angels, would escape the second judgement as Noah had survived the first. In short, for these writers Noah has become, not simply a moral paradigm, but an eschatological model.'[88]

VanderKam generalises the idea of the 'eschatological model', then, to include Enoch as well. With the observations made by Ego, in her essay 'Abraham als Urbild der toratreue Israel', this could also be expanded to include Abraham, though she takes the literary function in a slightly different direction. Abraham is essentially 'Israel in miniature': 'Was von Abraham erzählt wird, wird somit eigentlich von ganz Israel erzählt'.[89] He is 'Der Vater als Repräsentant seines Volks'. Ego's portrayal is based particularly on the Genesis narrative, but she applies it further to the post-biblical tradition, where the focus is more on Abraham's obedience to the Torah which was revealed to him through the heavenly tablets.[90] And it is particularly in his obedience to Torah that literary representations of an idealised Abraham become, simultaneously, idealised portrayals of Israel:

> Abrahams Gesetzesfrömmigkeit stellt sich somit nicht nur eine Charaktisierung des Patriarchen dar, sondern auch eine Charaktisierung Israels... Das Gesetz erfüllend und lehrend verkörpert Abraham als *imaginaire* des Volkes das ideale Israel; so wie Israel sich über die Tora definiert, so bestimmt das Gesetz Gottes

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86 M. Niehoff, *The Figure of Joseph in Post-Biblical Jewish Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 1992) 46: '[for Jubilees] we may draw the following conclusions: the narrator deals with the major aspects of the biblical story and draws an idealised portrait of the protagonist'. For the post-biblical literature more generally: 'For one reason or another, Joseph seems to represent for each narrator a certain *Idealtyp*' (52). And see Hollander, *Joseph as an Ethical Model in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.*

87 Tromp, *Assumption of Moses*, 226.

88 VanderKam, 'The Righteousness of Noah', 25, 26-27. For Noah's escape, see 1 En 10.1-3, Jub 5.21-32. For the salvation of those belonging to Noah's righteous line, see 1 En 84.6 and Jub 7.34.

89 Ego, 'Abraham als Urbild der toratreue Israels', 35.

90 Ego, 'Abraham als Urbild', 37, noting Jub 16.21-31 and Philo, *de Abrahamo* 3-6.

das Sein des Patriarchen.[91]

So, Ego and VanderKam supply different functions for the representations of the patriarchs: for VanderKam, Enoch and Noah are models to imitate in order to be saved at the eschaton; for Ego, the idealised portrayal of the Torah-observant Abraham validates the (descriptive, not merely prescriptive) discourse of a Torah-observant Israel.

2.2 Righteousness as a basis for Honour and Boasting

In addition to the third-person representations of blamelessness, perfection and Torah-observance, there is a second basis which is the 'theory' behind the practice seen above. It is a commonplace that those who display obedience and virtue are entitled to praise from others. The *locus classicus* for this is Sir 44-50, where figures from Israel's history spanning from the patriarchs to Simon son of Onias are praised for their deeds, as well as for other qualities. In the martial setting of 1 Maccabees, courageous deeds in battle are the basis for receiving honour (1 Macc 2.51; 2.64; 'to win for himself an everlasting name', 6.44; 9.10; Sir 37.26). Equally, sin leads to dishonour (Sentt. Syr. Men. II 52-55), while good deeds deserve honour from others (4 Macc 11.5-6). In Aristeas, King Ptolemy asks one of the Jewish translators 'How can one maintain honour once he has received it (δοξάμενος)?' to which the reply is: 'If by earnestness and favours he showed munificence and liberality toward others, he would never lack honour (δόξα). Pray God continually that these qualities which I have mentioned may abide with you' (Ep. Ar. 226). Here, honour is the result of a righteous life, and this honour here is again the affirmation of others, rather than personal confidence (Ep. Ar. 272). We have seen in Oracle 5:150-151 the phrase 'men whom I rightly praised', implying that there are protocols governing acceptable commendation of the virtue of others.

2.2.1 Sirach 31/ 34

In one particularly interesting example, the term καυχήσις is used specifically in this connection. Sirach 31(34) provides one of the clearest examples where boasting is set within the framework of justification, and boasting is the ability to declare that one has overcome sin and is therefore secure in the face of any judgment:

> He who loves gold shall not be justified,
> (ὁ ἀγαπῶν χρυσίον οὐ δικαιωθήσεται)
> and he who pursues corruption shall be filled with it.
> Many have been given over to ruin because of gold,
> and their destruction was before them.
> It is a stumbling-block to those who sacrifice,
> and every fool will be caught on it.
> Blessed is the rich man who will be found blameless (ὃς εὑρέθη ἄμωμος),

91 Ego, 'Abraham als Urbild', 36.

and has not gone after gold.
Who is he? And we will call him blameless,
for he has done wonderful things among his people.
Who has been tried in this, and been found perfect?
then let him boast.
(Τίς ἐδοκιμάσθη ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐτελειώθη;
καὶ ἔστω αὐτῷ εἰς καύχησιν)
Who has had opportunity to transgress, and not transgressed?
to do evil and not done it?
His good deeds will be established,
and the congregation shall declare his alms. (31/34.5-11)

Pss. Sol. 5.16-17 articulates the (probably common) sentiment that it is very difficult to be rich and good: riches are almost equated with sin. But this passage is more positive, while it still acknowledges the *rarity* of such a pious rich man.

The premise at the beginning establishes the setting of justification, and the one who goes after wealth will not be put to shame: that is the message of verses 5-7. But 8-11 concern the future of the blameless rich man – not merely a theological concept, or a hypothetical ideal, but on the ground, a benefactor of the Jewish community and a giver of alms ('for he has done wonderful things among his people'). Crucially, this man has a boast in the present, *because he has been tested and found perfect in the present, and thus will be justified.* This justification can mean a number of things in the context of Sirach's reward theology, as we have seen in the previous chapter: a good burial, God-fearing children, children who are numerous, a line that never dies out. The specific blessing in this passage, however, is that of a good reputation; the pious rich man is entitled to a boast: Τίς ἐδοκιμάσθη ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐτελειώθη; καὶ ἔστω αὐτῷ εἰς καύχησιν (verse 10), and he will be praised within the congregation (verse 11). This praise is in parallelism with the 'boast' of verse 10.[92] This is reflective of the honour that God ascribes to the man.

Furthermore, this rich man goes through the same evaluation as the patriarchs. He is judged, and he is found perfect (ἐτελειώθη): the same verdict which Noah receives later on in Sir 44.17 (cf 4Q534-536). This verdict is no doubt synonymous with the account of Abraham being tested and found faithful shortly after (Sir 44.20). This real figure of the pious rich man is a concrete example to whom the pattern established by the patriarchs applies in the present.

2.2.2 Jubilees

Jubilees contains two statements by Noah and Jacob which share a similar substructure, theologically:

"And now, my children, hear (and) do justice and righteousness so that you might

92 The last two 'couplets' are an expansion of the previous: 'Who has been tried... let him boast'.

be planted in righteousness on the surface of the whole earth, and your honor may be lifted up before my God who saved me from the water of the Flood." (Jub 7.34)

And Jacob said: "I will do everything just as you have commanded me because this thing is an honour and a greatness for me and a righeousness for me before the Lord, that I should honour them. And you, mother, know from the day I was born until this day, all of my deeds and everything which is in my heart, that I always think of good for everyone." (*usque in diem hunc et uniuersa opera mea et omnia quae sunt in corde meo quoniam omnibus diebus ego... bona facere... omnibus*) (Jub 35.2-3)

The pattern in Sirach 31/34 was that faithfulness under the test of riches led to one being justified and having grounds for boasting; here the pattern in Jubilees is almost identical. In 7.34, doing righteousness leads to (presumably) one's descendants being established in righteousness, with the result that one is exalted in God's eyes. Again, in 35.2-3, Jacob resolves to carry out everything he has been commanded, because it counts as an honour for him and a righteousness before the Lord. This is just how we saw the language of justification working in Jubilees in the discussion of works and justification above. The point that obedience leads to a righteous status is made throughout Jubilees.[93] The distinctive point in these two passages is that honour before God also appears as a further consequence.

Conclusion: Where is Boasting?

This has aimed to be a supplementary, rather than a systematic study of the various traditions. There is no attempt here to supplant or subordinate the traditions which might be equally relevant to Paul's discussion of boasting, in particular, Jewish claims to spiritual *enlightenment* by the Torah (amply attested in, e.g. 2 Macc 1.3-4; Bar 4.4; 1QS 9:23; 1QM 10:8-11), and the vocation to be a light to the nations, which is extremely frequent. This trajectory which runs, in the Hebrew Bible, from Gen 15 through Deut 4.5-6 to Isaiah 42 & 45 and the Minor Prophets culminates in an abundance of expressions in the later period in 1 En. 105.1, Wis. Sol. 18.4, T. Levi 14.3-4, T. Mos 1.12, Oracle 3:194ff; 5:238ff, 330ff.

In the texts that have been the focus of this chapter, however, we have seen that the Jewish people is represented in certain traditions in Second-Temple Judaism as a pious, holy and obedient nation. This national self-praise also translates to the individual level, where in autobiographical texts (either fictional or non-pseudepigraphic) claims to perfect obedience in various forms is frequent. This, we have seen, is not surprising on the grounds of, first, the frequency of third-person representations of blameless and perfection language, and also the theology undergirding boasting, whereby good deeds deserve honour. The confidence expressed in the texts we have seen calls into serious question the feeling of 'Heilsunsicherheit' proposed by previous generations as a constituent feature of Judaism in the Second-Temple period.

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93 Jub 7.34-39; 20.2; 21.15; 30.17-23; 31.23; 32.9?; 35; cf T. Abr. 16.16.

On the other hand, this study has focused on one particular strand of boasting which has been excluded by the New Perspective. In fact, in the diversity of the New Perspective, perhaps *the* unifying feature has tended to be a hostility to the view that Jews represented themselves as obedient, virtuous people both in relation to gentiles *and* before God. The aim of this chapter has been to clarify the nature of the Jewish nation's boast, defined above as *Israel's confidence before God, and distinctiveness in relation to other nations*, at least as defined in texts roughly from the Second-Temple period. Sometimes the confidence of Israel is represented in relation to both God and the nations: there can be no confidence in relation to the nations that is not also confidence in God, because disobedience to the covenant leads to God giving Israel into the hands of the nations. Hence texts like 2 Macc 8.36 ('the Jews were invulnerable because they followed the Laws ordained by him') and 2 Bar 48.22b ('we know that we do not fall as long as we keep your statutes') reflect a combination of both ideas. They cannot merely be forced into the mould of Israel's distinctiveness and distanced from Israel's confidence before God. We saw in Jubilees in particular the articulation of protocols governing claims to honour from God on the basis of one's righteousness. But the self-representations in the texts we have examined also extend to the relationship between obedience and vindication. This was the case in As. Mos. 7 ('know that neither our parents, nor their ancestors have tempted God by transgressing his commandments'), CD 7 ('for all who walk in these (precepts) in perfect holiness... the Covenant of God shall be an assurance that they shall live for thousands of generations'), and Wis. Sol. 15 ('we will not sin, for we know we are counted as yours... to know your power is the root of immortality, for neither has the evil intent of human art led us into error'). Works, as well as election, are the basis of confidence before God for Israel. This confidence is directed both toward God and the gentiles: it is a confidence that God vindicates Israel in face of the gentiles, either by destroying the gentiles, or not allowing the gentiles to harm Israel.

Chapter 3

Paul's Assessment of Jewish Boasting in Romans 2.1 - 3.20

Introduction

In the first two chapters, we have laid the groundwork for the exegesis of Rom 2-5 which now follows, and we shall see that a re-examination of the Jewish literature has important implications for the New Perspective reading of 'boasting' in particular, and Pauline theology in general. The conclusions of the previous chapter help to show that a lack of emphasis on Jewish confidence on the basis of obedience is unjustified. In particular, the emphasis of this chapter will lie in connecting this confidence on the basis of obedience that we have seen in many Jewish texts with the 'boasting in God' and 'boasting in the Torah' which Paul speaks of in Rom 2.17, 23.

1.1 A Jewish Interlocutor in Romans 2.1-16

Scholars generally agree that the 'Jew' in 2.17 is not a 'Jewish Christian' in the Roman congregation who is being opposed.[1] This can be seen from the description of the person as heading for condemnation at judgment, which would be unlikely were Paul addressing one who believed the gospel. Secondly, and more importantly, there is the title of Ἰουδαῖος. Although Paul is quite happy to describe Jewish Christians as Ἰουδαῖοι,[2] the discussion in Rom 2.25-29 points towards a meaning of Ἰουδαῖος in 2.17 as an 'outward' Jew, the Jew in public. This nomenclature is polemically redefined by Paul in 2.28-29, such that the one who calls him or herself a Jew is actually not a Jew: the true Jew is the one whose heart is circumcised by the Spirit. So Käsemann is right to affirm that 'Nothing suggests that these are Jewish Christians'.[3]

What is debated is whether this Jewish addressee is in view in 2.1. Stowers and

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1 Schreiner, *Romans*, 105: 'Scholars generally agree that Paul uses a diatribal style in Rom. 2'. The fictional interlocutor is a key element of the diatribe.

2 Gal 2.13, 14, 15; Col 4.11.

3 Käsemann, *Romans*, 54.

Elliott strongly assert that 2.17 introduces a new interlocutor,[4] while Dodd, Dunn and Wilckens[5] affirm that chapter two has the same participants throughout. Stowers claims that there is no evidence for a Jewish interlocutor in 2.1-5 and that the burden of proof lies with the reader who sees a change of person in 2.1. Dodd and Wilckens on the other hand see an implicit address to the Jew in 2.1-16 (where he is nevertheless addressed as a 'man') which then becomes direct in 2.17.[6] Dunn and Stowers paraphrase ὦ ἄνθρωπε nicely as 'You, sir' and 'Hey, mister' respectively.[7]

The Jewish credentials of the character addressed in 2.1-16 cannot be dismissed as easily as Stowers and Elliott suppose. Dunn adduces numerous excellent arguments for a Jewish 'target' in 2.1-16:[8] unfortunately, Elliot interacts with the far weaker arguments of Nygren (who adduces only one parallel to Wisdom), rather than Dunn's comprehensive survey of the relationship between 2.1-5 and the extant Jewish texts, Wisdom and Psalms of Solomon in particular. The Jewish character of the critique in 1.18-32 and its reversal in 2.1 suggest that it is a Jewish interlocutor to whom Paul is turning. Furthermore, the designation ὁ κρίνων is appropriate to a Jew, not because the Jewish people were more judgmental than others, but because they took pride in being able to judge, in the sense of *discern* (as in, e.g. Wis. Sol. 12.22). God's judgment on deeds κατὰ ἀλήθειαν is thoroughly Jewish, as is the *theo*-logy of verses 4-5. And the section is topped by a quotation from Scripture. So it is no surprise that by the time Paul comes to 2.12-13, he is operating within categories that are not only thoroughly Jewish, but which *could only be Jewish*. Neither is the Jewishness of 2.1-16 diminished by 2.14-15, despite the attempts of many to see Stoic or other Greco-Roman concepts at work.[9] It seems likely that too many scholars have been persuaded by the break at 2.17 which

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4 Stowers, *Rereading of Romans*, 101: 'There is absolutely no justification for reading 2:1-5 as Paul's attack on "the hypocrisy of the Jew." No-one in the first century would identified the *ho alazon* with Judaism... The text simply lacks anything to indicate that the person is a Jew.' See further, 101-104.

5 The chapter concerns 'die Sünde der Juden' (Wilckens, *Brief an die Rõmer*, 121).

6 Dodd, *Romans*, 57, 63; Wilckens, *Brief an die Rõmer*, 121, 147.

7 Stowers, *Rereading of Romans*, 102. As Dunn notes, 'Paul deliberately adopts the haranguing style of the popular preacher' (*Romans* I, 79).

8 Dunn, *Romans* I, 78-82 (esp. 81-82).

9 As Moo (*Romans*, 151n40) notes, to connect 2.14 with Aristotle, *Politics* 3.13 where the superior man is 'his own law' would be an extreme case of parallelomania. Almost all commentators make some reference to Stoicism. But the misreading of φύσει (see on Rom 2 in Chapter 1 above) has usually been one pillar of the 'natural law' thesis. J.W. Martens' argument ('Romans 2.14-16: A Stoic Reading', *NTS* 40 [1994] 55-67) that Paul is discussing the Stoic sage who is the rare exception in that he does carry out the law of nature is quite unconvincing. He is right that many Stoics would only describe the wise as 'carrying out elements of the (natural) law': Stoicism was in fact rather prejudiced against the masses who did not understand the law of the universal state (See, e.g., Seneca, *Epistles* VII, 'On Crowds'; VIII, 'On the Philosopher's Seclusion'; CIX, 'On the Fellowship of Wise Men'). But this is a notion quite alien to one whose gospel destroyed the wisdom of the wise. Paul shares with the Stoics the idea that humanity in some sense knows God's will from creation, though it seems much more plausible that, for a Hebrew of Hebrews, it would originate from Psalm 19 than from the Stoa. But he also thinks that humanity constantly refuses this knowledge (1.18-21). And, this knowledge is the result of external factors (1.19-20) rather than a law on the heart.

comes in most modern translations to see a change of interlocutor. Yet εἰ δὲ σὺ does not mark as sharp a break as is often assumed.[10] As Käsemann puts it, on 2.1: 'What follows can be understood only as a polemic against the Jewish tradition which comes out clearly and with much the same vocabulary in Wis 15.1ff.'[11]

Furthermore, this Jew is not merely an individual, but is a representative of the nation. This is clear from the designations in Rom 2.19-20. Some say that Paul is in dialogue with a Jewish teacher who preaches these things but does not do them:[12] but 'the teaching' in 2.21 is surely a reference to Israel's *national* responsibility to teach (2.19-20). Similarly, the accusations in 2.21-22 of stealing, adultery and sacrilege make little sense as a description of the 'typical Jew':[13] rather it is the presence of these sins in the nation that Paul is referring to. Finally, the description of exile in 2.24 points to a *national* experience: exile makes little sense on an individual level in the Jewish mindset.

So, three elements can be affirmed as to the identity of the interlocutor in chapter 2: he is a Jew, a Jew who has not believed the gospel, and, a representative of the nation as a whole.

1.2 The Jew in Romans 2.17-24

The context of 'boasting' in 2.17, 23 is Paul's list of Jewish privileges in 2.17-20. There is general agreement on the meaning of Ἰουδαῖος in 2.17. Sanday and Headlam focus on the *national* character: Jews over against the gentile nations.[14] But this also embraces the *theological* aspects of, to use one formulation, 'monotheism, election and eschatology'.[15] As 2.17-20 show, connected to being a Ἰουδαῖος are election, revelation, and mission. 'Knowing his will' has never elicited much controversy: there are many parallels,[16] and its meaning is fairly clear. 'Approving what is best' does have ambiguities, but the cash value is inconsiderable.[17] One interesting passage from the *War Rule* not mentioned in the commentaries encapsulates a similar position to 2.17-18: 'Who is like your people Israel, whom you have chosen for yourself from all the peoples of the lands; the people of the saints of the covenant, instructed in the laws and learned in wisdom?' (1QM 8:10-11). In 2.19-20 the focus moves from Israel's privileges to her responsibility to others,[18]

10 Elliott for example asserts that in 2.17 'there is an obvious shift to a new conversation partner' (*Rhetoric of Romans*, 127).

11 Käsemann, *Romans*, 53.

12 Stowers, *Rereading of Romans*, 159: 'an individual who represents not Judaism or the depravity of every Jew but a Jew who is one in name only'.

13 *Contra* Cranfield, for whom these sins are 'apparently regarded by Paul as characteristic of Jewish life' (*Romans* 168).

14 Wilckens, *Brief an die Römer*, 148, focuses on its religious character, over against gentiles.

15 Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God*, 279.

16 Ps 40.9, 143.10; 2 Macc 1.3-4; Bar 4.4; 1QS 9:23.

17 Cf W.R. Forrester, 'Romans 2.18', *ExpT* 36 (1924-25) 285: 'appreciate real differences of value.'

18 Díaz-Rodelas notes the stages: 'el primero toca a la autoconciencia del judío (2,17-18) y el segundo, a la relación de la misma con el mundo de los no judíos (2,19-20)', *Pablo y la Ley*, 83.

though as Díaz-Rodelas notes, the Torah is equally central to this pair of verses.[19] There is reasonable consensus on the nature of Israel's rôle as guide, light, instructor and teacher.[20] The essence of this theology, while rooted in the Abrahamic covenant (Gen 12.1-3) and Deuteronomic theology (Deut 4.6-8), is based on the Lord's promise that he will make Israel a light to the gentiles in order to bring salvation to the whole world.[21] This is common currency in the literature of Paul's day, as we noted briefly in the conclusion to the previous chapter.[22]

What is much disputed by scholars, however, is the cluster of terms 'reliance on the Torah', 'boasting in God' (2.17) and 'boasting in the Torah' (2.23). These can be taken together, since they are by general agreement closely related, indeed almost synonymous.[23] Beyond this consensus, many questions are not resolved. Is the boast here oriented toward final judgment? Is it confidence that God will vindicate Israel at the eschaton? The context favours this reading. The discussion of boasting arises out of the discussion of judging who is under God's condemnation and who is not (2.1-5), followed by a detailed account of the terms of God's judgment (2.6-16), and the theme of judgment is spoken of again explicitly in 2.25-29. Boasting is later connected with justification (3.27-28, 4.2) which in the context of Rom 2.13 is an eschatological justification (cf also Rom 2.26). Similarly, 'boasting' is used in the same way in Rom 5.1-11, as we shall see in the final chapter. As Wilckens rightly emphasises, then, the boast here is not so much a 'feeling superior' to gentiles,[24] as it is a confidence that Israel (as opposed to the gentiles) will be vindicated at the eschaton.[25] As we saw in the previous chapter, there is a close connection between boasting in vindication and boasting over against gentiles: vindication is after all the preserve of Israel as she is saved from the gentiles by God. The Jewish judging of gentiles addressed by Paul in Rom 2.1-5 is punctured by Paul in his challenge that regenerate gentiles will actually pass verdict on unrepentant Jews at the final judgment (2.27).

More hotly disputed is the question of the basis of the boast. We saw in the Introduction that the traditional view of 'reliance on the Torah', 'boasting in God', and 'boasting in the Torah' can be summed up in Bultmann's definition of boasting as

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19 Díaz-Rodelas, *Pablo y la Ley*, 83.

20 On the 'light' motif see Wilckens, *Brief an die Römer*, 147-148. The 'embodiment of knowledge and truth' is disputed, however. Following Sanday/ Headlam & Wilckens (contra Calvin, Schlatter), *morphosis* is not in itself negative: it depends entirely on context, and Paul is again making a genuine, positive claim.

21 Isa 49.6, cf 42.6 and Zech 8.23.

22 See e.g. 1 En. 105.1, Or. Sib. 3.194-195, or Wis. Sol. 18.4: 'par vocation et selon la prophétie, ils sont ceux dont la Livre de la Sagesse (18.4) dit que la lumière incorruptible de la loi de Dieu devait être, par eux, donnée au monde' (Leenhardt).

23 See Bultmann, 'καυχάομαι κτλ', 649; Bosch, «*Gloriarse*», 136. See also Dunn's very similar description of 'relying on the law' and 'boasting in the law' in *Romans*, 110, 115.

24 Thus Stendahl, *Final Account*, 24.

25 Wilckens, *Brief an die Römer*, 148.

'boasting of Jews who are faithful to the law'.[26] The New Perspective, however, is unified in its disagreement with the traditional position over the basis of the boast. As Wilckens puts it, 'nicht auf die eigene Gesetzerfüllung zielt denn ja auch das Rühmen des Juden, sondern auf den Besitz der Tora als Offenbarung Gottes'.[27] This is the essence of the new perspective on boasting over against the traditional view.

How is one to judge between these competing interpretations of boasting in God and relying on or boasting in the Law? One important factor here is that we are limiting our discussion here to the simple question of the component of obedience to Torah: we are excluding all the value judgments of, for example, Bultmann (boasting is a *self-centred perversion* of the law), or Cranfield's verdict that it is establishing a claim on God, as well as Wright's colourful description of the traditional position as 'pulling oneself up by one's moral bootstraps'. And we can note in passing that Rom 2.17ff puts paid to any notion that Paul sees *Heilsunsicherheit* as a problem for individual Jews.

We can address the issue of whether confidence on the basis of obedience to Torah is a part of the boast in Rom 2 via two questions. First, is it likely *in theory*? That is to say, does the Jewish literature permit this possibility? (Not that Paul always requires the permission of our Jewish texts). Secondly, is there concrete evidence within Rom 2 to link Paul's accusation with an accusation of confidence on the basis of obedience?

On the first question, we have seen that confidence before God and obedience are inextricably entwined in texts such as Assumption of Moses, Baruch, CD, Wisdom of Solomon, and 2 Baruch.[28] In the first, the statement that Israel has never broken the commandments is succeded by the verdict that the commandments are the basis of the strength of Taxo and sons. In CD 7, the covenant is the basis of confidence for those who obey the commandments. In Wis. Sol., there is an expression of confidence that God will always be with his people, to which the author responds by declaring that they will never sin. Not only does the author resolve that God's people will be without sin in the future: he also describes this state as a historical reality: 'for neither has the evil intent of human art misled us' (15.4). In 2 Bar 48.22-24, there is the expression of what Wright calls 'the belief that ethnic Israel is inalienably the people of the one true god'. However, Wright goes on to claim that in Rom 2, 'possession of the law, quite irrespective of her keeping it, demonstrates this fact'.[29] This however, goes entirely *against* the sense of 2 Bar, whose author adds 'and we know that we do not fall as long as we keep your statutes'. It also goes directly against the sense of CD 7, where 'For all who walk in these (precepts) in perfect holiness, according to all the teaching of God, the

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26 Bultmann, *New Testament and Mythology*, 28. Without, however, a lot of the baggage that Bultmann attached to that, *viz* that this obedience is *intrinsically* bad, because it *inevitably* leads to self-righteousness, etc.

27 Wilckens, *Brief an die Römer*, 148.

28 In his discussion of 'The Ethical Dimension of Jer 9:23', Davis argues that 'knowledge of Yahweh is specifically defined in terms of ethical behaviour', in the example of Josiah doing 'what is right and just'. 'Is that not what it means to know me?' the Lord asks in Jer 22.16. Furthermore 'in Deut 10:12-22, Yahweh is described as Israel's "boast" within a context that stresses covenantal obedience', G. Davis, *True and False Boasting in 2 Cor. 10-13* (PhD Dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1999) 23-24.

29 Wright, 'The Law in Romans 2', 139.

Covenant of God shall be an assurance' (CD 7:3-6). We have not seen a single instance of this 'antinomian' ethnocentrism (à la Wright) in the Jewish literature. God's election and Israel's obedience are consistently held together in tension, and neither is emphasised at the expense of the other. So, on the basis of the Jewish texts, the first question must be answered in the affirmative.

2. Paul's Indictment of the Sinfulness of his Interlocutor

So, granted that such a connection is *possible*, is there concrete evidence linking Jewish expressions of confidence on the basis of obedience to Paul's account in Rom 2.17-24? It will be argued in the rest of this chapter that confirmation of this comes in Paul's continued indictment of Israel's *sinfulness*. Paul considers that his interlocutor needs to be *persuaded* of this in the course of 2.1-5, 2.21-24 and 3.10-20: it is not a shared assumption, as the interlocutor thinks of himself as obedient to the covenant. First, we will clear the ground by establishing that judgmentalism is *not* the chief sin of Paul's interlocutor. Secondly, we will see that for Paul, the root of the problem is that the Jew is unrepentant. Thirdly, and finally, we will see how it is that the Jew is guilty of the same things which he criticises in others.

2.1 Judgmental (2.1; 2.3)

Some commentators see the judgmentalism of Paul's interlocutor as the principal target of Paul's criticism in these verses.[30] That is to say, they equate the 'same things' (repeated three times in 2.1-3) with the judgmentalism mentioned in juxtaposition with it. The claim is, roughly speaking, that although the self-righteous person is not guilty of homosexuality and idolatry in the same way as the characters in Rom 1.18-32, he is guilty of judgmentalism, which is equally sinful: it is, in fact, a symptom of the pride which is the very essence of sin. This may very well be theologically true, but it is by no means certain that that is what Paul is talking about here. The case is strengthened by Dunn's point that the list of vices in 1.29-31 also contains reference to arrogance and presumption.[31] At the other extreme, Käsemann asserts that judging is of such little concern to Paul in the rest of the chapter that 2.1 must be a gloss.[32]

It is possible that Paul makes reference to Jewish sin in 1.18-32, both by reference to the sin of the golden calf, and also in the sins of attitude in 29-31.[33] However, because the sins described in 1.18-32 have a more gentile orientation, there is probably a marginally better alternative. Schreiner's explanation of the syntax makes perfect sense of the διό in 2.1:[34] with Cranfield and Wilckens, he takes the διό as

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30 Esp. Barrett, *Romans*, 44.

31 Dunn, *Romans*, 80.

32 Käsemann, *Romans*, 54.

33 E.g. Cranfield, *Romans*, 119; B. Longenecker, *Eschatology and the Covenant*, 173-174, who also refers to a number of others who share the view.

34 Schreiner, *Romans*, 107.

picking up the whole of 1.18-32 and not just what immediately precedes.[35] Thus the logic of the argument is:

1.18-32 They are without excuse and subject to judgment because of their wickedness
(Because God's wrath is on the wicked).
2.1 Therefore you are also without excuse and subject to judgment, because you also do wicked deeds.

So, while Paul is (contra Käsemann) concerned to some degree about judgmentalism, it is not really the object of his criticism. Despite the proximity of the concepts, they are not actually arranged in a way that makes the judging *per se* the means of the interlocutor's condemnation. Rather, what is most prominent is the contrast that will be drawn between human and divine judging,[36] and the judging of the Jew is wrong because he is also guilty of the same things. The charge of judgmentalism is not the chief way in which Paul tries to puncture the confidence of his interlocutor in his obedience: there is a more serious indictment, to which we now turn.

2.2 Unrepentant (2.4-5)

It is an assumption in the 'New Perspective on Paul' that the Judaism with which Paul was in dialogue shared a similarly patterned structure to his own, with a belief in election as the way in, and works, combined with repentance and atonement to 'stay in'. On the other hand, many traditional portraits of Paul have treated Judaism as if there was no sacrificial system.[37] In response, protagonists of the New Perspective maintain that Paul could not be accusing his dialogue partner of 'self-righteousness' because any pious first-century Jew knew that he was a sinner (Pr. Man., 1QS 11) but that God had provided a means of dealing with sin: the Temple cult with its sacrifices.

This approach is misleading for several reasons which are relevant here in discussion of Rom 2. To take the minor objections first, there is evidence for a possible downgrading of the sacrificial system among various groups within Second-Temple Judaism well before the destruction of the Temple.[38] Second, one could raise the

35 Wilckens, *Brief an die Römer*, 123. Contra Käsemann (*Romans*, 54): 'διό at any rate does not have an inferential sense'.

36 Dunn, *Romans*, 79: 'The contrast between human and divine judgment becomes a key theme in the remainder of the indictment'.

37 E.g. Thielman, *Plight to Solution*, 104: 'the law raises the subject of sin, but does nothing to deal with sin after it has done so'.

38 See the interim measures evidenced in the Qumran texts, e.g. 1QS 3:6-12, 9:5-7, 8:3, 8:6, 8:10, 9:4, on which see H. Lichtenberger, 'Atonement and Sacrifice in the Qumran Community', in W.S. Green, ed. *Approaches to Ancient Judaism* (Chico: Scholars Press, 1980) 159-171; also M.A. Seifrid, *Justification by Faith. The Origin and Development of a Central Pauline Theme* (Leiden: Brill, 1992) esp. 81-108, makes an important contribution to this discussion. Elsewhere in the Second-Temple literature, see Tob 12.9; Sir 3.3, 3.30, 45.23; 4 Macc 17.22; Pss. Sol. 3.8.

question of the validity of taking liturgical texts such as Pr. Man. or 1QS 11 and deducing anything about the actual spiritual condition of people on the ground. The liturgy of any religious group could scarcely be described as an index of the spiritual vitality of its users. But these are peripheral issues.

The most important consideration that is consistently neglected is that Paul is essentially dealing with a dialogue partner (a representative, as we have seen, of the nation) *who is unrepentant*, and (though not visibly) an apostate. Thus, Paul would assume that the sacrificial system was not effective for him, and the interlocutor himself would have a wrong attitude to it. Four texts demonstrate this in particular. In Rom 2.4-5, Paul describes his Jewish dialogue partner as ἀγνοων ὅτι τὸ χρηστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς μετάνοιάν σε ἄγει. Essentially, Paul denies that his interlocutor is repentant of his sin: the kindness of God is supposed to be an incentive to repentance, but for the Ἰουδαῖος of Rom 2, it does not function that way. Hence, in 2.5, Paul describes the way of life of the person/ nation as κατὰ δὲ τὴν σκληρότητά σου καὶ ἀμετανόητον καρδίαν. As a result, he is storing up wrath for himself on the day of judgment.[39] This expectation of judgment is partial indication of Paul's assessment of his interlocutor's apostasy, though not sufficient in itself.

Rom 2.27-29 lends itself to a similar reading. Paul says that the one who is uncircumcised by birth, but who fulfils Torah, κρινεῖ ... σὲ τὸν διὰ γράμματος καὶ περιτομῆς παραβάτην νόμου. Again, this reinforces Paul's verdict that the transgressor of the Torah in this case is not merely one who has access to atonement for their transgressions, but is rather in need of thoroughgoing repentance if he is to avoid the wrath of God on the day of judgment. This is because, in the terms of 2.28, the public Jew with his circumsion is not the true Jew, but the secret Jew whose heart is circumcised by the Spirit is the real one. Paul affirms with m. Sanh. 10 the salvation of all Israel. But as well as broadening out 'Israel' to include regenerate Gentiles, he also, as m. Sanh. 10 does, issues a qualification: the salvation of Israel does not extend to those who have not received heart-circumcision by the Holy Spirit. This is new covenant language, and excludes the dialogue partner of Paul who is by definition not a member of the new covenant for Paul. In these verses, then, Paul is mounting a campaign which focuses on the question of who is permitted to call themself a 'Jew'. And he explicitly *denies the validity of his dialogue partner's claim to that title*. From the perspective of 2.25-29, then, we can look back with hindsight to 2.17 and see a certain irony in Εἰ δὲ σὺ Ἰουδαῖος ἐπονομάζῃ. 'You *call* yourself a Jew', Paul says, but you are not one in reality. Attention is often focused on Paul's redefinition of 'Jew', 'Israel', 'circumcision' as broadening these categories out to include gentiles. It must not be neglected, however, that Paul is not merely redefining these terms so that they include (some) gentiles; he also redefined them in such as way as to exclude some Jews. We will see this again later in the

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39 I take the 'treasuring' in 2.5 to be ironic, (with Michel and Schreiner, *contra* Käsemann) since θησαυρίζω in the Jesus tradition, probably reflecting Jewish tradition (see Cranfield, *Mark*, *ad* 10.21) is used in the sense of storing up heavenly treasure in a positive sense (Mt 6.19-20, Lk 12.21).

explanation of 'justification by faith' as 'about' the inclusion of gentiles (which of course, at one level, it is). But here in 2.25-29, Paul is also concerned with the conditions necessary for a Jew to escape the eschatological wrath of God. We see here clear evidence that Paul is both broadening and restricting Israel/ Judaism/ circumcision. One could also point to Rom 9.6ff. 'Not all Israel are Israel.' This text has both an *including* and *excluding* element: in 9.7 the σπέρμα is limited to Isaac, and excludes Ishmael; in verse 8, the children of God are not characterised by descent from Abraham κατὰ σάρκα, but are the τεκνὰ τοῦ ἐπαγγελιοῦ. The immediate context is again, the restriction of the true elect descendants of Abraham, but there is an implicit universalism as well.

Thirdly, Rom 9.31. Here the issue centres on the phrase νόμον οὐκ ἔφθασεν. It must be recognised that here is not the description of a silly mistake - for a Jewish contemporary of Paul, to be told that he 'νόμον οὐκ ἔφθασεν' would be a crippling (or a laughable) accusation: Moo is right to say that Paul talks of 'Israel's failure'.[40] Cranfield describes Paul's accusation here in a way which reproduces some of the rhetorical impact of 9.31:

> The majority of Jews have zealously pursued the law of God which has been given to them to bring them to a status of righteousness in God's sight: their tragedy is that, though they have pursued God's law, and are still pursuing it, with so much zeal, they have somehow failed altogether to come to grips with it, failed altogether to grasp its real meaning and to render it true obedience.[41]

Paul's accusation here resembles some of the comments we see in some branches of Jewish literature where there are accusations of apostasy on the basis of a flagrant disregard for the Torah.[42]

Fourthly, Rom 10.2 continues on a similar tack: again, Paul is not talking about a well-intentioned, innocent mistake in their 'zeal without knowledge'. The ἐπιγνώσις that is lacking in the zeal of Israel can hardly be thought of as something spiritually neutral for Paul. Wright is correct to talk of the *sinful* basis of Israel's zeal.[43] The same applies to the gentiles in Rom 1.18-32: the attitude of the intellect is scarcely an objective, value-neutral matter. In 10.3, the parallelism between ἀγνοοῦντες and οὐκ ὑπετάγησαν, which both govern the object 'the righteousness of God' supports the same point. Here, the 'cognitive' and the 'spiritual' are juxtaposed. Knowledge was at the heart of the Jewish claim in 2.17ff. And for Paul, the accusation in 10.2-3 is not of the order of an intellectual error, but rather of spiritual apostasy: they did not submit to the righteousness of God. This runs counter to most readings of 10.1-4. Eskola, for example, while hostile

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40 Moo, *Romans*, 626.

41 Cranfield, *Romans* II, 508.

42 Such critiques are prominent, for example, in Pss. Sol. or CD.

43 Wright, *Climax of the Covenant*, 240. He goes too far, however, in talking of Israel's exclusivism as a 'meta-sin'.

to the conclusions of the New Perspective, nevertheless insists that

> we must note that Paul underlines a certain passivity on the part of the Jews in opposing true righteousness. He says that the Jews do not "know" God's righteousness. Pious Jews would never oppose God consciously. They were convinced that they were serving God in the best possible way. They even defended God's honour against threats–just as Paul had done when persecuting the followers of Jesus (Phil 3.6).[44]

However, Paul does not see the 'zeal' of his own past as Jewish piety. Paul may have seen himself as 'blameless according to the Torah' from a pre-conversion standpoint: 'Phil 3 should be regarded as Paul's pre-Christian view of things'.[45] But, when he looks at his pre-conversion life from a later perspective, he does not see a good life which has been superseded by a much better life in Christ;[46] rather he is ashamed of his former life: 'I do not even deserve to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the church of God' (1 Cor 15.9). As Kim puts it: 'If, for example, in 1 Cor 15.9 and Gal 1.13 Paul is not talking about his attempt to destroy "the church of God" as sin, what would be a sin to him?'[47] He is even πρῶτος of sinners in 1 Tim 1.15-16. Paul's zeal, then, is not simply sincere misguided piety: it leads directly to sin. As Wright puts it, 'Israel's rejection of Jesus as Messiah simply *is* the logical outworking of her misuse of Torah.'[48] In this respect, Matlock is right to criticise Dunn's emphasis on a mere 'misunderstanding' on Israel's part.[49]

The implications of this are considerable. Paul is charging his Jewish interlocutor not so much with unorthodoxy, as with apostasy. The problems for the New Perspective begin here with Sanders' attempt 'to compare Paul on his own terms with Judaism on its own terms'.[50] This is perhaps a valid religio-historical exercise but it really sheds little light on the dispute that Paul has with Judaism in Rom 2. Paul's presupposition in the diatribe is that his dialogue partner is ἀμετανόητος, a characteristic which no professedly pious Jew (that is to say, a Jew 'on his own terms') would have accepted. Similarly, it is a mistake to reconstruct the identity of Paul's interlocutor as a 'devout

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44 Eskola, *Theodicy and Predestination*, 239.

45 Martin, *Christ and the Law in Paul*, 96.

46 Martin, *Christ and the Law in Paul*, 94, notes the distinction between Phil 3.9 where Paul claims he had a righteousness from the law, and Romans 9.30-10.4 where Israel *attempted* to have righteousness under the law. This is precisely *because* Israel had not really obtained righteousness, and Saul the Pharisee only *thought* that he had.

47 Kim, *Origin of Paul's Gospel*, 346n13.

48 Wright, *Climax of the Covenant*, 240, though I disagree with Wright as to the precise connection.

49 R.B. Matlock, 'Sins of the Flesh and Suspicious Minds: Dunn's New Theology of Paul', *JSNT* 72 (1998) 78.

50 Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 12. This has been picked up as a particularly important contribution of Sanders. See for example, Horbury, 'Paul and Judaism', 116.

Jew', as some have described the author of Prayer of Manasseh.[51] It is equally difficult to argue that Pr. Man. is 'a palpable reminder of the living force of Jewish piety during the turn of the era',[52] or that it might be the expression of 'a typical Jew of the first century'.[53] Dunn gives a very helpful corrective here: in his commentary on Rom 2 he makes the point that many Jews (such as the one with which Paul disputes) might not have been as pious as the extant literature makes out.

> We of the twentieth century listening to this can point to other statements from the Judaism of the same period which express a greater humility and rejoice that opportunity for repentance and means of atonement are provided within the covenant. But we cannot assume that these writings are typical of the actual Judaism of Paul's time.[54]

However unpopular it may be to say so in the present climate, the sentiments that scholars have derived from the Prayer of Manasseh or 1QS 11 are irrelevant to Paul's dispute with Judaism in Rom 2ff, because of Paul's assumption that his dialogue partner lived κατὰ δὲ τὴν σκληρότητά (σου) καὶ ἀμετανόητον καρδίαν.

In which case, the claim that Paul's contemporaries had easy access to atonement through repentance and the sacrificial system is problematic for the same reason. Genuine repentance, according to Paul, was not a characteristic of his interlocutor and the nation that this interlocutor represented: thus, the sacrificial system was not operative for him. (Also, the attitude of the interlocutor himself to the sacrificial system is mistaken, if he is unrepentant). He did not, as Sanders and Dunn maintain, have easy access to forgiveness through the means set out in the covenant. The cult did not function *ex opere operato*. According to Rabbinic witness,[55] and certainly for the Hebrew Bible and Paul, forgiveness would be inconceivable without repentance. This is precisely the charge that Paul explicitly makes in Rom 2.4-5, and so a key way in which Paul establishes the sinfulness of his interlocutor (and attempts to persuade him of that sinfulness) is by pointing out his unrepentant heart.

2.3 Guilty of what he criticises in others (2.1-3)

Thirdly, Paul talks in more 'concrete' terms of his interlocutor's (and thus, the nation's) sinfulness. As we have seen, the 'judger' is not wrong for saying that the sinner's immorality leads to the wrath of God: οἴδαμεν δὲ ὅτι τὸ κρίμα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστιν κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ἐπὶ τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα πράσσοντας (2.2). Where his mistake arises, however, is in thinking that he is not guilty of sin as well. The question of the

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51 See Longenecker's references in *Eschatology and the Covenant*, 179n2.

52 Charlesworth, in idem, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* II, 631.

53 Longenecker, *Eschatology and the Covenant*, 179.

54 Dunn, *Romans*, 91. See also Stott, *Romans*, 28-29 and Schreiner, *Romans*, 174.

55 See Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 157-180. Sanders is at times equivocal on the issue, Avemarie more definite: see *Tora und Leben*, 38.

relationship between boasting and obedience was the focus at the beginning of this chapter, and we must return to it again: it is Paul's concern right up to 3.20. Our question was whether the interlocutor represented Jewish confidence in the face of the day of judgment *because of* a perceived righteousness, or is it *in spite of* a lack of righteousness? Yinger's view might be cited as representative of the 'New Perspective' consensus on Paul's argument in Romans 2: 'It is not against a world [or a Jew] claiming "we have not sinned" that he is arguing, but against Jews or Jewish Christians claiming that they will not be treated the same way as the "sinners" in the judgment of God'.[56] This view is now in the ascendant:[57] it has even been adopted by some more critical to the New Perspective.[58]

Paul's indictment expressed in 2.3 is that his interlocutor is deceived about his potential to evade condemnation on the day of judgment. In the discussion of boasting, it was noted that the Jewish attitude was one of innocence, rather than 'antinomianism', and the subsequent argument grounds this more firmly in the following argument: *The energy and extent of Paul's attempt to persuade his interlocutor that Israel is guilty of sin is further evidence that this was precisely what was missing in the self-assessment of the Jewish nation.* This is such an extensive part of the diatribe, consisting of the phenomenological evidence in 2.21-24 and the scriptural evidence in 3.9-18, that Paul must have regarded it as a serious shortcoming in the thought-world of his interlocutor to accept that Israel was sinful. The statements in chapter 2 and 3.9-18 are not universal statements about sinfulness, but are descriptive of the Jewish nation: after all, what the Law says, it says to those within the Law. In 3.9-18 it is presumed that the gentiles peoples are under sin: that has been more than amply demonstrated in 1.18-32.

2.3.1 The Phenomenological Evidence (2.21-24)

In 2.21-22, we see the rhetorical questions with which Paul proceeds to undo the Jewish boast.[59] There are three significant implications of these verses for Paul's argument. First, this is the expected explanation of τὰ αὐτὰ in 2.1. This point in Paul's diatribe is well described by Stuhlmacher: 'Ever since 2:1f. Paul has left it open in what way the person whom he addressed critically "does the same thing" as the Gentiles who deliberately violate God's demand. The apostle now clarifies the point.'[60] The vice-list in

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56 Yinger, *Paul Judaism and Judgment according to Deeds*, 152-153.

57 B. Longenecker, *Eschatology and the Covenant*, 182; Wilckens, *Brief an die Römer*, 121.

58 See e.g. Schreiner, *Romans*, 118: 'It is crucial to understand that Paul's aim is to show the Jews that possession of the law is not inherently salvific'.

59 There is the question of whether these sentences are statements or questions. This is theologically inconsequential, though I take the view that they are questions. 2.23 I take to be a proposition: though again, there is no theological difference. This is of course presuming that Elliott is wrong to assume that Paul's questions in 2.21-22 expect the answer 'no'. Against Elliott, who asserts (*Rhetoric of Romans*, 197) that the emphasis is on the Jew's *accountability*, not his *culpability*, Paul's argument from 2.1 onwards has been directed towards the Jew's culpability.

60 Stuhlmacher, *Romans*, 49. Paul 'repeats and expands vv. 1-3 from a somewhat different angle' (Ziesler); so also Byrne.

1.18-32 is terrible, and there is considerable shock in the accusation in 2.1. But with these charges in 2.21-22 we see how Israel does indeed 'do the same things', and fails to teach herself what she teaches others. Just as the gentiles are defiled with immorality and idolatry in 1.18-32, so Israel as a nation is subject to the same defilement because of these three transgressions: stealing, adultery, and robbery of pagan temples. The charge that Paul has made against the nation which his interlocutor represents is grounded in empirical evidence.

2.3.2 The Biblical Evidence (3.10-18)

But Paul does not consider that his case is already proved. There is more evidence, more difficult for his interlocutor to deny. Paul's catena of quotations from the OT in 3.10-18 serve as further evidence for the charge that has already been brought. Räisänen misunderstands Paul's meaning in the word προηтιασάμεθα in 3.9: what Paul has done by this stage is to bring the charge.[61] He is not yet claiming to have proved his case. So Räisänen's accusation that Paul is making a ridiculous claim is a mistake.

The next misunderstanding of this passage comes from misreading the OT citations in 3.10-18. They are not, in their original context, primarily directed at Israel's gentile opponents, and twisted by Paul into having a Jewish audience. In the first case, the reference in 3.10-12 could come from Psalm 14 or Psalm 53. One of these Psalms seems to be a reworking of the other, and Psalm 14 seems to be a lament at the oppression of the righteous poor in Israel by Israelite 'evildoers' (14.6), while Psalm 53 has a clear reference to *foreign* invaders, and refers to those who 'attacked' God's people (53.5). In any case, the language of the Psalms is already very universalistic, as is - to an even greater degree - Ecclesiastes 7.20, which has also influenced this sequence. Similarly, Psalms 5 and 140 are David's laments, requesting that God not allow David's political opponents to prosper and undo him. Psalm 10 does make reference to the nations. Psalm 36 does not specify reference to Israel's opponents, or to David's opponents within Israel, but Isaiah 59.7-8 is clearly an indictment on Israel. Within this framework, Elliott's comment that the original context of the OT citations is primarily the sinfulness of *gentiles* is misguided. He objects to the view of Käsemann and Beker that 3.10-18 are primarily directed against Israel:

> In this view, one of the most extraordinary aspects of the catena is its appropriation of the Scriptures that in general refer to Israel's *enemies* in order to indict *the Jew*. This attributes to the apostle a harshly polemical reapplication of scripture.[62]

Elliott also makes reference to Gaston's comment: 'the catena is not even-handed, but excoriates gentile sinners',[63] but the evidence points in the other direction.

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61 Räisänen, *Paul and the Law* (Tübingen: Mohr, ²1987) 99.

62 Elliott, *Rhetoric of Romans*, 143.

63 L. Gaston, *Paul and the Torah*, 122, cited in Elliott, *Rhetoric of Romans*, 143.

A proper understanding of 3.10-18, as primarily proving Israel to be under the power of sin, is thus vital for seeing 3.19 in its proper perspective. Those who are addressed with this catena of quotations are those 'in the Law', as 3.19 specifies very clearly. It is difficult to expand the concept of those in the Law to the whole world, either because every person is subject to judgment according to Torah, or because Paul envisages even gentiles Christians as familiar with the Torah through their synagogue/ house-church experience. There is very little evidence that gentiles were subject to judgment according to Torah in Paul's theology,[64] indeed Rom 2.12 explicitly denies it.[65] And Rom 7.1, where Paul addresses his readers as those who know the Law, cannot justify putting all 'in the Law' either: ἐν τῷ νόμῳ is a theological category referring to Israel. Beker, Käsemann and Dunn are correct in saying that when the Law addresses those 'in the law' it refers to Jews, to Israel.[66]

How then can *every* mouth be stopped, and every person be subject to God's condemnation (3.19b)? Simply, because in the flow of Paul's rhetoric, the sinfulness of the gentiles was definitively established in 1.18-32, and has required no further justification. Paul's diatribe since 2.1 has been exclusively focused on the indictment of the Jew, and so in 3.19b-20 Paul pulls together the arguments of 1.18-32 and 2.1-3.19a, and concludes finally that all are in the same condition. Dunn is inaccurate to say that the social distinctiveness of those 'in the law' is highlighted here: on the contrary, Paul is making a theological distinction that goes back to the giving of Torah at Sinai. But Dunn is right to say here that 'Paul pens his *universal* indictment with a view to denying *Jewish* claims to a special defense at the final judgment'.[67]

We have seen (in Chapter 1) that many of Paul's Jewish contemporaries *did* in fact hold to a doctrine of final salvation according to works, and that obedience to Torah was a criterion at the final judgment. Indeed, Paul makes it clear in Rom 2 that his interlocutor holds such a view. So there is no difficulty in seeing this as the reference in 3.20. (We will see this in more detail in the next chapter). This counters a number of established positions. First, the traditional view that a universal depravity is the primary focus in 3.10-19a needs correction: as we saw above, Paul does not conceive of gentiles as ἐν τῷ νόμῳ, and so there is no purpose in his stating that gentiles are not justified by works of Torah.[68] Second, there are problems for the standard New Perspective view that Paul refers to works as boundary markers. The view of Dunn, Sanders and Wright, at its strongest in 3.28, is at its weakest as regards 3.20. Paul is countering the Jewish view that obedience to Torah is an *instrumental* cause (ἐξ ἔργων νόμου) of final

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64 Contra, e.g. Stowers, *Rereading of Romans*, 112: 'The evidence that Paul spoke of gentiles as being subject to the law of Moses is overwhelming'.

65 Paul perhaps disagrees with some of his Jewish contemporaries here: see 2 Bar 48.47 (cited in Eskola, *Theodicy and Predestination*, 123n110).

66 Beker, *Paul the Apostle*, 80 and Käsemann, *Romans*, 85, 87, both cited in Elliott, *Rhetoric of Romans*, 142. Also Dunn, *Romans*, 152.

67 Dunn, *Romans*, 152.

68 Cranfield, *Romans* I, 196 while saying 'we take it then that in τοῖς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ Paul refers to the Jews', concludes that the reference to justification not taking place through works of Torah has a wider universal sense.

justification, not that salvation is restricted to a certain sphere. Thirdly, Elliott's view that 3.20a actually expresses Jewish orthodoxy with which Paul agrees, can be discarded on the basis of the evidence of the last two chapters.[69] Similarly, in the context of Paul's diatribe with a Jew, it is hardly defensible that Paul is not attributing the view denied in 3.20 to this same Jew.[70]

We have seen in the previous chapter the lack of evidence in the Jewish literature for a covenantalism which assumes that sin has no consequences for the elect: rather, there were numerous texts which spoke of a sense of innocence as far as sin was concerned. In this chapter we have seen that Paul has expended a good deal of energy in persuading the Jew that he is not sufficiently conscious of his sin. In view of this, it is scarcely sustainable that Paul is opposing a nationalistic confidence in election, which is conscious of its sin but presumes on God's forgiveness. Rather, he is opposing a Jewish confidence at the final judgment which is based both on election, and on Jewish fulfilment of Torah.

The other vital implication of this is that in Paul's conclusion that he reaches in 3.20, he concludes that obedience to the Law is impossible for the flesh (cf. Rom 8.3) and so cannot be done sufficiently to meet the conditions for final justification. The Jew, therefore also fits into the category of 'the ungodly', who needs justification *by faith*. This Paul goes on to argue in 3.27-4.8. So, it is vital to observe that by the time we reach the complex argument in 3.27-28 (to be explained in the next chapter) Paul has already concluded in 3.19-20 that it is not just gentiles who need a justification which will not take place on the basis of works of Torah, but Jews as well. Therefore, Paul's doctrine of justification by faith apart from works of Torah applies not just to gentiles, but also to Israel. This is one of the essential points of which Paul is trying to persuade his interlocutor: his sin runs much deeper than he thought, and so the interlocutor's obedience to Torah is by no means comprehensive enough for his justification. Rather, because of his lack of repentance (and thus, lack of qualification for atonement), he is storing up wrath (2.5).

Conclusion

We can now briefly summarise the conclusions of this chapter. We saw first that Paul's dialogue partner is a Jew throughout Rom 2, and that he, being unrepentant, is heading for condemnation. Further, this is a very serious charge, because this 'Ιουδαῖος represents the nation as a whole. In particular debate with the New Perspective, it was observed that it is not sufficient to say that the Jewish dialogue partner is criticised for over-confidence merely in national privilege: the confidence of the Jewish people in the covenant also presupposed an assurance of their own obedience to that covenant. It is that assurance of obedience, as the basis of final vindication by God, which Paul criticises at

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69 See the extraordinary statements in *Rhetoric of Romans*, 212-213: 'It is not clear how readily Paul's audience could have picked up his supposed intention to repudiate *Jewish* convictions by declaring that 'through works of the Law shall no flesh be justified' (212) or that Rom 3.20 might be described as 'a *summary* of Judaism, not as its antithesis' (213 n1).

70 Contra L. Thurén, *Derhetorizing Paul*, 145.

such length in 2.1-5, 2.21-24 and 3.10-20, which is why it makes sense to speak of the Jewish 'boast' in 2.17, 23 as including reference to confidence on the basis of obedience. That is *not* to say that reliance on the Law and confidence in obedience are identical. As we have seen from the Introduction, it is vital that Pauline scholarship does not get stuck in a Bultmann vs New Perspective dichotomy. To restate the primary point of this chapter about 'boasting', the relationship between obedience and reliance on the Law in the texts above might be better described as reliance upon the Law *presupposing* or *including* obedience to it.[71] It is against this background of Paul's indictment of the Jewish nation as sinful that he proceeds to talk of justification of ungodly Jews and gentiles, to which we now turn.

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71 Bell, *No One Seeks for God*, 187, is essentially correct to say that 'the alternatives *either* boasting in possession of the law *or* boasting in performance of the law are false alternatives in Rom 2.17-24'.

Chapter 4

Misunderstood Torah and Misunderstood Abraham in Rom 3.27-4.8

Introduction

We have sketched some of the important questions surrounding the exegesis of Rom 3.19-20, and will pursue this here in conjunction with an interpretation of 3.27-4.8. In the previous chapter we saw the problems with maintaining the New Perspective emphasis on Paul's Jewish contemporaries merely having confidence in privileges and national status, concluding that Paul criticises a national boast that presupposes a thoroughgoing obedience to the Torah and a self-understanding of innocence with regard to sin.

In this chapter, we will look at the key points relating to works, justification and boasting made by Sanders, Dunn and Wright in their exegeses of Rom 3.20-4.8. Then we will proceed to examine whether the picture of Judaism which we have seen in Chapters 1-2 challenges their exegesis, as well as whether that exegesis fits with the text of Romans.

1 Summary of New Perspective Exegesis

1.1 E.P. Sanders

E.P. Sanders has often been lauded for his revolutionary approach to the Jewish material, but criticised for his failure to make sense of the relationship between Paul and his Jewish contemporaries.[1] His initial statements in *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* demonstrate why. Righteousness by faith, he argues, is for Paul 'directed against the view that obedience to the law is either the necessary or sufficient condition of salvation' (492). This view that Paul opposes does not, of course, match up with the 428 pages in which Sanders discusses the pattern of Jewish religion.

1 Wright's critique is that Sanders 'seems at a loss... and concludes rather lamely that Paul rejected Judaism simply because it was not Christianity' ('The Paul of History', 81). See also Dunn, 'New Perspective on Paul: Paul and the Law', 301, for criticism of Sanders and Räisänen on the same issue.

With Sanders' later work, however, Paul and Judaism cohere rather better, and resemble the Paul and Judaism of Dunn and Wright. The question of 'who got there first' is not clear, though Wright's 1978 lecture and 1980 dissertation were certainly the first to be publically accessible. In any case, one probably needs to go back behind the works of Sanders, Dunn, and Wright to the articles by Howard and Tyson in the late 1960s and early 1970s.[2]

In Sanders' *Paul, the Law and the Jewish People*, he articulates his position in opposition to the existentialist-Lutheran perspective of H. Hübner. Commenting on Hübner's position, he writes: 'I must confess that I disagree with almost every aspect of this interpretation' (32). Sanders' understanding of the whole of Rom 1-11 is shaped by the past problems with the Galatians, and Paul's imminent journey to Jerusalem (31). So Paul is still wrestling with the problem of the inclusion of gentiles: Rom 3.20 is concerned with the fact that 'The Law is not an Entrance Requirement' (17). In 3.20, Paul asserts that 'righteousness does not come by obeying the law' (or 'no-one is righteoused by the law'): rather the law has a different function in God's plan. 'It is through faith in Christ, not by accepting the law, that one enters the people of God' (207-208). The boasting in 3.27 is Jewish boasting, and Paul is arguing 'in favor of equal status and against privilege – especially against boasting in privileged status' (33). The point is reinforced by Abraham in Rom 4: 'I see no hint of the view that Abraham tried to be righteoused before God by works' (33). The language of 3.27ff into chapter 4 consists of 'all phrases which focus on status, not religious attitude or behavior' (34). Sanders cannot, however, explain 4.4-5: 'But what about 4:4? Does that verse not show that Paul was against claiming the "reward" as if God owed it and in favor of accepting righteousness as a gracious gift? It does indeed' (35). So, while Sanders has attempted to synthesise Paul's polemic with the Jewish evidence, there is still truth in the criticism that he has not been entirely successful.[3]

1.2 J.D.G. Dunn

Dunn's statements on 'works of the law' and Rom 3.19-31 are a recurring feature of all his work on Paul from the first 'New Perspective on Paul' lecture (1982) to three of his most recent essays. The early statements are refined in the course of the dialogue with Cranfield (1991-1992), and find mature expression in *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* and his most recent articles.

The earliest statements flag up concerns that Sanders had already raised: 'Paul regularly warns against "the works of the law," not as "good works" in general or as any attempt by the individual to amass merit for himself, but rather as that pattern of obedience by which "the righteous" maintain their status within the people of the covenant, as evidenced not least by their dedication on such sensitive "test" issues as

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2 G.E. Howard, 'Christ the End of the Law: The Meaning of Romans 10.4ff', *JBL* 88 (1969) 331-337; Howard, 'Romans 3.21-31 and the Inclusion of the Gentiles', *HTR* 63 (1970) 223-233; J.B. Tyson, ' "Works of Law" in Galatians' *JBL* 92 (1973) 423-431.

3 Though Sanders would probably claim that the incoherence was less in his own mind than in Paul's.

sabbath and food laws'.[4] These features will continue to be prominent in Dunn's exposition of justification. First, there is the specificity of the works of *Torah* not as works in general, but specifically as Jewish works of covenantal obedience. Secondly, the crucial point is that works *maintain* and *evidence* covenant membership, rather than contributing to righteousness or salvation. The key point comes in a heavily italicised point in *Romans*: 'The connection of thought in 3:20 does not run directly from "works of the law" to "shall be justified" and is not aimed directly at works of the law *as a means to achieving* righteousness and acquittal. The connection of thought is more indirect, of works of the law *as a way of identifying the individual with* the people whom God has chosen and will vindicate and of *maintaining his status within* that people.'[5]

The response to Cranfield describes 'works of the law' as synonymous with 'the whole mindset of "covenantal nomism"' (100). Dunn emphasises the social specificity of works as works of the *Jewish* law, not good works in general: the point that one cannot be justified by works of Torah is aimed specifically at Israel. Dunn clarifies the point, vital to his hypothesis, that works of the law can refer both to general obedience to the law, while inevitably focusing on specific test cases. Again, works of the law do not earn the Jew's salvation, rather 'they *maintain* his covenant status and *document* his distinctiveness from Gentile sinners' (109). This exegesis of Rom 3.19-26 is confirmed for Dunn by 3.27ff., which is the 'immediate corollary' (110). The same goes for Abraham: the point Paul is making, according to Dunn, is that Abraham was not justified by his faithfulness to the covenant, but by 'sheer, naked faith' (112). Thus the commercial metaphor in 4.4-5 is prompted not by Paul's desire to draw an analogy with his Jewish contemporaries, but merely by the inner logic of his argument, and the desire to clarify the meaning of the verb λογίζεσθαι, the normal meaning of which is 'the reckoning of recompense for services provided' (112). So Dunn answers an emphatic negative to the question of whether Paul accused his fellow Jews of 'seeking to earn salvation by works of the law' (116). This case is strengthened for Dunn when, after the official publication of 4QMMT, he drew attention to parallels between Qumran and Galatians.[6]

In later statements, Dunn moderates his tone and incorporates recent research on Jewish soteriology. *Theology of Paul the Apostle* clarifies that the Reformation doctrine of justification by faith is, although not co-extensive with the Pauline doctrine, nevertheless a legitimate corollary of it (366). But the same emphases remain fundamental. Similarly, responding to the recent work of Avemarie, Dunn affirms the importance of a two-stage (initial and final) salvation in both Paul and Judaism. But again, these ideas supplement, rather than reshape Dunn's understanding of Paul.[7]

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4 Dunn, 'The New Perspective on Paul: Paul and the Law', 307.

5 Dunn, *Romans*, 159.

6 Dunn, '4QMMT and Galatians', *NTS* 43 (1997) 147-153.

7 See Dunn's notes on the role of works in final salvation in Paul and Judaism in his 'A Response to Peter Stuhlmacher' in Avemarie, Lichtenberger, eds. *Auferstehung - Resurrection*, 363-368; 'Noch Einmal "Works of the Law"', in Dunderberg, et al, eds. *Pluralism and Conflicts* (Forthcoming, 2001); 'Jesus the Judge' in FS Gerald O'Collins (Forthcoming, 2001).

1.3 N.T. Wright

Wright's understanding (of these issues, at least) is similar. As early as 'The Paul of History' (1978), Wright notes Paul's use of the Shema in Rom 3.27ff as the basis, once reconfigured by Paul's Christology and soteriology, for there being one way of justification for all, since God is one (66). The significant point about faith is that it is 'available worldwide' (72). There is the critique of the Lutheran 'target' of the doctrine of justification: 'we must see justification by faith as a polemical doctrine, whose target is not the usual Lutheran one of "nomism" or "*Menschenwerke*", but the Pauline one of Jewish national pride' (71). Building on Moore and Sanders, Wright develops his critique of what he also sees as the Lutheran projection of Reformation controversy back into the First Century by exploration of Rom 2.17-29 and Rom 9.30-10.13 (78-83). Rom 3.27-31 undergirds the point that Paul is not opposing legalism in Rom 2.17-29 (82).

It is a tribute to Wright's foresight and genius at such an early stage in his career that so many scholars are still catching up with him. His recent book, *What Saint Paul Really Said*, takes the same basic approach articulated in his 1978 lecture. When 'boasting is excluded' in 3.27, it is not 'the boasting of the successful moralist', but rather the 'racial boast of the Jew'. Otherwise, for Wright, 3.29 ('Or is God the God of Jews only? Is he not of Gentiles also?') would be a *non sequitur*: 'Paul has not thought in this passage of warding off a proto-Pelagianism, of which in any case his contemporaries were not guilty. He is here, as in Galatians and Philippians, declaring that there is no road into covenant membership on the grounds of Jewish racial privilege' (129). 4QMMT, for Wright, proves his point that justification by works has nothing to do with a Pelagian works-righteousness, 'and everything to do with the definition of the true Israel in advance of the final eschatological showdown' (119). Or again: 'The point is: who will be vindicated, resurrected, shown to be the covenant people, on the last day?' (126).

Wright's expression in this book, while brief, is nevertheless very clear. His essays put more flesh on the bones. In 'Romans and the Theology of Paul', Rom 3.21-31 solves the problem of the unfaithfulness of ethnic Israel: God's plan, all along, was to have a worldwide family. Wright glosses 3.20 as follows: ' "The works of Torah," that is, those practices which mark Israel out from among the nations, cannot be the means of demarcating the true covenant people; they merely point up the fact of sin' (37). The 'immediate result' of God's covenant faithfulness being revealed in Rom 3.21-26 is the exclusion of 'national vindication' and 'ethnic boasting'. So Abraham must not be seen as trying to earn salvation by 'good works', 'by successful moral effort', by being 'a good moralist'. The work-repayment analogy in 4.4-5 is a secondary metaphor, 'occurring to Paul's mind not because he is thinking about the propriety or otherwise of moral effort, but because he has been speaking of "works" in connection with "works of Torah" in the sense already outlined, and now sees a way of ramming the point home' (41). Finally, *Climax of the Covenant* defines 'works of Torah' in terms of its two key elements. First, as we have seen, works *define* (usually in order to support a national pride) rather than save. Secondly, these works are to be understood as somewhat limited in their range, specifically to Sabbath, food-laws and circumcision (240, 242).

In their wider understandings of Paul and justification, there are important senses in which Dunn, Sanders and Wright are poles apart. For example, Sanders sees Paul as denying Jewish salvation-historical privilege (not a particular attitude or distortion of OT theology), Dunn sees the question in terms of an exclusivism, and Wright reads Paul as an opponent of Jewish confidence in national righteousness by virtue of election.[8] But these disagreements should not obscure the fact that there are considerable points of agreement. Each sees a need to read Rom 3-4 in the light of the Galatians controversy, as Paul is still discussing a similar issue. The key points of agreement which we will scrutinise in our exegesis are as follows:

1) That 3.20 and 3.27-29 describe Paul's opposition to Jewish confidence in national privilege and to exclusivism, not a legalistic works-righteousness which earns salvation.[9]
2) That, analogous to (1), Paul is not opposing a view of a legalistic Abraham, but an Abraham understood as faithful to the covenant, and who is marked out as a member of the covenant community by circumcision. So Abraham's hypothetical boast in Rom 4.2 is not a self-righteous one. Similarly, the work/ repayment element in the commercial metaphor is not intended by Paul to be reflective of the theology of his contemporaries.[10]

These claims will be the particular focus of the exegesis, as will (to some extent) the counter-claims of more traditional interpreters. So, the interpretation of 3.20-4.8 will focus specifically on the issues which relate to these two questions, and not attempt to provide exhaustive commentary on the text.

2. Misunderstood Torah

We will look first at the first claim, which concerns 3.20 and 3.27-31: That 3.20 and 3.27-29 describe Paul's opposition to Jewish exclusivism and confidence in national privilege, not a legalistic works-righteousness which earns salvation.

The first issue that arises here is whether it is confidence in national status and not legalistic self-confidence under attack from Paul in 3.20. The problem is that it is difficult to argue that a particular *attitude* is what is being opposed in Rom 3.20. Paul seems to be questioning a particular theologoumenon (viz. that justification takes place on the basis of obedience). If there is an attitude present, then it is merely the attitude that the particular doctrine that is held by Paul's interlocutor obtains for his situation, and for the situation of the nation in general.

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8 One problem with Schreiner's otherwise generally sound discussion of 3.27-31 (in *Romans* 203-204) is that he collapses the distinction between Paul's opposition to salvation-historical privilege (à la Sanders) and to the exclusivist understanding of Judaism put forward by Dunn. The differences should be noted.

9 To Sanders, Dunn and Wright here one might add Wilckens, who came to similar conclusions independently: see e.g. U. Wilckens, *Der Brief an die Römer*, 244-245, where there is a similar expression of boasting in terms of salvation-historical privilege which resembles Sanders' description in particular. Wilckens also makes significant reference to the boundary-marking aspects of Torah and circumcision (249).

10 Granted, Sanders might not concur with this final element.

Having ruled out the attitude of legalism, however, it is not an option simply to conclude that the problem is national status. There is a possibility for a 'chastened' traditional understanding of Judaism, whereby works done in obedience to Torah *are* a crucial criterion for final judgment. This fits perfectly as a target for Paul's statement in 3.20 for four reasons. First, we have seen that the evidence for a final judgment according to works in Second-Temple Judaism is overwhelming, and the denial of, or lack of emphasis on this doctrine on the part of New Perspective scholars is unwarranted. Secondly, the theology of judgment which Paul attributes to his interlocutor in 2.1-10 confirms this: *Paul tells us that final salvation according to works is a belief of the Judaism with which he is in debate*. Thirdly, against Dunn, there is a direct connection between justification and works of Torah in 3.20. Dunn's interpolation of a 'middle-term', whereby the national dimension of boundaries comes into focus, into the equation is quite unnecessary. The statement in 3.20 makes perfect sense as a denial that the 'flesh' can be justified through an obedience to the terms of the Torah. Dunn's interpolation is an uneconomical distraction. Fourthly, in the light of these points, Paul's continued arguments for his interlocutor's *sinfulness* mirror most exactly a lack of sense of sinfulness on the part of his interlocutor, which goes hand in hand with a sense of obedience. In other words, the interlocutor feels that 'justification by works of Torah' applies (in a positive way) both to himself, and to the nation in general.

In response to an obvious objection, there is no problem with Paul affirming the doctrine in 2.6-10 and questioning the application of it to Israel in 3.20, because what he is specifically questioning in 3.20 is the ability of the *flesh* to obey the Torah. Paul has no doubt, as can be seen from 2.25-29 (and 2.13-14, for those who have ears to hear) that the Spirit does offer power to fulfil the Torah under the new covenant. The issue in 3.20, which will be developed more fully in Rom 7 and specifically in 8.3 & 8.7, is the inability of the flesh, of the person who has not been transformed by Christ and the Spirit, to fulfil Torah. We saw evidence for Paul's position here in Chapter 1 above. This is the crucial theological component which distinguishes Pauline theology both from Jewish thought, and from covenantal nomism. Jewish theology and covenantal nomism see obedience as the person's response to God's prior election and salvific grace. For Paul, on the other hand, the obedience of the church and the Christian is God's action, just as 'past' salvation is also God's action. Even if some Jewish texts see God as aiding human obedience, this is radically different from the Pauline view that obedience is God's work in Christ and the Spirit, into which he calls the Church corporately and individually to participate.

2.1 χωρὶς νόμου in 3.21

Without diving into the complex exegetical issues involved in 3.21-26, some attention must be paid to the revelation of the righteousness of God χωρὶς νόμου in 3.21. Dunn notes the contrast between ἐν τῷ νομῷ in 3.19 with χωρὶς νόμου (3.21) as important here. χωρὶς in 3.21, in Dunn's *Romans*, is about the contrast between Jew and Gentile as "within" and "without" the law, and thus the focus with the reference to law in 3.21 is

on that which is distinctively Jewish (187-188).

However, the point in Rom 3.21 is not that God is now revealing his righteousness to those who are 'outside the pale of the law': rather Paul is talking of the revelation of the righteousness of God χωρὶς νόμου to *all who believe*. And that includes the revelation of the righteousness of God χωρὶς νόμου to the Jewish nation: because Israel does not obey Torah, God's righteousness does not come to them through that means. Here Paul's theology shows that it cannot be understood in *sociological* categories. Sociologically speaking, Paul's category χωρὶς νόμου must refer to those who have no *access* to the law, but this is not his meaning. (And to translate χωρὶς as 'not having', 'without', makes no sense in 3.21). The key distinction that Paul is drawing is not between those ἐν τῷ νόμῳ who receive the message of condemnation through the Torah (3.19), and those χωρὶς νόμου who receive the righteousness of God (3.21). Rather, Paul is concentrating on the fact that all, Jew and gentile alike, receive the righteousness of God χωρὶς νόμου, and διὰ πιστέως. Paul wants to show that the means (διὰ) of receiving this righteousness is faith: righteousness does not come through Torah either for Jew or gentile. The implication of this is that if Paul was discussing in Galatians the conditions under which gentiles join the people of God, that is not Paul's interest here in Rom 3.20-21: he is discussing the terms under which *all* are justified. The question becomes: Do 3.27-29/31 point away from this emphasis, and towards a 'gentile inclusion' understanding of justification?

2.2 ἡ καύχησις in Rom 3.27

A very valuable contribution made by the New Perspective on 3.27 is that the boast is Israel's national boast.[11] As commentators are increasingly recognising, καύχησις in 3.27 most logically refers to 2.17, the last place in which Paul discusses the concept. It is not necessarily an 'intolerable anticlimax' if Paul's conclusion to 3.21-26 is the dismantling of the *Jewish* boast.[12] However, that is not to say that the boast is merely tied up with Jewish exclusivism or overconfidence in election and salvation-historical privilege. As we have seen, there is very good reason to include confidence in behaviour as playing a role in the boast here.

Fundamentally, the boast in 3.27 is tied up with two things, which in the Jewish mindset are really a unity. First, Israel's election and gift of the Torah are (rightly) emphasised by the New Perspective. The second aspect, however, is the conviction that God would vindicate his people at the eschaton on the basis (in part) of their obedience. This second step was discussed in Chapter 2, and evidenced most clearly in the texts we saw there such as Assumption of Moses, Baruch, 2 Baruch and the Wisdom of Solomon.

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11 Käsemann generalises the boast as referring to 'the religious person' (*Romans*, 102); similarly, Calvin (*Romans and Thessalonians*, 78) and Barth (*Romans*, 107-108), though the genre of all these commentaries must be taken into account. Dodd and Nygren both talk of a universal boasting, but which comes to clearest expression in Pharisaism (Dodd, *Romans*, 84-85; Nygren, *Romans*, 162).

12 C.E.B. Cranfield, ' "The Works of the Law" in the Epistle to the Romans', *JSNT* 43 (1991) 96.

These two aspects are both crucial. Sometimes, the first part relates more directly to the *content* of the boast, and the second is the fundamental *basis* on which that boast rests. Though, as we saw, such a distinction is not always possible, and certain texts locate Israel's confidence specifically in her obedience.

We saw that this confidence was not only in relation to the gentiles, but also before God: 'I will do everything just as you have commanded me because this thing is an honour and a greatness for me and a righeousness for me before the Lord' (Jub 35.2). (There is a dimension to righteousness which is not yet attained, and which is constituted by obedience, as we saw in Chapters 1 & 2). But this 'vertical' dimension does not entail a 'self-righteous' boast 'against' God, as it is sometimes portrayed.

Vital also to Paul's use of the term καύχησις here is that he is referring implicitly in 3.27 to a relationship between Israel, works and justification which comes to expression explicitly in 4.2 ('If Abraham was justified by works, then he has a boast'): that is, the pattern works -> justification -> boasting. As we saw in Chapter 2, boasting is not merely a general feeling of confidence, but is a confidence in vindication, or justification as we saw in Sir 31.5,10. So the Jewish boast in 3.27, where Paul picks up the Jewish boast which he discussed in 2.17 and 2.23, is *confidence that God would vindicate Israel on the basis of both election and obedience, and that he would vindicate them both before and over against the gentile.* We must now look to see why this boast is so decisively excluded by Paul.

2.3 The νόμος πίστεως/ νόμος ἔργων and Rom 9.30ff

The parallels between the νόμος ἔργων and the νόμος πίστεως in 3.27, and Israel's approach to Torah in 9.31-32 are so strong that the principle of interpreting the more difficult text with the help of the (perhaps slightly!) more straightforward is useful here. Strangely, commentators seldom refer to the two passages together. But in 9.31-32a, 'Israel pursues a Torah of righteousness, but has not got to the Torah. Why? Because [she has pursued it] not by faith (ἐκ πίστεως), but as if it were by works (ἐξ ἔργων)'. 9.32a is not quite clear because of the ellipsis, but διώκων is probably to be supplied. The result of this mistake is that Israel has not 'arrived at' the Torah. This Torah as it should have been pursued (ἐκ πίστεως) is the νόμος πίστεως. One implication of this is that there is no need for a metaphorical meaning for νόμος,[13] though this is not a key issue in the New Perspective debate.

What precisely did the mistake involve? The two criticisms Paul makes in 9.30-10.4 is that the Torah is approached ἐξ ἔργων, and Israel, ignorant of the righteousness of God, pursued her own righteousness. Sanders cites Ridderbos's view as

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13 For the metaphorical reading see Westerholm, *Israel's Law and the Church's Faith*, 122-130, and H. Räisänen, 'Das "Gesetz des Glaubens" (Röm. 3.27) und das "Gesetz des Geistes" (Röm. 8.2)', *NTS* 26 (1980) 101-117. Sanday and Headlam take νόμος here as 'system' (*Romans*, 95). Similarly, πίστις here is unlikely be 'the faithfulness of God' (Barth, *Romans*, 109) or to the 'faithfulness of Christ'. See Dunn, and R.B. Matlock, 'Detheologizing the ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ Debate: Cautionary Remarks from a Lexical Semantic Perspective', *NovT* 42 (2000) 1-23.

representative of the traditional position here: Israel's mistake lay in seeing works as the way to please God, which led to boasting and smug self-satisfaction.[14] So pursuing the law itself turned out to alienate man from God. The usual suspects, Bultmann and Hübner, are mentioned as other culprits.[15]

The New Perspective response is two-fold. First, the objection is that pursuing the Law as the basis of righteousness refers not to 'getting in' but 'staying in': not to legalism, but to obedience to the demands of the covenant. Secondly, some object that τὴν ἰδίαν δικαιοσύνην in 10.3 is not smug self-righteousness, but rather righteousness as the exclusive preserve of Israel, ἰδίαν in the sense of exclusively one's own.[16]

But yet again, we can see a false antithesis. Of course, the view that doing works is a path that is in itself wrong is misguided. But for Paul, the Law is not to be understood as *centred* around works to the exclusion of faith (works and faith seem to be antithetical in Rom 9.30-33). If righteousness is pursued that way, then the result is to slip on the stumbling-stone. 'The problem is not with Israel's goal... but with the way in which it sought to pursue it'.[17]

Further, our evidence from Chapters 2 and 3 helps to make sense of Rom 10.3. We do not need to understand 'τὴν ἰδίαν δικαιοσύνην' as legalistic self-righteousness. It merely refers to the sense that Israel had fulfilled the demands which God had made in the Torah. Deut 6.25 promises that obedience to the commandments is 'your righteousness'. So Paul can speak in Phil 3.9 of 'my righteousness' (which comes not through Torah but through faith). In Israel's attempt to establish their own righteousness, there is no particular reference to exclusivism. In the first instance, no special reference to establishing the covenant as exclusively the preserve of Israel is present here: Dunn's *Romans* points to the covenantal associations of στῆσαι in Rom 10.3, citing some of the seventeen references to στῆσαι διαθήκην in the LXX (588). But forms of στῆσαι occur 785 times in the LXX, so it is optimistic to assume that it has covenantal connotations. Paul in 9.30-10.4 is dealing primarily with Israel's failure to know God, not with her failure to impart knowledge to the gentiles. Paul discusses the implications of Israel's mistake for, in the first instance, Israel, hence his desire and prayer for *Israel's* salvation (10.1).

Furthermore, it is impossible to say, as Dunn does, that ἰδίαν more often refers to 'exclusively one's own' (587). The question can only be settled by context: semantically, the term could support either view. The meaning must be seen through the

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14 Sanders, *Paul, the Law and the Jewish People*, 38.

15 As Räisänen says of Bultmann, 'one gets the impression that zeal for the law is more damaging than transgression' ('Legalism and Salvation by the Law', in idem, *Die Paulinische Literatur und Theologie* [Aarhus: Forlaget Aros, 1980] 68, cited in Sanders, *Paul, the Law and the Jewish People*, 48). See especially Bultmann, 'Romans 7 and the Anthropology of Paul', in idem, *Existence and Faith* (New York: Meridian, 1960) 147-156.

16 For an early, pre-Sanders expression, see Howard, 'Christ the End of the Law', 331-337.

17 Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 578; cf also Cranfield, *Romans*, 509.

contrast between ἰδία δικαιοσύνη and δικαιοσύνη τοῦ θεοῦ. Here again, the New Perspective must supply a hidden middle term: that δικαιοσύνη τοῦ θεοῦ refers to the righteousness of God *in as far as it is universal*. But Paul contrasts not the scope, but the possessor or originator of the righteousness. This fits with what we will see in Rom 4: a contrast between righteousness that comes as divine gift (in defiance of what the person *possesses*, viz., sin in Rom 4.3 and 4.6-8) and a righteousness that comes on the basis of works and not faith (Rom 4.4-5). Dunn's reference to Maccabean zeal here cannot neutralise a reference to righteousness on the basis of obedience, which as we have seen is very much a part of the theology of 1 Maccabees.

Israel's error was to expect God's righteousness because of their obedience, rather than simply to believe the promise. (We saw examples of this in Chapter 2, as in Bar 3.7 when exiled Israel calls upon God to redeem them because they have put away their unrighteousness). These works are neither solely concerned with legalistic 'achievement', nor simply identificatory. Rather, they are oriented toward righteous status in the present (Deut 6.25 and see Chapters 1 and 2 above), and eschatological vindication in the future.

This parallel between Rom 3.27 and 9.30ff makes it extremely difficult to limit the scope of 'works of Torah' primarily to Sabbath, circumcision and food laws in 3.27ff. 9.30ff concerns the misunderstanding of Torah in general. Israel did not focus on certain commandments at the expense of others, but rather on the commandments (Torah of *works*) at the expense of faith in the promises.

Dunn's understanding of the relationship of νομος ἔργων and νόμος πιστέως reveals a further problem with some New Perspective hypotheses. He explains: 'when the law is understood in terms of faith its distinctive Jewish character ceases to hold centre stage, and the distinctively Jewish works become subsidiary and secondary matters which cannot be required of all and which can be disregarded by Gentiles in particular without damaging (indeed thereby enhancing–v 31) its faith character'.[18] This reveals a problematic understanding not only of Paul's view of the law but also of Paul's doctrine of God. Paul's theology is not then based on Scripture and the gospel, but an *ad hoc* theology based on God changing his mind about part of the Torah because Israel had abused it. This seems an unavoidable conclusion if other aspects of the Law are left intact, while the boundary-marking works are abrogated for gentiles. Wright is less susceptible than Dunn to this criticism because he sees that Paul has a holistic understanding of Torah and its temporary character. But even he is forced to describe Israel's exclusivism as a 'meta-sin', although Israel's problem for most of OT history was precisely the opposite: too great an eagerness to compromise and mingle with the nations.

So, the boast is not excluded by νόμος ἔργων. Richard Thompson however, opposes this view by arguing that Paul has already excluded boasting by the law of works (i.e. by the *lack* of works in 3.19-20). For Paul, boasting *is* excluded that way, but *now* he is arguing on the basis of 3.21-26. There is, however, one serious linguistic

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18 Dunn, *Romans*, 186-187.

problem in Thompson's argument. He adduces other examples of οὐχί, ἀλλά patterns in the NT, and his general description of the pattern is correct: 'we find a reasonable answer to a question rejected by a new, unexpected or less evident answer'.[19] The problem is that οὐχί, ἀλλα hardly ever means 'yes, but': it is quite firmly antithetical, meaning 'No. Rather...'[20] Thompson reckons that Jews might believe that the νόμος ἔργων *does* exclude boasting, but it seems very unlikely that a Jewish interlocutor would assume this. If one understands the Torah as primarily commanding works, because they are what lead to justification, then the pattern that we have traced of 'works-> justification -> boasting' is *confirmed*, not excluded.

So how does the Torah of faith exclude boasting here? Because as soon as the Torah is seen as primarily directing its reader to faith in the one God as the means to justification irrespective of what works are performed, then the pattern 'works -> justification -> boasting' is abandoned, and we are left only with the pattern 'faith -> justification'.[21]

2.4 Rom 3.28: χωρὶς ἔργων νόμου

One crucial mistake present in Dunn's and Wright's exegesis is that of the connection between verses 28 and 29. One aspect of this is the overloading of the preposition χώρις with locative overtones as we saw above, whereby the phrase χωρὶς ἔργων νόμου comes to mean 'outside the sphere of works of Torah', or as Dunn puts it, 'outside the pale of the law'. This, however, is not the regular meaning of χώρις.

There are two ingredients to the preposition which are probably in view here. The first is the sense simply of 'without' (in the sense of 'not having', as distinct from 'outside'). This is the meaning in James 2, which provides an exact parallel to Paul's usage. James challenges his interlocutor δεῖξόν μοι τὴν πίστιν σου χωρὶς τῶν ἔργων (2.18) because he ought to know that ἡ πίστις χωρὶς τῶν ἔργων ἀργή ἐστιν (2.20). James's analogy clarifies this: ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸ σῶμα χωρὶς πνεύματος νεκρόν ἐστιν, οὕτως καὶ ἡ πίστις χωρὶς ἔργων νεκρά ἐστιν (2.26). The numerous references in Hebrews all mean 'without'.[22] The same is generally true of the Gospels.[23] Of the numerous uses of χωρὶς only 2 Cor 12.3 has a locative sense in Paul's usage: all the other occurrences simply mean 'not having'.

Crucial, however, is the immediate context of Rom 3-4 (though Jas 2 deserves special recognition), and in the relevant passages here, it is the 'not having' and 'not through' meanings which are present. In 3.21, the revealed δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ comes

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19 Thompson, 'Paul's Double Critique', 529.

20 Lk 12.51 does express a Hebraic antithesis ('not peace, but division').

21 Though we shall see in Chapter 5 that in a radical way Paul reinstates the pattern of justification -> boasting.

22 Heb 4.15; 7.7; 7.20; 9.7; 9.18; 9.22; 9.28; 10.28; 11.6; 11.40; 12.8; 12.14.

23 Mt 13.34// Mk 4.34; Lk 6.49; Jn 1.2; 15.5 (with a possible locative sense); 20.7.

χωρὶς νόμου, but διὰ πιστέως:[24] a contrast between what *is* and what *is not* the divine means or divinely established channel for his righteousness. Similarly, for David in Rom 4.6, the sinful man is reckoned as blessed even though the heavenly ledger records him as characterized by ἀνομίαι and ἁμαρτίαι, and χωρὶς ἔργων. Obviously, the reference in 3.21 is to 'not through', and in 4.6 to 'without (=not having) works', 'having no works'.

So in 3.28, when Paul expresses his theologoumenon that 'we reckon that a person is justified by faith and not by works of Torah', he is contrasting two ways to justification. He is not focusing on the inclusion of gentiles yet: the thrust is that, contrary to her boast, Israel is not justified before God by obedience to the Torah.[25] (Further, Paul does not clarify whether he is speaking of present of eschatological justification specifically).[26] This applies to the whole of humanity. 'No one can free him- or herself from the power of sin with the help of fulfilling individual commandments.'[27] The term ἄνθρωπος includes the Jew and gentile. The Jew is justified without works of Torah because he has not obeyed the Torah (2.23, 3.10-19), and David is a specific example of this in 4.6-8 (see below). The gentile is justified without works of the law because for him to be so justified would involve coming under the Torah and becoming a Jew. Paul gives one knock-down argument for why God has not instituted justification through works of Torah as his final word: because that would only give the opportunity of justification to Jews, a ridiculous idea, leading to the *reductio ad absurdum* of God being god of the Jews only. This proposition, to which we now turn, would be a theological impossibility even to the most exclusive Jew.

2.5 *Non sequitur* in 3.29-30?

As we have seen, Dunn and Wright see 3.29 as a key support for their argument: that the focus of justification by faith apart from works is on the inclusion of the gentiles. Wilckens makes precisely the same point: 'Daß Paulus in VV 27f gegen den heilsgeschichtlich begründeten Gerechtigkeitsanspruch des Juden argumentiert, wird durch die Fortsetzung in VV 29f deutlich'.[28] Also Hays: 'The fundamental problem with which Paul is wrestling in Romans is *not* how a person may find acceptance with God; the problem is to work out an understanding of the relationship in Christ between Jews

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24 Again, the reference is 'faith', *contra* Barth's 'faithfulness of God' (*Romans*, 111), and *contra* Hays' and Wright's 'faithfulness of Christ' (see e.g., Wright, 'Romans and the Theology of Paul', 37-38).

25 Obedience to Torah is understood not primarily as fulfilling individual commandments, but as 'der ganzheitliche Toragehorsam, die Tora-Observanz im ganz umfassenden Sinn'. O. Hofius, '»Rechtfertigung des Gottlosen« als Thema biblischer Theologie', *Jahrbuch für Biblische Theologie* 2 (1987) 85n35. See also Bell, *No One Seeks for God*, 235-236.

26 The future tense of the verb in 3.30 could be logical or eschatological.

27 Stuhlmacher, *Romans*, 67.

28 Wilckens, *Der Brief an die Römer*, 248.

and Gentiles. This is the concern that surfaces clearly in vv 29-30'.[29]

Most commentators do not respond to the powerful challenge that 3.29 might offer to the traditional view. Moo reads the verse in a very similar way to Dunn and Wright, but does not express any tension between a traditional view of justification and a strong emphasis on inclusion of gentiles in this verse.[30] Stuhlmacher, Kruse, Seifrid, and others, similarly do not address the issue, except with reference to the wider theology of Paul. Schreiner's commentary is one of the few which responds to the challenge: 'Verses 29-30 do not demonstrate that the polemic in verses 27-28 can be restricted to salvation history. If Paul had wanted to signal a connection between verses 28 and 29 (showing thereby that boasting was ruled out primarily for salvation-historical reasons), then verses 28-29 would have been joined by a γάρ' (205).

Schreiner's argument here is linguistically sound, and can be supported with further evidence. In the first case, examining Paul's use of questions beginning with ἤ, there is a common pattern. The question usually reinforces a question previously asked, providing a fresh perspective on what is a similar, though not identical, question. This is the case in nine out of the ten instances in Romans where ἤ introduces a question.[31] The best reading of 3.29-30 is to see it as another way of getting to the same point as was made in 3.27-28: not as flowing out of 3.28, and out of the phrase 'works of Torah' in particular. The key point that reinforces this is the fact that the goal is the same in each case: the questions in 3.27 lead to the maxim in 3.28; and the questions in 3.29 lead to the very similar maxim in 3.30. These questions and answers in 3.27 and 3.29, it should be noted, lead to the theological statements rhetorically rather than logically: (theo-)logically speaking, for Paul, 3.27 and 3.29 derive from 3.28 and 3.30, as Paul's γάρ at the beginning of 3.28 shows. Thus, the issue of the inclusion of the gentiles - prominent in 3.29-30 - is not the main point of 3.27-28. It is important not to collapse the meaning of the two pairs of verses together.

Some traditional ahistorical readings which ignore the Jewish character of the boast and of the works of Torah in 3.28 are at fault. However, the New Perspective reading is not the only alternative: it is crucial to recognise that when Paul speaks of the justification of the ἄνθρωπος by faith, and not by works of Torah, he speaks of both Jew and gentile alike. The sociological interpretation of χωρὶς ἐργῶν νόμου again falls foul of Paul's explanation that the efficacy of the Mosaic covenant is in question. Paul says explicitly that the Jew is justified by faith and not by works of Torah, and the gentile is justified by faith, and not by works of Torah. Otherwise, if only the Jews had access to the Torah and to righteousness, God would be God of Jews only, even though in practice they do not obey Torah, according to Paul. Rom 3.28-29 might be paraphrased: 'If God's saving righteousness/ vindication did result from obedience to the Mosaic covenant (though it does not because Israel is disobedient to it [3.20]) then God would be God of the Jews only. But he is not: he justifies both Jew and gentile through the same faith'.

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29 R.B. Hays, '"Have We Found Abraham to be Our Forefather According to the Flesh?" A Reconsideration of Rom 4:1', *NovT* 27 (1985) 83-84.

30 Moo, *Romans*, 251-252.

31 Rom 2.3-4; 3.1; 6.3; 6.10; 7.1; 9.21; 11.34; 11.35; 14.10. The exception is Rom 11.2.

The power of the New Perspective's 'non sequitur' objection and its alternative explanation are more real than apparent. As Schreiner's commentary puts it: 'We ought not to infer that Paul counters a Jewish theology that contended that God was only the God of the Jews' (205-206).

3. Abraham's boast

We introduced this chapter with two claims of the New Perspective. Because of the close relationship between 3.27-28 and 4.1-5,[32] the second claim, which is also centred around the issues of works, justification and boasting, is similar to the first:

2) That, analogous to (1), the view of Abraham being opposed is not a legalistic Abraham, but an Abraham understood as faithful to the covenant, and who is marked out as a member of the covenant community by circumcision. So Abraham's hypothetical boast in Rom 4.2 is not a self-righteous one. Similarly, the work/ repayment element in the commercial metaphor is not intended by Paul to be reflective of the theology of his contemporaries.

This claim breaks down into four questions that are central to modern scholarly discussions of Rom 4.1-8. First: what is the nature of justification by works in Rom 4.2? Second: what is the boast that Abraham would have had? Third: how does Paul respond, and what alternative model of justification is he proposing in this passage? Fourth: what is the nature of Judaism, or the specific feature of Judaism, that Paul is objecting to here, if any? These questions fall quite naturally out of the text of Romans, but I hope to justify them further as we progress by illustrating the answers given by each 'side' in the debate, and showing that they lie at the heart of the controversy in Pauline studies.

3.1 The Nature of Justification by Works in Rom 4.2

3.1.1 Abraham as Paradigm: Rom 4.1

The crucial presupposition behind 4.1 is that Abraham is the paradigm par excellence for God's people. He is not *an* illustration from the Old Testament;[33] rather, presupposing in the ancient (and not least, the Jewish) world that children imitate their parents,[34] as προπάτωρ he is *the* example. If Paul's theology cannot accommodate him, it *must* be false.[35]

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32 As most commentators notice. E.g. Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 373: 'thus Paul aligns Abraham with the rejection of boasting in 3:27.' Likewise Käsemann, *Romans*, 106: 4.2 is 'a reference back to 3:27ff.'

33 *Contra* Dodd, *Romans*, 83.

34 Mt 5.48, Jn 8.42-44, Gal 3.6-7; see also E. Castelli, *Imitating Paul. A Discourse of Power* (Louisville, KY: Westminster/ John Knox, 1991) 98-102.

35 'Scriptural *evidence*' is better (E. Käsemann, *Perspectives on Paul* [Mifflintown, PA: Sigler Press, 1996] 79).

Paul also casts this narrative in the typically Jewish terms of the 'remembrance' motif, referring to a particularly important figure from Jewish history and calling upon the reader to remember and imitate them. Heb. 11 and Sir. 44 provide extended examples. But often they are shorter as well: later we will refer to 4QMMT C 23-25: 'Think of (זכור) the kings of Israel and contemplate their deeds: whoever among them feared the Torah was delivered from troubles; and these were seekers of the Torah whose trangressions were forgiven. Think of David who was a man of righteous deeds and who was therefore delivered from many troubles and was forgiven.'[36] Paul's use of Abraham in 4.1 establishes the patriarch as the prototype of justification both by literary style and vocabulary.

But this is to presuppose that soteriology is at issue, a view challenged by Hays and Wright in particular.[37] Theirs is a minority position, but, as one might expect from Hays and Wright, it is a formidable one. Hays proposes that 4.1 be translated: 'What then shall we say? Have we found Abraham to be our forefather according to the flesh?' For Hays, this is proof positive that Paul did not invent the doctrine of justification by faith; rather he is saying: 'Look, do you think that we Jews have considered Abraham our forefather only according to the flesh?'[38] For Wright on the other hand, what is coming to the fore is the question of Galatians: having been justified by faith, does that now mean we (we Christians, and gentiles in particular) are to be incorporated into the physical family of Abraham?[39]

The case is certainly finely balanced, but certain considerations point towards a more traditional understanding of the verse: 'What then shall we say that Abraham, our forefather according to the flesh, found?'. On the syntactic level, balancing Hays' references to texts where Abraham is the one who 'is found', Käsemann also alludes to a passage in Josephus which is uncannily similar to Rom 4.1, where Abraham is the active subject in the sentence.[40] Further, Hays' gloss on the verse is problematic, however: he adds - Luther-like - an 'only' into the text (*have we Jews considered Abraham our forefather only according to the flesh?*). Without the 'only', the proposition becomes one which every Jew would affirm (cf Rom 9.3, 9.5).[41] The problem with Wright's reading is that, through an over-harmonisation with Galatians, Romans also becomes about the question of whether gentiles need to be circumcised: this, I have argued, is not what is in view in Rom 2-3. But even if Hays and Wright were correct about Abraham's paternity as the focus in Rom 4, can this relegate soteriology to secondary importance? Wright's frequent antithesis of 'what must I do to be saved' and 'who are those who will be vindicated at the eschaton' is misleading.

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36 See also Tob 4.12; Jdt 8.26; 1 Macc 2.51, 4.9; Sir 2.10; Heb 12.1-3; 2 Tim 2.8.

37 Hays, ' "Have we found Abraham to be our Forefather according to the Flesh?:"', 76-98; Wright, 'Romans and the Theology of Paul', 40. But also J.A. Bain, 'Romans iv. 1', *ExpT* 5 (1893-1894) 430.

38 Hays, 'Have We Found Abraham?', 87.

39 Wright, 'Romans and the Theology of Paul', 40.

40 τί οὖν ὁ ταύτης ἀνὴρ Ἀβραάμ, προπάτωρ δ' ἡμέτερος; (Jos. BJ, V.380).

41 Thus, astutely Seifrid, *Christ Our Righteousness*, 68n85.

3.1.2 Abraham Misunderstood: The Jewish Expository Tradition

The position of Abraham in early Judaism is far too well documented to justify another treatment.[42] But since Paul is in debate precisely with his contemporaries' understanding of Abraham, we should at least sketch that understanding. There is, however, the methodological problem of circularity in approaching the Jewish literature. First, one is using the Jewish literature to illuminate the character of Paul's opponents. Second, there is a wide array of Jewish literature which discusses Abraham. Therefore, we have to make a choice about prioritising the literature which most resembles Paul's opponents.

Two things alleviate this situation, however. First, there is considerable uniformity in the tradition, and so the issue is not very complex. Second, Paul expresses the position he is opposing, in Rom 4.2: that Abraham was declared righteous *subsequent to* and *because of* his obedience, his faithfulness under trial. The evidence from the Jewish texts satisfies the criterion of multiple attestation. The first trajectory begins with Sirach and 1 Maccabees:

> Abraham was a great father of many nations, and no-one was found like him in glory, who kept the Law of the Most High (*ὃς συνετήρησε νόμον ὑψίστου*), and entered into covenant with Him, and established the covenant in his flesh, and was found faithful in testing (*ἐν πειρασμῷ εὑρέθη πιστός*). (Sir 44.19-20)

> Was not Abraham found faithful in temptation and it was reckoned to him as righteousness? (*Ἀβραὰμ οὐχὶ ἐν πειρασμῷ εὑρέθη πιστὸς, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην;*) (1 Macc 2.52)

A second tradition also originates with Sirach, developing in Jubilees and CD:[43]

> This is the tenth trial with which Abraham was tried, and he was found faithful, controlled of spirit. [He begged for a place for burial in the land] because he was found faithful and he was recorded as a friend of the Lord in the heavenly tablets. (Jub 19.8-9; cf. 23.9-10)

CD, which cites Jubilees as having considerable authority,[44] records Abraham as the friend of God in a similar way:

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42 See esp. J.B. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul's Epistle to the Galatians* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1892) 158-164; Hansen, *Abraham in Galatians*, 175-199; see also comments on Rom 4 in the commentaries of Barrett, Cranfield and Schmithals.

43 The texts had too wide an impact to have been produced by the Qumran community in its developed, sectarian form. This is shown by the survival of Jub in many different versions, and its eventual entry into the Ethiopian canon: similarly, the survival of CD in the Cairo Geniza is informative.

44 See, in particular CD 10:8-11 (also CD 16:4-5 which refers to the book by name), and discussion in M. Abegg, P. Flint, E. Ulrich, eds. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000) 197-198.

> Abraham did not walk in it (*sc.* evil), and he was accounted a friend of God because he kept the commandments of God and did not choose his own will. (CD 3:2-4).

This second trajectory, by the 'criterion of multiple attestation' confirms that the first tradition is not unique. Because the same elements are found in Jubilees and Sirach, the tradition is very early. Furthermore, it survives in a fairly stable form as Judaism fragments into more diverse groups:[45] very similar traditions can be seen in Josephus and the Mishnah as well.[46]

3.1.3 Exegesis of 4.2

Moo explains well the transition between 4.1 and 4.2: 'The flow of thought may be paraphrased: "What shall we say about Abraham? For if we say he was justified by works, he has reason to boast, and my claim in 3:27-28 that all boasting is excluded is called into question." The question about Abraham's being justified by works is no idle one'.[47]

Here, the position against which Paul is arguing is the misconception that Abraham might have been justified on the basis of his works.[48] Two points are important here and need to be clarified. First, the *order* in which the events of Abraham's history took place. This justification of Abraham, in what Käsemann calls the 'Jewish expository tradition', was not eschatological justification (distinguishing it from the vindication we saw in Chapter 1), nor was it justification at the beginning of his covenant relationship, accompanying God's promise to and call of Abraham. Rather it is an event which takes place at some point subsequent to the promise and Abraham's belief, as well to his obedience to the commandments. Thus, in the five accounts of *Abraham's actions* leading to a *divine verdict*, we see this pattern:

Sirach:	Circumcision -> Was found faithful
Jubilees:	Trials -> Found faithful -> Recorded as friend of God
CD:	Kept commandments of God -> Accounted as friend of God
1 Maccabees:	Trial(s) -> Abraham found faithful -> Justification
M. Ned.:	Obedience to commandments (esp. circumcision) -> Perfection

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45 There is, however, disagreement over what it was in particular that Abraham was 'doing': e.g. in Jubilees Abraham obeyed actual Torah commandments which his descendants subsequently forgot, hence the need for Sinai; in Philo, he obeys the unwritten Torah, and so forth.

46 AJ I. 233-234, m. Kidd. 4.14, m. Ned. 3.11.

47 Moo, *Romans*, 260.

48 Whether the conditional clause is real or imaginary makes little difference theologically. Schlier is agnostic, Lambrecht argues that the protasis is an irrealis but the apodosis is a realis ('Boasting in Rom 3,27 and 4,2', 29). Käsemann's view, that the whole is a realis (*Romans*, 106), is most likely.

What we find in all these is that faith/faithfulness becomes evident subsequent to trials, rather than *preceding* them, as in the Biblical account. So, justification is *subsequent to* trials and to being-found-faithful. Being recorded 'as a friend of God' which is the result of obedient faithfulness in Jubilees and CD is a functional equivalent to justification.[49]

Second, and more important, is the implication of this, as the sequence in itself is not of absolute importance. As we shall see, the question of *order* plays no role in the discussion of David in 4.6-8. Crucial to the Jewish presentation of Abraham is that he was righteous on the basis of his obedience at the time of his justification, and thus the divine declaration is a *descriptive* judgment. We shall see later that Paul's re-establishment of the correct sequence shows the condition of Abraham at the point of his justification: he was ungodly, rather than faithful, and God's declaration of justification is emphatically *not* descriptive.

What is it, then, which *results* in justification, and is not merely antecendent to it? In Sirach it is not clear: each element is merely connected by a καὶ which could be causal, or temporal, or merely a loose connective. However, Sir 44.20 does contain the crucial phrase ἐν πειρασμῷ εὑρέθη πιστός which also comes in 1 Maccabees, and (in the Latin text) in Jubilees: 'haec temptatio decima in qua inuentus est ... abraham fidelis' (19.8). On its own, this phrase might be quite innocuous, explaining how Abraham's faith was shown to be effective in his temptations. But this leads to his justification. In 1 Maccabees, it is Abraham's 'being-found-faithful-in-testing' that is the subject of the verb ἐλογίσθη: or, if the verb is impersonal, the first half of the sentence, as the antecedent, is causative. Similarly in CD, Abraham is a friend (of God) *because he kept the commands of God* (בשמרו מזות אל). It is faithful obedience that is counted for righteousness by God.[50]

The Scope of 'works'

Abraham in the Jewish expository tradition was not marked out merely by his circumcision (though it was very significant) but was thought of as sinless and a friend of God because of his comprehensive obedience. In Sir 44, he fulfils Torah in a general and comprehensive sense, and is faithful in offering Isaac. In m. Ned. 3.11, circumcision is the greatest commandment which Abraham fulfilled, but he is also described as obedient in all his other religious duties.[51] T. Abr. talks about Abraham's perfection in all his deeds, just as Prayer of Manasseh notes his sinlessness.[52] Wright's position here is

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49 We saw the pairing of *iustitia* and *amicitia* in Jub 30 in Chapter 1 above.

50 Schreiner is wrong, however, to say that 'all Jews believed that Abraham's works flowed from God's grace' (*Romans*, 216).

51 'Great is circumcision, for despite all the religious duties which Abraham our father fulfilled, he was not called perfect until he was circumcized' (m. Ned. 3.11; see Hansen, *Abraham in Galatians*, 195).

52 'For if he sees all those engaged in sin, he will destroy everything. *For behold, Abraham has not sinned* and has no mercy on sinners' (T. Abr. 10; 17; but nb. 9.3); 'Lord, the God of the righteous, you have not ordained repentance for the righteous – for Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, those who have not sinned against you – but you have ordained repentance for me, a sinner' (Pr. Man. 8-9).

easier to counter, as he narrows the scope of 'works of Torah' more boldly to circumcision, Sabbath and food-laws: Abraham's 'works' in the Jewish tradition can easily be seen to be much more wide-ranging. Dunn's position is more awkward because of the vagueness of his definition, which covers the range of 'obedience to everything that the law requires' to a focus on certain key aspects of the law which mark Israel out as distinctive. As Dunn protests in his response to Cranfield, there is nothing wrong with this in principle. However, in the exegesis of the key texts, it is always the ethnic distinctiveness of the works which takes centre stage.

Dunn and Wright both use the covenantal character of the works to construct an unhelpful opposition: 'Paul is not speaking about "good works" done by Abraham, but about faithful obedience to what God requires', which for the rest of Israel translates into 'a faithfulness focused particularly in the obligations which marked them off most clearly as the seed of Abraham, as the children of Israel the people of the law (circumcision, food laws, sabbath in particular...).' *But is Dunn's contrast 'not good works' but 'faithful obedience to what God requires' (especially in terms of the particularly distinctive practices of circumcision etc) a valid one?* As Cranfield points out, Paul refers in Rom 9.11 to the election of Jacob not Esau before either of the twins had done anything good or bad.[53] Again, there is Wright's rather slanted point that the question in 4.1-2 is 'not whether or not Abraham was a good moralist but whether those who are in Christ have become Abraham's family according to the flesh'.[54] This is not to argue a case for Jewish claims to abstract virtue; the point is merely that ἔργα νόμου is comprehensive obedience to the Torah. Dunn and Wright both leave out of the either/ or the covenantal *obedience which the Torah demands*. Again, reaction to Reformation thought has led merely to a different kind of one-sidedness.

The Function of 'works'

The formula 'justified by works' here clearly harks back to Rom 3.20. We saw there that Israel's failure to obey Torah had led Paul to a theological conclusion about the weakness of πᾶσα σάρξ. What is at stake here is whether the works have a purely identificatory and evidential value, or whether they were also thought to lead to a certain divine verdict. The Jewish tradition maintained that Abraham's endurance under trial led directly to his justification. The New Perspective has missed the crucial implication of this for understanding Paul's response to this Jewish tradition. In the Jewish scheme, this endurance under trial preceded the justification of a faithful Abraham; in Paul's scheme, it must have followed it. Works are conceived by New Perspective interpreters as social markers, not as the results of striving and moral effort. *But*, Paul maintains that while Abraham was certainly 'strengthened in his *faith*' (4.19-20) he was weak in the flesh: his body was νενεκρωμένον. Paul's point in 3.20 was the impossibility of the justification of πᾶσα σάρξ, through works of Torah, and he will explain later that the Torah is weakened by the flesh (8.3). The arguments in 3.20 and 8.3 are related because both describe the role of Torah in salvation history (as does 4.15). So Paul could not expect

53 Cranfield, "Works of the Law", 97.

54 Wright, 'Romans and the Theology of Paul', 41.

that Abraham endured his trials in the weakness of the flesh, prior to his justification. Justification, however, opens up a whole sphere of new life in which obedience to God *is* possible. We saw above in Chapter 3 how Paul contrasts the weakness of the flesh which cannot obey God with the person renewed by the Spirit who can be and is obedient to God (Rom 2.25-29; 2.14-15). This applies both on the large canvas of the relation between Old Covenant (flesh) and New Covenant (spirit) in salvation history, but also on an individual level. Only after Abraham's justification can obedience be possible and valid: trials of Abraham in his natural, 'unjustified' state would merely confirm his situation under God's judgment.

Since Paul has been opposing Jewish confidence about justification with reference to Jewish sin, it is no surprise that we see the same here. The main difference consists in the transposition of justification from the eschatological setting, which dominated Chapter 1 (and Rom 2), to the realm of Abraham's early experience. Paul opposes a Jewish confidence in Abraham's justification by works with his 'Not before God!'. In 4.5 he will explain Abraham's justification as the justification of the ungodly, and we will see the same with David. The issue is not works as national boundary markers, but works defined as the comprehensive obedience to God which is required for justification. These demands may appear to be met by Abraham (and by Israel) in the opinion of others, 'but *not* before God'.

3.2 Abraham's Boast in Rom 4.2

> Behold, I am a hundred and seventy-five years old, and throughout all of the days of my life I have been remembering the Lord, and sought with all my heart to do his will and walk uprightly in all his ways. I hated idols, and those who serve them I have rejected. And I have offered my heart and spirit so that I might be careful to do the will of the one who created me. (Jub 21.1-3)

This boast of Abraham here fits very well with the claims to blamelessness that we saw in Chapter 2. Abraham obeyed God's commands, and he had confidence of acceptance before God on *that* basis. In other texts, this boast describes how Abraham was distinctive because of his faithfulness: he was the glory of his contemporaries (Sir 44.7), with a claim to boast like the rich man who, unlike most others, did not succumb to greed (Sir 34.5-11). In Rom 4.2, Paul describes the basis for boasting which would have belonged to Abraham, had he lived up to these claims made for him. As Thielman puts it, 'his [Paul's] focus ... is on whether Abraham's "works" were sufficient to result in his justification and so to form a legitimate ground for boasting'.[55]

Over this schema, this pattern of *works -> justification-> boast*, Paul writes 'NOT BEFORE GOD!' Initially, it might seem (*does* seem, to Cranfield, Dunn, Moo, Lambrecht, Käsemann and Barrett) that this denies the whole of 4.2ab, rather than simply

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55 Thielman, *Paul and the Law*, 185.

defining the boast.[56] But Sanday and Headlam[57] and many German commentators see Paul as *qualifying* his previous statement. Wilckens' *Brief an die Römer* argues that the boast could be valid 'nur im sarkischen Bereich, vor Menschen... aber nicht vor Gott' (261-262); Schlier's commentary acknowledges the possibility that Paul concedes a boast to Abraham before men (123).

The first reason for this reading is that some of the earliest polemic against the opponents of Christianity was that they sought to justify themselves before men. In particular, in Luke 16.15, Jesus says to 'the Pharisees who loved money', "You are the ones who justify yourselves in the eyes of men, but God knows your hearts. What is highly valued among men is detestable in God's sight' (Lk 16.15; cf 18.9-14; 10.25ff). So, especially in the context of boasting, Paul might want to clarify the sphere that he was interested in, namely the sphere πρὸς θεόν. Secondly, there is the important way in which Abraham is portrayed in the Jewish literature. For example, πάντες οὗτοι ἐν γενεαῖς ἐδοξάσθησαν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτῶν καύχημα (Sir 44.7). Furthermore, οὐχ εὑρέθη ὅμοιος ἐν τῇ δόξῃ. As Cranfield says, 'if anyone has a right to glory, Abraham must have'.[58] So, within the framework of Abraham having a 'fame', a 'glory' among his contemporaries, it is not inconceivable again that Paul's initial premise would be accepted, because the καύχημα (same word in Sir 44.7 and Rom 4.2) was understood in terms of a fame among contemporaries, and perhaps human descendants.

Barrett argues that this reading 'evacuates the particle (γάρ) [in 4.3] of argumentative force'. But 4.3 follows naturally from Paul's concern for the divine sphere, which is the focus in 4.3. There is more of a 'limiting' or 'specifying' character to ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς θεόν than many commentators see. This conditional sentence, with its post-script, dispels the view that Abraham was justified before God as a result of his faithfulness in his trials. We now turn to the real pattern of Abraham's justification which Paul puts in its place.

3.3 Abraham's Justification in Rom 4.3

While the faith/ works antithesis is by no means as stark as has been maintained in some traditional formulations of justification and interpretations of Rom 4, there is nevertheless a faith/ works contrast in our verse here. The reckoning of faith as righteousness, that is to say, the divine declarative action that decides in favour of Abraham because of his faith, is set in contrast to understandings of Abraham's justification taking place on the basis of works. Paul defines Abraham's faith in some detail in 4.19-21 where Abraham does not weaken in doubt of God's promise, but rather is strengthened in faith and gives glory to God, thoroughly convinced that God can and will carry it out. 4.22 concludes:

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56 In part, since πρὸς is not commonly used as a preposition describing the direction of a boast. Much more common are ἐν, ὑπὲρ, περὶ and ἐπι. ἐπὶ also means 'against' in the boasting context.

57 Sanday/ Headlam, *Romans*, 100: 'Perhaps he has before men, but not before God.'

58 Cranfield, *Romans*, 224; similarly, Thielman, *Paul and the Law*, 184.

'διὸ καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην'. This portrayal of Abraham as recipient of divine promise differs from the Jewish portrayal of Abraham as one who carries out the commandments[59] (m. Ned. 3.11) and obeys the commandments of God (CD 3.2-4) for his justification. With Paul, Abraham is justified simply at the point at which he trusted the promise, before he had obeyed any of the commandments.[60]

Crucial to Paul's presentation, then, is the re-establishment of the biblical sequence of faith, *then* justification, *then* obedience to the commandments. At the point of his justification, Abraham was an ungodly idolater: he simply believed God's promise. Paul is eager to separate as to function (an uncontroversial point, noted by almost every commentator) *faith* and *works*, which in Jewish thought were inseparable. This flags up a key point: that Paul is conceiving of justification from two different aspects in Rom 2 and Rom 4. Rom 2.13, after all, talked of a final, eschatological justification, which is according to works, and we noted in Chapter 1 a very similar setting for justification in James 2. Here, however, Paul is talking about the justification that Abraham received in his early experience in Gen 15.6: the justification which accompanies Abraham's belief in the promise that God had revealed to him. This justification comes entirely on the basis of faith: that is to say, belief of that promise. Rom 5.1 is another clear example of this justification 'already', which is entirely on the basis of faith. The temporal distinction in view here is crucial. And we have seen that even more important is the spiritual condition of Abraham at his justification. Gen 15.6 concerns the justification of the ungodly: God's declaration of Abraham as righteous was not a descriptive word (*pace* 1 Macc) but the creative word of the God who calls τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς ὄντα. According to Paul, the Jewish understanding of Abraham prior to his justification is rather wishful thinking.[61]

3.4 Paul's Target in Rom 4.4-5

The chief issue to be faced here is whether one can 'mirror-read' the commercial metaphor. Is there evidence that Paul is being polemical in his use of the 'working' language in 4.4-5? We saw above in Chapter 1 that the Jewish literature, contrary to the (now) standard view of Jewish soteriology, speaks very frequently of 'commutative justice', that is, in terms of commercial metaphors, or metaphors of repayment (e.g., among others, Pss. Sol. 2.34; 9.1-5; T. Job 4.6-7; Or. Sib. 2.304; LAB 3.10; 2 En. 2.2; 45.1-2). So, there is no need to describe Rom 4.4-5 as a 'secondary metaphor' that does

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59 Thus Neusner's translation: Danby describes Abraham as 'fulfill[ing] religious duties'.

60 The declare/ make righteous antithesis is somewhat problematised here, as God's declaration of the ungodly to be righteous creates a new reality which is 'the case'. This is not, however, an infusion of moral righteousness. As Gal 5.17 shows, Paul retains a theology of 'simul Iustus et peccator'.

61 In Genesis, Abraham's visit to Egypt highlights his failure, as he claims that Sarah was his sister: in Jubilees, however, it is another test of Abraham's faith, in which Abraham is found faithful. 'In the matter of Sarah, Pharaoh is said to have seized her and then been punished by the Lord: i.e. Abraham is whitewashed (Jub 13.13)' (Carson, *Divine Sovereignty*, 60). Abraham is sinless in Jub. and Pr. Man., although 'this is not how God sees him' (Cranfield, *Shorter Commentary*, 84).

not mirror Jewish theology.[62] Neither is Paul arguing 'simply that in the case of Gen 15:6 the whole language of "payment due" is inappropriate' (Dunn), without reference to the views of his actual opponents. Still less is is the commercial metaphor a 'point of fundamental agreement' between Paul and Judaism, which 'would not be disputed by any typical Jewish reader'.[63] The soteriology of Second-Temple Judaism more than justifies a 'mirror-reading' in this case.

Fitzmyer rightly focuses on the important background of the 'heavenly ledger' as a guiding image accompanying the language of 'reckoning'. Just as we saw in Jubilees 30 the inscription of righteousness in the heavenly ledger resulting from the deeds of the sons of Jacob, so here the same model obtains for Paul. The two types of person in question, the 'worker' and the 'believer' are, in this short passage at least, mutually exclusive. They exemplify two ways to justification, in the sense of *initial* acceptance by God. The 'worker', then, seeks God's declaration of his favour on the basis of works, and as Schreiner notes, 'in 4:4-5 the works in question are contrasted with believing. The obedience that flows from faith surely results in good works, but here Paul is speaking about works that are not rooted in faith'.[64] The worker (whether Paul's interlocutor or his contemporaries *en masse*, there is no difference because the former is a representative of the latter) is, for Paul, one who does not have a proper relationship of trust in God (as argued on Rom 2.1ff in Chapter 3) but who is confident in comprehensive obedience to Torah. This is the case even though the worker himself might see his faith and works as intermingled.

The believer, on the other hand, does not work, but only trusts. It is at this point that we see the reason why the 'worker' was going down the wrong track: he had misjudged God, not realising him to be the god who justifies the *ungodly*.[65] God does not accept people into relationship with himself on the basis of deeds. However, the 'believer' who is not concerned with 'works' in approaching God shares in the same destiny as Abraham: his faith leads to the divine verdict that he is righteous.

So we see, that against the backdrop of a hypothetical entry into right status before God on the basis of obedience, Paul insists that Abraham is ungodly when he is justified.[66] This, because of Abraham's fatherhood of Israel, obtains for all Israel as well.[67] The contrast is, as Dunn says, between earning and gratuity, but that does not imply Dunn's gloss on the contrast: 'Paul asserts in one shockingly crisp phrase that God accepts sinners who put their trust in him without requiring them to express that trust through the hallowed rituals of cult and law... This is why Abraham is such a crucial test case. If he was declared righteous by God apart from any covenant ritual or obligation then he demonstrates that God's righteousness extends to all who have faith without

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62 Wright, 'Romans and the Theology of Paul', 41

63 Dunn, *Theology of Paul the Apostle*, 367.

64 Schreiner, *Romans*, 220n18.

65 This is the key for Käsemann (cf Moo, *Romans*, 264). Barrett lists the passages in the OT with which this *theologoumenon* particularly jars: Ex 23.7; Prov 17.15; Is 5.23 (*Romans*, 88-89).

66 Dodd expresses this particularly clearly (*Romans*, 90).

67 Again, Ego's description of Abraham as 'Israel-in-miniature' is relevant here.

reference to any such works of the law'.[68] Issues of covenant ritual are not relevant here.

We can negotiate this with reference to the commentaries of Dunn and Moo. First, Moo: 'the reward of righteousness must not be dependent on work – for God is never obliged by his creatures... That God acts toward his creatures graciously – without compulsion or necessity – is one of Paul's nonnegotiable theological axioms' (263). Moo rightly anchors justification here in Paul's doctrine of God, but we have already noted the unhelpful skewing of the debate with phrases such as 'putting God in one's debt' or God being 'obliged by his creatures'.[69] On the other hand, Dunn goes to the other extreme, arguing that Paul does not polemicise against reward here because Paul and Judaism are in agreement about the gracious way in which God deals with humanity. However, Paul is in dialogue with a Jewish expository tradition of an Abraham who was justified by his obedience, and rejects this tradition explicitly, not implicitly, in 4.4-5. Since Second-Temple Jewish soteriology was frequently described in terms of 'reward' or 'payment', Dunn and Wright are wrong to exclude 'mirror-reading' of 4.4-5 on the grounds that this more traditional interpretation does not cohere with Jewish thought of the time.

3.5 Justification without Works: Exegesis of 4.6-8

We might then proceed to ask: What then are the conditions under which this justification comes? The principal answer in 4.3-5 was before any works have been performed, when Abraham was an ungodly idolater on receiving God's promise. But in 4.6-8, Paul talks about justification without works as forgiveness of the ungodly Israelite *within the covenant*. There was, as with Abraham, an exegetical tradition where David was accepted by God and justified on the basis of his works. CD talks about David's works, apart from the murder of Uriah going up before God,[70] and 4QMMT bases its concluding exhortation of justification through obedience on (among others) David being a 'man of righteous deeds' (איש חסדים) and his resulting salvation from afflictions and forgiveness.

Here again, crucially, there is a challenge in 4.6-8 to the New Perspective understanding of justification by faith apart from works. Paul is not saying here that justification becomes accessible to gentiles, because it is not based on accepting the yoke of Torah: rather he is talking about one who is within the covenant who can be righteous before God despite his sin, and lack of works. In 4.6 David is introduced as the speaker who is describing his own experience of God reckoning righteousness to him 'without works', that is, as one who is disobedient. As Schreiner puts it, 'Scholars who detect a reference to boundary markers separating Jews from gentiles in the term ἔργα have not appreciated the testimony of David sufficiently...[71] The sins of David obviously had nothing to do with boundary markers or the excluding of Gentiles from the promise. Paul

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68 Dunn, *Romans*, 228-229.

69 Barrett and Nygren (among others) also refer to 'merit' here.

70 See de Roo, 'David's Deeds in the Dead Sea Scrolls', *DSD* 6.1 (1999) 44-65.

71 Schreiner follows Byrne, *Romans*, 149.

is doubtless thinking of his moral failures, particularly his transgression relating to Bathsheba and Uriah.'[72] It might be objected (by some New Perspective adherents) that David has placed himself outside the covenant by his transgression. That may well be so: in which case, Paul is conceiving of the entirety of Israel as under sin, and outside of the covenant since they are χωρὶς ἔργων νόμου. (His Jewish interlocutor is also, representatively, guilty of adultery). Jew and gentile alike, then, are in need of justification apart from obedience to Torah.

The point that 4.6-8 concerns one who is within Israel's covenant, yet who is justified without works is strengthened, not weakened by 4.9ff. In 4.9ff Paul presumes that the μακαρισμὸς pronounced in 4.6-8 is pronounced 'upon circumcision'. 4.9ff extends that to gentiles as well. In other words, having established that justification without works of Torah applies to the Jew, he then argues that it applies to gentiles also. So, justification of the ungodly without works is the justification of both gentile and Jew, neither of whom have works of Torah. *It is crucial to recognise that the New Perspective interpretation of 4.1-8 falls to the ground on this point: that David although circumcised, Sabbatarian, and kosher, is described as χωρὶς ἔργων because of his disobedience.*

Conclusion to 3.27-4.8

The purpose here was to provide the raw material to answer the questions that are central to modern scholarly discussions of Rom 3.27-4.8. It remains now to summarise criticisms of the New Perspective and briefly recap the alternative exegesis put forward.

First Criticism: Polemic against works as demarcatory? (Function of Works)

The first problem here concerned 'justification by works of Torah' referring primarily to demarcation of the covenant people by works of Torah. This requires the added complication of a hidden middle term, which is unnecessary because of the soteriological conclusions we came to in Chapter 1 about works being the basis for final vindication in early Jewish thought. Neither is Paul saying in Rom 4.1-8 that ' "works of Torah" are clearly not involved as demarcating Abraham (or for that matter, David) as god's covenant people'.[73] The Jewish expository tradition, summarised by Paul in Rom 4.2, asserts that works were the means whereby Abraham (and thus Israel) was justified: obedience was not just an indication of their justification. In 1 Macc 2.52 (cf CD), it is Abraham's 'being-found-faithful-in-testing' that is the subject of the verb phrase 'was reckoned as righteousness'. The ἐξ ἔργων of 4.2 is in contrast with ἐκ πίστεως (from LXX Hab 2.4) in e.g. Rom 1.17 and 5.1, and in both cases the preposition denotes instrumental agency. The exegesis of the Jewish texts we saw in Chapter 1 entirely validates an understanding of Rom 4.2 and 4.4 in terms of commutative justice. The antithesis that Hays, Dunn and Wright construct, between obeying the Torah *as a means to* righteousness and elements of the Torah *marking out* the righteous, is false. A distinction between commutative justice and covenantal markers would be entirely foreign

72 Schreiner, *Romans*, 219.

73 Wright, 'Romans and the Theology of Paul', 40.

to Paul.

The second difficulty is like unto it: emphasis on identity markers neglects the fact that effort is involved in obedience, effort which is impossible 'in the flesh'. This opens up a place for anthropology in the discussion of justification: Paul and his Jewish contemporaries clearly disagree about whether human obedience without transformation by Christ and the Spirit can ever be the basis for justification. The effect of an emphasis on exclusion vs inclusion is that the anthropological issue is often side-stepped.

Second Criticism: Limitation of "works of Torah" (Nature of Works)

We have examined the view that 'works of Torah' were (or focused particularly on) Sabbath, circumcision and food laws. This is at odds, however, with Paul's repeated accusations of Israel's lack of obedience, which is summed up as their failure to be justified by works of Torah: works of Torah refers to the obedience to Torah in general, that Israel has not lived up to. The parallel between Rom 3.27 and 9.30ff also caused particular problems: 9.30ff and the νόμος ἔργων in 3.27 point to the mistaken approach to Torah in general. There is also no indication of specific focus on Sabbath, food laws, and circumcision in Abraham's case: Abraham's obedience can refer to circumcision, or to obedience to Torah in general, or to his willingness to sacrifice Isaac.[74] The 'marker' of being a member of the covenant, if such an expression is appropriate, is precisely the obedience to *whatever* God requires. In the Jewish mindset, as we have seen, comprehensive obedience to Torah led to righteousness and vindication at the eschaton, within the framework of commutative justice. Dunn's ambiguity is problematic: while he retains the importance of the whole Torah, the emphasis shifts towards the 'especially focused on...'. Similarly misleading is the antithesis in Dunn and Wright of moral works *versus* boundary markers. Again, the cash value is a move away from concern with the commutative justice of Jewish soteriology, and towards a polemic against exclusivism.

Third Criticism: χωρὶς ἔργων νόμου

We saw that the New Perspective's understanding of justification apart from works of Torah primarily as a reference to the justification of gentiles without reference to their needing to observe Torah ran aground on 3.21. Here, Paul notes that the righteousness of God comes χωρὶς νόμου to Israel as well. David, it was noted, was 'smoking gun' proof that the reference of χωρὶς νομῶν was not to 'outside the sphere of the Torah', but to disobedience and ungodliness in Israel. Further, the transition from 3.28 to 3.29, reckoned to be evidence for the New Perspective, failed to prove the case.

Summary of Exegesis

Having assembled the criticisms of the New Perspective, we can now summarise the constructive alternatives put forward in this chapter.

First, the question of justification by works. Misunderstanding of Abraham and misunderstanding of the Law of Moses are chicken-and-egg. Seeing Abraham as a model of works leading to justification leads to an interpretation of Torah primarily in those

74 Though circumcision is one of the ten trials that Abraham went through.

terms. And seeing the Torah as primarily about *commandments* leads to a misunderstanding of Abraham. Paul in 3.27-4.5 wants to correct both misunderstandings with two correspondingly related truths: that Abraham is a model of faith, and that the Torah is also centred around faith.

Second, and central here, the boasts that Israel and Abraham would have had, but did not. We have seen the abundant options in the Second-Temple period for individuals and groups being confident before God on the basis of *both* election *and* their obedience to Torah. The sequence "obedience -> justification -> boasting" (confidence on the basis of obedience that results in justification) fits very well both with this Jewish background and with Rom 3.27 and 4.2, as we saw above.

Third, the constructive view of justification that Paul puts forward. In 3.28, justification is simply expressed as taking place on the basis of faith, and in 3.29, under exactly the same conditions for Jew and gentile. In Rom 4, Paul locates justification at the beginning of Abraham's life with God: when Abraham is justified, it is on the basis of trust alone, while he is in a state of 'ungodliness'. David's justification comes, similarly, in his state of ungodly sinfulness subsequent to his adultery and murder. Abraham was justified 'without works' because his obedience was irrelevant to his justification, and (not so commonly recognised) because he was an ungodly idolater; David was also 'without works' because of his sinful actions. In both cases, Paul locates justification and forgiveness purely in divine decision on the basis of faith, rather than attributing any role to obedience. Furthermore, we see here that Paul is not merely concerned about the issue which the New Perspective flags up as central to Galatians, that is, the conditions under which gentiles are included in the people of God.[75] Rather, Paul is concerned here about the conditions under which sinful Israelites are accepted by God - above all because Paul is engaged in a diatribe with 'ὁ Ἰουδαῖος'.

Fourth, the feature of Judaism to which Paul is objecting. In 3.28, he is arguing against the view that obedience to Torah is the way to justification. He argues this not merely because it would mean the exclusion of gentiles, but because it would mean exclusion of everyone, including the Jewish nation. In 4.4-5 he develops this with the position that there is no-one who is justified κατὰ ὀφείλημα. The presupposition that Abraham is father of the Jewish nation means that the soteriological pattern that obtained for him will apply to them: as Ego has argued, Abraham was construed as Israel-in-miniature. But Jewish thought made the mistake of conforming Abraham to their soteriology based on commutative justice, rather than conforming their own pattern to that of Abraham. If the pattern of Abraham had been followed, then the rôle of the law would have been understood correctly as providing ἐπίγνωσις ἁμαρτίας. We saw that on the basis of the findings in Chapter 1, there is no reason why one should not (carefully) mirror read Rom 4.4-5. On the basis of the Jewish evidence, and exegesis of Paul, there is no warrant for Dunn's statement that 'The connection of thought in 3:20 does not run directly from "works of the law" to "shall be justified" and is not aimed directly at works

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75 I would, however, argue that the issue of justification by faith apart from works of Torah had already been resolved in advance of the Antioch incident, hence Paul's stinging rebuke of Peter, and appeal to common knowledge of the *theologoumenon* in 2.16.

of the law *as a means to achieving* righteousness and acquittal.'[76]

The New Perspective is helpful in that it corrects some of the lack of historical particularism of traditional approaches, but it is wrong to downgrade anthropological concerns, when for Paul, the Torah brings them to the fore, as can be seen from Rom 7.13 and 8.3. Works are not simply boundary-defining works: the sociological approach discusses the *social* function of Torah observance - and especially the effect of the more distinctive practices - from a 'bird's eye view'. But this does not take account of *what the participants perceive themselves to be doing*, in this case observing Torah with a view to final vindication by God on the basis of obedience.

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76 Dunn, *Romans*, 159.

Chapter 5

The Resurrection of Boasting in Romans 5.1-11

Introduction

Rom 5.1-11 is not a contentious passage as far as our discussion is concerned.[1] Most of the debated matters have been discussed above already, and here we need to examine Paul's conclusions about boasting in the light of what we have seen in the previous chapters. However, there is a puzzle to be solved. How can Paul talk of 'boasting in God' in 2.17, roundly exclude it in 3.27, and then reintroduce it in 5.11? Was C.H. Dodd right to say that by letting boasting in through the back door, Paul does not follow through the logical conclusion of his position?

The discussion here will be confined to three areas. Initially, it will be suggested that 5.1-11 is in some sense a climax to Paul's discussion so far, in the face of the assumption that 5.1-11 is the introduction to a new section, viz. Rom 5-8. Secondly, the more substantial aim is to examine the character of the boasts (5.2, 5.3, 5.11). Thirdly, we will examine the question of the relation of these boasts to what we have seen in Rom 2-4, in particular, the discontinuity and continuity between the boast in God in 2.17 and the boast in God in 5.11.

1. The Status of Rom 5.1-11 in the Structure of Romans

First, then the thesis of Nils Dahl that Rom 5.1-11 is the beginning of a new section of the letter. His argument that 5.1-11 contains *in nuce* the key elements that Paul will later expound in chapter 8 has been extremely persuasive for many commentators ever since.[2] His article begins with an impressive-looking list of parallels between the two sections, consisting of thirteen comparisons, which derive from ten out of the eleven verses of the

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1 However, Cranfield, *Romans*, 255: 'A truly remarkable variety of suggested titles for this section and its component sub-sections is to be seen in the commentaries... there is nothing like a consensus with regard either to the exact function of this section within the structure of the epistle or to the exact function within this section of its component subsections'.

2 See N.A. Dahl, 'Two Notes on Romans 5', *ST* 5 (1952) 37-48 (esp. 37-42). In agreement are, e.g. Cranfield (*Romans*, 253-254) and Fitzmyer, for whom Rom 5ff are 'Part B' (*Romans*, 393).

first half of Chapter 5.[3] However, there are two criticisms in particular which can be levelled at Dahl. First, that many of the parallels are somewhat tenuous, and secondly, he does not mention any of the (arguably more striking) parallels between 5.1-11 and what *precedes*. Thirdly, we shall see it is perhaps difficult to talk of a 'most important line of division' in the first place.

So first, the parallels which he adduces. Some are quite impressive (e.g. 5.1 with 8.1) and there are certainly themes from 5.1-11 which are more fully explained in Rom 8, such as δόξα, ἔλπις, sufferings, and the Holy Spirit. But some rely on simple lexical connections, as with the (effectively) one occurrence of ὑπομονή in 5.4 and one in 8.25. And towards the end, the parallels become very generalised: the now/not yet tension in both 5.8/8.31 and 5.9/8.30; mention of Christ's death in 5.6 and 8.37; comparison of 5.10 with 8.33ff, and 5.11's 'καυχώμενοι ἐν τῷ θεῷ' with '8.31-39 passim'.

Second, then, the parallels between 5.1-11 and the preceding. Dahl's parallels are not to be ignored, but what is questionable is 'the fact that chapt. 8 develops the themes from 5.1-11 proves that those commentators are in the right who see the most important line of division within 3.21-8.39 lying between 4.25 and 5.1'.[4] The connections between 5.1-11 and what precedes are impressive, and have not escaped the notice of commentators. 'This paragraph is tightly bound thematically to 3:21-4.25 through the catchwords "justified" (vv.1, 9), "boast" (vv. 2f, 11), and "glory of God" (v.2), and the theme of atonement and reconciliation through Christ'.[5] 'Peace' also comes in 2.10, 3.17; grace ('χάρις') has obviously been a key theme in 3.21-4.25, and is important in Paul's argument about Torah in 5.12-6.23, but the term disappears from view in Chapter 8. The reference to the death of Christ in 5.6-8 looks back to 3.21-26 (and specifically in the use of the exact same phrase 'in his blood' in 5.9 and 3.25) as well as forward to Rom 6, 8.3 and 8.32. The phrase καυχώμεθα ἐπ' ἐλπίδι τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ certainly picks up the 'boasting' theme which has been prominent since 2.17, and the object of the boast picks up two threads from the preceding argument. The 'glory of God', as many commentators recognise, has been universally 'fallen short of', as Paul says in 3.23 (cf 2.7). Since God has promised its final restoration on the day of Christ, the solution is to 'hope' for it. As Wilckens points out, there is also a parallel between boasting 'ἐπ' ἐλπίδι' (5.2) with Abraham believing 'παρ' ἐλπίδα ἐπ' ἐλπίδι' (4.18).[6]

Dahl also argues that 'the theme in chapters 1-4 is not simply justification by faith, but the proposition that without difference Jews and Greeks have both sinned and are both justified by faith. In chapters 5-8 there is no more talk about Jews and Greeks'.[7] But Paul's discussion of Torah goes on in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 and does not finish until 8.4 (even 8.7?). Clearly Paul's dividing lines are not as sharp as Dahl's.

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3 Only v. 7 lacks a parallel.

4 Dahl, 'Two Notes', 39.

5 Stuhlmacher, *Romans*, 78.

6 Wilckens, *Brief an die Römer*, 291-292.

7 Dahl, 'Two Notes', 40.

Thirdly, it is crucial to recognise the *different kinds of divisions that occur* in Romans (compare the transitions from 1.17-18, 3.20-21, 3.26-27, 4.22-23, 4.25-5.1, 5.11-12, 5.21-6.1, 8.11, 8.39-9.1, etc). When one considers the diversity of *kinds of digression or development* that occur in Paul's narrative, it is actually very difficult to talk about one 'line of division' being 'the most important': I would not want to react to Dahl's claim by saying that Paul's concluding statement on boasting in 5.11 marks the most important climax in 3.21-8.39 either. This view (of a decisive climax at 5.11) is, according to Dunn, popular in French scholarship.[8] Or Stuhlmacher and Dunn may be correct in seeing 'a conclusion to the whole opening section' at 5.21.[9] MacDonald takes the whole of 5.1-11 to be a transitional 'literary bridge'.[10] There is no space here to resolve the question, if indeed it is possible or appropriate to do so. Moo is a good example of restraint: 'To be sure, the whole question requires caution, lest we impose on the letter a rigidly logical, dogmatically oriented outline that Paul may never have intended'.[11]

So Dahl's argument is that on the basis of form and content, 5.1 is a defining break.[12] But we have seen the problems involved in talking of a change of content, and change of form is such a regular part of Paul's narrative technique that it is hard to assess the importance of 5.1 that way. There are so many significant changes of narrative mode, or person and number, e.g. in 1.18, 2.1, 2.25, 3.1, 3.9, 3.21, 3.27, 4.23 etc, that it is difficult to conclude that 5.1 is 'the main line of division' between 3.21 and 8.39. It is also important to consider that 5.11, with its climactic statement about boasting in God, is itself one of the points of conclusion in the literary structure of Romans, whether that unit began at 1.18, 2.1, or 2.17.

2. Boasting in the Hope of the Glory of God

2.1 Rom 5.1

Paul in 5.1 begins to talk about the consequences of the justification which he has been expounding up to this point.[13] There is a question immediately, however, of whether the consequences are facts, or Christian obligations, i.e. whether one *has* peace and a boast (indicative), or, whether one *should* have (or enjoy[14]) them (subjunctive). Textual evidence favours ἔχωμεν, and Sanday and Headlam argue that 'in ἔχωμεν inference

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8 Dunn, *Romans*, 242. See also Stowers, *Rereading*, 249.

9 Dunn, *Romans*, 271. Stuhlmacher (*Romans*, 78) sees two discourses (1-5 & 6-11).

10 P.M. MacDonald, 'Romans 5.1-11 as a Rhetorical Bridge', *JSNT* 40 (1990) 83.

11 Moo, *Romans*, 291.

12 Wilckens is certainly right to identify a change of style to 'das ganz undiatribische Kapitel 5' (*Brief an die Römer*, 288n944).

13 'Paulus will zunächst zeigen, daß in der Gabe der Rechtfertigung alle andere Gaben enthalten sind' (Michel, *Römerbrief*, 176).

14 Thus, Sanday/ Headlam (*Romans*, 120): 'As to the meaning of ἔχωμεν it should be observed that it does not = "*make* peace," "get" or "obtain peace" (which would be σχῶμεν), but rather "keep" or "enjoy "peace"' (cf Ac 9.31).

and exhortation are really combined: it is a sort of light exhortation, "we *should* have"'.[15] On the other hand, however, later English language commentators point out the parallelism between the peace of God here, and the talk of the reconciliation which for Paul is a present reality.[16] Schreiner's excellent discussion notes that the general context favours an indicative,[17] and following Fitzmyer, that the words διὰ τοῦ κυρίου Χριστοῦ fit much better with an indicative.[18] This seems to tilt the balance.

The first claim which Paul makes, then, is for 'peace with God'. A few take this to be subjective peace,[19] but most modern scholars take the 'objective' view, which follows very naturally from an indicative 'ἔχομεν'. And if ἔχομεν should be an indicative, then in all likelihood so should καυχώμεθα which grammatically could go either way. So after this long first blessing of justification (23 or 25 words) comes the much shorter 'καυχώμεθα ἐπ' ἐλπίδι τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεου'.

2.2 The Character and Ground of the Boast

Michel stands almost alone in seeing the primary character of the boast as shouts of joy in worship - 'Lobpreis' or 'Jubelruf'.[20] The consensus view is that Paul refers to confidence, especially 'the hope of eschatological salvation',[21] and that 'das Vertrauen... den Charakter der Heilsgewißheit (καυχᾶσθαι) hat'.[22] This sets the boast(s) of Rom 5 firmly in continuity with what we have seen in the preceding chapters. One element of common ground between the boast of the Jew and the boast of the Christian is that both relate very much to confidence of future salvation. This 'future salvation' is specifically defined in terms of the 'hope of the glory of God' (cf Rom 2.7). This 'glory of God' is precisely that which has been forfeited, as described by Paul in Rom 3.23, and which also features in *Life of Adam and Eve* 20.2.[23] So, the divine glory which humanity had

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15 Sanday/ Headlam, *Romans*, 120.

16 Cranfield, *Romans*, 258: 'the objective state of being at peace instead of being enemies, is made clear by the parallel statements of v. 10f'; Barrett, *Romans*, 102: 'The context is not hortatory, but indicative... Paul says "we have gained our access" and "we now stand". Perhaps even more important is the fact that in vv. 10 and 11 he says "we were reconciled".'

17 Schreiner, *Romans*, 258: 'The verses as a whole emphasize the hope that believers have in Christ, not their responsibility to enjoy that hope'.

18 Schreiner, *ibid.*; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 396.

19 Cf Ambrosiaster takes the peace 'objectively', and equates it with reconciliation; Pelagius takes the peace as the peace between Jew and gentile which should be worked at; Chrysostom and Theodoret of Cyr take it to be godly living whereby the reconciliation is maintained (G. Bray, ed. *Romans* [Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1998] 125-128).

20 Michel compares καυχήσις with ἀγαλλιασις in e.g. Lk 1.47, though the latter tends to have a more 'vocal' reference (*Brief an die Römer*, 177-178).

21 Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 396.

22 Wilckens, *Brief an die Römer*, 292.

23 'And I [Eve] wept, saying, 'Why have you done this to me, that *I have been estranged from my glory* (ἀπηλλοτριώθην ἐκ τῆς δόξης μου)'.

possessed is now lacking, but will finally be restored. That is the boast here.[24]

3. Boasting in Sufferings

But Paul goes further. Not only do believers boast in the hope of the glory of God, but they also boast in *sufferings* (θλιψεῖς). The social setting of these 'sufferings' is probably the persecution of early Christians by their Jewish contemporaries, and their unstable place within Graeco-Roman society in general: 'Such passages give us glimpses of the stormy background which lies behind St Paul's Epistles'.[25] Similarly, Kuss and Schmithals say the reference is to sufferings in general, but especially persecution.[26] Barrett, Käsemann, Dunn and Stuhlmacher also highlight the tribulations that accompany the last days,[27] which Paul will later make explicit as the groaning of the cosmos in anticipation of the eschaton (Rom 8.22-23).

But there is a specific theological interpretation which Paul gives to these θλῖψεις. Paul's reason for boasting in sufferings in this verse is neither because they mark out the true people of God and thus contribute to assurance, nor especially because they are a sign of the last age, but simply because they bolster the first boast. That is to say, the simple reason Paul gives here for boasting in sufferings is that sufferings (rightly responded to) develop Christian character, and ultimately lead to hope. (This hope, which will not disappoint, was also the ground for the first boast.) It is for this reason that sufferings can actually be the *ground* of the boast. Michel's suggestion that Paul might refer in ἐν θλίψεσι to the *context*, or *situation* of the boast does not do justice to the frequency of ἐν as a preposition denoting a ground of boasting.[28]

This hope is so central for Paul in this section that it is not only the ground of the first boast and the basis of the second, but it is also the subject of vv 5-10. 5.5 is a brief gloss on the 'hope', which is then expanded in 5.6-10, a section which actually follows an identical logic to 5.5. In 5.5, the hope does not put to shame, *because* the love of God has been poured into our hearts through the Holy Spirit. That is to say, the future hope is guaranteed because of God's love in the past,[29] and 5.6-8 go on to explain that love of

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[24] The boast is eschatologically oriented, rather than existential, contra Schlier. Also Käsemann: 'In good Semitic fashion it is presupposed that "boasting" is an existential factor in human existence (Schlatter; Kuss), namely an expression of human dignity and freedom... If as Paul sees it, existence is defined by its lord, the basic understanding of existence comes to expression in boasting.' Again, contra Kuss ('der Blick des Apostels geht in die Zukunft, aber diese Zukunft ist in ihrem Wesentlichen schon gegenwärtig'), the boast does not indicate the *present* reality of what is hoped for.

[25] Sanday/ Headlam, *Romans*, 125.

[26] Schmithals, *Römerbrief*, 156; Kuss, *Römerbrief*, 204.

[27] Barrett, *Romans*, 103-104; Käsemann, *Romans*, 134; Stuhlmacher, *Romans*, 79; Dunn, *Romans*, 250.

[28] Michel, *Brief an die Römer*,178. Thus Dunn (*Romans*, 250). Most other commentators also disagree with Michel.

[29] Contra Augustine (frequently, though see e.g. *de Spir. et Litt.* 42 [xxv] and 46 [xxvi]) and N.T. Wright ('Romans and the Theology of Paul', 45), this is the love of God, rather than love for God, as Paul makes clear in the exposition of the love of God as demonstrated in the death of Christ.

God in the past. The γάρ shows that they explain 5.5, but an even stronger indication is the phrase συνίστησιν δὲ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀγάπην εἰς ἡμᾶς ὁ θεός. Then in 5.9-10, the future hope is based on God's love in the death of Christ. So, 5.5-10 belong together as an exposition of the 'hope'.

4. Boasting in God

The first question, and indeed the question that unlocks the meaning of verse 11 relates to οὐ μόνον δὲ, ἀλλὰ καὶ... . Not only *what?* The interpretations of Pelagius[30] and Lietzmann[31] can be dismissed as irrelevant to the context. Of the Fathers, Origen anticipates modern scholarship, by focusing on the 'now' of verse 11 in comparison with the future focus of what precedes.[32] Sanday & Headlam and Dunn conclude that καυχώμενοι is not directly related to any particular preceding verb, but this conclusion should be a last resort.[33] Cranfield rightly notes that Lagrange's relation of καυχώμενοι to καταλλαγέντες is strained.[34] Most commentators opt for a contrast between the future tense of what precedes, and the *present* tense of the middle participle καυχώμενοι, sometimes contrasting it with σωθησόμεθα (e.g. Cranfield).

In the face of this dissensus, Schlier's observation is crucial. He questions the point of a juxtaposition of καυχώμενοι with 'reconciled' or 'justified'. Rather, there is a parallelism here with 5.2 and 5.3:

5.2 .....καυχώμεθα ἐπ' ἐλπίδι τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεου.
5.3 οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ καυχώμεθα ἐν ταῖς θλίψεσιν, εἰδότες ὅτι κτλ
5.11 οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ καυχώμενοι ἐν τῷ θεῷ διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν

So καυχώμενοι in 5.11 is actually 'eine etwas gewaltsame Rückwendung zu jenen beiden καυχώμεθα',[35] and Paul is talking 'not only' about the entirety of 5.2-5.10. It is difficult to supply a particular verb to complete the elliptical οὐ μόνον δέ. The strength of this interpretation lies in its appreciation of the unity of 5.2-10, which are a development of the boast in hope. Having expounded the first two boasts (which are really a unity), Paul moves onto his third, which is in God. Paul is saying then, that not only does one have a boast in the hope of the glory of God, which should even find confirmation in suffering, but that one should also boast in God himself. Only then can it be affirmed with other commentators that a mild future/ present contrast is at work:

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30 'Not only shall we be granted eternal life, but we are promised a certain likeness through Christ to divine glory as well' (De Bruyn, ed. *Pelagius' Commentary*, 92).

31 'Wir haben nicht nur das negative Gefühl der beseitigten Schuld, sondern können uns positiv Gottes rühmen' (cited in Schlier, *Römerbrief*, 156).

32 Bray, ed. *Romans*, 133.

33 Sanday/ Headlam, *Romans*, 129; Dunn, *Romans*, 261.

34 Cranfield, *Romans*, 268 (& 268n4).

35 Schlier, *Römerbrief*, 157.

boasting in God *through* Christ who has granted us reconciliation now in the present. '"Here and now" (νῦν) describes the anticipation in the present of God's verdict at the judgement, the peace of the Kingdom of God'.[36]

It is not so much, then, that v.11 is the climax of an ascending tricolon; rather the first two boasts belong closely together. It might be objected that 5.2-3 and 5.11 are rather far apart, but actually they are not. As we have seen, the intervening material is all concerned with the 'hope'. In verse 11, then, Paul says not only do you have the hope in which to boast (and the sufferings which increase it) but you also have God himself - and it is difficult not to add - in the present. God is now the ground for the boast because he has accomplished the reconciliation that has been won through the cross. So the boast is in having God on one's side (the very logical result of *reconciliation*) to a degree that had not previously been a reality.

The climactic nature of verse 11 is recognized widely by commentators. For Calvin, the boast here is 'the highest degree of glorying'.[37] Similarly, Fitzmyer: 'This is the third climactic boast in the paragraph... The effect of justification is that the Christian even boasts of God himself (1 Cor 1.31), in whom one's salvation is now guaranteed, whereas before one stood in fear of his wrath.'[38] Moo sees the literary relationship of 5.11 to what precedes: 'This verse wraps up the paragraph by rehearsing many of its key elements, "boasting/ rejoicing" (cf vv. 2-3); the present experience of reconciliation with God (vv. 1b, 10)'.[39]

Conclusion: The Relation between Jewish and Pauline 'Boasting'

So we have come to the climax in Paul's narrative about boasting. It is difficult to say whether Paul's description of the Christian boast in Rom 5.1-11 includes any deliberate polemic against the Jewish boast of 2.17ff. However, the question of the relation of the boasts can still be explored at the level of the structure of Paul's thought. At this point, most commentators explain the boasts of 5.1-11 in comparison with their readings of the Jewish boast. The Christian boast is 'contrasted with boasting in human achievement'.[40] It cannot be translated as 'boasting', but rather as to 'exult', as opposed to the 'bad sense of men's boastful confidence'.[41] 'The one rests on supposed human privileges and merit; the other draws all its force from the assurance of divine love.'[42] For Schmithals, the differences in meaning are an argument for dismantling Rom 1-5: 'Die in diesem Zusammenhang begegnende unbefangen positive Verwendung des Begriffs 'rühmen' (in V.2 und in V. 3) angesichts der Heilsgabe Gottes ist paulinisch (1Kor 9.15f, 2Kor

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36 Barrett, *Romans*, 109.

37 Calvin, *Romans*, 110.

38 Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 401.

39 Dodd, *Romans*, 99: 'we return to the note upon which the section began: **we triumph in God**.'

40 Moo, *Romans*, 302.

41 Barrett, *Romans*, 103. Cranfield (*Romans*, 256, 260-261) also prefers 'exult'.

42 Sanday/ Headlam, *Romans*, 124.

1,12.14) und überrascht (nach -> 2,17.23; 3,27; 4,2) nur dann (und dann mit recht), wenn man an der literarischen Integrität von Röm 1-5 festhält.'[43] Discussing 5.1-11, Cranfield remarks: 'In 2.17, 'there is a suggestion of complacency and self-righteousness, which is certainly not intended here.'[44] Schlier similarly contrasts the former ('puffing up', as in 1 Cor 4.6) with Christian joy.[45]

Dunn's commentary reformulates the antithesis. 'It is the national pride of his countrymen which Paul strikes at here [in Rom 2]... rather than the more individualistic conceit more typical of the Greeks.'[46] The boast, despite its exclusion, maintains some continuity with the Jewish boast: 'The boasting Paul envisages here [in Rom 5] escapes the critique of 2:17 presumably because for Paul Christians boast through Christ (cf Phil.3.3), that is, as those who have been reconciled by God's action through Christ, and whose hope of salvation rests solely in God's further action through Christ.' However, '... At all events, the phrase both stresses the continuity with the traditional faith of Judaism and highlights the discontinuity, since the 'we' who boast are Gentiles as well as Jews.'[47]

Where exactly, then, is the continuity and where the discontinuity? The continuity clearly lies in the fact that both boasts are ἐν θεῷ: confidence is in the one God. But for Paul this God has revealed himself decisively in Christ, so any boast in God must also be 'through our Lord Jesus Christ' (5.11).[48] Here, the discontinuity sets in. Boasting in God cannot be glossed as 'boasting in Torah' (which is the position which Paul effectively attributed to his interlocutor in 2.17/ 2.23). There is room only for a boast through Christ.

Paul affirms a crucial new component, then, to true boasting. To pose the question from the other side, what is it in the Jewish boast that Paul excludes? Paul began, in his attribution to his interlocutor of a 'boasting in God/ in Torah', to undermine Jewish confidence in vindication at the eschaton. This confidence, we saw, was likely to be based *both* on election *and* on their obedience to Torah. This perceived obedience to Torah was the target of Paul's presentation of the empirical and biblical evidence for Israel's sin, and it was finally 'excluded' by Paul's interpretation of the death of Christ in 3.21-26. Furthermore, since Israel is under sin just as the gentiles are, the Jewish boast over against the gentile must also fall to the ground. Paul's exclusion of boasting coincides with his critique of the 'Torah of works' and of the notion that Abraham was justified before God on the basis of his obedience. With Paul's sustained attack on

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43 Schmithals, *Römerbrief*, 155.

44 Cranfield, *Romans*, 268.

45 Schlier, *Römerbrief*, 143, cf. also 157.

46 Dunn, *Romans*, 249.

47 Dunn, *Romans*, 261.

48 This emphasis on the boast in divinely accomplished reconciliation is seen in M. Wolter, *Rechtfertigung und zukünftiges Heil* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1978) 199. In general, however, considering a monograph of this size, there is surprisingly little attention to boasting: one page refers to Rom 2.17-24, and 3.27-4.2 are not mentioned at all. Wolter does make the point in the Preface, however, that his is not a straightforward exegetical monograph, but rather a study in Pauline eschatology.

boasting; then, it is a surprise that it is resurrected in Rom 5.1-11. The content is similar in that it is confidence in God, that he will vindicate the 'boaster' at the eschaton. But this confidence is grounded in God's action in Christ. It cannot be based either on Israel's election, or on obedience to Torah, and Paul's critique in 3.27-4.8 is certainly focused on the latter.

Conclusion

Little remains except to summarise the results and implications of the previous chapters. This thesis has consisted of two closely interconnected arguments running in parallel. The first concerned 'boasting', which, as was noted in the Introduction, has not yet been adequately discussed in the setting specifically of Romans 1-5. The second argument consisted of a critical evaluation of the so-called 'New Perspective on Paul', one of the dominant paradigms within current NT scholarship, especially in relation to the issue of works and eschatology.

We noted in the Introduction that there was a fundamental difference between most traditional constructions of Jewish confidence, and more recent revisionist descriptions. In the former, Jewish confidence related primarily to obedience as the basis of relationship with God. This was often construed as a legalistic, self-centred boast in one's own merit. In the latter, the emphasis moves entirely away from legalism, to a boast which has its basis in Israel's *national* righteousness, where God's blessing is guaranteed to Israel over against the gentiles by virtue of his election. We saw that neither picture was quite adequate. The basis of the boast of Israel was not just election but also obedience, as seen from the Jewish texts (esp. Chapter 2) as well as Paul's long critique in Rom 2 of Israel's sinfulness. We also noted that confidence was directed towards (not against) God, as well as over against the gentiles. Further, this confidence was often oriented toward vindication (e.g. Bar 3.7; Wis. Sol. 15.1-4; 2 Bar 48.22-24 et al.) which in the context of Rom 2 is specifically final vindication.

This was grounded in the wider discussion of the relation between Jewish and Pauline soteriology. In Chapters 1 and 2, we saw that, while there is considerable emphasis on gracious election in Jewish literature, this was by no means incompatible (at least, in the texts) with obedience also being a basis for vindication at the eschaton. This has been extensively argued already in the *tour de force* of Friedrich Avemarie, who deals with the Rabbinic literature from (approximately) 200-500 CE. The present thesis, however, shows that the same theology obtains for the literature written before the destruction of Jerusalem, that is, from the 'Pauline' period. Texts from both Palestine (e.g. Psalms of Solomon, Pseudo-Philo, the Qumran literature) and the diaspora (e.g. Wisdom of Solomon, T. Job, Apocalypse of Zephaniah) witness to a theology of the final vindication of God's people on the basis of their obedience. We saw a number of images used to depict this: repayment, reward of participation in rule in the Kingdom, the prize for winning a contest, the forensic images of being acquitted in a legal judgment, or

indeed escaping judgment altogether. This theology was not confined to pre-Christian Jewish texts, however. The NT also shows evidence of belief in final vindication on the basis of obedience among Christians. However, Paul has an understanding of the nature of obedience radically different from that of his Jewish contemporaries.

Chapter 2 focused on the specific application of this 'doctrine' to individuals and to certain communities. Again, a variety of texts from inside and outside Palestine, both before and after 70 CE, testify to the confidence of Jewish groups in their obedience, though not to the detriment of their sense of divine election.

The chief context of the debate in Chapters 1-2 was the picture of Second-Temple Judaism put forward by, in particular, E.P. Sanders, J.D.G. Dunn, and N.T. Wright, in which the dimension of final vindication on the basis of obedience to Torah is either denied or significantly downplayed. We then saw that in their exegeses of Rom 3-4, the dimension of the Jewish interlocutor's view that he would be vindicated on the basis of his obedience was conspicuous by its absence. The exegesis in the 'new perspectives' on Rom 3-4 thus significantly downplays Paul's argument for the impossibility of justification by works of Torah on anthropological grounds. That is to say, Paul's emphasis on 'flesh' in Rom 3.20 shows that the contention between Paul and his interlocutor largely concerns whether the Jewish nation had ever been, or could ever be obedient to Torah. This is because God did not give the Torah so that people might obey it as a means to justification: this would be an impossibility because of the weakness of the flesh (Rom 8.3) which ensured that 'by works of Torah will no flesh be justified'. This does not permit a return to Lutheran theology (while God does initially 'justify the ungodly', the indwelling of Christ and the Spirit *enables* obedience), but neither is the New Perspective's interpretation adequate. The meaning of justification by faith apart from works of Torah in Romans is not to be determined by the Antioch incident (Paul is *not* in debate with Jewish Christianity) but rather by the rhetorical context of Paul's debate with his Jewish interlocutor.

In the context of the discussion of Rom 4.1-5 in particular, we noted a tension in Paul's discussion between the *initial* justification of the ungodly (in this case, Abraham) and the *final* vindication on the basis of works discussed earlier. This tension no doubt merits further reflection and exploration, but it seems here that on initial examination, Paul is operating with two somewhat distinct perspectives on justification: the first occupying initial justification and the justification of the ungodly ('to the one who does not work') and the second referring to God's final vindication of the one who has done good and (in the sense described in Chapter 1) fulfilled Torah.

Finally, we explored Rom 5.1-11 as a climax to Paul's argument about 'boasting', examining how he could both oppose and endorse, 'boasting in God'. Positively, Paul's boast in God was defined as a boast through the Lord Jesus Christ, and negatively, this excluded a reliance on obedience to Torah leading to final justification.

This thesis certainly does not claim to be the final word on Romans 1-5! In fact, at numerous points in the thesis it becomes clear that the present work is very preliminary in nature. Examination of the Jewish texts in terms of the soteriological images they employ

is, to my knowledge, fairly uncommon: so much previous research focuses on whether soteriology is *either* 'legalistic' *or* 'gracious'. Further work, curtailed in this thesis due to constraints of space and time, needs to be done in covering this vast body of literature from the pre-70 period.

The implications of this study for the purpose of Romans could also be profitably examined. The exploration of the relationship between 'judging' and 'boasting' in Rom 2, and its very *Jewish* context, could be fruitfully explored in connection with Rom 14-15 and the purpose of Romans as a whole.

Further, more work needs to be done on the relationship between boasting in Rom 1-5 and the rest of the Pauline corpus. Davis' detailed examination of 2 Corinthians concludes with the question of how boasting in 2 Cor might be related to boasting in Romans,[1] but there has not been space to examine this. In any case, boasting in 1 Cor, Gal and Phil would need to receive their due attention before that could take place.

On the issue of justification, the relationship between final justification (Rom 2.13) and present/ past justification (Rom 4.3) has still not been satisfactorily discussed in the secondary literature on Paul. A simple waving of the 'now/ not yet' wand over the texts is not quite satisfactory, especially if this thesis is correct about the different kinds of bases for past and future justifications.

But while this thesis hopes to open up fruitful new fields of research into Jewish and Pauline theology, it also intends to close off some unfruitful, old avenues! The positive contributions of the New Perspective in challenging unhistorical approaches both to the Jewish literature and to Paul must be acknowledged. Discussions of boasting had often leapt to anthropological conclusions without attention to historical specificity, and the New Perspective has provided a helpful corrective here. Sanders' exposure of the prejudiced categories often used to describe Second-Temple and Rabbinic Judaism has had the positive consequence of stimulating reflection on how to approach this material. But it is evident that some formulations associated with the New Perspective also require correction. I have highlighted throughout the thesis the positions of both New Perspective and Lutheran exegesis with which I disagree. I hope too that my questioning of the use of vague catch-all terms like 'legalism' and 'works-righteousness' will lead to the development of a new vocabulary which permits more refined examination of the texts. In this area, attention perhaps needs to be paid to the concept of 'merit', which is too positive a term (especially for many Jews) to be abandoned, and yet is used with such a broad scope that it has become unproductive. In response to the New Perspective in particular, I hope to have brought forward both Jewish and Pauline evidence to show that Paul's dialogue partner did indeed hold to a theology of final salvation for the righteous on the basis of works.

Principally, it is hoped that as we approach a time-span of a generation after the beginnings of the New Perspective, we can move the debate forward on the issues of works, justification and boasting in Second-Temple Judaism and Paul, seeking points of consensus to form the basis for ongoing clarification of the contentious issues.

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1 G. Davis, *True and False Boasting in 2 Cor. 10-13* (PhD Dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1999) 197-198.

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