

Durham E-Theses

Beyond the Echoes: Extending the Framework for Biblical Intertextuality

LEONARD KONG-HWEE WEE

How to cite:

WEE, LEONARD KONG-HWEE (2012) *Beyond the Echoes: Extending the Framework for Biblical Intertextuality*. Doctoral thesis, Durham University.

Use policy

The full-text may be used and/or reproduced, and given to third parties in any format or medium, without prior permission or charge, for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes provided that:

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a <https://etheses.durham.ac.uk/id/eprint/6968/> is made to the metadata record in Durham E-Theses
- the full-text is not changed in any way

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

Please consult the [full Durham E-Theses policy](#) for further details.

**Beyond the Echoes:
Extending the Framework for Biblical Intertextuality**

by

Leonard Wee

Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

at the

University of Durham

Department of Theology and Religion

2012

Beyond the Echoes:
Extending the Framework for Biblical Intertextuality

Beyond the Echoes: Extending the Framework for Biblical Intertextuality

Leonard Wee

Abstract

Although the framework for biblical intertextuality currently used by R. B. Hays and his followers has contributed much to our understanding of the role of the OT in the Pauline letters, it does not account fully for the ways in which the OT writings are used. In addition to the explicit *citation* and the more implicit *allusion* and *echo*, this dissertation argues that the framework should be extended to include the use of Scripture as an *ideational resource*, as well as the use of the *Narrative Summary* as a literary device.

By revisiting the idea of intertextuality expounded by Kristeva, the hermeneutical framework devised by Schleiermacher, and to a lesser extent borrowing from the ideas of de Saussure, Boyarin and others, a broader model of biblical intertextuality that includes the use of Scripture as an ideational resource is developed. While the analysis of biblical intertextuality under Hays' framework relies on the presence of *verbal correspondences* in the texts, the proposed approach includes analysing Paul's texts in the light of the ideational resources that his readers who are ingrained in the cultural codes of Scripture would have understood. The method is then demonstrated using Rom 9:1-3, where the wider signification of the OT in Paul's writing has not been sufficiently analysed thus far.

Next, a framework for analysing Paul's use of the Narrative Summary is developed. Comparison is made with a group of writings known as the rewritten Bible, which are found mainly among the Dead Sea Scrolls. Despite certain similarities, there are fundamental differences as well. Applying the developed framework on the analysis of seven specimen texts (Rom 4:1-25; Gal 4:21-31; Rom 9:6-13; 1 Cor 10:1-13; 2 Cor 3:7-18; Rom 9:4-5; Rom 11:1-6), the study reveals that they share substantially the same features, and departures from these are largely accounted for by Paul's use of the Narrative Summary as a literary device. This shows that the Narrative Summary is a specific intertextual category that deserves to be treated separately.

Statement of Copyright

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from this thesis should be published in any format, including the use of any electronic or digital medium, without the author's prior written consent. All information derived from this thesis should be acknowledged accordingly.

Declaration

This work has been submitted to the University of Durham in accordance with the regulations for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. It is my own work, and none of it has been previously submitted to the University of Durham or in any other university for a degree.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to Professor Francis B. Watson, who supervised the writing of this dissertation with consummate skill and patience. For a student who is oftentimes disoriented in the midst of trying to make sense of his data, it is always comforting and reassuring to have the work received with enthusiasm and encouragement by the professor. It has been a profound joy and privilege to be Professor Watson's student, and I am sure his influence on me is deeper than I am able to fathom at this point. Dr. Lutz Doering, my second supervisor and an expert on the Dead Sea Scrolls, also made critical suggestions to my thesis, some of which would be taken up in a future work. Apart from reading my thesis carefully, he also helped to prepare me for the *viva*. My examiners, Dr. Jason Maston (external) and Professor John M. G. Barclay (internal), likewise, made some valuable suggestions to strengthen the dissertation during the *viva*, in addition to sharing their precious insights and comments. These have led me to think deeper on the topic. I am indebted to the four of you, not only for your contribution to this dissertation, but also for shaping me as a student of the Bible. I leave Durham University with many fond memories because of you.

I am also thankful to the leaders in the Synod of the Presbyterian Church in Singapore for directing me to undertake PhD studies. They arranged for the scholarships from the Brash Trust (Singapore) and the Council for World Mission (initially based in London, and later in Singapore), whose generous support have made my study at Durham possible. Trinity Theological College, likewise, appointed me as a faculty-in-training and provided a book fund for two years. Hope Presbyterian Church, which I had the privilege to pastor for seven years, also provided an allowance.

Our stay in Durham has also been made meaningful by friends we got to know at Christchurch. Dr. Alan Roberts and Dr. Peter Holt, in particular, not only helped to proofread an initial draft, but also provided me with lodging, fellowship and prayer when I returned to Durham for my *viva*.

Last but not least, my wife Doris has been a constant loving companion, wise mentor, faithful cheerleader and enthusiastic student throughout the course of my studies. Our love for each other has deepened as a result of the time spent in Durham. Thank you for your fellowship and affection in Christ! I will leave it to the Lord to name your untold sacrifices, when we meet him.

All glory be to God.

Leonard Wee

Table of Contents

Abstract	i
Statement of Copyright.....	ii
Declaration	iii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
Table of Contents.....	v
List of Figures.....	vii
INTRODUCTION.....	1
1 Primary Thesis.....	1
2 Research Context.....	1
2.1 Introduction	1
2.2 Hays' Approach	5
2.3 Contribution by Those Following Hays.....	14
2.4 Contribution by Others	21
3 The Direction of this Dissertation	29
4 Some Definitions	31
CHAPTER ONE: SCRIPTURE AS A 'LANGUAGE-SYSTEM'	35
1 The Septuagint and Biblical Intertextuality.....	35
2 A Model for Biblical Intertextuality	36
2.1 Kristeva's View of Intertextuality.....	36
2.2 Schleiermacher's Hermeneutical Framework.....	40
2.3 The Extended Model	41
CHAPTER TWO: SCRIPTURE AS IDEATIONAL RESOURCE IN ROMANS 9:1-3	48
1 Introduction.....	48
2 Speaking the Truth, Not Lying, and Having Witnesses (Romans 9:1).....	51
2.1 Review of Current Intertextual Analysis of Romans 9:1	51
2.2 Romans 9:1 and Texts Relating to False Testimonies.....	53
2.3 Romans 9:1 and Texts Relating to Lying Prophets.....	55
2.4 Romans 9:1—Conclusion.....	61
3 The Anguish of a Prophet (Romans 9:2).....	62
3.1 Review of Current Intertextual Analysis in Romans 9:2	62
3.2 Intertextual Connections to the Old Testament in Romans 9:2	63
3.3 The Significance of Jeremiah for Paul.....	66
3.4 Romans 9:2—Conclusion.....	75
4 Anathema (Romans 9:3)	76
4.1 Review of Current Intertextual Analysis in Romans 9:3	76
4.2 Revisiting Exodus 32:32 and Romans 9:3	81
4.3 Other Intertextual Connections to the Old Testament in Romans 9:3	84
4.4 Romans 9:3—Conclusion.....	88
5 Conclusion.....	89

CHAPTER THREE: THE USE OF THE NARRATIVE SUMMARY AS A LITERARY DEVICE.....	92
1 Introduction.....	92
1.1 <i>Definition</i>	92
1.2 <i>Narrative Summary vs. the Rewritten Bible</i>	94
2 Features in a Narrative Summary	101
2.1 <i>Nehemiah 9:5-37</i>	102
2.2 <i>4 Ezra 3:4-27</i>	121
2.3 <i>Acts 7:2-53</i>	134
3 Conclusion.....	147
CHAPTER FOUR: PAUL’S NARRATIVE SUMMARIES (A)	150
1 Overview	150
2 Abraham (Romans 4:1-25).....	151
2.1 <i>Introduction</i>	151
2.2 <i>Textual Referents and Scope of Material</i>	153
2.3 <i>Features in the Narrative Summary</i>	160
2.4 <i>Does Paul Have the Offering of Isaac in View in Romans 4:20?</i>	168
3 Isaac and Ishmael (Galatians 4:21-31)	176
3.1 <i>Introduction</i>	176
3.2 <i>Textual Referents and Scope of Material</i>	179
3.3 <i>Features in the Narrative Summary</i>	183
4 Isaac and Jacob (Romans 9:6-13).....	192
4.1 <i>Introduction</i>	192
4.2 <i>Textual Referents and Scope of Material</i>	194
4.3 <i>Features in the Narrative Summary</i>	198
CHAPTER FIVE: PAUL’S NARRATIVE SUMMARIES (B)	207
1 Overview	207
2 The Exodus Experience (1 Corinthians 10:1-13).....	207
2.1 <i>Introduction</i>	207
2.2 <i>Textual Referents and Scope of Material</i>	211
2.3 <i>Features in the Narrative Summary</i>	216
3 The Veil of Moses (2 Corinthians 3:7-18).....	224
3.1 <i>Introduction</i>	224
3.2 <i>Textual Referents and Scope of Material</i>	225
3.3 <i>Features in the Narrative Summary</i>	229
4 The Israelites (Romans 9:4-5).....	238
4.1 <i>Introduction</i>	238
4.2 <i>Textual Referents and Scope of Material</i>	242
4.3 <i>Consolidating Our Findings</i>	260
4.4 <i>Features in the Narrative Summary</i>	263
5 Elijah (Romans 11:1-6)	271
5.1 <i>Introduction</i>	271
5.2 <i>Textual Referents and Scope of Material</i>	275
5.3 <i>Features in the Narrative Summary</i>	283
CONCLUSION	291
BIBLIOGRAPHY	293

List of Figures

Figure 1: Diagram by Beetham.....	21
Figure 2: OT Materials, Narrative Summary and Paul's Discourse.....	28
Figure 3: Cultural Texts and the Written Letter	42
Figure 4: The Septuagint and Paul's Letters	45
Figure 5: Parallels between Gal 1:15-16 and Jer 1:5 / Isa 49:1	67
Figure 6: 2 Cor 10:8 and 2 Cor 13:10	68
Figure 7: The Interconnected Passages in Jeremiah	69
Figure 8: Categories of Ancient Jewish Writings as Delineated by Crawford.....	97
Figure 9: Intertextual Connections in Nehemiah 9:5-37	104
Figure 10: The Basic Framework and Other Intertextual Connections	106
Figure 11: Nehemiah 9:6, Genesis 1 and Other Texts	107
Figure 12: Episodic Frames in a Narrative Summary.....	110
Figure 13: Nehemiah 9:7-8, Genesis 12–17 and Other Texts	113
Figure 14: Structure of 4 Ezra 3:4-27	121
Figure 15: The Basic Framework in 4 Ezra 3:4-27	124
Figure 16: The ‘Adam’ Account (4 Ezra 3:4-7a) and Genesis 1–2	125
Figure 17: The Basic Framework and Other Intertextual Connections in 4 Ezra 3:23-26.....	129
Figure 18: Acts 7 and the OT Narratives	137
Figure 19: Acts 7: 17-38, Exodus and Other Intertextual Connections	139
Figure 20: Key Points of Distinction between NS and Rewritten Bible.....	147
Figure 21: Explicit Citations in Romans 4	154
Figure 22: An Outline of Romans 4:1-24 and Its Intertextual Connections.....	155
Figure 23: The Probable Framework and Other Key Intertextual Connections	158
Figure 24: Summary of Paul’s Argument in Galatians 3:1–4:31	178
Figure 25: An Outline of Galatians 4:1-24 and Its Intertextual Connections	180
Figure 26: Narrative Elements from Genesis 16-21 in Galatians 4:22-23	184
Figure 27: An Outline of Romans 9:6-13 and Its Intertextual Connections.....	194
Figure 28: Summary of Paul’s Argument in 1 Corinthians 8:1–11:1	208
Figure 29: 1 Corinthians 10:1-13 and Its Intertextual Connections	212
Figure 30: 2 Corinthians 3:7-18 and Its Intertextual Connections	226
Figure 31: Texts from Exodus 32 and 34 Used in 2 Corinthians 3:7-18.	228
Figure 32: Contrastive Terminologies in 2 Corinthians 3:1-18.	232
Figure 33: A Page from Umberto Eco’s Novel	240
Figure 34: Exodus 40:34-35 and 2 Chronicles 7:1-2 Compared	248
Figure 35: Key OT Texts in Romans 9:4-5	261
Figure 36: Textual Variants for 1 Kings 19:10, 14 Compared to Romans 11:3	276

Figure 37: Textual Variants for 1 Kings 19:18 Compared to Romans 11:4	278
Figure 38: Romans 11:1-6 and Its Intertextual Connections	282

INTRODUCTION

1 Primary Thesis

Taking the work of Richard B. Hays¹ as its point of departure, this dissertation proposes that the framework for biblical intertextuality in the letters of Paul should be extended to include the use of Scripture as an ideational resource, as well as Paul's use of the Narrative Summary² as a literary device.

The premise for this thesis is that the existing framework does not fully account for the use of Scripture in the Pauline epistles. On the one hand, the idea of biblical intertextuality that is assumed in Hays' framework is too limited. On the other hand, the use of the Narrative Summary is not included as a separate category in the framework, which focuses primarily on the use of citations, allusions and echoes.

2 Research Context

2.1 Introduction

The critical scholarship on the use of the Old Testament in the New Testament writings in modern times, which forms the broad contextual background for the present study, can be traced back to the time of the Reformation, which is itself an offshoot of the Enlightenment—when going back to the ancient sources (*ad fontes*) became a prerogative for the 'enlightened' scholar.³ A number of surveys on the history of scholarship in this regard have already been undertaken by

¹ Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

² The term 'Narrative Summary' refers to the summary of the OT historical narratives. A fuller definition will be presented in due course.

³ According to Henry Gough, the earliest collation of the New Testament quotations was probably the list published by Robert Stephens in his *Greek Testament* (Paris, 1550), which was often reprinted without acknowledgement, cf. Henry Gough, *The New Testament Quotations* (London: Walton and Maberly, 1855), iii. This shows that there was already a prior interest in this regard around that time, perhaps even slightly ahead of the start of the Reformation in Wittenberg, Germany, 1517.

other scholars, so I shall refrain from reiterating what has been said.⁴ What I would like to do, rather, is to concentrate my discussion on some of the recent literature that has more immediate relevance for the present study.

A significant starting point for our discussion would be the small but nonetheless elegant and penetrating work by C. H. Dodd in 1952 entitled, *According to the Scriptures*.⁵ Discerning a core collection of OT passages that undergirds the primitive Christian *kerygma*, Dodd argues that the NT quotations point to a matrix of core OT texts, and that this collection of texts forms the theological sub-structure of the New Testament, even though the individual NT writers may express their theology differently. To Dodd, this reflects an early tradition for the use of these OT texts, a tradition which predates the NT writings. Arguing against the *Testimonia* hypothesis of J. Rendel Harris⁶ that dominated studies in this field in the earlier half of the 20th century,⁷ Dodd concludes that '[t]he quotation of passages from the Old Testament (whether or not under a formula of quotation) is not to be accounted for by the postulate of a primitive anthology of isolated proof-texts.' These quotations function, rather, as 'pointers' to large sections of the Old Testament passages that are to be understood as 'wholes'.⁸

Whereas in the *Testimonia* hypothesis the NT citations were thought to be derived from a pre-extracted anthology of OT passages that have been detached

⁴ The detailed survey by Stanley, although undertaken with the explicit NT citations in view, is particularly helpful, cf. Christopher D. Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 3-28. Another good summary of the state of research till about 1988 can be found in I. Howard Marshall, "An Assessment of Recent Developments," in *It Is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture*, ed. Donald A. Carson and H. G. M. Williamson, (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 1-21. E. E. Ellis' survey is perhaps too brief but still informative: E. Earle Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament* (Edinburgh; London: Oliver and Boyd, 1957), 2-5.

⁵ C. H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures* (London: James Nisbet & Co. Ltd., 1952).

⁶ J. Rendel Harris, *Testimonies*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1916-20).

⁷ Robert Hodgson, Jr., "The Testimony Hypothesis," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 98, no. 3 (1979): 361.

⁸ Dodd, *According to the Scriptures*, 126.

from their original literary contexts, Dodd shows that the underlying OT contexts are very much in view as they are cited (or alluded to) in the NT writings. This work, in my opinion, has shaped the direction of subsequent research into the NT use of the OT. Instead of analysing the formal characteristics of the NT citations, attention is now paid to the OT texts that are cited and used as 'pointers' to activate the underlying significance of the OT contexts from which the citations are derived.

In another ground-breaking work published in 1985, Michael Fishbane undertakes a thorough study of the phenomenon of 'inner biblical exegesis' by looking at a range of biblical examples, where earlier materials in an authoritative tradition (*traditum*) appear to be re-interpreted, clarified, modified or corrected in the course of its subsequent transmission (*tradio*) by scribes and copyists.⁹ For example, since the legal provisions in Scripture (according to Fishbane) are not meant to be comprehensive legal codes but merely a collection of legal and ethical norms, there are lacunae and points of ambiguity in the texts that require subsequent clarification and re-interpretation, especially in response to new situations.¹⁰ These textual interventions by the scribes, in the form of clarifications, modifications or corrections (generated in *tradio*), are subsequently incorporated into the main body of the authoritative texts and thus emerge as part of the new *traditum*.

The thesis of Fishbane is not without weakness. It has been noted, for example, that Fishbane does not make an adequate distinction between the early, oral stages of Israel's traditions, and their subsequent textualisation (thus, stabilisation).¹¹ Presumably, in the latter stages, only limited changes are applied to the written texts in the course of their transmission. Nonetheless, Fishbane is

⁹ Michael A. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985).

¹⁰ Cf. *Ibid.*, 91-106.

¹¹ See Brevard S. Childs, "Book Review: *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* by Michael Fishbane," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 106, no. 3 (1987): 512.

interested in the growth of the interpretative tradition of the Jews and demonstrates successfully that this has its beginnings in the biblical texts themselves, where the earlier texts are read and interpreted by the later scriptural texts, and continues into the practices of the community at Qumran, the Jewish rabbis, and the writers of the New Testament. At each juncture, the authoritative texts are being cited and re-interpreted in accordance with the needs of their respective communities. These latter works, which read and interpret the authoritative writings that go before them, are themselves incorporated into the collection of authoritative writings. It is this aspect of Fishbane's work that has great relevance in subsequent discussions of biblical intertextuality.

Many of Dodd's and Fishbane's insights are presupposed in the highly influential monograph by Richard Hays in 1989 entitled, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*. Adapting the ideas of intertextuality expounded by literary critics like Harold Bloom, Julia Kristeva, Roland Barthes, Jonathan Culler, and especially John Hollander,¹² Hays introduces a new framework that goes beyond the NT citations, arguing that Paul's writings are more fully understood when the allusions and echoes from the OT are also recognised and included in the analysis.¹³ These earlier (and ancient) texts are subjected to re-interpretation or adjustment in the letters of Paul (in a process called *transumption* or *metalepsis*), which effectively injects new relevance into old writings. Up to that time, the explicit scriptural citations had been the focus of much of the scholarly investigation into the use of the Old Testament in the New. It is Hays' work that has set the tone for much of the research that follows.

¹² Hays, *Echoes*, 14-21.

¹³ However, as we shall demonstrate in the next chapter, Hays has significantly modified the concept of intertextuality as propounded by thinkers like Kristeva and Barthes.

2.2 Hays' Approach

2.2.1 *The Basic Framework*

The primary objective of Hays' effort was to investigate the hermeneutics of the apostle Paul, based on the latter's use of the Old Testament (i.e. Septuagint), by asking the question, 'How did Paul interpret Israel's Scriptures?'.¹⁴ Hays proceeds, among other things, to demonstrate that Paul interprets the Scriptures metaphorically through a *misreading*,¹⁵ and that his [Paul's] hermeneutic is not *christocentric*, but *ecclesiocentric*.¹⁶ However, it is the framework which Hays devised that has been taken up in a number of subsequent projects, and which is the starting point for the present study. Hays developed what he calls the 'seven tests' by which the allusions or echoes from the OT may be detected.¹⁷ These can be summarised briefly as follows:

- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| 1. Availability | Is the source available to author and readers? |
| 2. Volume | How explicit is the verbal or syntactical correspondence? |
| 3. Recurrence | Is the same passage used elsewhere? |
| 4. Thematic Coherence | Does the echo fit into the writer's discourse? |
| 5. Historical Plausibility | Is authorial intention possible? |
| 6. History of Interpretation | Have other readers heard the same echoes? |
| 7. Satisfaction | Does it make sense? |

¹⁴ Hays, *Echoes*, x.

¹⁵ This term should be understood in the context of the work by Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973). Explaining his theory of poetic creativity, Bloom says that it is always preceded 'by a *misreading* of the prior poet, an act of creative correction that is actually and necessarily a misinterpretation' (p. 30, italics mine).

¹⁶ Hays, *Echoes*, 84-87. As Hays clarifies in a later work, the emphasis here is that Scripture, as Paul reads it, 'prefigures the formation of the eschatological community of the church', cf. Idem, *The Conversion of the Imagination* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2005), 11. In response to subsequent discussions, Hays suggests that Paul's hermeneutic could perhaps be more accurately described as *ecclesiotelic*, since for Paul 'Scripture tells the story of God's activity...[which] is directed towards the formation of a people', cf. *Ibid.*, 171.

¹⁷ Hays, *Echoes*, 29-30.

This pioneering work prompted a number of subsequent studies into the intertextuality of the New Testament, each using Hays' framework to some extent, perhaps with only minor adjustments. Examples include monographs by Wagner, Wakefield, Abasciano, and Beetham,¹⁸ as well as the *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* edited by Beale and Carson,¹⁹ which uses the framework as a model. While these studies have led to a deeper appreciation of the use of the Old Testament in the letters of Paul and the other New Testament writings, what they also have in common is that, whether deliberately or perhaps unconsciously, there is an artificial limitation that is imposed on the framework of biblical intertextuality which, in my view, limits the extent to which the use of the Old Testament in the letters of Paul can be accounted for. In fact, there are two kinds of issues in relation to this. On the one hand, there are what I call the 'conceptual issues'; on the other hand, there are the so-called 'taxonomical issues'.

2.2.2 Conceptual Issues

The conceptual issues in connection with the work of those who utilise Hays' framework have to do with *the idea of biblical intertextuality* that is assumed in the approach. Take, for example, the work of Wagner, which relies on Hays' method. In one of his sections, Wagner unpacks the multi-layered intertextual connections in Rom 9:1-29, and does a remarkable job in analysing the underlying significations that accompany Paul's citations and allusions to the OT.²⁰ He notes Paul's 'invocation' of Moses when Paul expresses his anguish over the situation of his fellow countrymen in Rom 9:2-3, pointing to the 'catalogue of privileges' in Rom 9:4-5 that only serves to 'intensify the sense of

¹⁸ J. Ross Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2002); Christopher A. Beetham, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letter of Paul to the Colossians* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2008); Brian J. Abasciano, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament in Romans 9:1-9* (London; New York: T&T Clark, 2005); Andrew H. Wakefield, *Where to Live* (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003).

¹⁹ G. K. Beale and D. A. Carson, eds., *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic; Apollos, 2007).

²⁰ Wagner, *Heralds*, 43-117.

irony and tragedy'.²¹ Paul, as it were, frames the discussion of the plight of the Jews in his day in terms of God's covenant faithfulness to Israel in the past, by using the narratives of the story of Abraham and the Exodus.²² Thus, the apostle's attempt to redefine the meaning of 'Israel' in Rom 9:6-13 is predicated upon a reading of the Abraham narrative that is informed by the interpretation of the same text by the prophet Malachi, culminating in a quote from Mal 1:2-3 in Rom 9:13: 'Jacob I loved, but Esau I hated.'²³

Wagner's approach is based primarily on looking for the exact verbal correspondences between Paul's text in Rom 9:1-13 and the OT, even if a full citation may not necessarily be present. On occasion, when an intertextual connection is identified without the verbal correspondences, such as when Wagner sees the intertextual connection between Moses' intercession for the Israelites (Ex 32:32) and Paul's pleading with God in Rom 9:3, the methodology is not explained.²⁴ Otherwise, in much of his examination of the intertextual connections, the close verbal and syntactical correspondence between the text of the OT and Paul's epistle (an important criterion in Hays' approach) is one overriding consideration.²⁵

However, as I shall demonstrate in Chapter 2 of this dissertation, Paul's language of grief in Rom 9:2 is pregnant with intertextual significance in the context of the Old Testament, even if the exact *verbal and syntactical correspondences* may not be present. Seeing these connections would enable us to understand the

²¹ Ibid., 46.

²² Ibid., 47.

²³ Ibid., 51.

²⁴ Indeed, as far as Rom 9:3 is concerned, I wonder whether it is not partly because biblical scholars are already accustomed to associating this verse with Ex 32:32, as evidenced in a number of our standard commentaries on Romans, that has led Wagner to make the same remark. However, I must add that this particular observation from Wagner is not the main part of his intertextual analysis—it is a remark by way of introducing the section on Rom 9:1-29. Nonetheless, it is presented as an (intertextual) 'invocation' of the text in Ex 32:32, and the information is used in his subsequent discussion, cf. Ibid., 45.

²⁵ The reliance on the use of a concordance is mentioned in *ibid.*, 362; Hays, *Echoes*, 24.

emotional aspect of Paul's discourse as he addresses the issues relating to his fellow countrymen in the light of the gospel, at the beginning of Romans 9. As the Chinese would say, it reveals Paul's *xin-tai* (心态), or 'heart-attitude'. Paul, as it were, expresses his grief and sorrow in such a way that those who are familiar with the Old Testament would understand his prophetic posture towards his fellow Jews, who are not responding positively to the gospel of Jesus Christ. This might have been hinted at in a small number of studies.²⁶ However, either the methodological approach has never been clarified in the context of the existing intertextual framework when making such an identification, or the scope of investigation itself is not adequate in recovering the underlying meaning of the intertextual connections. On the other hand, in Wagner's significant treatment of this passage, no intertextual connection is observed with regard to Rom 9:2 and the OT, exactly because it falls outside the scope of his approach, which is predicated upon a narrower concept of biblical intertextuality—one that is based primarily on establishing the verbal and syntactical correspondences.

In addition, the biblical author's intentionality with regards to the intertextual references is also assumed in Hays' discussion of the allusions and echoes.²⁷ The one factor that differentiates among the citation, allusion and echo is the extent of their explicitness. Taking them to be at different points along the same spectrum or continuum, they are said to range 'from the explicit to the subliminal'.²⁸ The biblical author's intentionality in using the literary devices, however, is not a criterion used in differentiating among the three categories. It is simply assumed that the author is deliberate in making the intertextual connection, be it a citation, allusion or echo. This emphasis on authorial intentionality, however, has also led to a narrowing of our understanding of what constitutes intertextuality.

²⁶ Dunn, for example, states: 'Such lament over Israel is a quite well-established motif in Jewish and apocalyptic literature,' cf. James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 9-16* (Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1988), 524.

²⁷ For example, see Hays, *Echoes*, 21-24. Some later authors who draw from Hays' approach, e.g. Keesmaat, may have a different understanding of allusions and echoes in this regard, but we will come to that later.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 23.

As we shall see later (especially in Chapter 1), an intertextual connection to a 'cultural text', without specific or conscious reference to any particular source, may also be made by an author in the course of his writing, without him being conscious about it. The intertextual field (the 'cultural text') in this case functions as a shared language-system from which the author draws his symbols, imagery and expressions in order to communicate with his readers.

This is an important factor to take into account because authorial intentionality (in making intertextual references) cannot always be determined, even if an intertextual connection appears to be evident. Hays cites Phi 1:19 as an example. According to Hays, when Paul says, without any indication of a citation, that 'this will turn out for my deliverance' (τοῦτό μοι ἀποβήσεται εἰς σωτηρίαν), he [Paul] is drawing from the words of Job 13:16 LXX to depict his own situation.²⁹ Yet, prior to Hays, few scholars seem to have paid much attention to the underlying meaning presented by the text in Job 13:16. How would we know if that is indeed a deliberate reference to the text in Job by Paul and not merely an 'unconscious' use of the language of Scripture? As William Irwin discusses in his article on allusions, there are such things as 'accidental' associations.³⁰ It is possible that Paul is not consciously pointing to the text in Job 13:16, expecting his more attuned readers to pick up the underlying signification that is undergirded by the account of Job's circumstances,³¹ but unconsciously using scriptural language that appropriately expresses his sentiments, without having the source text in view nor expecting his readers to make any connection to a specific text. In situations like this, the concern for authorial intentionality in the intertextual connection should be secondary, and should not detract us from seeing some of the significations in the text that are derived from the common fund of symbols and language that the author may share with his readers.

²⁹ Ibid., 22.

³⁰ William Irwin, "What Is an Allusion?" *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 59, no. 3 (2001): 294.

³¹ As Ralph P. Martin points out, the Philippians might not have picked up this intertextual connection, cf. Gerald F. Hawthorne and Ralph P. Martin, *Philippians*, Revised ed. (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2004), 49.

Finally, if identifying the use of the OT in the NT is restricted because it is based on an unnecessarily narrow concept of biblical intertextuality, Hays' framework can also suffer in the hands of those who understand his approach even more rigidly. Therefore, as I shall discuss in more detail in Chapter 3, we see Abasciano, in an otherwise admirable work, going beyond seeing a mere allusion to Ex 32:32 in Rom 9:3, when Paul expresses his desire to sacrifice himself on account of his fellow countrymen (if, indeed, that is possible). In effect, Abasciano's understanding of the intertextual connection leads him to use Ex 32:32 as a strong hermeneutical grid, ending with the conclusion that Paul, like Moses, is also implicitly making an inducement to God by saying that, unless he [God] would also forgive the Jews, Paul would rather perish along with his people (and thus not continue with his apostolic mission, see Ex 32:32; cf. Ex 32:10).³² This interpretation alone would have raised some eyebrows. However, what I am interested to do is to examine the methodology that has led Abasciano to arrive at such an interpretative conclusion. As we shall see, it has to do with the understanding of biblical intertextuality at the conceptual level.

The foregoing discussion highlights both the limitation of Hays' approach, based on a narrower conception of biblical intertextuality, and the misapplication that can occur when that already-narrow understanding is stretched even further. To be sure, this emphasis on a narrower understanding of intertextuality is a deliberate choice that Hays makes in his initial work, as he clarifies at the beginning of his book. After a brief mention of thinkers like Julia Kristeva, Roland Barthes and Jonathan Culler, Hays says this with regard to his approach to intertextuality:

Without denying the value or intrinsic interest of such investigations, I propose instead to discuss the phenomenon of intertextuality in Paul's letters in a more limited sense, focusing on his actual citations of and allusions to specific texts.³³

³² Abasciano, *Romans 9:1-9*, 100.

³³ Hays, *Echoes*, 15.

Thus, I would not fault Hays for the framework as it is. In fact, he made what I think was a wise decision by electing to go with a narrow (and, to some, perhaps less nebulous) understanding of biblical intertextuality, in view of the novelty of the approach when his monograph was written. However, now that research into biblical intertextuality (primarily using Hays' framework) is gaining ground, I think it would be appropriate to re-examine this approach. We should consider whether there could be any potential loopholes in our adoption of a model that is supposed to lead to a more comprehensive account of Paul's use of the Old Testament (or, for that matter, the use of the OT in the NT). Thus, in 'problematizing' the concept of biblical intertextuality that is assumed in Hays' framework, I am not trying to displace what he has done, but to correct the focus. Indeed, if Hays' framework does not succeed the way it did, this dissertation would probably be quite out of place.

What I have covered so far are the issues at the conceptual level. In the following section, I would like to draw attention to the taxonomical issues.

2.2.3 *Taxonomical Issues*

Taxonomical issues pertain to the classification or categories of the intertextual connection between the OT and NT. In addition to the *citations* from the Old Testament which have been the subject of research by scholars, Hays' framework adds the analysis of *allusions* and *echoes*. These categories, while overlapping, are distinct. A *citation* from the Old Testament, for example, is a limited portion of a text that is taken from the base text and inserted (almost verbatim, although there could be variations or discrepancies for various reasons) into the on-going discourse.³⁴ It is frequently (but not always) accompanied by the use of a citation formula or some other marker to indicate a text that is appropriated from a prior, and usually 'authoritative', source. The *allusion*, on the other hand, in the context of Hays' use of the term, may be defined as a brief and indirect reference to a

³⁴ A more elaborate definition is found in Stanley, *Language*, 33-37.

prior text that is shared between Paul and his readers.³⁵ Furthermore, as much as Hays sees these as points in a continuum with differing levels of *volume* (which translates into differing levels of explicit verbal and syntactical correspondences), the *echo* is further down the line; it is the faintest of the three, in terms of 'volume'. I shall pick up the discussion in detail in Chapter 3, when I examine the criteria that differentiate these categories from one another. My intention here is to highlight the fact that, in Hays' framework, these are three distinct categories. At the theoretical level, each of them has a certain set of characteristics that differentiates it from the others, even though the boundaries may be blurred in practice.³⁶

What is missing here, however, is another category or classification for the use of Scripture which I think should be treated separately. It is Paul's summary of the historical narratives from the Old Testament, to which I have assigned a more convenient term in this dissertation by calling it the 'Narrative Summary'. As I shall demonstrate (in Chapters 3–5), the Narrative Summary has certain characteristics that set it apart from the other categories in Hays' framework. By definition, it falls outside the categories of citations, allusions and echoes, and should be analysed separately in order to better understand Paul's use of the OT.

Going back to the example of Wagner's work, which I mentioned earlier—the author notes Paul's use of the narratives surrounding Abraham, and then Moses, in Rom 9:6-18, calling it 'a highly selective and abbreviated retelling of Israel's history, beginning with the promise of descendants to Abraham and reaching to Israel's rebellion, exile and beyond'.³⁷ Wagner goes on to note that '[t]his

³⁵ Hays himself does not give us an absolute statement, but our brief definition of the term is derived from studying its use in his book, and stated here for the sake of discussion. For a more thorough discussion of this term by a literary critic, see Irwin, "What Is an Allusion?"

³⁶ This issue has led Beetham, for example, to differentiate a citation from an allusion by appealing to the use of word count—if the number of words in the matching phrase shared between the base text and the host text is five or less, it is an allusion. Cf. Beetham, *Echoes*, 16-17.

³⁷ Wagner, *Heralds*, 47.

retelling consists primarily of the evocation of key moments in Israel's history through citations of and allusions to Scripture, interpreted by Paul's rhetorical questions and comments'.³⁸ These observations regarding Paul's use of the OT historical narratives are well and good. What is not included here, however, is a more detailed analysis of why Paul chooses to present the *retelling* of these stories in Romans 9 (or elsewhere) in the form that we see in that discourse. As we shall see, there is a complex web of literary considerations that shapes the author's particular use of the Narrative Summary (what Wagner calls *retelling*), which can only be appreciated when it is analysed on its own terms, at a level beyond what an analysis of the citation, allusion or echo can offer.

Consequently, we would see that, despite the spanning coverage of Israel's history in Romans 9 as Wagner's statement would suggest, what Paul chooses to extract from these historical narratives is nonetheless remarkably specific, even when we take into account the underlying OT contexts that are implicitly brought into view in the summary or retelling. There is, in other words, much that is included (and even presumed from the reader) in a Narrative Summary, and much that is excluded as well; and this combination is the result of a dynamic in Paul's use of the OT historical narratives that goes beyond what the present framework is capable of analysing. The need here is to approach the use of the Narrative Summary as a separate category, and to analyse it using its own set of tools, much like what we do for the other categories in the current framework. This would make it possible for us to move towards an even more nuanced and comprehensive understanding of Paul's use of Scripture.

2.2.4 *Summary of the Key Issues*

In the foregoing discussion, I have endeavoured to highlight a number of issues that are lodged in Hays' approach to analysing the intertextual connections between the Old Testament and the New. These may be summarised as follows:

³⁸ Ibid.

- A narrow view of biblical intertextuality.
- An emphasis on looking for exact verbal and syntactical correspondences.
- Assumption of the author's deliberate intertextual reference.
- Inadequate attention being given to the Narrative Summary.

The first three of these are issues relating to the understanding of intertextuality at the conceptual level. The fourth encapsulates the taxonomical issues relating to Paul's use of the Narrative Summary, which is not delineated as a separate category in Hays' framework. What I would like to examine next are the contributions made by other biblical scholars with respect to the issues that I have just highlighted. I shall include in the discussion those who use Hays' framework (perhaps with some modifications added to it), as well as some other scholars who have worked on the idea of biblical intertextuality independently of Hays. My intention is not to embark on a comprehensive survey of the available literature, but to examine some of the representative works that provide a general backdrop for this dissertation.

2.3 Contribution by Those Following Hays

2.3.1 *J. Ross Wagner (2002)*

I would like to begin this part of our discussion by revisiting the work of Wagner, and examine its implications in view of the issues that I have just highlighted. Wagner's work, by far, represents one of the most sophisticated and faithful implementations of Hays' methodology. It adopts a disciplined and focused approach in uncovering the multi-layered intertextual connections in Paul's text, perhaps even exceeding the level demonstrated by Hays himself. However, on that count, it also means that it shares the same fundamental presuppositions about biblical intertextuality implied in Hays' framework. Thus, Wagner's monograph on Paul's use of Isaiah in Romans 9–11 is based largely on identifying the NT allusions and echoes of the OT (i.e. the Septuagint), on top of

the explicit citations, by looking for the verbal and syntactical correspondences between the two texts with the help of a concordance.³⁹ Together with this is the implied assumption that Paul deliberately deploys these intertextual connections, be they allusions or echoes.

Therefore, apart from what is perhaps an intensification of Hays' approach, Wagner essentially uses the framework with minimal changes. What Wagner does vary is to highlight the special importance of five of Hays' seven tests—*volume*, *recurrence*, *historical plausibility*, *thematic coherence* and *satisfaction*.⁴⁰ The two elements that are de-emphasised (indeed, not used at all in his subsequent analysis of the texts) are *availability* and *history of interpretation*.⁴¹ This modification, however, does little to change the basic presuppositions of Hays' framework, and is supposedly made in order to further enhance its relevance to Wagner's project. With respect to Paul's use of the Narrative Summary, Wagner does not see this as a separate category, as mentioned earlier.

2.3.2 Andrew H. Wakefield (2003)

The work of Wakefield, which is another doctoral dissertation supervised by Hays,⁴² initially contains some promising proposals with respect to broadening the scope of Hays' framework. Wakefield's survey of the subject (in Chapter 4 of his monograph) encapsulates much of what I think our study of biblical intertextuality (and particularly Paul's use of Scripture) should take into account.⁴³ Among other things, Wakefield notes that, since intertextuality is semiotics applied to texts (where the meaning of one text resides in its relation to other

³⁹ See fn. 25.

⁴⁰ Wagner, *Heralds*, 11-13.

⁴¹ Wagner assumes, reasonably, that the Septuagint is available to both Paul and his readers (the Romans). It is not stated why the other test, *history of interpretation*, is also not included; but this is perhaps self-evident, since Wagner is concerned with Paul's use of the OT and how his original readers (not later readers) would understand them. Moreover, this is compensated by Wagner's focus on the reading of the same texts in Second Temple literature. Cf. *Ibid.*, 15.

⁴² The works of Wagner and Wakefield were supervised by Hays.

⁴³ Wakefield, *Where to Live*, 97-130.

texts), the interrelationship between texts is not an option.⁴⁴ That means, by definition, intertextuality is an inescapable phenomenon, and does not come into play only when the author deliberately cites or alludes to another text. Furthermore, texts are not limited only to what is written, but include 'everything that conveys meaning within society or culture'.⁴⁵ Such ideas about intertextuality represent a marked departure from those that are intrinsic to Hays' framework, and from those demonstrated by Wagner.

Nonetheless, when it comes to the actual approach undertaken in his analysis of Gal 3:1-14, Wakefield appeals to the need for the scope of any intertextual investigation to be limited in practice, since it is, by definition, 'boundless'.⁴⁶ Consequently, Wakefield chooses to focus mainly on Paul's *citations*(!) from the OT in Gal 3:1-14, and uses Riffaterre's idea of 'ungrammaticalities'⁴⁷ to argue that any surface anomaly in Paul's use of the OT citations forces the reader to look for the intertextual matrix in which the anomaly may be resolved. In addition, drawing from Culler's insights on the inherent *presuppositions* in any text,⁴⁸ Wakefield notes that 'the use of citation [by Paul] presupposes that what is cited is both authoritative and applicable to the argument at hand'.⁴⁹ Therefore, Wakefield argues that if Paul's use of the OT citations in Gal 3:1-14 presents difficulties for the interpreter, they cannot be resolved by appealing to Paul's lack of respect for scriptural authority nor the irrelevance of the citations to his argument.⁵⁰ Analysing the *logic* of Paul's use of the citations, Wakefield concludes that Galatians 3 should not be interpreted soteriologically, as has been traditionally done; the key term ζήσεται in Gal 3:10 does not refer to 'gaining of life' (thus, salvation) but to 'living out of life'.⁵¹

⁴⁴ Ibid., 99.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 101.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 102.

⁴⁷ Michael Riffaterre, *Semiotics of Poetry* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1978).

⁴⁸ Jonathan Culler, "Presupposition and Intertextuality," *MLN* 91, no. 6 (1976).

⁴⁹ Wakefield, *Where to Live*, 168.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 168 cf. 172.

⁵¹ Ibid., 169-71.

It appears, therefore, that the primary use of the idea of biblical intertextuality in Wakefield's project is to point out that some of the views regarding Paul's use of the OT citations in Gal 3:1-14, namely that Paul either disregards the authority of Scripture or overlooks the applicability of the OT citations to his discourse, are untenable, and that the 'ungrammaticalities' should compel us to look for an 'intertextual matrix' that would resolve the tension in the text (i.e. in Gal 3:1-14). That intertextual matrix, evidently, is the collection of the OT passages that are *cited*, along with their underlying literary contexts that are in dialogue with Paul's discourse.

In the end, despite his broader understanding of the subject, Wakefield's approach in practice does not really depart very much from that of Hays and Wagner, as far as biblical intertextuality is concerned. Indeed, by focusing on the explicit citations, it is still operating with a narrow view of biblical intertextuality, and assuming authorial intention in making the intertextual connections. The explicit citations, of course, also meet the criterion of having verbal and syntactical correspondences.

It does not mean that the work of Wakefield is insignificant from the biblical studies point of view. On the contrary, I find his exegesis of Gal 3:1-14 to be most insightful. Furthermore, Wakefield does not claim to be studying the text purely from an intertextual standpoint. Rather, as Beetham notes, what Wakefield has done is to use 'intertextual insights' to resolve issues relating to Paul's *citations* (my emphasis) from the OT in Gal 3:1-14.⁵² Nonetheless, one cannot help but think that, as far as analysing the text on the basis of its intertextual connections to the Old Testament is concerned, the potential has not been maximised and Wakefield's insights into biblical intertextuality, initially promising, eventually play a somewhat secondary role in relation to his main thesis.

⁵² Beetham, *Echoes*, 2 fn. 4.

2.3.3 Brian J. Abasciano (2005)

Abasciano undertakes a detailed exegesis of Rom 9:1-9 by examining the significance of the text's intertextual connections to the Old Testament, by way of citation, allusion and echo (he prefers to refer to all these collectively as 'allusion').⁵³ In that regard, his use of Hays' framework is relatively unremarkable, comparable perhaps to that of Wagner. Of the seven tests in Hays' framework, however, Abasciano highlights *volume* and *thematic coherence* as being the most important for his study.⁵⁴ A similar methodology is used in his follow-up volume, on Rom 9:10-18.⁵⁵

Nonetheless, as already mentioned, an examination of Abasciano's work gives rise to the question of how the intertextual relationship between the text (e.g. a Pauline epistle) and its precursor text (i.e. the Old Testament) is to be understood. When Paul alludes to or echoes a text in the OT, to what extent does the precursor text dominate the meaning of Paul's words? As I pointed out earlier, in understanding Paul's words in Rom 9:3, Abasciano accords a determinative role to Ex 32:32 (where Moses pleads with God on account of Israel's sin), when Paul prays or wishes that he himself would be anathema for the sake of his fellow countrymen. This is despite Abasciano's acknowledgement that there is no verbal and syntactical correspondence between the two texts.

However, the real issue is not whether the intertextual connection is plausible, but Abasciano's use of the precursor text in Ex 32:32 as a 'template' in understanding Paul's words in Rom 9:3. In Abasciano's exegesis, the psyche of Moses in Exodus 32 is superimposed on the understanding of Paul's state of mind in Rom 9:3, when the latter expresses his heartfelt concern for his fellow Jews. I will return to this issue in Chapter 2.

⁵³ Abasciano, *Romans 9:1-9*, 10.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁵⁵ *Idem*, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament in Romans 9:10-18* (London; New York: T&T Clark, 2011).

2.3.4 Christopher A. Beetham (2008)

Working from the basic framework established by Hays, Beetham seeks to provide precise definitions for *quotations*, *allusions*, *echoes* and *parallels*, and to recognise the varying degrees of explicitness (albeit along the same continuum) from quotations to echoes.⁵⁶ Thus, quotation (or citation), which reproduces the written or spoken words of another author or speaker in a verbatim manner, provides the strongest and most explicit reference to the prior text, whereas allusion, while still overt in referencing a source, is nonetheless less explicit and 'more fragmentary or periphrastic' in nature.

In the context of this discussion, the most significant aspect of Beetham's work is his delineation of the key features of allusions and echoes. The *allusion* is characterised by: (1) the author's intention to make the intertextual reference; (2) the presence of a single, identifiable source; (3) the ability of the audience to perceive the intertextual connection; and (4) the author's expectation that his audience would remember the literary context of the prior text.

The *echo*, on the other hand, has these characteristics: (1) the author may be conscious or unconscious about the intertextual reference; (2) there is a single, identifiable source; (3) the author does not intend to point his audience to the prior text; and (4) it is not dependent on the original sense of the prior text in order to make sense in the host text.

Whereas the allusion and echo are not clearly distinguished in Hays' original formulation (and sometimes even the phrase, 'allusive echo', is used),⁵⁷ Beetham's framework distinguishes between the two by introducing the element of authorial intentionality. The allusion is marked by the author's deliberate intention in making an intertextual reference to a prior text, whereas the echo may or may not be conscious on the part of the author, who does not expect the audience to pick

⁵⁶ Beetham, *Echoes*, 15-27.

⁵⁷ E.g. Hays, *Echoes*, 20.

up the intertextual connection.

The other significant aspect of Beetham's work is his understanding of what constitutes biblical intertextuality. At one point, Beetham seems to move away from the criterion of having verbal and syntactical correspondences (at least in the case of the echo) when he says, 'Every echo derives from one specific text, event, tradition, person or thing.'⁵⁸ However, this is later made ambiguous when he discusses another intertextual category called 'parallels'. He says, 'the category of strong genealogical parallels covers broader elements (such as theme or doctrine) rather than a specific textual relationship, which is adequately covered by our categories of quotation, allusion, and echo.'⁵⁹

According to Beetham, the difference between the 'parallel' and the quotation, allusion or echo is that, unlike the latter categories, the parallel is not a 'literary mode of reference'.⁶⁰ It is not immediately clear what exactly is meant by this last statement. Nonetheless, upon closer analysis, it is evident that, to Beetham, a *parallel* is an intertextual reference that is not based on the identity of the textual elements.

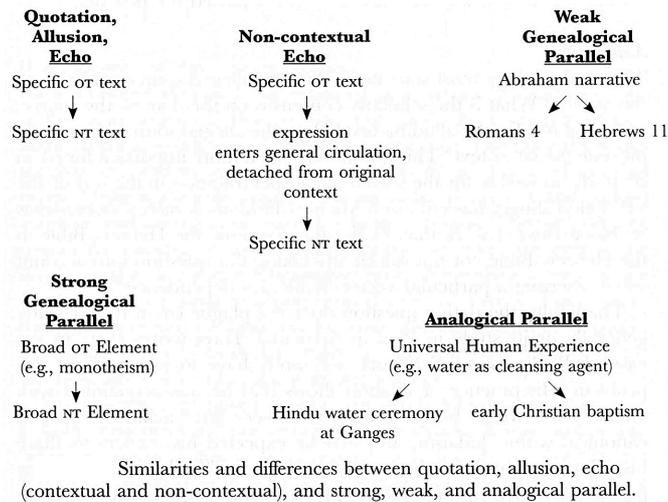
This understanding is supported by the diagram which Beetham provides to visually depict the different intertextual categories, in which the only material difference between the parallel ('genealogical' and 'analogical') and the other categories is that the former refers to an intertextual connection that is made on the basis of a broad OT element (i.e. a theme or doctrine, e.g. monotheism) rather than specific textual elements (see Figure 1).

⁵⁸ Beetham, *Echoes*, 21.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 25.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 26.

Figure 1: Diagram by Beetham⁶¹



In any case, Beetham then makes the decision to focus only on the OT allusions and echoes in the letter to the Colossians (explicit OT citations being absent in the letter), and disregards the so-called ‘parallels’ to the OT. In final analysis, while we cannot be absolutely clear as to where Beetham stands with regard to what constitutes biblical intertextuality, it is apparent that the intertextual connections which interest him are very much based on the verbal and syntactical correspondences, as reflected in his paramount focus on the OT allusions and echoes in his analysis of Colossians.

2.4 Contribution by Others

2.4.1 Daniel Boyarin (1990)

In his work on the theory of Midrash, Boyarin presents his view that the Midrash is an intertextual reading of the canonical texts of Scripture that is driven, on the one hand, by the gaps and fractures in the texts (which exist because the scriptural texts themselves are intertextual in nature) and, on the other hand, by the ‘ideological intertextual code of the rabbinic culture’.⁶² Thus, the Midrash is

⁶¹ Adapted from diagram presented in *ibid.*, 27.

⁶² Daniel Boyarin, *Intertextuality and the Reading of Midrash* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 15.

not simply a biblical commentary that is produced in response to exegetical difficulties that are present in the text, nor a homiletic that is wholly focused on addressing the contemporary situation. Rather, 'Midrash is a portrayal of the reality which the rabbis perceived in the Bible through their ideologically colored eyeglasses'.⁶³ It is the product of an intertextual dialogue between Scripture and the 'cultural codes' of the rabbis. For Boyarin, these cultural codes are a 'language that is a construction of the historical, ideological, and social system of a people.'⁶⁴ While scholars of the Midrash may distinguish between the paradigmatic and syntagmatic references to the scriptural texts,⁶⁵ Boyarin notes their inability to offer an explanation for the structural connection between these two sub-genres and argues that it is the characterisation of the Midrash as a 'method of intertextual reading' that sufficiently defines the category.⁶⁶

Although it is not specifically mentioned, Boyarin's formulation certainly implies the inclusion of the collection of biblical texts itself when he speaks of these 'cultural codes', given the prominent position of Scripture in the cultural and ideological landscape of Second Temple Judaism. These texts (which Boyarin is not reticent to call 'canon')⁶⁷ collectively shape the ideological and cultural framework, constituting the lens through which the specific scriptural passages are read by the rabbis.⁶⁸ That which is only implicit in Boyarin is made explicit by later writers (such as Keesmaat and Wakefield) who draw from his ideas of intertextuality, when they speak of the OT texts as forming an intertextual framework through which the writings of Paul are to be understood by his

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 14.

⁶⁵ Briefly explained, 'paradigmatic' Midrash refers to the exposition of biblical verses that are brought together on the basis of a common theme or idea, while 'syntagmatic' Midrash refers to the structuring of narratives on the basis of a verse or concatenation of verses. Cf. Ibid., 27.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 28.

⁶⁷ E.g. Ibid., 16.

⁶⁸ This observation by Boyarin supports my argument that the LXX is an authoritative text that shapes the language and ideas of Paul and the early Christians, and which functions essentially as a fund of lexical and ideational resources for their communication.

readers.⁶⁹

What is significant here is Boyarin's view that any writing is essentially engaged in an intertextual dialogue which draws from 'cultural codes' that are generated by the historical, ideological and social system in which the writer and his readers are located. These 'cultural codes', in my view, are tantamount to being a language sub-system that the writer has in common with his readers, and which allows for his work to be appreciated at a deeper level than what is evident on the surface of the text. It goes beyond talking about specific citation or allusion to any text, to the use of language that is drawn from an intertextual matrix where the specific sources may not necessarily be identifiable.

Translating this into our discussion of biblical intertextuality in the letters of Paul, the modern reader is directed to the need to investigate the wider language-system (the 'cultural codes') that is shared between Paul and his readers, and which is shaped in large measure by the collection of authoritative writings (the writings of the LXX) that is read, studied and memorised in the church. These are, presumably, the same texts that influence the language and expressions in the letters of Paul, in varying degrees of depth and explicitness. This view of biblical intertextuality is certainly broader than that taken up in Hays' framework and one which, I submit, would lead to a fuller understanding of the role that the Old Testament plays in the writings of the New Testament, mediated through the writers who are themselves readers and interpreters of Scripture.

⁶⁹ I am thinking here of Paul's original readers, both Jews and Gentiles, as well as his modern reader—as one who seeks to recover these intertextual insights. The ability of both Jewish and Gentile converts to understand Paul's letters in the context of the OT is discussed by Abasciano in one section of his original dissertation, which was omitted in the published volume; cf. Brian J. Abasciano, "Paul's Use of the Old Testament in Romans 9:1-9: An Intertextual and Theological Exegesis" (PhD Thesis, Aberdeen University, 2004), 35-40.

2.4.2 Sylvia C. Keesmaat (1999)

The work of Keesmaat presents an especially interesting case study. Her analysis of the intertextuality behind Romans 8 draws partially on the framework devised by Hays.⁷⁰ There are, however, material differences in understanding between Keesmaat and Hays, with respect to what constitutes an allusion or echo. Hays regards allusion and echo as being on the same spectrum or continuum, each differing from the other only in terms of explicitness in making the intertextual reference.⁷¹ Nonetheless, there is an implicit assumption of an authorial intent in making the reference, as implied in Hays' criterion of *volume*—the extent of the verbal and syntactical correspondences between the specific texts in question.⁷²

Keesmaat, on the other hand, speaks of allusion as an *intentional* reference, and echo as an *unintentional* reference, to a prior text.⁷³ The term 'inner-biblical exegesis', for Keesmaat, refers to the relationship between the text of Israel's Scriptures and their subsequent reinterpretations. 'Intertextuality,' however, does not presume authorial intent.⁷⁴ Furthermore, while Hays' intertextual model is decidedly textual in nature, Keesmaat speaks of an intertextuality to a biblical *tradition* rather than to the *text* (in the sense of the written word) *per se*. This broader view of intertextuality is evident when Keesmaat writes:

Texts occur not only in relation to other texts but also in dialogue with other aspects of the cultures in which they occur. Hence an intertextual reference may be to a ritual or a work of art, or indeed to a matrix of

⁷⁰ Sylvia C. Keesmaat, *Paul and His Story* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 52. See also an article written earlier, Eadem, "Exodus and the Intertextual Transformation of Tradition in Romans 8.14-30," *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 16, no. 54 (1994): 34-35.

⁷¹ Hays, *Echoes*, 23.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 30.

⁷³ Keesmaat, *Paul and His Story*, 48-49. In referring to Hays' framework in her earlier article, Keesmaat seems to be less clear and speaks of 'both intentional and unintentional echoes', a few paragraphs after stating that one is intentional while the other is not, cf. Keesmaat, "Exodus," 32, 34. This is corrected in her monograph, where allusions are deemed to be intentional, whereas echoes are not, cf. Keesmaat, *Paul and His Story*, 52.

⁷⁴ Keesmaat, *Paul and His Story*, 48-49.

ideas which is informed by specific texts, but is not a text in itself.⁷⁵

Thus, instead of looking primarily at the connections between the OT and the writings of Paul at the verbal and syntactical level, Keesmaat looks at them in the context of 'cultural codes'⁷⁶ that consist of 'a matrix of ideas which cannot be linked to any specific text but which is shaped and formed by a number of texts (and traditions) within his (Paul's) culture.'⁷⁷ In her analysis of the expression 'those led by the Spirit [of God]' (ὅσοι γὰρ πνεύματι θεοῦ ἄγονται) in Rom 8:14-30, for example, rather than looking for an intertextual connection to any specific text (as those who follow the approach taken by Hays or Wagner might do), Keesmaat develops a construal of the intertextual matrix from which Paul could be drawing, based on a combination of various texts from Exodus, the Psalms, Isaiah and Jeremiah.⁷⁸ Thus, whether or not Paul was consciously using this 'cultural code', he is speaking in a language that is derived from the pool of common texts shared between him and his readers.

By examining these texts as an intertextual matrix that provides a deeper signification to Paul's words, Keesmaat attempts to understand the relationship between the OT and Rom 8:14-30 in a way that does not depend on the verbal and syntactical correspondences, nor necessarily presuming authorial intention in making the intertextual reference. Therefore, despite using the 'seven tests' devised by Hays as a control,⁷⁹ Keesmaat's approach to examining the intertextuality in the biblical texts is fundamentally different. The point of departure lies with the different ideas regarding the concept of biblical intertextuality, which I think Keesmaat is not differentiating enough.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 50.

⁷⁶ Cf. Boyarin, *Intertextuality*, 14.

⁷⁷ Keesmaat, *Paul and His Story*, 50. Also, Keesmaat, "Exodus," 33.

⁷⁸ Keesmaat, *Paul and His Story*, 55-59.

⁷⁹ Ibid.; Keesmaat, "Exodus," 34-35.

2.4.3 John P. Heil (2005)

Another work that should be mentioned is the one by John Paul Heil.⁸⁰ While Hays' methodology is marked by the search for intertextual connections to specific texts, Heil's approach moves in the opposite direction, even in the case of an apparent scriptural citation. For example, while many would see a reference to Jer 9:23 in 1 Cor 1:31 ('Let the one who boasts, boast in the Lord'), Heil notes that some would also include the possibility of a reference to 1 Kgdms 2:10 (=1 Sam 2:10). Rather than a verbatim quotation from either text, Heil notes that they contain elements taken from both passages. This, coupled with the use of a general formula in introducing the quote ('so that as it is written' rather than a specific formula such as 'in Jeremiah it is written') and the general theme of 'boasting' throughout the OT, leads Heil to propose that Paul is not referring to any particular texts. To him, Paul is evoking 'in a metonymic way any and all of the scriptural texts that refer to "boasting" or placing one's trust in God alone'.⁸¹

As far as authorial intent is concerned, Heil evidently holds that Paul consciously makes the intertextual reference, and expects his readers to recall the texts of the OT that are evoked by means of citation. However, rather than pointing to any particular text, the reader is expected to recall the general teaching of the OT on the subject matter that is invoked through the citation. This generally sums up Heil's view of Paul's use of the OT in 1 Corinthians in the work. Paul's specific references to the Old Testament are not traced to specific passages, but invoke 'the OT scriptures as a whole'.⁸² Thus, Heil says at the conclusion of his book: 'The significance of each scriptural quote or reference derives not only from a particular context within the scriptures but from the global context of all the scriptures'.⁸³

⁸⁰ John Paul Heil, *The Rhetorical Role of Scripture in 1 Corinthians* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005).

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 38.

⁸² E.g. see *ibid.*, 57.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 261.

Heil's approach is helpful in that he sees the *non sequitur* of associating authorial intent with the specificity of the intertextual connections (such as those which depend on the verbal and syntactical correspondences between the texts). As I argue later, Paul may intentionally use the language of Scripture so as to lead his readers to recall certain OT writings that add to the significance of what he is saying to them, yet without necessarily having a particular text in mind. It involves the use of scriptural language (be it words, metaphors or images), and not necessarily any explicit citation of Scripture itself.

In Heil's view, however, even the specific texts which are *cited* by Paul are said to introduce not only the specific literary context from which the citations are derived, but the global context of the Old Testament as a whole. To me, this is contrary to our understanding of how citations (or even allusions) work in the letters of Paul. As demonstrated in many of the works mentioned thus far, the specific literary contexts underlying the citations (not the general, global contexts) are usually significant to Paul's discourse. Therefore, where I differ from Heil is that, whereas Heil essentially redefines how the specific categories of citation and allusion would work in the letters of Paul, I am only proposing that these categories are in themselves inadequate to account for the use of the Old Testament in Paul's letters.

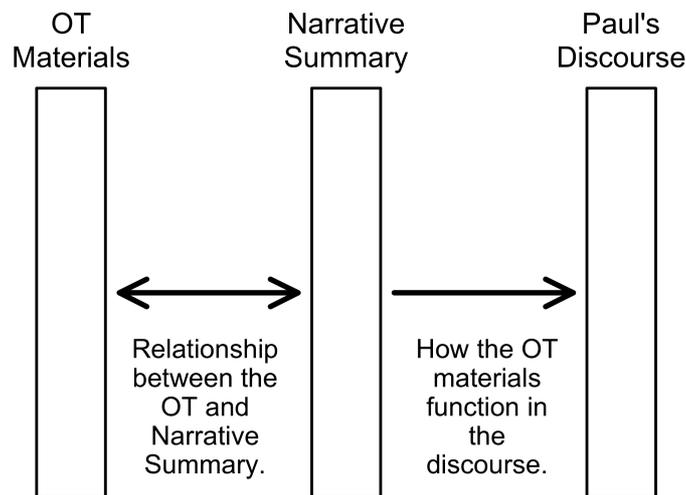
2.4.4 *Existing Works on the Use of the Narrative Summary*

The literature highlighted thus far does not treat Paul's use of the Narrative Summary as a separate category for intertextual analysis. Among those who use Hays' framework (e.g. Wagner), the use of the Narrative Summary has often been regarded either as a citation, allusion or echo (even if this is not explicitly stated). This does not fully account for an important aspect of Paul's use of Scripture.

It does not mean that Paul's references to the OT historical narratives are never discussed by scholars. On the contrary, scholars have traditionally scrutinised

how these narratives function in Paul's argumentation. My observation, however, is that in examining Paul's use of these OT materials, there is rarely any systematic analysis of how the narratives are extracted from their base texts, and the considerations that go into shaping and making them suitable for use as literary devices in the discourse. Perhaps, to put it in another way (and with the help of a simple diagram), it could be said that while there is much focus on how the OT materials *function* in the current discourse, less attention is paid to the *relationship* between the OT texts and the manner in which the extracted materials are presented as Narrative Summary in the discourse (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: OT Materials, Narrative Summary and Paul's Discourse



For example, in his treatment of Romans 4, Cranfield highlights the role that Abraham plays in Paul's argument.⁸⁴ The focus of the analysis is on the point that Paul is making through the use of the Abrahamic material. What is missing, however, is a detailed analysis of the *relationship* between the base texts (Genesis 15 and 17) and the form that is used in Paul's discourse, before analysing how it *functions* in Paul's argument (which is what Cranfield is doing). As discussed in Chapter 4 of this dissertation, a great deal of consideration goes into Paul's use of

⁸⁴ C. E. B. Cranfield, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1975), 1:224-52.

the OT material as found in Genesis 15 and 17, and this shapes the way in which the Abrahamic narrative is presented in Romans 4. This kind of analysis might have been undertaken for those using Hays' framework, if it were to be a citation, allusion or echo. However, as I already mentioned, exactly because the Narrative Summary is treated simply as such in the current framework, there are also significant limitations that prevent us from examining the use of the OT historical narratives more fully.

Similar observations would obtain when we survey some of our standard biblical commentaries, where OT historical narratives are used (in the form of a Narrative Summary) in the letters of Paul. It is my aim, through this dissertation, to demonstrate the usefulness of attending to the relationship between the base texts (OT) and Paul's use of the Narrative Summary, in order to appreciate the place of the OT in his discourses more fully.

3 The Direction of this Dissertation

Based on the foregoing discussion, the key premise for this dissertation is that, in order for the intertextual relationship between the texts of the OT and the letters of Paul to be properly accounted for, it is necessary to deal with the various levels at which the OT impacts the writings of the apostle Paul. The framework which Hays devised has been a good starting point. However, it does not capture all the modes of biblical intertextuality, and I am suggesting two ways in which it should be extended. At the *micro* level, the concept of what constitutes biblical intertextuality should be broadened, in order to accommodate a more comprehensive study of how the OT shapes the writing of the Pauline letters. At the *macro* level, Paul's use of the Narrative Summary should be treated as a separate category in the intertextual framework. These two proposals support the primary thesis of this dissertation by extending the framework for biblical intertextuality in two distinctive ways: At the micro level, the proposal for a wider conception of biblical intertextuality extends the framework qualitatively; at the

macro level, the proposal for adding the Narrative Summary as a separate category would extend the framework quantitatively. I shall now elaborate on this further.

First, at the *micro* level, the framework for biblical intertextuality should be extended to include a broader conceptuality of how the texts of the OT and the Pauline epistles relate to one another. I shall argue that since Scripture (i.e. the Septuagint) functions essentially as a language-system that is shared between Paul and his readers, it amounts to being an ideational resource that is used in the course of their communication.

Thus, in **Chapter 1**, a theoretical framework is outlined for the proposition that the Scripture which Paul and his readers share may be viewed essentially as a language-system (or, sub-system) which provides the ideational resource for their communication. It examines the ideas of intertextuality as formulated by its originators, including Julia Kristeva and others, as well as the ideas of Friedrich Schleiermacher (and those of Ferdinand de Saussure) that I draw upon to propose an extended model for biblical intertextuality. In **Chapter 2**, we shall consider how this broader concept of biblical intertextuality would bear fruit in our analysis of Paul's words in Rom 9:1-3.

Second, at the *macro* level, the framework for biblical intertextuality should be extended to include Paul's use of the Narrative Summary as a separate category for intertextual analysis. This is in addition to the categories of *citation*, *allusion* and *echo* that are covered in the existing framework. They are all literary devices that are differentiated from one another on the basis of distinct (although sometimes overlapping) characteristics.

In establishing the framework for this aspect of the use of Scripture in **Chapter 3**, I begin with an examination of the phenomenon of 'the rewritten Bible' among the Second Temple writings which, on the surface, may be compared to the

'retelling' of the OT historical narratives in the letters of Paul. Nonetheless, we will see that these are different literary genres or approaches, and should be analysed separately. Using three prime examples of the Narrative Summary among the Second Temple writings (Neh 9:5-37; 4 Ezra 3:4-27; Acts 7:2-53) as a control group, a framework consisting of seven key characteristics is developed, which will then be used to analyse several examples of Paul's use of the Narrative Summary. Consequently, **Chapter 4** will deal with Rom 4:1-25 (on Abraham), Gal 4:21-31 (Isaac and Ishmael) and Rom 9:6-13 (Isaac and Jacob), while **Chapter 5** deals with 1 Cor 10:1-13 (the Exodus generation), 2 Cor 3:7-18 (the veil of Moses), Rom 9:4-5 (Israel) and Rom 11:1-6 (Elijah). The arrangement of these materials is in accordance with the chronological order in which the OT historical narratives are found in Scripture.

In dealing with this subject matter, it is not my intention to enter into the varied exegetical issues surrounding all the passages that are selected for discussion, but only to identify and analyse Paul's use of Scripture via the Narrative Summary. Nonetheless, certain exegetical issues will be discussed insofar as they have a direct bearing on my particular treatment of Paul's use of Scripture.

4 Some Definitions

In his critique of the current research in biblical intertextuality, Stanley Porter draws attention to the lack of proper definition of the terms used by different researchers, and suggests that it is consequently impossible for any comprehensive view of the use of the Old Testament in the New to be developed.⁸⁵ While I think it is still too early to decide that the results of the research that has been undertaken thus far cannot be brought together to render a fuller account of the use of the Old Testament in the New, I agree with Porter's point that there are variations and inconsistency in the terminology used by

⁸⁵ Stanley E. Porter, "The Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament," in *Early Christian Interpretation of the Scriptures of Israel*, ed. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders, (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 79-96.

individual researchers. This may pose a problem, and Porter is certainly right in saying that there is a need for researchers to define their terms. Therefore, before I venture any further, I would like to define some of the key terms that are used in this dissertation.

Citation, allusion and echo: These terms are defined elsewhere in our dissertation; please see section 2.2.3 of this Introduction, and section 1 of Chapter 3. *Citation* is the same as *quotation*. Since Hays' work serves as the point of departure for this dissertation, it is only appropriate that we begin with his understanding of these terms.

Narrative Summary: This is defined in section 1 of Chapter 3, but for the sake of convenience (since this is a new term that we introduce), it is reproduced here—the *Narrative Summary* is a relatively brief and selective recapitulation of extended portions of the stories or narratives in the authoritative texts that an author uses as a literary device to reinforce his thematic emphasis or line of argument in a discourse.

Intertextuality: The association of two or more texts, in which the signification of one is shaped by the presence of the other. An intertextual reference may be made by the author whether consciously (e.g. in the case of a citation) or unconsciously (e.g. using the words or phrases of a prior work instinctively, without intentionally recalling them). The *citation, allusion, echo* and *Narrative Summary* are, in my perspective, different aspects of biblical intertextuality, as is the use of Scripture as *ideational resource*.

Base text: An earlier text that is used or referred to (by way of *citation, allusion, echo, summary* or as an *ideational resource*) in the discourse of a later text. In this dissertation, the Greek translation of the Old Testament is presumed to be the base text used by Paul and the readers of his letters. The terms *prior text, base narrative, base historical narrative*, etc. refer to the same thing (the term 'narrative'

indicates the general literary genre of the *base text* that is used).

In addition, I should also explain the assumption that Paul primarily uses a version of the Greek OT as his base text. There is an emerging consensus that Paul usually makes his citations from the Greek translation of the OT rather than from the Hebrew Old Testament.⁸⁶ If this is the case for the citations, it is reasonable to assume that it applies to the other modes of scriptural use as well. Therefore, in this dissertation, the starting point of the investigation at each juncture is the Greek OT rather than the Hebrew OT, yet without presuming that the Hebrew text has no relevance for Paul and his readers at all.⁸⁷

The terms 'Septuagint' (or 'LXX') and 'Masoretic Text' ('MT') are sometimes used anachronistically and can be a misnomer.⁸⁸ In this study, I shall use the terms 'Old Greek' (OG) and 'Greek OT' to refer to the various ancient Greek translations of the Old Testament, and 'Hebrew OT' to refer to the various Hebrew OT texts that may or may not be proto-Masoretic. For the sake of brevity and convenience, however, I retain the use of the term 'LXX' to refer to the base text in Rahlfs-Hanhart's *Septuaginta* (2006 edition). In cases where the text critical issues are crucial to the discussion, I shall consult Ziegler's Göttingen version (based primarily on Codex Alexandrinus), or Brooke-McLean's *Larger Cambridge edition* (which uses Codex B 'Vaticanus' as the base text), in which case I will specify in context. Where the verse reference in the LXX differs from that of our English Bibles, I will cite the equivalent reference in [square brackets], e.g. 'Jer 34:2 [27:2]' means the verse is Jer 34:2 in Rahlfs-Hanhart's LXX and 27:2 in the English Bibles.

⁸⁶ E.g. Wagner, *Heralds*, 344; Stanley, *Language*, 340. An exception is perhaps that of Timothy H. Lim, *Holy Scripture in the Qumran Commentaries and Pauline Letters* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 26-27.

⁸⁷ That Paul also reads the OT texts in Hebrew is emphasised by Lim, *Holy Scripture*, 161-64.

⁸⁸ For example, see the article by L. Greenspoon, "The Use and Abuse of the Term 'LXX' and Related Terminology in Recent Scholarship," *Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies* 20 (1987): 21-29.

Similarly, I use the term 'MT' to refer to the base text in Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, and 'NA27' to refer to the 27th edition of Nestle-Aland's *Novum Testamentum Graece*. The English translations of the Greek or Hebrew texts are my own renderings.

CHAPTER 1

SCRIPTURE AS A 'LANGUAGE-SYSTEM'

1 The Septuagint and Biblical Intertextuality

The prominent role which the Septuagint plays in the letters of Paul is obvious in a number of ways. First, it is primarily the text that is used for the citation, allusion and echo of the Old Testament. The works of C. D. Stanley, Florian Wilk and Dietrich-Alex Koch, for example, affirm the primary role of the Septuagint in the letters of Paul where the Old Testament is cited.⁸⁹ Similarly, Paul's allusion and echoes to the Old Testament are traced mainly through the Septuagint, as the studies by Hays, Wagner and others demonstrate.⁹⁰

Second, the Septuagint provides the lexical and linguistic resources for the writing of the Pauline epistles. This is especially pronounced when we examine the formulation of doctrinal ideas that are predicated upon a certain Greek OT translation of the Hebrew Scriptures that seems to take the semantic range of the original Hebrew text further than its native sense would otherwise allow. Watson, for example, demonstrates the role of the text of Isaiah 53 LXX in shaping the language of the atonement in the Pauline epistles.⁹¹

What is observable in the Pauline epistles, of course, is also true of the New Testament writings in general. Müller, in his study that argues for the importance of the Septuagint in the early church, cites the example of Matthew's use of Isa 7:14 LXX in proclaiming the virgin birth, where the Hebrew text only says

⁸⁹ Stanley, *Language*, 67 cf. 254; Florian Wilk, *Die Bedeutung des Jesajabuches für Paulus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 17-59; Dietrich-Alex Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1986), 48.

⁹⁰ Hays, *Echoes*; Wagner, *Heralds*.

⁹¹ Francis B. Watson, "Mistranslation and the Death of Christ," in *Translating the New Testament: Text, Translation, Theology*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Mark J. Boda, (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009), 215-50.

'young woman'.⁹² In their introductory text to the Septuagint, Jobs and Silva also discuss the influence of the LXX on some of the important theological terms in the New Testament.⁹³ Furthermore, since the Septuagint was the primary collection of Scriptures for the early Christians (especially among the Pauline churches), the numerous indications in the New Testament, where the birth, life, death and resurrection of Jesus the Messiah was said to have taken place *according to the Scriptures*, would add further to the significance of the LXX in the NT. It is primarily the text that is read and interpreted in the New Testament.

These observations point to the multi-faceted interconnections between the Septuagint and the New Testament (particularly, in our case, the letters of Paul) that cannot be ignored in any attempt to give a full account of the role of the Septuagint in the NT and, accordingly, the use of the Old Testament in the New. Indeed, the pervasive influence of the Septuagint on the writings of the New Testament, in terms of its language, themes, motifs and theology, prompts us to question whether our existing model of biblical intertextuality is adequate in facilitating a full account of the use of the Old Testament in the writings of Paul. Those who deploy the basic framework proposed by Hays have concentrated on the verbal correspondences between the text of the Septuagint and the New Testament in identifying the intertextual connections. This, as mentioned earlier, is too narrow an understanding of biblical intertextuality.

2 A Model for Biblical Intertextuality

2.1 Kristeva's View of Intertextuality

Since it was Kristeva who first introduced the term 'intertextuality', she is a good starting point for this discussion. The term was first used in her seminal essay of 1966 where, drawing on the ideas of Mikhail Bakhtin (dialogism) and Ferdinand

⁹² Mogens Müller, *The First Bible of the Church* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 23.

⁹³ Karen H. Jobs and Moisés Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2000), 199-201.

de Saussure (semiotics),⁹⁴ Kristeva proposed a new model for understanding the 'novel' (or, 'narrative') as an individual text (the equivalent of de Saussure's *parole*) that is in constant dialogue with its cultural text (equivalent to de Saussure's *langue*).⁹⁵

Explaining Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of *dialogism*, Kristeva postulates the *word* (or *text*, the 'word' being the minimal textual unit) as the mediator of a dialogue among the writer, the reader and their shared cultural 'texts'.⁹⁶ Thus, the meaning or significance of a text is understood as an intersection of two axes: the *horizontal* axis between author and reader, and the *vertical* axis between the text and the cultural 'texts' (also called 'prior texts', 'exterior texts' and 'prior corpus').

The *text* is further construed as a production (not creation) that is drawn from, and in dialogue with, prior texts, leading to this famous quotation (attributed by Kristeva to Bakhtin): 'any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another'.⁹⁷ The act of writing itself is in fact a *reading* of prior texts, and 'texts' here is also understood broadly to refer to the cultural 'texts' in which the writing takes place. This relationship, between the individual text and the cultural text, is not linguistic (but *translinguistic*), and cannot be reduced 'to logical or concrete semantic relationships'.⁹⁸ This means, in effect, that the intertextual connections between two texts can go beyond the

⁹⁴ Julia Kristeva, "Word, Dialogue, Novel," in *The Kristeva Reader*, ed. Toril Moi, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1986), 34-61.

⁹⁵ By using Saussure's categories, Kristeva herself implies this equivalence, cf. *Ibid.*, 39. However, there is a distinct difference between Kristeva's understanding of the relationship between the individual text and the cultural text and Saussure's *parole/langue*: whereas in Saussure the individual speech (*parole*) does not influence the language-system or 'cultural text' (*langue*), in Kristeva's formulation this hierarchy is flattened and the texts are viewed synchronically—the signification of prior texts can change in response to texts that are written later. For Saussure's explanation of the relationship between *langue* and *parole*, see Ferdinand de Saussure and others, *Course in General Linguistics* (New York: The Philosophical Library, 1959), 17-20.

⁹⁶ It should be noted that these 'cultural texts' are the equivalent of what I would call the 'language-system' later, when I discuss Schleiermacher's hermeneutical framework.

⁹⁷ Kristeva, "Word, Dialogue, Novel," 37.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 38.

specific, one-to-one verbal connections.⁹⁹ Furthermore, in utilising the Saussurean idea that the semantic value of a word is always understood in terms of its relation to other words under Kristeva's formulation, it is possible for the signification of earlier works, which are intertextually connected to the later works, to change as a result of the production of the latter.¹⁰⁰

There are some key elements in Kristeva's view of intertextuality that can be used in discussing the relationship between the Old Testament and the New. In examining the relationship between a text (NT) and its prior text (OT), we must recognise that the intertextuality between the two texts can cut across the verbal connections. Hays' framework for the study of the citations, allusions and echoes, in using the exact verbal correspondence between the two texts as the *primary*—although not necessarily the *only*—basis for identifying an intertextual connection is, in essence, an incomplete model for the study of biblical intertextuality.

If the Septuagint is indeed a key prior text for the language, theology and themes of the New Testament writings, then having an appropriate framework that facilitates a more comprehensive view of their interrelatedness is important. Of course, the Septuagint itself, at this time, cannot be equated with the totality of the 'cultural text' in its widest sense. However, the Septuagint is such a dominant factor in the writing of the New Testament (especially, in our case, in the letters of Paul) that it can be treated as a limited language-system that provides the necessary cultural codes for the intertextuality between the two texts to be understood afresh.

⁹⁹ Barthes says this about intertextuality: 'Any text is a new tissue of past citations. Bits of code, formulae, rhythmic models, fragments of social languages, etc., pass into the text and are redistributed within it, for there is always language before and around the text. Intertextuality, the condition of any text whatsoever, cannot, of course, be reduced to a problem of sources or influences; the intertext is a general field of anonymous formulae whose origin can scarcely ever be located; of unconscious or automatic quotations, given without quotation marks.' See Roland G. Barthes, "Theory of the Text," in *Untying the Text: A Post-Structuralist Reader*, ed. Robert Young, (London; Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981), 39.

¹⁰⁰ However, see fn. 95 for the difference between Kristeva's point of view and that of Saussure.

On the other hand, Kristeva's understanding of the relationship among texts also forces us to grapple with its proposal that a text can acquire new signification as a result of the production of later texts that refer to them. In that sense, what is signified in the Old Testament can potentially expand or change as a result of that which is written in Paul's letters. However, in this study, what I am seeking to accomplish is to examine Paul's use of the Old Testament, and to understand the significance of his text in the light of the OT. It would be outside the purview of the present investigation to focus on whether the Old Testament acquires new signification in the light of Paul's use of the OT books.¹⁰¹

What can be gained from our re-examination of Kristeva's view of intertextuality, then, is the understanding of how Hays' framework can be expanded by adopting a broader conception of biblical intertextuality. The connection between two texts (or an individual text and a prior corpus of texts) can and does transcend the specific verbal connections, to the shared social and cultural codes which are ingrained in a matrix of prior 'texts' that constitute its language-system. In order to gain further insights in this regard, I shall turn to the hermeneutical framework of Friedrich Schleiermacher. Schleiermacher's framework may be old, but it is by no means irrelevant to our discussion.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ What is more, unlike 'poetry' or the modern novel (which is the subject of Kristeva's discussion), I see Paul's letters, not merely as literary productions, but as apostolic letters that are written with specific and—in Paul's mind—definite instructions for his original readers, and understanding the writings in that sense is a primary task for the interpreter today. There is, to me, an irreducible core of what the text intrinsically signifies, which does not change in response to the changing 'cultural context' of the reader (or, in response to the 'texts' that I choose to bring alongside in interpreting them). It is beyond the scope of this work to discuss the issue further, but the works of Watson and Vanhoozer can be cited in this regard. See Francis B. Watson, *Text and Truth* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1997), 98-103; Kevin J. Vanhoozer, *Is there a Meaning in this Text?* (Leicester: Apollos, 1998), 201-80. Both Watson and Vanhoozer use the Speech-Act Theory, first articulated by John L. Austin, to argue for the need to take authorial intent into account in biblical interpretation, cf. John L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962). Augustine, in his *De Doctrina Christiana* (II. 88-89), also insists that interpretation involves discovering what the author means, cf. Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, trans., R. P. H. Green (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 51.

¹⁰² I am not the only one who thinks that the ideas of Schleiermacher are still relevant for modern biblical interpretation; Anthony Thiselton is another scholar who thinks likewise, cf. Anthony C. Thiselton, *New Horizons in Hermeneutics* (London: Harper Collins,

2.2 Schleiermacher's Hermeneutical Framework

In his notes on hermeneutics,¹⁰³ Schleiermacher delineates the twin tasks of interpretation.¹⁰⁴ On the one hand, there is the *psychological* or *technical interpretation*, which deals with understanding the text in the context of the individual discourse of the author. On the other hand, there is the *grammatical interpretation*, which pertains to understanding the same text in the context of the language-system.¹⁰⁵ Thus, the significance of an individual 'speech' involves two essential moments: its significance in the context of the language, and its significance in the mind of the speaker/author.¹⁰⁶

In Schleiermacher's scheme, while understanding the mind of the individual author is important, attention is also given to defining the language sphere shared between the author and his 'original public', and understanding the work in the context of this language-system.¹⁰⁷ This language-system is presupposed, and is what makes communication possible; the author uses it unconsciously, and without specific reference to sources, in the course of his writing. It is this insight which enables Schleiermacher to say (perhaps controversially) that the interpreter should endeavour to 'understand the text at first as well as and then even better

1992), 237-67.

¹⁰³ Developed between 1805 and 1828, cf. Kurt Mueller-Vollmer, *The Hermeneutics Reader* (New York: Continuum, 2006), 72.

¹⁰⁴ Friedrich D. E. Schleiermacher, "Foundations: General Theory and Art of Interpretation," in *The Hermeneutics Reader*, ed. Kurt Mueller-Vollmer, (New York: Continuum, 2006), 74-75.

¹⁰⁵ See *ibid.*, 76. The two hermeneutical tasks are 'equal'; in the hermeneutical process, they alternate with each other until 'each side is treated in such a way that the treatment of the other side produces no change in the result'. Since there can be no complete knowledge of a language and no complete knowledge of a person, the implication is that this process is never-ending. Note, however, that this equality, in terms of priority, does not mean that equal effort is spent for each hermeneutical task, regardless of the nature of the texts. Works that are linguistically creative would necessitate more emphasis on grammatical interpretation, while works that are highly individualistic would require more attention on psychological interpretation. 'Absolute works', those that are high on both linguistic creativity and individual originality, require maximum emphasis on both grammatical and psychological interpretation.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 74.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 86-87.

than its author'¹⁰⁸ and to 'understand the author better than he understood himself'.¹⁰⁹ The interpreter, presumably, studies the relevant language *consciously*, and is in a better position to understand the text better than its author, who uses the language *unconsciously*.

Furthermore, the text, at any given time, is only a subset of the totality of the language-system that it represents, since 'this sphere cannot be found *in toto* in every text'.¹¹⁰ Even reference works like dictionaries and grammars only represent a segment of that language.¹¹¹ Therefore, while it is theoretically the aim of the interpreter to study the text in the light of its language-system as a whole, it is virtually impossible to do so at the pragmatic level, since the language-system in its totality is beyond the reach of any individual interpreter or reference work.

This view of the relationship between the text and its language-system implies that the text should be interpreted, not just in terms of its isolated expression by an individual author, but also in the context of the language-system from which it draws. This language-system is unconscious to the author and is not traced to any specific source or originating texts in the language-system. And since our knowledge of this language-system is never exhausted, our interpretation of the text can only take place in the context of an aggregate of prior 'cultural' texts that imitates, or substitutes for, the language-system as whole.

2.3 The Extended Model

2.3.1 *Insights from Kristeva and Schleiermacher*

The ideas of Kristeva and Schleiermacher provide valuable insights as we review Hays' framework for analysing the intertextual connections between the Old Testament and the New. Under the current framework, the focus has been on the

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 83.

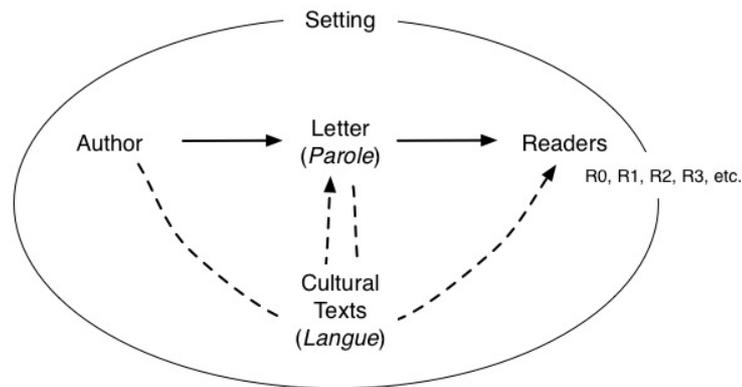
¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 87.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 90.

word-to-word identification of the verbal connections. Given what has just been discussed, this understanding of the intertextual connection between the OT and the letters of Paul is too narrow. When an author writes, he is drawing from the linguistic and ideational resources that are shared between him and his readers. These resources may be derived originally from significant social or cultural texts, but may have become so much a part of the language-system of the community that the author or the reader may use them without any reference to, or even awareness of, their exact originating sources. This is illustrated by means of the diagram below (see Figure 3).

Figure 3: Cultural Texts and the Written Letter



In the diagram, solid arrows represent communication taking place in a given Setting (also known as the communicative situation), in the form of a Letter that is written by its Author and sent to his Readers (R0, R1, R2, R3, etc.). However, the process of encoding the Letter (by Author) as well as its subsequent decoding (by Readers) are filtered through the Cultural Texts that function as a language-system which they share. These Cultural Texts, by definition, are but an abstraction (or subset) of the totality of the language-system (*langue*) which the Author and his Readers have in common. However, in any intertextual analysis, these texts are delineated and treated as a proxy of the *langue* for pragmatic reasons.

With this model, the intertextual analysis transcends the search for citations, allusions and echoes, and examines the broader connotations of an author's

words in the light of the language-system (i.e. cultural texts) that he and his readers may share. Therefore, whereas Hays' approach places an onus on the degree to which the author deliberately makes an intertextual connection to a specific text, the insight derived from Schleiermacher suggests that the relationship between the text and its prior corpus of texts may be more incidental than that, and can go beyond any conscious intention to make a reference to a particular text.¹¹² In the context of this study, it is possible to treat the Septuagint as a language-system which Paul and his reader use as a collection of ideational resources.

2.3.2 The Use of Septuagint as an Ideational Resource

In the writings of the apostle Paul, the Septuagint—an authoritative text among the Jewish Diaspora in the centuries immediately prior to the coming of the gospel—is one aspect of this language-system that facilitates the communication between Paul and his readers. Here, the term 'language-system' should be understood in its broad sense, to refer to the linguistic and ideational resources that are partially found in the Septuagint and shared between Paul and his readers. While the LXX is not the complete language-system in itself (far from it, it is but a minute segment of the commonality that Paul has with his readers), it is nonetheless significant enough to be the representative of that language-system (or sub-system), which Paul presupposes and draws upon to write his letters.

¹¹² It is important for us to distinguish among the different kinds of author's 'intention' or 'consciousness' here. All communication has the element of authorial intentionality to it. Whatever an author wishes to communicate, there is a certain authorial intention to his words, but the expressions that are used to do it may be drawn from resources that are presupposed in the language that is shared between him and his readers, without any intention of referring to specific texts where these linguistic resources may be found. Thus, when an author says something using the language of the Old Testament, while the act of speaking (or writing) is an intentional act in itself, expressing that idea in a particular way or using a particular language may take place instinctively. He has intention to communicate an idea, but at the same time may use the language codes unconsciously and without intentional reference to originating sources.

Seen in that light, is it not possible that, on top of the citations, allusions and echoes that are derived from the Septuagint, Paul's writings may also encode linguistic, cultural and thematic significations that are drawn from this authoritative text in even more indirect and subtle ways? The Septuagint is such a significant part of the language-system which Paul shares with his readers that, when he writes, he may be using the cultural codes that are drawn from it without even being deliberate or conscious about their specific originating contexts. Thus, in the article on the role of Isaiah 53 LXX in shaping Paul's language of the atonement of Christ that I cited earlier, Watson says,

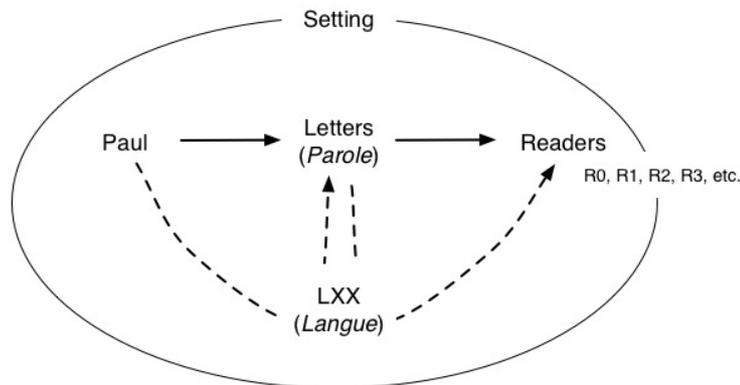
A scriptural text can serve as a lexical and semantic resource or reservoir from which terms, phrases, or concepts can be freely drawn and adapted to new uses. Fully embedded in their new contexts, they do not draw attention to their scriptural origin; and yet the scriptural impact on the new context may be at least as profound here as in the case of citations and allusions.¹¹³

This statement, on the use of Scripture as a lexical and semantic resource, is relevant to the present discussion on the use of Scripture as an ideational resource as well. In other words, the Septuagint, for Paul and his readers, is essentially a collection of shared ideational resources that is assumed in their communication. This is, perhaps, a slightly different mode of intertextuality compared to those that are currently used in biblical studies, but it deserves our consideration nevertheless.¹¹⁴ Under this formulation, the diagram presented earlier may be amended to indicate the place of the Septuagint (LXX) in the model that is used for our intertextual analysis (see Figure 4).

¹¹³ Watson, "Mistranslation," 234.

¹¹⁴ See, for example, Steve Moyise, "Intertextuality and the Study of the Old Testament in the New Testament," in *The Old Testament in the New Testament: Essays in Honour of J. L. North*, ed. Steve Moyise, (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000), 18-40.

Figure 4: The Septuagint and Paul's Letters



The only significant changes that I have made to the diagram are to substitute the Septuagint ('LXX') for what was 'Cultural Texts' in the previous version, and to name Paul as the author of the letters that he writes. Under this model, the Septuagint functions like a language-system (or sub-system, since it is a subset of the language-system as a whole) from which the ideational resources are drawn in the process of Paul's epistolary discourse. This role of the Septuagint is in addition to the more conscious use of Scripture by Paul.

Therefore, when there is a conscious intention to make an intertextual reference to specific texts, the author uses citations, allusions or echoes (which Hays' framework emphasises), or he may summarise portions of the Old Testament as he makes mention of it (as would be seen, later, in our analysis of Paul's use of the Narrative Summary). The common feature of these literary devices is the verbal or textual correspondences that are often seen between the specific texts where the connection is made. But in the case where the idea or imagery is simply a part of the language-system that Paul shares with his readers, and not necessarily referenced to any specific prior texts, the exact verbal correspondences may be missing. When I speak of an intertextuality in such a sense, I am using a broader understanding of what is meant by the word, 'text'. A 'text' is not just words, but also ideas, symbols, images, postures, traditions or even the shared experiences as the prior texts are being read.

At this point I should also clarify the relationship among the LXX, the ‘cultural text’ (which I also call the *cultural code*, *langue* or *language-system* in this discussion) and the letters of Paul in the model, since the relationship is actually more complex than what I have intimated thus far.

The LXX, of course, is but an abstraction of the ‘cultural text’ as a whole. Nonetheless, while the LXX is a reflection of its cultural milieu, it is also an influential collection of writings that shapes the cultural code of those who come under its influence in return. Thus, there is a two-way relationship between the LXX and the cultural text—the LXX is a product of its cultural code and is therefore a subset of it; it also influences the cultural code at the same time. Consequently, when we examine the relationship between the LXX and the NT (i.e. the Pauline letters), the question may arise as to whether the connection is more to the LXX or to the cultural milieu which both the LXX and the Pauline letters are located.

In the new model, however, although the LXX is a sub-set of the language-system as a whole, it is taken to be the proxy for the cultural code. Therefore, whether the LXX is a product of that cultural code or a producer of it, it is deemed to be the textual representation of the two collectively, and this is in turn placed alongside the Pauline letters for analysis. When I examine the use of this ‘cultural code’ in the letters of Paul, I am looking for this ‘code’ as represented in the LXX, not just textually, but also ideationally.

2.3.3 *The Proposed Approach*

Turning to Hays’ framework, my proposal is not so much to replace, but to extend the model by repositioning our idea of biblical intertextuality. Under such an approach, not only would we pay heed to the citations, allusions and echoes; we would also look for the cultural codes that are drawn from the Septuagint and embedded in the apostle’s letters, without reference to any specific text within

the corpus of the Septuagint. In addition to looking for direct verbal correspondences, we should look for motifs, patterns, postures, word pictures, sentiments, attitudes, and so on, that are drawn from the Old Testament and used in the Pauline epistles. This may sometimes involve the use of the same words (verbal correspondences); but at other times it only involves the use of synonymous expressions which may escape notice under the old framework, and whose only connections may be at the level of theme or motifs, and the like.

This does not mean, however, that we are engaged in the kind of *parallelomania* which Samuel Sandmel warns us against in his famous 1962 article, criticising some scholars for making too much out of the superficial parallels between some rabbinic texts or Dead Sea Scrolls on the one hand, and the writings of the New Testament on the other.¹¹⁵ Sandmel's warning is directed at those who look at the superficial parallels between two texts (especially by using excerpts from the texts instead of looking at the whole contexts) and infer from them that there is a direct source-and-influence relationship. It is exactly the kind of intertextuality which I try to transcend in my current proposal, since this source-and-influence relationship is what Hays' framework essentially covers. By positing the use of a shared language-system that is encapsulated in part in the LXX, it is less about a direct source-influence relationship between the texts, and more about a common cultural code that is evident and presupposed in both texts. Even if this cultural code is the result of an influence that is exerted by one of these texts that is highly authoritative and influential, that influence comes without any individually traceable textual source.

¹¹⁵ Samuel Sandmel, "Parallelomania," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 81, no. 1 (1962).

CHAPTER 2

SCRIPTURE AS IDEATIONAL RESOURCE IN ROMANS 9:1-3

1 Introduction

Thus far, I have outlined my approach to examining the broader intertextual connections between the Old Testament and the letters of Paul and proposed that, instead of looking only at the word-for-word correspondences, we should also investigate instances where Paul's discourse may have special significance in the light of the cultural code which he and his readers share. This cultural code, as I have argued, resides in part in the Septuagint, which is the authoritative text for Paul and his readers.¹¹⁶ In this chapter, I shall demonstrate the value of this approach by using the text of Rom 9:1-3.

Scholars like F. W. Beare and C. H. Dodd note the abrupt change in mood between Romans 8 and 9 (especially between Rom 8:31-39 and 9:1-5), and conclude that there is a disjunction in Paul's thought between these two chapters.¹¹⁷ Like other recent scholars, however, I think the climatic ending in Romans 8 does not necessarily mean that there is an absolute discontinuity in Paul's discourse.¹¹⁸ While Paul pauses to praise God for the inseparable love between Christ and the people of God at the end of Romans 8, it is only an interlude in his presentation; the arguments that he puts forth in relation to the gospel of Christ would only be half-baked, if these were not brought to bear on

¹¹⁶ We cannot presume that all of Paul's readers would subscribe to the authority of the Old Testament (hence, the Septuagint) with equal conviction, nor that all are equally familiar with the Scriptures. Our starting point, however, is Paul's own assumption that the OT texts are authoritative for him and his readers, as seen in the use of these texts in his letters. As would be evident in the course of this dissertation, Paul further assumes that his readers are more-or-less familiar with the texts that are used.

¹¹⁷ Francis W. Beare, *St. Paul and His Letters* (London: A & C Black, 1962), 103-04; C. H. Dodd, *The Epistle of Paul to the Romans* (London: Fontana Books, 1959), 213-14. See also Heinrich Schlier, *Der Römerbrief* (Freiburg; Basel; Wien: Herder, 1977), 282.

¹¹⁸ Peter Stuhlmacher, *Der Brief an die Römer*, 14th ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), 131; Otto Michel, *Der Brief an die Römer*, 14th ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), 288-89.

the issue of Israel.

The Israelites have been promised unconditional blessings in the covenant through the line of their forefathers (namely, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob). If God's plan of salvation entails putting their faith in his Son Jesus Christ, questions may now arise, not only with regards to what would happen to Israel as a nation—since many Jews have not believed in Christ—but also with regards to the faithfulness of God in keeping to his covenant promises.¹¹⁹ The answers given to these questions would naturally go back to validate (or invalidate) the gospel that Paul is preaching in Romans 1–8. Furthermore, at the end of Romans 8 Paul declares that, to those who love God, all things will work for good because the love of Christ can never be separated from them. How is this relevant if, even though they have been given God's promises in the past, the Jews are not even responding positively to the gospel in the present?¹²⁰ Seen in that light, there is a logical continuity in Paul's discourse from Romans 1–8 to 9–11.

Nonetheless, Rom 9:1-3 has been rarely referenced in our discussion of Paul's attitude towards the Jews. In his article on Paul's view of Israel in the light of the gospel, for example, Gaston reviews the Pauline passages to determine the ones that are deemed to be relevant for the discussion, and Rom 9:1-3 is not one of the texts that are mentioned.¹²¹ Furthermore, Gaston goes on to say that Paul says 'nothing whatsoever which is critical of Israel' in Romans 9.¹²²

A careful intertextual analysis of this passage, however, will reveal a certain disposition that Paul is assuming as he frames this next stage of his discourse, to explain the situation of the Jews in the light of God's plan of salvation through the

¹¹⁹ Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 518-19; Ulrich Wilckens, *Der Brief an die Römer*, vol. 2 (Zürich; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Benziger Verlag; Neukirchener Verlag, 1980), 182-83; Stuhlmacher, *Römer*, 131.

¹²⁰ See Hans Wilhelm Schmidt, *Der Brief des Paulus an die Römer*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1966), 159; Hays, *Echoes*, 63.

¹²¹ Lloyd Gaston, "Israel's Misstep in the Eyes of Paul," in *The Romans Debate*, ed. Karl P. Donfried, (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1991).

¹²² *Ibid.*, 315.

gospel of Jesus Christ. What the ensuing discussion will show is that, in turning to the question of God's plan for his people, Paul adopts a distinctly prophetic posture which is drawn from the ideational resources provided by the Old Testament (particularly, the book of Jeremiah), and which are evoked by his words in Rom 9:1-3. He certainly does not see himself as an apostate Jew,¹²³ but as the true prophet who speaks the truth. Furthermore, it also reveals something about his opinion of what may be 'wrong' with his people, in the light of the gospel.

Indeed, there is another way in which this prophetic perspective is evident in Romans 9–11: Just as the prophetic texts in the Old Testament generally begin with a message of divine judgement and end with a message of divine comfort and hope, we see the same patterning in Romans 9–11. Paul's message of grief and anguish in Rom 9:1-5 turns into a message of eschatological hope for his own people in Romans 11, when he reveals that, eventually, all Israel will be saved (v. 26) because of God's mercy (vv. 30-32).

Having said that, Abasciano's treatment of Rom 9:1-3 also compels us to ruminate on the extent to which our model of biblical intertextuality should control the interpretation of the text. In discussing the intertextual connection between Rom 9:3 (where Paul prays or wishes that he himself would be *anathema* and be cut off from Christ) and Ex 32:32 (where Moses asks to be blotted out from the book that is written), Abasciano advances the view that, instead of a substitutionary sacrifice for the sake of his fellow Jews, Paul prays that he would perish along with them.¹²⁴

Abasciano sees only one significant 'allusion' between the Old Testament and Rom 9:1-5, namely, Ex 32:32,¹²⁵ which controls his exegesis of the text. Consequently, it becomes an important case study as we discuss the intertextual

¹²³ Cf. Michel, *Römer*, 289.

¹²⁴ Abasciano, *Romans 9:1-9*, 45-146.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 45.

relationship between the Old Testament and the New, and the use of that understanding in our reading of the letters of Paul.

As we approach the text of Rom 9:1-3, another question also comes into view. Why is Paul emphatic (v. 1) that he is telling the truth (not lying) regarding his anguish and pain over the Israelites (v. 2)? Some think that, in connection with the particular situation in Rome, Paul feels the need to defend himself against any accusation (potential or on-going) that, somehow, he has forsaken his own people or his own Jewish heritage, in deference to the gospel that he has been preaching to the Gentiles.¹²⁶ An analysis of the intertextual connections to the Old Testament suggests that Paul is in fact indirectly asserting that he, as a prophetic messenger, is authentic, and that the gospel which he preaches (not just his feelings for his fellow countrymen) is the truth.

In the sub-sections relating to each verse (i.e. Rom 9:1-3) below, I shall proceed first by providing a review of some of the scholarly discussions on the text from the viewpoint of biblical intertextuality, before undertaking a fresh intertextual analysis using the approach outlined earlier. The results will then be brought together in a final conclusion to present the new insights that may emerge from the examination of these broader intertextual connections.

2 Speaking the Truth, Not Lying, and Having Witnesses (Romans 9:1)

2.1 Review of Current Intertextual Analysis of Romans 9:1

After expounding the gospel of Jesus Christ (Rom 3:32–8:39), Paul turns to the situation of his people, to explain their prospect, in terms of God's promises in the past, his apparent rejection in the present, and his action in the future. Paul

¹²⁶ Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 530; Francis B. Watson, *Paul, Judaism, and the Gentiles* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 303-08. For the suggestion that the motivation behind writing Romans 9–11 has more to do with Paul's plan to go to Jerusalem rather than the situation in Rome (where Gentile Christians are in the majority within the church), see Eduard Lohse, *Der Brief an die Römer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 262.

begins by making a three-fold declaration to garner confidence in the authenticity of what he is about to say in Rom 9:2—(a) in Christ, he is speaking truth (ἀλήθειαν λέγω);¹²⁷ (b) he is not lying (οὐ ψεύδομαι); and (c) his conscience (συνείδησις) in the Holy Spirit¹²⁸ bears witness to (perhaps more specifically, ‘with regards to’) him (συμμαρτυρούσης μοι). These three-sided assertions are crucial to my presentation here, and should be borne in mind.

Cranfield notes that Paul could be influenced by the biblical law of evidence in Num 35:30; Deut 17:6 and 19:15.¹²⁹ These texts pertain to the issue of (c) bearing witness in the event of a crime being committed. In Num 35:30, the law of Moses states that a person can only be put to death on the testimony of two or three witnesses, and not just one witness only. This provision is repeated in Deut 17:6. In Deut 19:15, however, the scope of this law is widened, and is not restricted only to cases that attract capital punishment. From here on, it applies to any crime that a man may be charged with—he is to be convicted on the basis of not just one, but two or three witnesses who testify against him.

In the light of these prior texts, the words of Paul in Rom 9:1 imply that, together with his own testimony, Paul’s conscience in the Holy Spirit *validates* what he says to be true, concerning his great grief and unceasing anguish for the Jews (so Cranfield).¹³⁰ Cranfield uses the word ‘influence’ to characterise how Num 35:30; Deut 17:6; 19:15 may have shaped Paul’s thought here. It should be noted, nonetheless, that the ‘influence’ here is not merely a straightforward conveyance of a precedent. While the OT passages deal with testimonies concerning a crime,

¹²⁷ Ἀλήθειαν is anarthrous, emphasising the truthfulness (qualitatively) of what Paul is saying, rather than on any particular truth-content that he may be communicating, even if the latter is still in view, as indicated by the ὅτι clause in v. 2. This correlates with Cranfield’s interpretation that ἐν Χριστῷ should go with λέγω rather than ἀλήθειαν. See Cranfield, *Romans*, 2:451-52. Apart from connotations of ‘sphere’, the use of the preposition ἐν may also imply ‘standard’.

¹²⁸ Here, I am taking ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ to go with συνειδήσεως rather than συμμαρτυρούσης.

¹²⁹ Cranfield, *Romans*, 2:452.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

Paul's language in Rom 9:1 concerns the authenticity of the testimony-bearer in the course of his apostolic/prophetic ministry.

Furthermore, the passages mentioned by Cranfield relate only to the issue of having 'witnesses'—the third of Paul's three-sided assertions in Rom 9:1 which I delineated above. This is not the only significance that can be gathered from an analysis of the intertextual connections between the text and the Old Testament. On top of all that has been said, Paul's articulation in Rom 9:1 points to a particular posture that is especially significant when examined alongside certain passages in the Septuagint, as he opens this next part of his discourse in Romans 9–11.

2.2 Romans 9:1 and Texts Relating to False Testimonies

Scholars like Cranfield, as I noted earlier, would point to passages like Num 35:30; Deut 17:6 and 19:15. They relate to having two or more witnesses before the truth of a testimony can be established. However, when Paul says in Rom 9:1 that he is 'telling (the) truth', and 'not lying', the intertextual connections to OT texts that prohibit false testimonies against an innocent person go beyond these texts, and they have not been investigated thus far.¹³¹

Exodus 20:16, for example, which has the text οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου μαρτυρίαν ψευδῆ ('you shall not falsely testify against your neighbour with false testimony'), is reproduced again in Deut 5:20; together, they contain an injunction against bearing false testimony that is often recalled in subsequent Old Testament accounts.¹³² Although the precise *verbal correspondence* is not evident, there is a *semantic* overlap among the key words here. The words ψευδομαρτυρήσεις and μαρτυρίαν ψευδῆ in Ex 20:16 and

¹³¹ To be fair, Professor Cranfield in the 1970's was not undertaking an intertextual study of the epistle to the Romans *per se*; I am merely selecting his excellent commentary as a point of departure for what we are about to consider.

¹³² Examples are Ex 23:1; Num 5:13; Psa 26:12; 34:11; 88:38; Prov 6:19; 12:17, 19; 14:5, 25; 19:5, 9; 21:28; 24:28.

Deut 5:20 are comparable to ψεύδομαι and συμμαρτυρούσης¹³³ in Rom 9:1. The key idea in this second group of passages (headed by Ex 20:16 and Deut 5:20) is related to, but distinctly different from, those mentioned by Cranfield earlier (i.e. Num 35:3; Deut 17:6; 19:15). Whereas the passages cited earlier outline the principle of having two or three witnesses before any judgment can be made, the texts revolving around Ex 20:16 and Deut 5:20 focus on being a truthful witness itself.

Thus, when Paul says that he is not lying (οὐ ψεύδομαι), the intertextual background must be recognised in terms of this second group of passages, rather than the former. Both ideas are related, but also distinct in their Old Testament contexts. Thus, there are two interrelated but nonetheless distinct themes coming together in Paul's text, intersecting to accentuate what the apostle is saying—that in Christ he is speaking truth and not lying, and this is validated at the same time by his conscience in the Holy Spirit.¹³⁴

By their coming together in this manner, the two elements form an intertextual matrix that should not be missed in our examination of Rom 9:1. In the simpler case of an allusion, one would trace the connection back to a source text which the author (in our case, Paul) is taken to have intentionally invoked, and the literary context of that specific source would shed light on what is being alluded or amplified. But this characteristic is not evident nor necessary in our case. Here, we have several texts (falling into at least two distinct categories) coming together to provide the intertextual resource, without any one of them presenting itself to be the singular source text for Paul's words in Rom 9:1. The lack of exact verbal correspondences makes it less likely that an explicit allusion is intended.

¹³³ The compound word, συμμαρτυρέω, and its cognates (found in Rom 9:1), are never used in the LXX.

¹³⁴ As Schlier observes, Paul is not merely appealing to Christ as the guarantor of the truthfulness of his speech, but also to affirm that he is speaking the 'truth of Christ', cf. Schlier, *Römerbrief*, 284.

What may be happening here is that, with these Old Testament injunctions against lying and the requirement to have two or more collaborative witnesses as precursory ideas, Paul is putting himself forward as one of the testimony-bearers, with Christ and the Holy Spirit indirectly behind what he is saying. The prior texts from the Old Testament deal with situations where there are allegations of crime or wrongdoing being committed. Paul's words in Rom 9:1-3, therefore, suggest that a wrong has been committed against the will of God. This is further supported by the view that Paul's emphatic 'for I pray anathema to be *I myself*' (αὐτὸς ἐγώ) in Rom 9:3 implies, conversely, that the Jews are in danger of experiencing God's wrath if they continue in their resistance to the gospel.

2.3 Romans 9:1 and Texts Relating to Lying Prophets

In addition to the above, it is just as significant to examine the dialogical relationship between Rom 9:1 and those passages that detail the ministry of the prophets in the course of their proclamation of the truth (or non-truth). This intertextuality is pertinent if, as will be made clear later when we consider Rom 9:2-3, Paul has a distinct prophetic self-understanding in view as he continues with his discourse in Romans 9–11. For now, we shall focus on the significance of the words, ἀλήθειαν...οὐ ψεύδομαι (in Rom 9:1), in the light of certain passages in the Old Testament.

Very early in the nation's history, the Israelites are warned to be on their guard against prophets who would deliver false prophecies to sway them from their allegiance to Yahweh (Deut 13:1-5; 18:20). The focus here is on the false prophets who prophesy in Yahweh's name, and not simply on diviners or mediums who also deliver oracles to the Israelites in contradistinction to the word of God. The difference between the two is that, while one comes expressly (albeit falsely) in the name of Yahweh, the other does not. The key aspect that has intertextual relevance to Paul's words in Rom 9:1-3 is the phenomenon of lying prophets in the OT.

False prophets who lead the people to follow other gods (even those that perform miraculous signs to authenticate their ministry) are to be put to death (Deut 13:5). Similarly, those who presume to speak in God's name when in fact they are not instructed to do so, or who speak in the name of other gods (probably a corollary to leading the people to follow other gods), are to be put to death (Deut 18:20). Even a prophet who is deceived into acting contrary to what God has explicitly revealed is also put to death (1 Kings 13).

The episode in 1 Kings 13 adds an interesting dimension to the discussion. The 'man of God' (presumably younger) is beguiled by another old prophet who claims to have received God's word. Consequently, the younger prophet acts contrary to the earlier instructions given by Yahweh himself. The result is death (1 Kgs 13:22, 24). This episode illustrates what God expects of his prophets—they are to listen to his voice only, and not to be deceived even by those who claim to speak for him, if they contradict what the prophet has been told in the first place.

The principle behind this expectation is reiterated in the book of Jeremiah, where the people are judged, along with the false prophets, for listening to prophetic lies. It is also manifest in 1 Kings 22 (= 2 Chronicles 18) and Neh 6:12-14. In 1 Kings 22, Ahab fails to listen to God's true prophet (Micaiah). He opts to listen to the 400 false prophets (v. 6) who delivered a favourable but false word, resulting in the king's humiliating death. In Neh 6:12-14, Shemaiah (v. 12), the prophetess Noadiah and 'the rest of the prophets' (v. 14) try to discourage Nehemiah from completing the rebuilding of the wall. These are ostensibly the pseudo-prophets to whom Nehemiah did not pay heed.

2.3.1 'Lying Prophets' in the Prophetic Books in General

It is in the book of Jeremiah, however, that the role of false prophets in speaking lies to the people is fully expounded as a major accessory to the nation's downfall (Jer 5:31; 14:13-16; 20:1-6; 23:9-40; 34:2-22 [27:2-22]; 35:1-17 [28:1-

17]; 36:1-32 [29:1-32]).¹³⁵ It is possible that Jeremiah could have read or heard the prophecies of Micah, Isaiah and Amos who are before him.¹³⁶ In these earlier works, however, the place of the lying prophets in the course of the nation's downfall is not given the same level of attention as in Jeremiah.¹³⁷ The closest parallel would probably be in the book of Micah, which I shall discuss below.

Micah 3:5-12 contains a short description of false prophets. They are said to be those 'who bite with their teeth to proclaim peace,' (v. 5), which, according to this text in LXX, probably means that they 'grit their teeth' to deliver a false message despite knowing that the contrary is true.¹³⁸ In Mic 2:6 and 2:11, the Hebrew text does contain references to prophets who speak falsely—they are an impediment to Yahweh's words being heard by the people, precisely when the latter need to repent of their sins. The writer uses the root word הָטַף (literally, 'to drip') idiomatically to express the idea of 'one speaking with inspiration' (cf. Ezk 20:46; 21:2; Amos 7:16). The meaning of this idiom, however, is lost in the Greek text, as the translator evidently understands the expression quite literally and uses the Greek words for 'weeping' (κλαίω, δακρύω) or 'drip' (σταλάζω, σταγών) to render his translation, resulting in a vastly different, if not totally unintelligible, passage.¹³⁹ In any case, even with such considerations in mind, the

¹³⁵ Jeremiah 34–36 LXX = Jeremiah 27–29 MT respectively. Apart from other smaller variations between the two texts, Jer 29:16-20 MT is not found in Jeremiah 36 LXX.

¹³⁶ Lundbom suggests this connection in Jeremiah with regards to issues of urban justice. See Jack R. Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1-20*, vol. 21A (New Haven, NY: Yale University Press, 1999), 142.

¹³⁷ Isaiah, for example, contains only one clear reference to lying prophets—Isa 9:14 (= 9:15 MT), which refers to the prophet (προφήτην , seen here as a collective noun) that teaches lawlessness (ἀνομία) and who, together with the elder and dignitaries ($\text{τὰ πρόσωπα θαυμάζοντας}$), is accused of misguiding the people; but no further details are given. Amos, on the other hand, does not contain any reference to the ministry of false prophets.

¹³⁸ This rendering should be considered an inaccuracy on the part of the Greek translation. A more accurate rendering of the probable *Vorlage* in Hebrew would be to understand the expressions $\text{הַשְׂמִינִים הַנְּשָׂכִים}$ and $\text{לֹא יִתֵּן עַל-פִּיהֶם}$ idiomatically, as found in our modern translations. Thus, these false prophets have a mercenary attitude—proclaiming peace to those who feed them, while those who do not will suffer their animosity (cf. Mic 3:11).

¹³⁹ Consequently, the relevant texts in the MT and LXX run as follows:

profiles of these false prophets are not as fully developed as those which we find in the book of Jeremiah (and, later, Ezekiel). It is in these latter books that the role of the lying prophets is brought into sharper focus.

2.3.2 'Lying Prophets' in Jeremiah and Ezekiel in Particular

The book of Jeremiah contains a number of extended references, both in the prophetic oracles and in the historical sections, to the lying prophets who played a role in leading the nation astray. The terse statement in Jer 5:31 encapsulates the mechanics of the problem:

Jer 5:31 LXX οἱ προφηῆται προφητεύουσιν ἄδικα, καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐπεκρότησαν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτῶν, καὶ ὁ λαὸς μου ἠγάπησεν οὕτως:

The prophets prophesy what is unrighteous, and the priests applaud with their own hands, and my people loved it so.

Israel's religious leaders are not true shepherds who lead the people to God, yet the people still welcome and accept their ministry in their midst. The presence of the lying prophets and the pseudo-priests, together with the response of the people to their pseudo-ministry, are all symptomatic of a nation that has turned wayward from the ways of God *in toto*.

Mic 2:6 MT	אלֹא־תִנְבֵּאֵן עַל־אֵלֶּיךָ לְנָבִיא 'Do not prophesy,' they prophesy, 'do not prophesy about these'.
Mic 2:6 LXX	μὴ κλαίετε δάκρυσιν, μηδὲ δακρυέτωσαν ἐπὶ τούτοις Do not weep tears, nor let them shed tears over these things.
Mic 2:11 MT	אִם־יֵלֶךְ אִישׁ בְּרוּחַ וְיִשְׁבַּח עֲבָרָתוֹ וְיִשְׁבַּח עֲבָרָתוֹ If a man walks in wind and lies deceitfully, 'I will prophesy to you about wine and strong drink,' he would have prophesied to this people.
Mic 2:11 LXX	πνεῦμα ἔστησεν ψεῦδος, ἐστάλαξέν σοι εἰς οἶνον καὶ μέθυσμα. καὶ ἔσται ἐκ τῆς σταγόνης τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου A spirit established a lie, it dripped on you as wine and strong drink. And it shall be from the drop of this people.

While both texts (especially Mic 2:11) are difficult whether in Hebrew or Greek, there is no textual evidence to indicate that the variation in the LXX is due to a difference in the *Vorlage* used for the Greek translation. The discrepancy is more easily explained by accounting for how the Greek translator handles the highly idiomatic expressions in the Hebrew text.

The picture becomes more detailed on examination of the other key passages in Jeremiah. In Jer 14:13, the prophet complains that, while Yahweh has sent him to preach a message of drought (14:1-6) and revealed that destruction would come upon Israel in the form of ‘sword, famine and plague’ (14:12), there are prophets who keep telling the people that things are well (14:13). Rather than a message of divine judgment in the form of sword or famine, they deliver a false message of peace in God’s name. This and God’s reply in Jer 14:14 outline the ministry of these lying prophets: (1) They are not sent, appointed or instructed by God; (2) they prophesy lies (ψευδῆ) in God’s name; (3) they invent their own messages—messages that originate only from within their own heart (καρδίας); and (4) their lies result in the people not hearing God’s true message about their sins and his impending judgment which could have led to repentance.

In another key passage, Jer 23:9-40, the prophets of Jerusalem (v. 14) are said to be committing adultery (μοιχάομαι) and walking in lies (πορευομένους ἐν ψεύδεσι). They encourage wickedness (ἀντιλαμβανομένους χειρῶν πονηρῶν, ‘they help the hands of wickedness’), and are being compared to the people of Sodom while the people are compared to those of Gomorrah (the double comparison ‘Sodom...Gomorrah’ is stylistic).¹⁴⁰ The prophets are accused of being a catalyst for the spread of defilement (μολυσμός) throughout the land. Thus, they will receive divine judgment (v. 15). Further details of their activities are given in the verses that follow (this time, God is speaking to the people). They prophesy lies (vv. 25, 32) and fill the people with empty vision (v. 16). To those who reject (τοῖς ἀπωθουμένοις) the word of God, they pronounce peace (v. 17). Therefore, through these lies, they are leading the people astray—instead of warning them about their waywardness, the prophets cover up their sins with lies (v. 32).¹⁴¹ The people, on their part, goad the lying prophets on with their

¹⁴⁰ The account of God’s judgment on Sodom and Gomorrah is another significant prior text in the book of Jeremiah, as in Amos, Isaiah and Zephaniah. See William L. Holladay, *Jeremiah 2*, ed. Paul D. Hanson (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989), 37.

¹⁴¹ In Jer 34:12 (= 27:15 MT), the Greek translator connects the lies of the prophets directly to the perils of the people, even though the text in the MT represents Yahweh as

constant expectation that, from the latter, they can expect to hear the very word of God (Jer 23:33-40 cf. 36:8 [29:8]). The other passages in Jeremiah that might further the discussion would be those in Jeremiah 33 (Jeremiah 26 MT), and Jeremiah 34–36 (Jeremiah 27–29 MT). Taken together, they highlight the tension between the true prophet of God and those false prophets that are lying to the people.

Ezekiel picks up these themes in Ezk 13:1-16, using distinctive expressions of his own.¹⁴² The false prophets of the Israelites are repeatedly accused of being ‘seers of lies and diviners of emptiness’ (βλέποντες ψευδῆ, μαντευόμενοι μάταια, 13:3, 6-9) and giving messages that stem from their own imagination (13:1, 2, 17), followed by the fact that they were never sent by Yahweh at all (13:6-7). Instead of repairing the breaks in the wall (a sign of the broken relationship between Israel and Yahweh), they plaster them over (ἀλείφω, ‘I anoint’; חָבַשׁ in MT, ‘to cover with lime’)—by proclaiming peace with God when, in fact, the nation’s sins against God are mounting (13:5, 10, 14, 16; cf. 22:28).

These foregoing texts provide a pre-condition to what Paul is saying in Rom 9:1, brought about by the Old Testament which, in the case of Paul and his reading community, is represented by the Greek translation. In other words, the OT text becomes for them an ideational resource that serves as the pre-condition for their communication and allows for deep impressions to be made with relatively terse expressions. Few of us would pre-qualify these features as examples of allusions or echoes, using the framework devised by Hays, simply because the connection here is more through *concepts* rather than *verbal correspondences*. Of course, in the proposed approach, working with ‘words’ is inescapable, since we are

the subject bringing judgment upon the Israelites.

¹⁴² This is so even though some elements in Ezekiel’s language are still comparable to that of Jeremiah’s. For example, the use of τοῖς προφητεύουσιν ἀπὸ καρδίας αὐτῶν in Ezk 13:3 and τοὺς λόγους τῶν προφητῶν...ἀπὸ καρδίας αὐτῶν λαλοῦσιν in Jer 23:16, εἰρήνη εἰρήνη in Ezk 13:10 and Jer 23:17, οἱ λόγοι ὑμῶν ψευδεῖς in Ezk 13:8 and τῶν προφητευόντων ψευδῆ in Jer 23:26 (cf. Jer 23:25, 32), ὄρασιν ψευδῆ...μαντείας ματαιίας in Ezk 13:8 and ματαιοῦσιν ἑαυτοῖς ὄρασιν in Jer 23:16.

dealing with the written texts! But what we look for are the ideas, imagery, postures, attitudes (the non-verbal aspects of a cultural text) that stand behind those words, and their intertextual relationships to one another. To the writer who is so ingrained in the Old Testament (and Paul is one such writer), its texts contain some of the latent, pre-coded significations that are embedded into the words penned in Rom 9:1.

2.4 Romans 9:1—Conclusion

When Paul says that he is speaking truth in Christ, that he is not lying and that his conscience in the Holy Spirit bears witness on his behalf in Rom 9:1, he is presenting himself as a prophet who speaks the truth, as opposed to the false prophets who speak lies and who are featured especially prominently in the prophetic books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. The intertextual significance of these prophetic texts also suggests that Paul is speaking to a people that is largely wayward in their relationship to God. This testimony to the truth comes with the witness of Christ and the Holy Spirit who stand behind what he is saying, validating his words.

The immediate content of this testimony is, of course, the anguish and pain that Paul is experiencing on account of his people (Rom 9:2). Nonetheless, it also carries with it the insinuation that what is said about the gospel itself is the truth. If Paul's anguish and pain for his fellow countrymen is true and validated by Christ and the Spirit, it reflects his conviction that he is speaking the truth about the gospel as well, and not lying (hence, the genuine anguish and pain over those who are not responding positively to it). Unlike the false prophets who smooth over unpleasant messages from God, Paul speaks the truth as it is, like any genuine prophet would.

3 The Anguish of a Prophet (Romans 9:2)

3.1 Review of Current Intertextual Analysis in Romans 9:2

Dunn suggests that Paul's words in Rom 9:2, ὅτι λύπη μοί ἐστιν μεγάλη καὶ ἀδιάλειπτος ὀδύνη τῇ καρδίᾳ μου ('that my grief is great and [there is] unceasing anguish in my heart'), contain an *allusion* to Isa 35:10 and 51:11, since the words λύπη and ὀδύνη are used together in these verses.¹⁴³ If this conjecture is correct, it is noteworthy that whilst the original contexts of these verses are positive, they are located in a negative frame of reference in Rom 9:2, in that Paul is now grieving over the Jews' resistance to the gospel. In their original contexts, the Isaianic passages anticipate a day when the Jews will be restored to Zion as they return from their exile, and all pain and anguish will go away. This reversal of mood in Rom 9:2, therefore, heightens the intensity of Paul's feelings over the condition of the Jews in his day—that which is an occasion for rapturous joy in Isaiah has turned into an occasion for intense grief in Romans.

Nevertheless, it is difficult to discern whether Paul is specifically *alluding* to Isa 35:10 and 51:11, based on the mere presence of these two words in the Isaianic passages and in Rom 9:2. Although λύπη and ὀδύνη appear together only in a limited number of passages in the LXX, there are numerous occurrences of each of these words separately.¹⁴⁴ This militates against any proclivity to pin down a specific source passage which an *allusion* proper would necessarily entail, since the *volume* would be grossly diluted in the sea of references (coupled with the 'smallness' of the word fragments indicated here).

¹⁴³ Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 523-24. The wording in both passages (Isa 35:10 and 51:11) is identical, suggesting that the same event is referred to in both oracles. Apart from Isa 35:10 and 51:11, the words λύπη and ὀδύνη and their cognates also occur together in Isa 19:10 and 40:29 as well as Prov 31:6; Tob 3:1, 10; and Sol 4:15 in the LXX, although the antecedent contexts in these verses do not even remotely correspond to that in Rom 9:2, which we would normally expect in the case of an allusion.

¹⁴⁴ More than 100 references for λύπη and its related cognates, and more than 80 for ὀδύνη and its cognates.

Furthermore, while this discussion explores the intertextuality of Paul's words in Rom 9:2 on the basis of an exact verbal correspondence between Rom 9:2 and Isa 35:10; 51:11, there are other intertextual connections between Paul's text and the OT that should also be examined.

3.2 Intertextual Connections to the Old Testament in Romans 9:2

As remarked by Käsemann, Rom 9:1-5 contains the apostle's *lament*.¹⁴⁵ At a deeper level, Paul's expression of grief and sorrow on account of the people's rebelliousness or sin (with its looming judgment) is a striking prophetic posture in the Old Testament, which a broadening of the semantic field for our searches (going beyond the exact verbal matches) would enable us to observe.¹⁴⁶ While the general populace in some scriptural contexts may weep, groan or cry as they experience God's judgment, this prophetic anguish is different in that it is a grief that is expressed, not on account of a personal suffering, but on account of the prophet's commiseration with his people. Thus, while there are numerous references to grief in the Psalms, virtually all of them refer to personal pain on account of sin or physical affliction that does not fall within the bounds of the demarcation here.

Examples of those who lament or grieve over the destiny of the people who are undergoing or about to undergo divine judgment as a result of transgressions against God's will can be found in Ezra 10:1 (where the word, κλαίων, 'I am weeping' is used in the LXX), Neh 1:4 (ἐκκλαυσσα), and Isa 22:4, where Isaiah uses the words πικρῶς κλάυσομαι ('I will weep bitterly') to express his inconsolable grief on hearing God's judgment being pronounced upon the nation. The protagonists in these settings, like Paul, grieve over the destiny of their people in the face of divine rejection or discipline. These passages centre around the verb κλαίω ('I cry'), and not λύπη and ὀδύνη as in Rom 9:2. Nevertheless, there is

¹⁴⁵ Ernst Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans* (London: SCM Press, 1980), 256.

¹⁴⁶ Dunn, in his commentary, also notes the OT motif that is evident here; unfortunately, nothing further is done with this. Cf. Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 524.

substantial conceptual overlap in the characterisations that are discernible within these passages. The word κλαίω would aptly describe the outward expression (weeping) of the prophet's inward feeling of λύπη and ὀδύνη.

Indeed, this picture of a prophetic figure who grieves over the condition of his own people is seen vividly in Jeremiah and Lamentations, perhaps even more so than in the other writings.¹⁴⁷ In the course of his prophetic ministry, Jeremiah uses a remarkable range of vocabulary in describing his grief for the people. In Jer 4:19, the prophet uses the expressions τὴν κοιλίαν μου τὴν κοιλίαν μου ἄλγῶ ('my belly, I grieve in my belly'), σπαράσσεται ἡ καρδία μου ('my heart is being torn apart'), μαιμάσσει ἡ ψυχή μου ('my soul is stirred') to characterise his deep personal anguish over the impending judgment that his people will be going through on account of their sin (4:14-17, 18). In Jer 8:18, he uses the words ἀνίατα μετ' ὀδύνης καρδίας ὑμῶν ἀπορουμένης ('incorrigible things with pain in my disoriented heart'). Then in Jer 8:21-23 [8:21-9:1] Jeremiah compares the pain of seeing the fracture (συντρίμματι) of his people to the pain of a woman in labour (ὠδίνες, v. 21), which makes him weep (κλαύσομαι) and causes his eyes to flow like a fountain of water (v. 23). This personal identification with the destiny of his people is further underlined in Jer 10:19 when he says that this 'fracture' (συντρίμματι), *in reality* (ὄντως), is his own wound (τραῦμα). Again, in Jer 13:17, Jeremiah says he secretly weeps (κεκρυμμένως κλαύσεται) for his people who will soon be taken captive. This depiction of the grief of the prophet also extends into the book of Lamentations, if this latter book can indeed be regarded together with the former.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷ The book of Lamentations is traditionally ascribed to the prophet Jeremiah, although this is not necessarily the correct attribution; for example, four of the five poetic passages in Lamentations are acrostic, whereas this patterning is not found in any of the passages in Jeremiah. See Paul R. House, *Lamentations* (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 2004), 283-303. We should also bear in mind that Lamentations itself does not contain any attribution to the prophet Jeremiah, even if the language and tenor of the two books are similar, and the themes overlapping.

¹⁴⁸ If the later rabbinic traditions were to be of any indication, it would be reasonable for us to assume that the ancient Jew reads these two works as stemming from Jeremiah himself, and Paul would not be an exception.

In Lam 1:16, the author uses the words ὄφθαλμός μου κατήγαγεν ὕδωρ ('my eye has poured out water'), whereas in Lam 2:11 the words ἐξέλιπον ἐν δάκρυσιν οἱ ὄφθαλμοί μου ('my eyes have failed in tears') are used. These two texts present the striking image of a prophet whose heart is so deeply ingrained in his concern for his people's relationship to Yahweh, that he would weep for them when that relationship is threatened because of sin. What is remarkable in these depictions is also the reference to an anguish that is found deep in the belly (κοιλία) or heart (καρδία).

In connection with these prior texts, Paul's words in Rom 9:2 (indeed, Rom 9:1-5) have a decidedly richer significance. When Paul says that his grief is great and that there is unceasing anguish in his heart (καρδία), the emblematic resemblance between the OT contexts and Rom 9:2 is so evident that it would indeed be surprising if Paul's outlook as observed in Rom 9:2 is not in some way shaped by these images from the prophetic writings. This is despite the fact that, when Paul expresses his willingness to sacrifice himself for the sake of his fellow countrymen in the next verse (Rom 9:3), he also goes beyond the traditional prophetic intercession.¹⁴⁹ For now, the prophetic undertone in Rom 9:2 is discernible.

Romans 9:1-3 presents the picture of a prophet who is so anxious for the destiny of the Israelites, that he feels grief and anguish when his people do not respond to God as they should. Whether or not Paul is *consciously* doing so may be a matter of debate; but he markedly takes on the comportment of the Old Testament prophets who grieve over the waywardness of their people, of whom the prophet Jeremiah stands at the foremost.¹⁵⁰ This intertextuality would have been missed if

¹⁴⁹ Wilckens, *Römer* v. 2, 187.

¹⁵⁰ In his study of Paul's use of Isaiah in Rom 9–11, J. Ross Wagner shows that there is a close identity between Isaiah and Paul's understanding of his own ministry. Of course, that does not preclude the possibility that other portions of the Old Testament could also shape Paul's disposition in other ways. What I am saying here is that, utilising a different approach to study the intertextuality, we find additional indications to suggest that Paul's understanding of his calling and ministry is profoundly guided by his reading of

we were to restrict ourselves to looking only at the more explicit categories of citations, allusions and echoes.

3.3 The Significance of Jeremiah for Paul

The special relevance that the book of Jeremiah has for Paul is demonstrated in a study undertaken by K. O. Sandnes.¹⁵¹ Analysing the Pauline texts that refer to Paul's apostolic calling (Gal 1:15-16a; 1 Cor 2:6-16; 9:15-18; 2 Cor 4:6; Rom 1:1-5; 10:14-18; 11:25-36; 1 Thess 2:3-8; and Eph 2:19-3:7) and comparing these with texts that depict the calling and ministry of the OT prophets (with Jeremiah as one of the key figures), Sandnes concludes that 'Paul really did conceive of his apostolate and his commission to preach the gospel to the Gentiles in prophetic terms'.¹⁵²

It is this connection between Paul and Jeremiah that I would like to examine in more detail, since understanding the broader intertextual relationships between the two would help to substantiate the observations that have been made on Rom 9:2 thus far. There are a number of examples of Paul's use of the prophet in his epistles, such as his use of Jer 9:22-23 in 1 Cor 1:26-31, where it has been stated that the antecedent text in Jeremiah supplies the structure for Paul's argumentation in 1 Corinthians 1.¹⁵³ More profound, however, are those passages that point to an elaborate connection between the book of Jeremiah and Paul's understanding of his own calling and ministry.

Scripture. See Wagner, *Heralds*.

¹⁵¹ Karl Olav Sandnes, *Paul—One of the Prophets?* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1991).

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 240.

¹⁵³ Gail R. O'Day, "Jeremiah 9:22-23 and 1 Corinthians 1:26-31: A Study in Intertextuality," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 109, no. 2 (1990): 259-67. Also, Gordon D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 78.

3.3.1 Jeremiah in Relation to Paul's Own Calling

In his autobiographical account in Gal 1:15-17, Paul draws from Jer 1:5, with elements from Isa 49:1, to describe God's gracious calling in his life to preach the gospel to the Gentiles (see Figure 5).

Figure 5: Parallels between Gal 1:15-16 and Jer 1:5 / Isa 49:1

Key: Dashed underline } Parallels between Gal 1:15-16 and Jer 1:5
Single underline }
Double underline Parallels between Gal 1:15-16 and Isa 49:1

<p>Gal 1:15-16 Ὅτε δὲ εὐδόκησεν [ὁ θεός] ὁ ἀφορίσας με ἐκ <u>κοιλίας μητρός μου</u> καὶ καλέσας διὰ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ ἀποκαλύψαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐμοί, ἵνα εὐαγγελίζωμαι αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, εὐθέως οὐ προσανεθέμην σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι</p>	<p>Jer 1:5 Πρὸ τοῦ με πλάσαι σε ἐν κοιλίᾳ ἐπίσταμαί σε καὶ πρὸ τοῦ σε ἐξελθεῖν ἐκ μήτρας ἡγίακά σε, <u>προφήτην εἰς ἔθνη</u> τέθεικά σε.</p> <p>Isa 49:1 Ἄκουσατέ μου, νῆσοι, καὶ προσέχετε, ἔθνη διὰ χρόνου πολλοῦ στήσεται, λέγει κύριος. <u>ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου</u> ἐκάλεσεν τὸ ὄνομά μου</p>
--	--

The table above highlights portions of Paul's text in Gal 1:15-16 which are very likely taken from elements in Jer 1:5 and Isa 49:1. Contrary to Sandnes' view that the connection is to Isa 49:1 rather than Jer 1:5,¹⁵⁴ I think Paul is drawing from both texts generally, and there is no necessity to privilege one text over the other, since elements from both texts are found in Gal 1:15-16. Thus, when Paul says that God set him apart in his mother's womb (ὁ ἀφορίσας με ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου) in v. 15, the imagery is drawn from Jer 1:5 (πρὸ τοῦ σε ἐξελθεῖν ἐκ μήτρας ἡγίακά σε), supplemented by an exact phrase drawn from Isa 49:1, ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου. Then in Gal 1:16, when Paul says Christ was revealed to him so that he might preach him among the Gentiles (ἵνα εὐαγγελίζωμαι αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν), the parallel can again be seen in Jer 1:5 (προφήτην εἰς ἔθνη τέθεικά σε). The LXX text in this instance approximates the Hebrew text, and presents no significant issues in translation.

¹⁵⁴ Sandnes, *Paul*, 61-62.

Here is a clear case of allusion. The crucial departure in Paul’s use of the text, however, is that the revelation of Christ (‘his [God’s] Son’, τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ) is at the centre of his call; by grace, God reveals his Son to Paul, and this is the one whom he is called to preach to the Gentiles. In Jer 1:5, Jeremiah is simply appointed as ‘a prophet to the Gentiles’. What is to be noted here, nonetheless, is the role which both the texts from Jeremiah and Isaiah play in shaping Paul’s understanding of what he is called to do.

3.3.2 Jeremiah in Relation to Paul’s Ministry—‘Building Up and Not Tearing Down’

The close relationship between Jeremiah and Paul’s understanding of his own ministry is further seen in 2 Cor 10:8 and 13:10 (see Figure 6 below).

Figure 6: 2 Cor 10:8 and 2 Cor 13:10

Key: Single underline Parallels between 2 Cor 10:8 and 2 Cor 13:10

<p>2 Cor 10:8 ἐάν [τε] γὰρ περισσώτερόν τι καυχῆσωμαι περὶ τῆς <u>ἐξουσίας</u> ἡμῶν ἢς ἔδωκεν ὁ κύριος εἰς οἰκοδομὴν καὶ οὐκ εἰς <u>καθαίρεσιν</u> ὑμῶν, οὐκ αἰσχυνθήσομαι.</p>	<p>2 Cor 13:10 Διὰ τοῦτο ταῦτα ἀπὸν γράφω, ἵνα παρὼν μὴ ἀποτόμως χρήσωμαι κατὰ τὴν <u>ἐξουσίαν</u> ἣν ὁ κύριος ἔδωκέν μοι εἰς οἰκοδομὴν καὶ οὐκ εἰς <u>καθαίρεσιν</u>.</p>
--	---

In both places, Paul uses almost identical words to characterise his ministry (13:10), as well as that in conjunction with his fellow workers (10:8)—authority (ἐξουσίας) is given by the Lord (ὁ κύριος) ‘to build up, and not to tear down’ (εἰς οἰκοδομὴν καὶ οὐκ εἰς καθαίρεσιν). These words are paralleled in Jer 1:10¹⁵⁵ and its subsequent reiterations in Jer 12:14-17; 18:7-10; 24:6; 38:4, 28 [31:4, 28]; 49:10 [42:10]; 51:34 [45:4].¹⁵⁶ A closer examination will reveal that, as far as the key terms are concerned, these Jeremianic passages are interconnected (perhaps with Jer 1:10 as the head). The table below (see Figure 7) provides a simple tabulation of the key terms used in these passages in the book of Jeremiah (LXX).

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 6.

¹⁵⁶ See also Ezk 36:36; Amos 9:15.

Figure 7: The Interconnected Passages in Jeremiah

1:10	12:14-17	18:7-10	24:6	38:4 [31:4]	38:28 [31:28]	49:10 [42:10]	51:34 [45:4]
έκριζοῦν							
κατασκάπτειν							
	έξαρῶ	έξαραι					
άπολλύειν	άπωλεία	άπολλύειν					
άνοικοδομείν		άνοικοδομείσθαι	άνοικοδομήσω	[οικοδομήσω]	[οικοδομείν]	[οικοδομήσω]	[ώκοδομήσα]
		καταφρυτεύεσθαι	καθελῶ			καθέλω	καθιρῶ
καταφρυτεύειν			καταφρυτεύσω		καταφρυτεύειν	[φρυτεύσω]	[έφρυτεύσα]
			έκτίλω			έκτίλω	έκτίλω

What this tabulation shows is that each of the subsequent so-called ‘reiterations’ of Jer 1:10 (‘the lead verse’) contains at least one element (in the form of a key term) that links it back to the lead verse. They are not exact repetitions, but contain enough dynamic correspondences for any reader of Jeremiah to know that these are but different permutations of the same thing. These result in an intertextual matrix within the book of Jeremiah that binds this cluster of passages together. When Paul uses the words οἰκοδομή and καθαίρεσις in 2 Cor 10:8 and 13:10, the intertextual connection to this cluster of passages in Jeremiah is evident.

The declaration in Jer 1:10 is located in the account of the calling of the prophet, and it is a programmatic statement in Jeremiah. Walter Brueggemann, in his latest work on Jeremiah, describes this verse as a ‘thematization’ of the prophetic book (and, naturally, the prophet’s ministry as well).¹⁵⁷ Thus, the prophet is ‘appointed over nations and kingdoms’ (1:10a) to uproot, tear down, destroy, overthrow, build and plant (1:10b). Brueggemann notes that Jeremiah is called not only to *report*, but ‘to *effect* these actions by performed utterance’.¹⁵⁸ These words, therefore, amount to the prophet’s self-understanding of his calling, and constitute a *leitmotif* in the book of Jeremiah.

Thus, when the apostle Paul picks up these words in 2 Cor 10:8 and 13:10 (and probably alluding to the same in Gal 2:18), he is appropriating more than just the words of the prophet. He is in fact drawing from a deeply-embedded theme in the prophet’s own life and ministry, and applying it to his (Paul’s) own understanding of his calling and ministry (as well as that of his fellow co-workers’, 2 Cor 10:8). Authority is given to him to build up rather than to tear

¹⁵⁷ Walter Brueggemann, *The Theology of the Book of Jeremiah* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 37-38.

¹⁵⁸ Brueggemann says this with reference to the last two positive verbs (to build, to plant), in relation to Jeremiah’s ministry of restoration (*emphasis* belongs to the author). But by extension it would apply to the other preceding (negative) verbs in Jer 1:10 as well. It should be noted, however, that this programmatic pronouncement is relevant not only to Jeremiah’s oracles to Israel (which appears to be Brueggemann’s view, *ibid.*), but also to the prophet’s prophetic ministry to the other nations (cf. 1:10a; 12:14-17; 18:7-10).

down. When it comes to the issue of seeking one's own righteousness through works of the law, however, his ministry is to destroy (κατέλυσα) and not rebuild (πάλιν οἰκοδομῶ, Gal 2:18)!

Admittedly, something of a transformation takes place in Paul's use of the Jeremianic texts.¹⁵⁹ In Jeremiah, the prophet is called to deliver oracles of judgement to nations that oppose the will of Yahweh (they will be uprooted and destroyed), and words of comfort to those who will experience Yahweh's gracious restoration (they will be planted and rebuilt); Paul sees his ministry in terms of the gospel message of salvation through faith in Christ, as opposed to righteousness through obedience to the law.¹⁶⁰ It is a ministry conceived in terms of building and planting, of uprooting and tearing down. In the Jeremianic passages, the focus is centred on the destruction and restoration of nations (Israel in particular), which has more of an external emphasis, even though the internal quality of the people's relationship to Yahweh is not wholly excluded. In Paul's appropriation, however, it is centred chiefly on his ministry of spiritual formation (building up, not destroying). Notwithstanding that, the close connection between Jeremiah and how Paul sees his own ministry in the gospel is quite unmistakable.

3.3.3 *Jeremiah in Relation to Paul's Ministry—'A New Covenant'*

There is another case that can be cited to show the connection between Jeremiah and how Paul views his calling and ministry. At least one of the reiterations in Jeremiah precedes God's promise of a new covenant. In Jer 38:28 [31:28], Yahweh's words of assurance that Israel and Judah will be restored (vv. 27-30) is

¹⁵⁹ Sandnes is careful to note the differences between Paul's apostolic ministry and the ministry of the OT prophets, despite Paul's use of the language pertaining to their prophetic calling when describing his own apostolic commission, cf. Sandnes, *Paul*, 243-44.

¹⁶⁰ Note the contrast between justification through the law and through faith in Christ in the context surrounding Gal 2:18, as well as that between those who belong to Christ and those who do not, in the context surrounding 2 Cor 10:13.

followed by the promise of a new covenant in Jer 38:31-34 [31:31-34].¹⁶¹ This reference to the ‘new’ covenant, *διαθήκην καινήν*, occurs only here in the LXX. Thus, when Paul refers to himself and his co-workers as servants of the new covenant (*διακόνους καινῆς διαθήκης*) in 2 Cor 3:6 and uses the same terms in his account of the institution of the Lord’s Supper in 1 Cor 11:25, it is probable that this language (that the gospel is now a ‘new covenant’) is sourced from Jer 38:31-34 [31:31-34], as a number of commentators would think.¹⁶² This view, nevertheless, has been challenged by scholars such as Räisänen, who advocates that there is ‘surprisingly slight’ evidence that Jeremiah 31 is at the back of Paul’s mind, and that he does not cite Jeremiah 31 in connection with these verses.¹⁶³ The notion that Paul sees his ministry as the new covenant in the light of Jer 38:31-34, therefore, needs to be examined more closely.

The key passage (but by no means the only one of relevance) in our discussion is inevitably 2 Cor 3:6, since it relates directly to Paul’s understanding of his own ministry. The verse is located in the midst of Paul’s exegesis of Exodus 32–34, centred on the contrast between the fading glory of the old covenant (exemplified by the veil that Moses puts on his face to conceal its fading glory after his descent from Sinai) and the ‘much more glorious’ new covenant. In an extensive treatment of 2 Corinthians 3 in connection with Exodus 32–34, Watson has already demonstrated how Paul’s view of the relationship between the old and the new covenants is derived from his specific reading of the Exodus text, guided

¹⁶¹ There are, of course, various views with regards to the nature of this ‘new covenant’ in its relationship to the Mosaic covenant. Some see this as a replacement of the Mosaic covenant; others see it as a renewal of the same covenant; while still others see it as a modification. See Jack R. Lundbom, *Jeremiah 21-36*, vol. 21B (New Haven, NY: Yale University Press, 2004), 466-67. Personally, I think there is both continuity and discontinuity between the Mosaic covenant and the gospel, with the promises made to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (Gen 12:1-3, etc.) functioning as the linchpin. Cranfield’s remarks, however, are insightful in this regard: ‘Jer 31.31-34 is often understood as a promise of a new law to take the place of the old...But the new thing promised in v. 33 is, in fact, neither a new law nor freedom from the law, but a sincere inward desire and determination on the part of God’s people to obey the law already given to them’ cf. Cranfield, *Romans*, 384.

¹⁶² Ralph P. Martin, *2 Corinthians* (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1986), 53-54.

¹⁶³ Heikki Räisänen, *Paul and the Law* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1983), 242.

by his encounter with the gospel of Jesus Christ.¹⁶⁴ It is this idea, of Paul being guided by his view of the gospel, that I now develop further.

In 2 Corinthians 3, Paul explicitly expounds the Exodus narrative in making comparisons between the 'old' covenant and the 'new' (2 Cor 3:6, 14). However, nothing in the Exodus text itself would automatically engender such a comparison, that there is an 'old' and a 'new' covenant. For Paul to understand the gospel of Christ that he preaches as a new covenant, it must be derived either wholly from his own creative invention, or from his reading of other texts, such as Jer 38:31-34 [31:31-34]; Ezk 11:19-20; 36:26-27.¹⁶⁵ His encounter with the resurrected Christ only tells half of the story; what he needs to do next is to situate this new revelation in the context of what has preceded it.

Thus, if Paul has taken the pain to explain his gospel in connection with prior revelation (i.e. the scriptural writings, Exodus 32–34 in this particular case), it is also reasonable to ask how he arrives at such a conclusion, that there is now a 'new' covenant in relation to an 'old', since his encounter with Christ alone does not in itself provide the solution (it only prompts the question to be asked). Consequently, I am of the view that it is reading passages that detail the promise of a new covenant, and seeing this promise being fulfilled in the coming of Jesus Christ and the subsequent outpouring of the Holy Spirit (Acts 2), that make the assertions in 2 Corinthians 3—that the Mosaic law is old covenant, and now the gospel is the new covenant (whether in the sense of a replacement, reiteration, or reformulation)¹⁶⁶—possible. This is where passages such as Jer 38:31-34 [31:31-34]; Ezk 11:19-20; 36:26-27 become relevant.

¹⁶⁴ Francis B. Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith* (London; New York: T & T Clark, 2004), 281-313.

¹⁶⁵ Comparisons between the LXX and MT texts in these passages reveal that the discrepancies, while not entirely negligible, are nevertheless not significant enough to differentiate the main points in these verses.

¹⁶⁶ The writer of the letter to the Hebrews would probably think that the new covenant, mediated through Christ, is a complete replacement for the old Mosaic covenant (cf. Heb 8:7-13; 9:15-22; 10:15-18, 29; 12:24; 13:20).

In Jer 38:31-32, God says that he will make a *new covenant* with the house of Israel and that of Judah (v. 31), one that is *unlike* the covenant he made with their forefathers when he took them out of Egypt (v. 32). God's laws will be given to their minds (τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν), and written upon their hearts (ἐπὶ καρδίας αὐτῶν γράψω). The two phrases should be taken together to express one idea: God will write his laws directly in man's inward parts, as opposed to mediation through some external implement (stone tablet or scroll, or even a human teacher, v. 34). This is followed by a covenant formula that also functions as a word of assurance—he will be God to them and they will be to him a people (v. 33).

The effect of this act is further elaborated in v. 34—all would know Him instinctively without the need for any external intermediary because (ὅτι, translating 𐤀) of God's grace in forgiving them (v. 34). In Jer 24:7, this ability to know God is connected to the giving of a new heart (καρδίαν). It is therefore easy to see how this idea in Jeremiah can also be connected to Ezk 11:19-20 and 36:26-27, where Yahweh promises to give to his people a new heart and a new spirit in the eschaton, so that they would obey him. Ezk 36:27 goes so far as to say that Yahweh will put his own Spirit (τὸ πνεῦμά μου) in man.

The key elements in these verses are figured into Paul's description of the new covenant in 2 Corinthians 3, much as he is also comparing that covenant to the Mosaic covenant as epitomised in the events narrated in Exodus 32–34. First of all, Jer 38:31-34 [31:31-34] would have supplied Paul, not only with the terminology (καινῆς διαθήκης), but also the substance of the 'new' covenant that he speaks of in 2 Corinthians 3. Thus, he and his co-workers are ministers, not of the letter that is written with ink on tablets of stone, but of the Spirit that writes on tablets of human hearts. The use of the phrase, πλαξὶν καρδίας σαρκίνας in 2 Cor 3:3 is an interpretive summary of Jer 38:33 [31:33] and Ezk 11:19-20; 36:26-27 (where καρδίαν σαρκίνην occurs) taken together. Although the promise of the new covenant was made to the people of Israel in Jeremiah

and Ezekiel, it does not preclude Paul from applying it in his ministry to both Jews and Gentiles.¹⁶⁷ Such hermeneutical adjustments can be seen in Paul's use of Scripture elsewhere (e.g. his use of the Isaianic texts in 1 Corinthians 1–4).¹⁶⁸ Therefore—to answer the objection raised by Räsänen—while the verbal parallels in these verses cannot be matched up neatly, the theological connection is evident, even if it entails some degree of reinterpretation of these texts by Paul in 2 Corinthians 3. It is reasonable for us to think that Paul derives the specific notions of the new covenant from these texts, and this leads to his discussion in 2 Corinthians 3.

What this preceding survey demonstrates is that the prophetic book of Jeremiah plays a significant role in Paul's interpretation of his own calling and ministry. Paul evidently turns to the book not only to seek answers to questions of church and theology; he also finds in the prophet a guide for intimately understanding his own apostolic calling. This is manifest in varying degrees in the texts that I mentioned—some more explicitly, others (as in 2 Corinthians 3) more subtly, but nonetheless significantly.

3.4 Romans 9:2—Conclusion

Based on the discussion thus far, it is reasonable to say that Paul is shaped by his reading of the prophetic texts as he opens his discussion on the status of the Jews in relation to the gospel in Romans 9–11. When Paul says that his grief is great and there is unceasing anguish in his heart (Rom 9:2), he is using ideational resources provided by the prophets (especially Jeremiah) to express his own feelings towards his fellow Jews. Similar use of the book of Jeremiah in Paul's understanding of his own ministry and calling is seen elsewhere in Paul's

¹⁶⁷ Indeed, nothing in these texts *per se* suggests that Gentiles cannot be included in the New Covenant. Paul's reading of other texts (e.g. Genesis 12 and 15:6 in Romans 4) would have widened his perspective of God's prerogatives among the Gentile nations as well.

¹⁶⁸ This was the topic of my MA thesis in 2009, under the supervision of Professor Watson.

writings. This includes the understanding of his own calling by God even before he was born (Gal 1:15-17 cf. Jer 1:5; Isa 49:1), the focus of his ministry (2 Cor 10:8; 13:10 cf. Jer 1:10; 12:14-17; and others) and the nature of the New Covenant (1 Cor 11:25; 2 Cor 3:6 cf. Jer 38:31-34 [31:31-34]). In Rom 9:1-3, he views his relationship to his fellow countrymen as a parallel to the relationship between the OT prophets and the Israelites.

Therefore, just as prophets like Jeremiah were grieved to see the people of Israel rejecting God's message, it grieves Paul deeply to see that his own people is not responding positively to the gospel which is the power of God for the salvation of Jews and Gentiles, as promised in the law and prophets. While there could very well be an apologetic angle to this (that Paul is responding to those who are accusing him of having forsaken his own Jewish heritage), his words also stem from a genuine and deep concern about the plight of his people.

4 Anathema (Romans 9:3)

4.1 Review of Current Intertextual Analysis in Romans 9:3

In Rom 9:3, Paul's words, *ἠὺχόμεν γὰρ ἀνάθεμα εἶναι αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου* ('for I pray *anathema* to be I myself, [cut off] from Christ for the sake of my brothers') are often seen as an allusion to Ex 32:32.¹⁶⁹ This is because Paul's prayer (or wish)¹⁷⁰ to be cut off from Christ for the sake of the Jews in Rom 9:3 is seen to be a parallel to Moses' request to be blotted out from God's book in Ex 32:32. Thus, Abasciano, pointing out that this has yet to be fully capitalised upon in the interpretation of Rom 9:1-5, proceeds to examine the intertextual connection in great detail. It represents another recent

¹⁶⁹ Cranfield, *Romans*, 455-56; Douglas J. Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 558-59; Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 532; Leon Morris, *The Epistle to the Romans* (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1988), 347; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Romans*, vol. 33 (New Haven, NY: Yale University Press, 1993), 544.

¹⁷⁰ Abasciano observes rightly that *εὐχόμεναι* (*ἠὺχόμεναι*, v. 3) always means 'prayer' in the NT, not wish; cf. Abasciano, *Romans 9:1-9*, 95. See also Cranfield, *Romans*, 2:455-56.

attempt to interpret Paul's writings intertextually, which is instructive for us to examine in detail.

4.1.1 Abasciano's Approach

Abasciano takes Ex 32:32 to be a hermeneutical key to Rom 9:1-5, and it dominates his treatment of Rom 9:1-5. This results in a number of significant hermeneutical decisions. Just as Moses prays to God in Ex 32:32, Paul also prays (not making a wish) in Rom 9:3. Just as Moses asks to be blotted out from God's book, not to be punished *in their stead* but to perish *along with* the Israelites, Paul is seen to be making a similar request in Rom 9:3—the preposition ὑπέρ in v. 3 is taken to stand for Paul's willingness to suffer *anathema for the sake* of his fellow countrymen, rather than *on their behalf* as a substitute (on Abasciano's terms).¹⁷¹

In addition, just as (in Abasciano's view) Moses induces God to forgive the Israelites by saying that he would rather perish with the people if God does not agree (and thus unable to continue in his role for God to fulfil his promises to the forefathers, cf. Ex 32:10), Paul is making a similar inducement by asking to perish together with the Jews and thus (by implication) be unable to continue in his role as an apostle to the Gentiles—'for he is the Apostle to the Gentiles who is primarily responsible for administering the decisive stage of the eschatological fulfilment of God's covenant promises to bless the whole world'.¹⁷²

While Abasciano may be correct in pointing out that the intertextuality between Ex 32:32 and Rom 9:3 has not been fully explored in previous studies, the other pitfall, I think, is to see the two passages as being so intricately bound together that one passage (Ex 32:32), now seen to be a 'hermeneutical key' (my description), dominates the interpretation of the latter passage down to its minute

¹⁷¹ Abasciano, *Romans 9:1-9*, 100. The problem here, as I shall explain, is that Abasciano equates the nuance 'for the sake of' with 'along with'. Both are differentiated from another nuance, 'on behalf of'.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*

details. This, I suspect, is partially due to the conviction that, in Rom 9:3, Paul is deliberately and consciously making a direct allusion to Ex 32:32. It accordingly leads to an unusual interpretation of the text—few scholars, for example, would think that Paul is making an inducement to God in Rom 9:3, using his own calling as an apostle to the Gentiles as a leverage. While Abasciano’s approach is a step in the desired direction, some adjustments must be made to our interpretative strategy for this text.

4.1.2 *Lessons Learnt from Abasciano’s Treatment of Romans 9:3*

The first issue to be addressed here pertains to the nature of the intertextual relationship between Ex 32:32 and Rom 9:3. Does Paul have Ex 32:32 at the back of his mind? And—quite a different question—does he deliberately allude to it, to the point that the former can legitimately be taken to be a ‘hermeneutical key’ to the latter? To answer this question it is necessary to revisit the two passages. Despite the parallels, and despite that fact that Abasciano takes pains to highlight the intricate correspondences between Ex 32:32 and Rom 9:3, significant divergences do remain.

First of all, there are no verbal correspondences between the two passages. While Moses’ request to be blotted out from the book which God has written can, with some interpretative manoeuvre, be deemed to be equivalent to Paul’s prayer that he himself would be anathema and cut off from Christ, the fact remains that between these two texts (and their respective contexts), the verbal elements are not identical.¹⁷³ This lack of verbal cue suggests that, even if Ex 32:32 were to be somewhere in Paul’s mind when he wrote Rom 9:3, he is unlikely to be alluding to this event directly as a literary device and expecting his readers to make the connection to Ex 32:32. In other words, it is a loose intertextuality at best.

¹⁷³ Ibid., 72.

Secondly, it should be noted that, at crucial points, exegesis of both texts (Exodus 33 and Rom 9:1-5) reveals that there are significant differences between the two, and not allowing one text to override the plain meaning of the other text is important. For example, Abasciano argues that in Rom 9:3 the preposition ὑπέρ can mean (1) ‘for the sake of / benefit of, in behalf of’ instead of (2) ‘substitution’.¹⁷⁴ How ‘in behalf of’ can be different from ‘substitution’ and yet equated with ‘for the sake of’, as Abasciano explains it, is unclear to me; but while Abasciano does not repudiate the meaning of (2) ‘substitution’ for ὑπέρ, (1) ‘for the sake of / benefit of, in behalf of’ is preferred, since it is ‘the more usual meaning’.¹⁷⁵ The problem comes, however, when the meaning of that definition, ‘for the sake of / benefit of, in behalf of’ is further extended to mean Paul’s willingness ‘to suffer the fate of the people *with* them’¹⁷⁶ or ‘joining them in their plight’.¹⁷⁷ This is where it becomes problematic, since the preposition ὑπέρ does not actually carry the nuance of a subject doing something ‘along with’, or ‘joining’, the object, as Abasciano’s interpretation essentially requires. The problem here is that a Greek preposition is first given a definition in English, with a range of nuances falling within its semantic field. Then, one part of that definition in English is extended further, to the point where it comes to bear a meaning which is not supported by the original word in Greek. Is this not a common pitfall that exegetes who work with multiple languages must be careful to avoid?

This kind of distortion occurs, I think, because of the strong pull exerted by Ex 32:32 in the interpretation of Rom 9:3. Exodus 32:32 (and the surrounding verses) is used essentially as a sort of hermeneutical ‘template’ for Rom 9:3, to the extent where all the details that are perceived to be significant must be aligned.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 99-100.

¹⁷⁵ Contrary to Abasciano, I think in NT usage ὑπέρ with the genitive frequently carries with it the substitutionary sense, cf. Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1996), 383-89. Cranfield, on the other hand, adopts the nuance, ‘for the sake of, for the benefit of’, cf. Cranfield, *Romans*, 2:458. In any case, it is unlikely to mean ‘along with’ as Abasciano thinks.

¹⁷⁶ Abasciano, *Romans 9:1-9*, 100.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

Therefore, as a continuation of that interpretation, since Moses indicates his disinclination to go on with God's plan without the Israelites in Ex 32:32 (the so-called inducement that Abasciano describes),¹⁷⁸ Paul is also seen to be making a similar inducement to God in Rom 9:3, using his own apostolic calling to the Gentiles as leverage. It is difficult, however, to accept the view that Paul is using this as a bargaining chip with God in Rom 9:3. While God has offered to make Moses into a great nation after the Israelites are punished (Ex 32:10), nothing of this sort is equivalent in Paul—the apostle knows that the gospel can continue to spread among the Gentiles even without him (Rom 1:8; 15:20).

I think, rather, that ὑπέρ, whichever definition we apply from within its semantic range (whether 'in behalf of', 'for the benefit of', etc.),¹⁷⁹ cannot escape the nuance of 'substitution' in the context of Rom 9:3. Paul's use of the emphatic expression, αὐτὸς ἐγώ, implies that he is praying that *he himself* would be *anathema*, rather than the Jews. There is an adversative sense to this emphatic tone, which suggests that more than simply suffering 'alongside' is in mind. This, as well as the use of ὑπέρ, makes it evident that Paul is thinking in terms of sacrificing in their stead. For, how can Paul's sacrifice be effectively said to be 'in their behalf', 'for their sake' or 'for their benefit' in this context, without the idea that he is taking their place in divine punishment? To simply perish along with his people would not actually be in the Jews' interest, unless his mere presence with them in eternal condemnation can provide some kind of comfort!

In fact, Paul's use of the ὑπέρ suggests that he might very well be imitating the example of Christ himself, who died for sinners (Rom 5:6-8)—an *intratextual* allusion.¹⁸⁰ In addition, Paul's references to his own pain and anguish, and his

¹⁷⁸ In response to God's offer in Ex 32:10—God offers to make Moses into 'a great nation' after he (God) destroys the present group of Israelites, an offer which Moses effectively declines in Ex 32:32.

¹⁷⁹ In any case, 'in behalf of' and 'for the benefit of' are very similar to each other in meaning, and should not be differentiated in our definition of ὑπέρ. See Wallace, *Greek Grammar*, 383.

¹⁸⁰ See Watson, "Mistranslation," 215-50; Wilckens, *Römer* v. 2, 187.

willingness to suffer punishment on account of his people, may very well draw from the picture of the suffering servant in Isa 52:13–53:12, providing a far more complex prior text than has been dealt with thus far. Nonetheless, the fact that there are significant divergences (and similarities) between Ex 32:32 and Rom 9:3 has important implications for our understanding of the intertextuality (if any) between Ex 32:32 and Rom 9:3, and how the two texts interact with each other.

4.2 Revisiting Exodus 32:32 and Romans 9:3

In Ex 32:30 Moses tells the Israelites that they ‘have sinned a great sin’, and he will go up to the Lord so that he ‘will make atonement’ (as ἐξιλάσωμαι is often translated) for their sin. The use of ἐξιλάσωμαι has probably contributed to the conclusion reached by some that the intention of Moses here is to offer himself as a substitution for the Israelites.¹⁸¹ A study of the word, however, reveals that the idea of ‘substitution’ is not intrinsically a part of the meaning of ἐξιλάσωμαι, even though the verb ἐξιλάσκομαι (ἐξιλάσωμαι being the aorist form), which frequently translates the Hebrew קָנָה, is closely associated with the idea of a sacrifice.¹⁸² While to offer an act of atonement may possibly involve some idea of substitution in a few instances, whether by means of an animal or, as in this case, a personal self-sacrifice, the nuance of ἐξιλάσκομαι itself is only determined on the basis of other information in the context. Indeed, even in instances where sacrifices are involved, the idea of ‘substitution’ is not intrinsic; at best, it is only an inference based on the fact that an offering is made in lieu of direct divine penalty. The word itself carries a meaning that is more akin to ‘pacifying’ or ‘placating’ someone, frequently (but not always) with gifts or offering, perhaps with the idea of redeeming one’s standing in relation to another, but not

¹⁸¹ John I. Durham, *Exodus* (Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1987), 432; Walter C. Kaiser, Jr., *Exodus*, ed. Frank Ely Gaebelin (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1982).

¹⁸² ἐξιλάσκομαι translates קָנָה in Gen 32:21; Ex 30:10, 15–16; 32:30; Lev 1:4; 4:20, 26, 31, 35; 5:6, 10, 13, 16, 18, 26; 6:23; 7:7; 8:15, 34; 9:7; 10:17; 12:7–8; 14:18–21, 29, 31, 53; 15:15, 30; 16:6, 10–11, 16–18, 20, 24, 27, 30, 32–34; 17:11; 19:22; 23:28; Num 5:8; 6:11; 8:12, 19, 21; 15:25, 28; 17:11–12; 25:13; 28:22, 30; 29:5; 31:50; 35:33; Deut 21:8; 1 Sam 3:14; 12:3; 2 Sam 21:3; Ezk 16:63; 43:20, 26; 45:15, 17, 20; Prov 16:14; Neh 10:34; 1 Chr 6:34; 2 Chr 29:24; 30:18.

necessarily with ‘substitution’ in mind.

Thus, in Gen 32:21 (v. 20 MT) Jacob sends gifts to Esau in advance, with the thought of ‘pacifying’ (ἐξιλάσκομαι) him before the two actually meet, and Prov 16:14 talks about the wise man who will ‘placate’ (ἐξιλάσεται) the anger of a king. Clearly, the idea of ‘substitution’ is absent in these contexts, and the fact that they are used in the context of human relationships should in no way impinge on the basic meaning of this word. In 2 Chr 30:18-19, Hezekiah prays for those who transgressed the Passover regulations by eating the Passover without first purifying themselves. Hezekiah prays that God would be ‘appeased’ (ἐξιλασάσθω) in view (ὑπέρ) of their hearts seeking him, and ‘not in accordance to the purity of holy things’. In this context, there is no hint that additional sacrifices are needed in order to secure atonement; and even more remote in this context is the idea of ‘substitution’.

These brief examples serve to highlight the fact that ἐξιλάσκομαι does not inherently denote ‘substitution’. In the case of Ex 32:30-35, the meaning of Moses’ request needs to be discerned from what transpires in the dialogue between him and God. Moses requests the Lord to forgive the Israelites for their sin, or else to blot him from the book of life (v. 32).¹⁸³ The use of the phrase, εἰ δὲ μὴ (but if not), is adversative, and has been interpreted in one of two ways: (1) if

¹⁸³ There are various views concerning the precise nature of this divine ‘book’. In the Old Testament, there are three senses in which this divine book functions: (1) as a record of deeds (Ps 50:3/51:3 MT; 55:9/56:9 MT; 129:3/130:3 MT; Neh 13:4); (2) as a record of things that God has ordained (Ps 138:16/139:16 MT); and (3) as a register of the righteous, probably with implications of eternal life (Ps 9:6; 86:6/87:6 MT; 68:29/69:29 MT). As to whether this alludes to the tablets of life and destiny written by the Mesopotamian gods (Jewish Study Bible), to a citizens’ register kept in ancient cities (Keil and Delitzsch) or to some supplementary document (like an addendum) to the Mosaic covenant (Durham, Abasciano) cannot be ascertained. In the context of Ex 32:32, however, Moses is probably referring to view (3) above, where to be blotted from the divine book (‘the book of life’, cf. Ps 68:29/69:29 MT) is to perish together with the nation, with the forfeiture of eternal life (cf. Ps 9:6). See Adele Berlin, Marc Zvi Brettler and Michael Fishbane, *The Jewish Study Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), ad loc; Carl Friedrich Keil and Franz Delitzsch, *Commentary on the Old Testament* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2006), ad loc; Durham, *Exodus*, 432; Abasciano, *Romans 9:1-9*, 55-56.

God does not forgive the Israelites, Moses offers to be blotted from the divine book in order that the Israelites may be pardoned in exchange; or (2) if God does not forgive the Israelites, he would rather be blotted from the divine book (without any thought of redeeming the Israelites through his own death).

The first view (1), however, reads something into the text that is not otherwise there. Moses is not asking to exchange his life for the Israelites' pardon; he is simply asking God to punish him along with the Israelites if the latter cannot be forgiven. God's answer in v. 33, Εἴ τις ἡμάρτηκεν ἐνώπιόν μου, ἐξαλείψω αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς βίβλου μου ('if anyone has sinned against me, I will wipe him out from my book'), indicates that Moses' request is partially granted—he will punish those who have sinned (but will not punish those who have not sinned, e.g. Moses) and, as shown in v. 35, the nation will suffer a plague, but it will not be totally destroyed as Moses had feared (cf. 32:10).

If this reading is correct, then there are crucial points of convergence as well as divergence between Ex 32:32 and Rom 9:3. Like Moses who asks to perish together with his people, Paul asks to perish for the sake of his people, the Jews of his day. Even the divine denial of Moses' request in Ex 32:33 would have been familiar to Paul as well. Yet, unlike Moses, who simply wants to suffer divine wrath together with his people and not go along with God's plan as expressed in Ex 32:10 (possibly out of a profound sense of identity or love for his people), Paul's prayer (Rom 9:3) is made in order that his death might somehow be an exchange for their redemption. This, coupled with the observation that none of the terms in Ex 32:32 and Rom 9:3 are identical, should alert us to the probability that no direct allusion is intended by the apostle here, even if some degree of intertextuality is apparent. That is to say, Ex 32:32 cannot be used as an exclusive hermeneutical key for Rom 9:3; but it does harbour intertextual significance that figures into Paul's words in that passage.

4.3 Other Intertextual Connections to the Old Testament in Romans 9:3

4.3.1 *The Prophetic Pathos*

Paul's words in Rom 9:3 also bring to mind other similar instances in the OT where the prophet-leader expresses his wish to take the place of his people in receiving God's punishment for sin. In 1 Chr 21:17 David wishes that God would punish him instead of the people for the census. Then again in 2 Sam 18:33 David wishes that he would die instead of Absalom. Even the example of Jonah, who takes the opposite pattern of wishing that he would rather die than see the Ninevites being spared from God's judgment (Jon 4:3), can be seen as a parody of the normal prophetic pattern.

All these instances are fundamentally different from the situation in Rom 9:3. In 1 Chr 21:17, David asks to be punished because he is the one who committed the sin of initiating the census. In 2 Sam 18:33, David is not acting in the capacity of prophet concerned about the destiny of the nation, but as a father who is mourning over the death of his beloved son. Finally, in Jon 4:3, the situation is opposite to what we have in Rom 9:3—Jonah wishes that God would judge the Ninevites rather than spare them. Nonetheless, these texts serve to characterise a prophet or a leader who feels so closely for the people he loves that he is willing to sacrifice himself in their stead.

More importantly, Paul's entreaty to God over the situation of the Jews entails a profound personal involvement with his people that is mirrored in the prophets. In his work entitled *The Prophets*, Abraham Heschel examines the dynamics of *pathos* in the ministry of the prophets of Israel.¹⁸⁴ The prophet is not simply an 'instrument' who channels God's messages, he is also intimately involved at a personal level, frequently identifying, not only with the people to whom he ministers, but also sympathetically with the heart of God—the divine *pathos*. This triangular relationship between God, prophet, and people results in a tension that

¹⁸⁴ Abraham J. Heschel, *The Prophets* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962).

generates anguish in the prophet at a deep-seated level, and is featured most prominently in Jeremiah.¹⁸⁵ Caught in between a divine message that portends punishment for an unrepentant nation on the one hand and a people that persistently rejects the warning that comes from God's true prophets on the other, the prophet frequently internalises this conflict, which is expressed in grief. It is this pattern of divine message, collective unresponsiveness on the part of the people, and prophetic anguish, that sheds light on the dynamics underlying Paul's words in Rom 9:1-3.

4.3.2 Paul's Use of *ἀνάθεμα*

Just as significantly, Paul's shocking disclosure that (on account of the Israelites' situation), he prays that he would be 'accursed' (*ἀνάθεμα*), and '[cut] off from Christ' (*ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*) for their sake is rich in intertextual significance.

Paul's use of the word *ἀνάθεμα* in 1 Cor 12:3; 16:22; and Gal 1:8-9 makes it unlikely that he simply has 'excommunication' in mind, a sense which the word acquires later, mainly during the time of the Church Fathers.¹⁸⁶ In the Pauline usages (Rom 9:3 included), the word is used in connection with the gospel that is preached (Gal 1:8, 9), or in the context of our attitude to Christ (1 Cor 12:3, 16:22). In Rom 9:3, both contextual aspects appear to be present—Paul is preaching a gospel of the Christ, but the Jews are not putting their trust in Christ, which leads to his intimation that he would rather suffer *anathema* for the sake of his fellow countrymen.

In the writings of Josephus and Philo, *ἀνάθεμα* almost invariably denotes a gift or offering that is dedicated to God and presented in the temple, a sense that does not seem to accord with Paul's point in Rom 9:3.¹⁸⁷ In this instance, the data

¹⁸⁵ See also Sandnes, *Paul*, 177.

¹⁸⁶ The word does not appear in any of the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, but is found in the writings of the Church Fathers.

¹⁸⁷ Josephus: Antiq 3:188; 6:148; 7:367; 8:99, 147; 9:254, 257; 10:52; 12:35, 47, 50, 58,

taken from their texts, along with Judith 16:19; 1 Mac 5:5; 2 Mac 2:13; 9:16; and 3 Mac 3:17, is largely representative of the Second Temple writings. The only exception is 1 Macc 5:5, where it carries the connotation of ‘destruction’ against an enemy—the *sons of Baean* (probably a nomadic tribe) whom Judas fought against.

Among the non-Pauline writings in the New Testament, the word is usually used in connection with the swearing of an oath, where the subject ‘anathematised’ himself to carry out an act (Acts 23:12, 14, 21) or to vouchsafe the truth of his speech (Peter, in Mk 14:71). Used in this sense, the subject places himself potentially under divine condemnation or judgement, which will come unless he fulfils his vows or (in the case of Peter, who vows that he is not a follower of Christ, Mk 14:71) speaks the truth. These usages are compatible with Paul’s use of the word in 1 Cor 12:3; 16:22; and Gal 1:8–9 even though they do not convey the same level of severity that the Pauline texts seem to warrant.¹⁸⁸ In the case of Luke 21:5, however, the word (ἀναθήμασιν) denotes gifts devoted to the decoration of the temple—in the sense of something being dedicated to God—which is more akin to the use of the word in the Second Temple writings surveyed earlier in this dissertation.

Given this analysis, it may be argued that the significance of Paul’s use of the word in Rom 9:3 (and also in 1 Cor 12:3; 16:22; and Gal 1:8–9), should be differentiated from the other contemporary Jewish writings. This is especially so since in Rom 9:3 Paul says in apposition that he is to be cut off from Christ as well. The full import of Paul’s words can never be fully appreciated unless we draw from the intertextual connection of the word to the Old Testament.

77, 249, 354; 13:78; 17:151, 156, 158, 162, 265; 19:7; War 1:425; 5:562; 7:44–45, 428, 433–434; Apion 1:11, 113, 199. Philo: Mos 1:253.

¹⁸⁸ In Rev 22:3, a related word, *κατάθεμα*, is used in the sense of something that is divinely condemned.

With respect to the Septuagint, the word ἀνάθεμα, along with its alternate spelling, ἀνάθημα,¹⁸⁹ in all instances (24 verses) translate the Hebrew word אָנָה. These can take one of three senses: (1) an offering to God in the context of a worship ritual, or a gift / donation presented to the temple (Lev 27:28; Num 18:14; and Ezra 10:8);¹⁹⁰ (2) a curse, usually in connection with idolatry or apostasy (Deut 7:26; 13:18; Zech 14:11); or (3) the destruction of an enemy in response to God’s command, as an act of devotion to him (Num 21:2–3; Deut 13:16 [13:15]; 20:17; Josh 6:17–18, 21; 7:1, 11–13; 21:20 [22:20]; Judg 1:17; 21:11; 1 Sam 15:3; 2 Kings 19:11; 1 Chr 2:7; 4:41). It may be argued, in the case of the third scenario, that when the Israelites totally annihilate their enemies (including the destruction of all material possessions and livestock), it is an act of divine judgment upon the nations that Israel is executing on behalf of Yahweh. As Dunn notes, the sense ‘accursed’ becomes dominant as a result of the LXX use of the word in translating the Hebrew אָנָה.¹⁹¹ The implication of being ‘cursed’ is the divine judgment that leads to destruction or annihilation. It is this sense of the word that must be understood when Paul says that he prays to be *anathema*.

In addition, the discussion should also extend to the use of a pair of close synonyms in the LXX—κατάρρα (and the verb καταράομαι) and the related

¹⁸⁹ Although Cranfield sees a difference between the two forms of the word and argues that ἀνάθημα (with the longer η) is used to denote ‘gifts’ in the LXX ‘except for 2 Macc 2:13 and Judith 16:19(A)’, the evidence seems not to be so clear-cut. In addition to what Cranfield has cited, we may also add Deut 7:26, where ἀνάθημα denotes a cursed thing, not a gift or offering. On the other hand, the shorter ἀνάθεμα is used positively to denote gift or offering in Lev 27:28. Furthermore, Cranfield has curiously cited the variant in Codex Alexandrinus (A) in Judith 16:19; the original hand of Codex Sinaiticus (א*) has the same reading as well, whereas Codex Vaticanus (B) and א^{c,a} has ἀνάθημα. Similar textual variants are also found in Lk 21:5. What this suggests is that, at least to some of the early scribes or readers of the texts, the two forms are more or less interchangeable, the sense being derived more from the context than the spelling. Cf. Cranfield, *Romans*, 457.

¹⁹⁰ To these we may add Judith 16:19; 1 Mac 5:5; 2 Mac 2:13; 9:16; and 3 Mac 3:17 as noted earlier. They were originally written in Greek and therefore do not translate any of the Hebrew texts. In the case of Ezra 10:8, the confiscation of the property of those who failed to assemble in Jerusalem within the prescribed time (three days) by the council of rulers and elders may be taken to be an involuntary ‘donation’ to the temple.

¹⁹¹ Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 524.

ἐπικατάρατος (with the verb ἐπικαταράομαι), which are used to translate the Hebrew קָלַל ('to curse') in 49 out of the 52 verses that the Hebrew word occurs.¹⁹² They stand for the antithesis of divine blessing (e.g. Gen 12:3 and especially the curses / blessings in Deuteronomy as well as James 3:9) and generally denote a state of divine judgment and disfavour. Paul uses these words in Gal 3:10, 13 in relation to the curse of those who are under law(!). It is significant that, even though both words (or word-groups) are accessible to Paul, he carefully chooses to use the word ἀνάθεμα in certain contexts and not in others. While the meaning of these words do overlap and, together, they form the negative picture of being under divine judgment, the significance of these usages in Paul's epistles should nevertheless be differentiated. In Rom 9:3; 1 Cor 12:3; 16:22; and Gal 1:8–9, the word is used to denote a situation of severe divine judgment that implies eternal damnation. Just as the cursed objects in the Old Testament narratives are bound for total destruction, in Paul's epistles it implies forfeiture of eternal life.

Thus, I would differ from Käsemann with regards to Rom 9:3.¹⁹³ Käsemann thinks that it refers to 'sacramental counterworking' which 'eliminates the sacramentally established fellowship', and not to 'eschatological judgment', even though when he states that it means being cut off from the body of Christ, it is coming back to the same effect of being *anathema*—for to be cut off spiritually from the body of Christ (not the 'church', but Christ himself) or to reverse 'the integration into Christ accomplished in baptism' is to be excluded from eternal salvation.

4.4 Romans 9:3—Conclusion

Rather than allowing a prior text to narrowly control and dictate what a text means, I have chosen to adopt a more dynamic and broader approach to

¹⁹² Gen 3:14, 17; 4:11; 5:29; 9:25; 12:3; 27:29; 49:7; Num 5:18–19, 22, 24, 27; 22:6, 12; 23:7; 24:9; Deut 27:15–26; 28:16–19; Josh 6:26; Judg 5:23; 21:18; 1 Sam 14:24, 28; 26:19; 2 Kings 9:34; Psa 118:21; Job 3:8; Mal 1:14; 2:2; Jer 11:3; 17:5; 20:14–15; and 31:10. The exceptions are Ex 22:27; Josh 8:25; and Mal 3:9.

¹⁹³ Käsemann, *Romans*, 258.

understanding the intertextual relationship between what Paul says in Rom 9:3 and the Septuagint, which he and his readers share as a textual resource, in the sense that, to a greater or lesser degree, their cultural code has been shaped by the Septuagint. While successive generations of interpreters may not be totally incorrect to pinpoint Ex 32:32 as the alluded text, the proposal is that there is a lot more that is going on in Rom 9:3 than just Ex 32:32 alone.

The fact that there are some major differences between Rom 9:3 and Ex 32:32 should also caution us against making a rigid connection between the two texts, missing out on the other significations that Paul may be drawing upon (whether consciously or otherwise) as he shares his anguish over his fellow countrymen with his readers. The willingness of Paul to suffer *anathema* (not just a 'curse', for which a word like *κατάρα* would otherwise be used) and forfeit his own eternal salvation for the sake of his fellow Jews speaks a great deal about how he sees himself in relation to them and the gospel. It extends the picture of the prophet that is evident from the beginning of this text (Rom 9:1-2).

Just as significant, Paul's use of a key term (*ἀνάθεμα*) in Rom 9:3 is distinctly dependent on the Septuagint as the prior text, contrary to the other usages in the Second Temple writings (e.g. Josephus, Philo and certain NT passages). While Paul's use of Scripture is sometimes mediated by Second Temple Judaism (as in my discussion of Rom 9:4-5 later), there is little evidence of that being the case here.

5 Conclusion

Taken as a whole, Rom 9:1-3 forms a distinct picture reminiscent of a prophetic frame of mind that is present in the OT. Paul apparently sees himself, not so much as an apostle to the Gentiles, but as one who comes to Israel in the tradition of the prophets. At the verbal level, there is hardly any precise verbal correspondence between the OT texts and Paul's words in Rom 9:1-3. Yet, the

intertextual references are quite unmistakable, when we look at these from the perspective of themes, motifs and posture.

Recognising that his message of the gospel (Romans 1–8) marks a radical shift from that which his fellow Jews have been brought up to think and believe, Paul begins the section (Romans 9–11) by making emphatic assertions with regards to the truth (Rom 9:1), that he is feeling great pain for them (Rom 9:2), because he wishes that he would be able to suffer God’s wrath in their stead, if at all possible (Rom 9:3). Nothing can be more emphatic than to say that he is speaking truth in Christ, not lying and that his conscience in the Holy Spirit is bearing witness to what he is saying.

In so doing, Paul not only appeals to the provision of the Torah with respect to having witnesses—not to bear testimony to a crime—but to validate the truth of what he is saying. Paul also comes, not as a false prophet who tells lies, but as a true prophet of God who is faithful in delivering the truth to his people. Yet his heart is suffering anguish because, like the OT prophets, he sees the reticence of his people in responding to the grace of God. While this emphasis may directly focus on his feelings for his fellow countrymen and may serve an apologetic function in answering those who may accuse him of having turned away from his own Jewish roots, it ultimately (albeit indirectly) underscores the fact that what he has been saying in Romans 1–8 is the God-given truth. This image of an apostle who comes as a prophetic figure to the Jews is further reinforced in Rom 10:1 when he says, Ἀδελφοί, ἡ μὲν εὐδοκία τῆς ἐμῆς καρδίας καὶ ἡ δέησις πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εἰς σωτηρίαν (‘Brothers, indeed the prayer and desire of my heart to God is for them to be saved’). His hope is that they would turn to Christ and be saved (cf. Rom 10:1–4).

This reading is facilitated by investigating the intertextual connections that stand behind what is written in Rom 9:1–3. The analysis shows that there is a web of scriptural texts that form an intertextual matrix to Paul’s words, serving as an

ideational resource through which his more cognizant readers would grasp the finer overtones. Of these, as we have seen, various texts in Jeremiah stand out.

In highlighting the book of Jeremiah, I am not saying that Paul's words in Rom 9:1-3 are to be traced to specific passages, like what is to be expected in an actual allusion (or even echo). What the study has shown, rather, is that Paul's words have underlying connotations that go back to the Old Testament, with the book of Jeremiah being the key in this particular instance. The significance here is not so much the particular passages that are referred to, but the cultural code that is represented by these texts collectively, and derived from Scripture as an ideational resource, to communicate ideas, nuances, and feelings.

The study shows that there is a broader intertextual connection between Rom 9:1-3 and the Old Testament than what Hays' framework is likely to detect. These intertextual connections may be more subtle or implicit, but they are just as crucial for our ability to perceive the full import of Paul's words in the ears of readers who are attuned to the language of the Septuagint. The latter functions as an ideational resource that facilitates their communication.

CHAPTER 3

THE USE OF THE NARRATIVE SUMMARY AS A LITERARY DEVICE

1 Introduction

1.1 Definition

In much of the recent scholarly investigation into the intertextuality between the Old Testament and Paul's letters using Hays' framework, the focus has been on the apostle's use of citations, allusions and echoes. Very little attention has been given to another category of Paul's use of Scripture—his summaries of the Old Testament historical narratives, which I refer to as the *Narrative Summary* (or 'NS', for short). What this latter category has in common with the three categories in Hays' framework is that, like them, the Narrative Summary entails the *conscious* use of materials contained in the prior texts (i.e. Scripture) as literary devices to support the current discourse.

Nonetheless, there are also characteristics about this latter category that set it apart from the three categories covered in Hays' framework. The Narrative Summary is not a *citation* of Scripture because, in the case of a *citation*, the portion of Scripture that is used is rather brief and limited, and quoted either verbatim, or in a form that closely approaches the text of the *Vorlage*. In NS, the scriptural material directly in view is usually relatively extensive, but never quoted in whole. Instead, an abbreviated retelling of certain episodes contained in the OT narratives is produced and used in the discourse.

This does not dismiss the idea that, in the case of the use of a *citation*, *allusion* or *echo*, larger sections of the source text could also be indirectly in view, and form an intertextual background to the current discourse. However, it is different from the Narrative Summary, where the narratives spanning the account are treated directly in the receiving text, and are located in the foreground of the on-going discourse. On the other hand, we should also bear in mind that the different

categories do overlap, despite the need to distinguish among them (e.g. an NS can sometimes include a citation of the source text, as in 1 Cor 10:7).

The NS also does not fit into Hays' definition of *allusions* and *echoes*, since these two are seen to be implicit references to Scripture, and often detected only because Paul's readers are able to notice the verbal correspondences between Paul's writing and the Old Testament. The NS, on the other hand, are rather explicit references to the historical accounts in Scripture, notwithstanding the fact that they are abbreviated through the author's use of a summary. In contrast to the more subtle nature of *allusions* and *echoes*, the whole point of using the NS is that the author wants his readers to know exactly which event in the Old Testament he is referring to, even though it is not necessary to assume that all of his readers would be equally familiar with the details of the underlying accounts.

Given these differences between the NS and Hays' categories of citations, allusions and echoes, it is perhaps not surprising that, for those who have been working with the framework devised by Hays, Paul's use of the NS has been largely omitted from many of these studies. It is my view, however, that the NS also deserves to be investigated systematically in order to obtain a fuller account of the use of Scripture in the writings of Paul.

I am not positing that Paul's reminiscence of Israel's history has never been noted by biblical scholars. Indeed, a cursory survey of many of our biblical commentaries (Pauline as well as non-Pauline) would reveal otherwise. What I am saying, however, is that Paul's use of NS as a literary device, alongside Hays' categories of citations, allusions and echoes, has rarely, if ever, been the subject of any sustained analysis, or refined into a standard methodology. Thus, a key proposal in this chapter is that, in addition to the citations, allusions and echoes, the use of NS should also be included as another category in our study of Paul's use of Scripture.

A Narrative Summary (NS) is a relatively brief and selective recapitulation of extended portions of the stories or narratives in the authoritative texts that an author uses as a literary device to reinforce his thematic emphasis or line of argument in a discourse. This feature can be seen in various places in Scripture. In the Old Testament, for example, the prayer of the Levites (or Ezra?)¹⁹⁴ in Neh 9:5-37 contains a Narrative Summary that spans from Genesis to 2 Kings. Similarly, in the New Testament, the report of Stephen's speech in Acts 7:2-53 includes a summary of historical narratives taken from Genesis 12 to 1 Kings 6. The characters in these accounts (i.e. Ezra or the Levite and Stephen) utilise materials taken from the historical narratives in the OT and summarise them in such a way that they reinforce the point which they are making in their prayers or speeches.¹⁹⁵

1.2 Narrative Summary vs. the Rewritten Bible

Ostensibly, the use of NS may be compared against another category of the use of historical narratives in Scripture among the writings of ancient Israel—that of the rewritten Bible. In some respects, the two may appear to be identical in approach, since both involve a 'retelling' of the stories.¹⁹⁶ The term 'rewritten

¹⁹⁴ The prayer is attributed to Ezra in the LXX, although this remark is likely to be an addition by the Greek translator and not found in the Hebrew *Vorlage*.

¹⁹⁵ It should be evident, of course, that in certain contexts we are possibly talking about two layers of analysis here: (1) the use of NS by a character (e.g. Stephen) in a speech (thus, Acts 7:2-53); and (2) the reported account, which includes the use of NS, by the author in the context of his narrative (i.e. the author of the book of Acts, reporting the speech of Stephen). This fine distinction, however, is not crucial to the main point of the discussion here, especially with regards to the writings of Paul.

¹⁹⁶ In a paper presented during the 2010 SBL Annual Meeting in Atlanta, Dr. Jason B. Hood used the framework for the rewritten Bible to analyse the 'summaries of Israel's story' in the NT. The framework was applied in the identification of examples for the use of these summaries, and resulted in the exclusion of passages such as 1 Cor 10:1-13 and 2 Cor 3:7-18 which, to me, are clearly indicative of some kind of summary of the OT historical narratives. To apply a set of criteria that includes some instances of such use of the OT in the New Testament while excluding others would result in unnecessary fragmentation in this aspect of the study. This points to the need for a separate framework, distinct from that of the rewritten Bible.

Bible' was first coined by Geza Vermes in 1961.¹⁹⁷ According to the definition attributed to Vermes in another later work that he edited, the rewritten Bible is characterised 'by a close attachment, in narrative and themes, to some book contained in the present Jewish canon of Scripture, and some type of reworking, whether through rearrangement, conflation, or supplementation, of the present canonical biblical text.'¹⁹⁸ The key element in this understanding is that the rewritten Bible is a *reworking* of a prior base text that is deemed to be an authoritative text, and this latter text is part of the present biblical canon.¹⁹⁹ Other

¹⁹⁷ Geza Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism* (Leiden: Brill, 1961). See also the revised edition: Idem, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism*, 2nd rev. ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1973), 67. However, it should be noted that Vermes is concerned with tracing the development of Jewish *Haggadic* exegesis to its scriptural sources, prompted by the juxtapositions of different scriptural texts linked by a common word or theme, and not so much with defining the formal characteristics of these texts.

¹⁹⁸ Emil Schürer, Fergus Millar and Geza Vermes, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, vol. III Pt. 1 (Edinburgh: Clark, 1986), 308-41. See Michael Segal, "Between Bible and Rewritten Bible," in *Biblical interpretation at Qumran*, ed. Matthias Henze, (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2005), 10; Sidnie W. Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2008), 2-3. Crawford, unfortunately, attributes it erroneously to another work by Vermes, repeated again in Eadem, "The 'Rewritten' Bible at Qumran: A Look at Three Texts," *Eretz-Israel: Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies* 26 (1999): 1.

¹⁹⁹ While the use of the term 'Bible' or 'biblical' may be somewhat anachronistic, it remains a convenient way of referring to the texts that were regarded as authoritative by the Jews during the Second Temple period (or even earlier), and which later form the Jewish canon. The so-called anachronism is mitigated by the fact that a move towards some form of canonicity was already observable among the writings of the late Second Temple period. Even if a formal listing of these 'authoritative texts' may be non-existent, certain texts are evidently deemed to be authoritative, such as the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges and the four books of the Kingdom; and it is exactly these texts that are most frequently 'recalled', 'reworked' or 'rewritten'—the books from Genesis to 2 Kings (using the order of the later Hebrew canon). In that regard, it is not a serious misnomer to refer to these texts as 'biblical texts', and the works that recreate them the 'rewritten Bible'. On a separate but related point, Brooke's hypothesis that the rewriting of the base texts helped to move the latter from an authoritative to a canonical status is partially undermined by his own observation that the canonisation of a text involves a socio-political dimension (assuming further that the canonisation of the Hebrew texts initiated by the rulers of the Hasmonean dynasty for political reasons is a correct conjecture). Thus, it begs the question of whether it was the already-authoritative status of the base texts that make them suitable candidates for rewriting (and their subsequent canonisation was due in large measure to a separate, socio-political and religious process), or that their canonisation was a result, however partially, of their being quoted or rewritten. I am inclined towards the former view. In other words, the base texts were already authoritative, and their move towards canonisation was largely due to socio-political (and religious) factors. Any reciprocal effect of these base texts being quoted or rewritten

schemes to differentiate between the rewritten Bible and other literary genres have been advanced, including those by Emanuel Tov,²⁰⁰ George Brooke,²⁰¹ Moshe Bernstein²⁰² and Sidnie White Crawford.²⁰³ The recent work by Crawford is especially interesting, as she sketches out a broad framework (albeit briefly) that seeks to delineate five separate categories of writings, to three of which she assigned names. Her framework is best summarised in the following chart (see Figure 8).

was probably insignificant. See George J. Brooke, "Between Authority and Canon," in *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran*, ed. Esther G. Chazon, Devorah Dimant and Ruth A. Clements, (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 85-104.

²⁰⁰ Emanuel Tov, "Rewritten Bible Compositions and Biblical Manuscripts, with Special Attention to the Samaritan Pentateuch," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 5, no. 3 (1998): 334-54. The proposal by Tov is too imprecise, notwithstanding the fact that the relationship between the 'biblical' text and the rewritten Bible constitutes a 'paradox'. Cf. Segal, "Between Bible and Rewritten Bible," 11. Tov essentially applies two key criteria to differentiate between the rewritten Bible and a biblical text in different recensions (e.g. the Samaritan Pentateuch): (a) if a text is subsequently regarded as authoritative by its writer or readers, it is a biblical text; and (b) if, despite the editorial changes that may be made to the text, no novel element is introduced into the narratives (in relation to the authoritative 'base' text), it is a biblical text. The problem with this framework is that a rewritten Bible (an issue of 'genre') may still be regarded as authoritative by a reading community (an issue of 'canon'). To confuse the two issues could lead to utterly confounding results, not to mention circular reasoning. An example of a 'rewritten Bible' that is also 'authoritative' is 1 and 2 Chronicles, and to force a choice between the two categories would lead to a conundrum. Furthermore, it is not always possible to be objective about whether certain changes are introducing 'novel' elements into the text.

²⁰¹ George J. Brooke, "The Rewritten Law, Prophets and Psalms," in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaeen Desert Discoveries*, ed. Edward D. Herbert and Emanuel Tov, (London; New Castle, DE: British Library; Oak Knoll, 2002), 32-33.

²⁰² Moshe J. Bernstein, "Rewritten Bible: A Generic Category Which Has Outlived its Usefulness?" *Textus* 22 (2005): 169-96.

²⁰³ Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times*, 12-15.

Figure 8: Categories of Ancient Jewish Writings as Delineated by Crawford

Category	Scriptural Texts	[Not Labelled]	Rewritten Scripture	[Not Labelled]	Parabiblical Texts
Description	At most, some revision effected through 'inner biblical exegesis', via manipulation of the base text only; nothing introduced from external sources.	Materials introduced from external sources, but without the intention of creating a new composition.	Extensive manipulation of base text, resulting in a new work with separate purpose or theological <i>Tendenz</i> .	Recognisable authoritative base text, many techniques of inner biblical exegesis, but the work does not present itself, nor is it considered by others, to be authoritative. May be translations.	Use passage, event or character from scriptural work as a 'jumping off' point to create a new narrative or work.
Examples	<i>Samaritan Pentateuch</i>	<i>Reworked Pentateuch</i>	<i>Jubilees</i> ; <i>Temple Scroll</i>	<i>Genesis Apocryphon</i>	<i>1 Enoch</i> ; <i>Pseudo-Ezekiel</i> ; <i>The Life of Adam and Eve</i> ; <i>Joseph and Asenath</i>

It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to deal thoroughly with the somewhat complex issue of the rewritten Bible as a genre.²⁰⁴ Careful analysis, however, will reveal that even though there are characteristics common to both the rewritten Bible and the Narrative Summary, there are also equally important points of distinction that set each apart from the other. There is, of course, some overlap in these categories. Furthermore, the use of marked and unmarked citations, Narrative Summary, allusions, echoes, the *peshet* (where the scriptural lemma

²⁰⁴ For the background of this discussion, see Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism*; George W. E. Nickelsburg, "The Bible Rewritten and Expanded," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran, Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus*, ed. Michael E. Stone, (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1984), 89-156; Philip Alexander, "Retelling the Old Testament," in *It is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture*, ed. Donald A. Carson and H. G. M. Williamson, (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 99-121; Tov, "Rewritten Bible Compositions and Biblical Manuscripts, with Special Attention to the Samaritan Pentateuch," 334-54; George J. Brooke, "Rewritten Bible," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam, (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2000), 777-81; Segal, "Between Bible and Rewritten Bible," 10-28; Anders Klostergaard Petersen, "Rewritten Bible as a Boderline Phenomenon—Genre, Strategy, or Canonical Anachronism?" in *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and other early Jewish studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez*, ed. Anthony Hilhorst and others, (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007), 285-306; Crawford, "Three Texts," 1-8; Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times*; Bernstein, "Rewritten Bible," 169-196.

and its elucidation are kept separate) and the rewritten Bible are all different aspects of the use of Scripture (and biblical intertextuality) that may share common characteristics in different ways. It is still fruitful, however, to delineate these categories in order to facilitate systematic study of each of these dimensions. What distinguishes them is not any individual characteristic, but a 'constellation' of these characteristics.²⁰⁵

Alexander, for example, provides us with a workable delineation of the rewritten Bible that allows us to set it against our notion of the Narrative Summary. Although it is one of the earlier attempts to delineate the rewritten Bible as a genre, and some of its deficiencies are noted, it still provides useful material that can be used in comparison to the NS.²⁰⁶ The characteristics of the rewritten Bible outlined by Alexander may summarised as follows:²⁰⁷

- a. The texts are narratives that follow a sequential, chronological order.
- b. The texts are free-standing compositions which replicate the form of the biblical books on which they are based.
- c. Despite their superficial independence of form, they are not intended to replace or supersede the Bible.
- d. The texts cover a substantial portion of the Bible.

²⁰⁵ Petersen, "Borderline Phenomenon," 298.

²⁰⁶ It should be noted that despite Alexander's landmark contribution, subsequent scholarly discussions show that the issues involved may not be as simple as his essay may seem to suggest. For example, Petersen observes that Alexander's 'nine principal characteristics constitute a description of the phenomenon that embraces a variety of different aspects rather than a genuine analytical definition.' On the other hand, Petersen himself proposes that the rewritten Bible as a genre should be defined, not by its internal, formal characteristics (which he calls the *emic* level), but in terms of its (intertextual) relationships to other texts (which he calls the *etic* level). This essentially breaks with the more commonly held view of 'genre', which is based on the *form* and *content* of a piece of writing in question rather than solely on its relationship to other texts. See *ibid.*, 297-99, 305-06.

²⁰⁷ Alexander, "Retelling," 116-18.

- e. The texts follow the Bible serially, in proper order, but they are highly selective in what they represent.
- f. The intention of the texts is to produce an interpretative reading of Scripture.
- g. The narrative form of the text means, in effect, that they can impose only a single interpretation on the original.
- h. The limitations of the narrative form also preclude making clear the exegetical reasoning.
- i. They make use of non-biblical tradition and draw on non-biblical sources, whether oral or written.

Alexander's description highlights several aspects that elaborate on the definition provided by Vermes earlier. Based on this, how the rewritten Bible differs from the NS may be understood as follows:

1. While the rewritten Bible offers a sequential and substantial, albeit highly selective, coverage of the authoritative versions of the narratives, it also introduces materials from non-biblical sources, whether oral or written, and synthesises them in order to incorporate them into the framework of the authoritative texts. The book of Jubilees, for example, contains a significant amount of additions that are *halakhic* in nature. The NS does not, as a rule, draw from external sources, apart from interpretative comments that are drawn from materials within the authoritative texts themselves.²⁰⁸
2. Even though it does not specifically seek to replace or supersede the authoritative texts, there is no precondition for the rewritten Bible, as far as the base texts are concerned—the rewritten work may be read and understood on its own, just like the base text that it rewrites. The NS is quite the opposite—the author making the NS consciously desires his

²⁰⁸ See *ibid.*, 118.

readers/hearers to recall the narratives that he is summarising and presumes some familiarity with them, at least among some of his readers or hearers.

3. The scope of the rewritten Bible usually approximates the scope of the historical narratives that it seeks to reproduce (thus Alexander's point that the texts cover a substantial portion of the Bible), notwithstanding the fact that there may be some expansion, contraction, addition or subtraction of the story segments in the base text. In the case of an NS, its function as a literary device ensures that, even if the whole narrative material were to be in view, only certain elements in the narratives are highlighted and summarised, and often in highly abbreviated form, to suit a point of argument in the host text.
4. The exegesis of the base text is only evident in the rewritten narrative itself, in the form of its deviations from the base text that may clarify, add or otherwise modify certain details which reveal its hermeneutical slant. This, as Alexander notes, imposes a certain limitation on its ability to enunciate its exegetical considerations, unlike a *peshet*, where various alternative standpoints with respect to the text may be deliberated or commented upon. The NS, on the other hand, is more explicit about its hermeneutical point of view. Since it functions as a literary device to support a discourse, its interpretation of the historical narratives is made explicit through the discourse material surrounding the NS. To put it another way, there is a distinction between the summary of the historical material and the author's voice in the comments that he makes. Indeed, it is exactly this hermeneutical 'loading' that makes the NS work as a literary device—it is an *interpretation* of history.

Consequently, while the rewritten Bible is in itself a literary work that can stand alone (that is, even if its dependence on a scriptural base text were to be evident, it does not require the reader to refer to the base text in order to understand its 'retelling'), the Narrative Summary is a literary device that is deployed within a given discourse in order to serve a specific purpose of the author using the

summary.²⁰⁹ In other words, while a rewritten Bible is itself a discourse and appeals to the scriptural base texts only indirectly, the NS (extracted from a first discourse) is embedded within a second discourse to perform a literary function in the later work, and as a necessity recalls the original narratives directly in order to bring them into the discussion.

2 Features in a Narrative Summary

In order to establish a preliminary framework that facilitates the study of Paul's use of the NS, I begin with a focus on the general features of this literary device, by looking at some examples. Conceivably, this would enable us to establish some benchmarks that allow for a comparison with Paul's use of NS later. I have chosen Nehemiah 9:5-37, 4 Ezra 3:4-27²¹⁰ and Acts 7:2-53 as the core material for this initial part of the study, as these texts seem to be fuller examples of the use of NS in Scripture, one taken from the Old Testament and the other from the New, whereas 4 Ezra 3:4-27 provides another example close to the writings of Paul.²¹¹ These texts have the advantage of being located within the Second Temple period, and are roughly contemporaneous with the writings of Paul. Together, the three passages constitute a 'control' group that will establish the

²⁰⁹ The texts that are normally included in the rewritten Bible genre are the Book of Jubilees, the Genesis Apocryphon, the *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* (Pseudo-Philo) and Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*, although scholars may differ on the specific items in the list. See *ibid.*, 99-100. Other lists can be found in: Nickelsburg, "The Bible Rewritten and Expanded," 89-156; James C. VanderKam and Peter W. Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Harper Collins, 2003), 225-32; Schürer, Millar and Vermes, *History of the Jewish People*, 308-41.

²¹⁰ I follow the convention used in recent scholarship. The book of 4 Ezra is also known as 2 Esdras, chapters 3 to 14, in our English Bibles; and the complete nomenclature is aligned as follows:

- 5 Ezra = 2 Esdras 1–2;
- 4 Ezra = 2 Esdras 3–14; and
- 6 Ezra = 2 Esdras 15–16.

In addition, 2 Esdras (not found in the LXX) is also 3 Esdras in the Slavonic Bible and 4 Esdras in the Appendix to the Latin Vulgate.

²¹¹ 4 Ezra 3–14 is usually deemed to be a late first century A.D. work, written in response to the destruction of the temple by the Romans in 70 A.D. Cf. Bruce W. Longenecker, *2 Esdras* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 13-16.

benchmarks for comparison with the NS in Paul's epistles. In the initial part of the analysis below, I shall also make brief references to certain examples in Paul's NS that correlate with the features that are observed in this 'control' group, before providing a more detailed treatment of Paul's use of the NS in the chapters to follow.

2.1 Nehemiah 9:5-37

Cast in the formal pattern of a covenant renewal,²¹² Nehemiah 8–10 stands at a high point in the book of Ezra-Nehemiah. The opening chapters (Ezra 1–2) begin with the decree of Cyrus permitting the Jews to return to Jerusalem,²¹³ the list of temple artefacts to be reinstated, and a list of the returnees. The text then goes on to recount the rebuilding of the temple (Ezra 3–6) and the return of Ezra and his ensuing reforms (Ezra 7–10).

The second part of the narrative²¹⁴ relates the rebuilding of the wall under Nehemiah (Nehemiah 1–7), and the covenant renewal led by Ezra and the Levites (Nehemiah 8–10), before ending with a list of the new residents in Jerusalem (Nehemiah 11–12), and a summary of the reforms undertaken during Nehemiah's second term as governor in Jerusalem at the end (Nehemiah 13).

²¹² Klaus Baltzer, *The Covenant Formulary* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1971). Baltzer's initial proposal, which only includes Nehemiah 9–10, is refined by McCarthy, who argues that Nehemiah 8 (being a proclamation of the law) forms a necessary prelude to the covenant renewal and should be taken together with Nehemiah 9–10. See Dennis J. McCarthy, "Covenant and Law in Chronicles-Nehemiah," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 44, no. 1 (1982).

²¹³ Ezra 1:2-4, cf. 2 Chr 36:22-23.

²¹⁴ Ezra-Nehemiah is, of course, treated as a single narrative within the Jewish canon. It was separated into two books by Origen (3rd century A.D.) and Jerome (4th century A.D.), the latter while producing the Vulgate. Nonetheless, the beginning of Nehemiah marks the break in this narrative very clearly. This, together with certain repetitions in the texts (e.g. the lists of returnees in Ezra 2 and Nehemiah 7), prompts the question as to whether, at least in their earliest stages, Ezra and Nehemiah were meant to be two separate accounts. Even so, from a literary perspective, they should be taken as a whole. See Tamara C. Eskenazi, "The Structure of Ezra-Nehemiah and the Integrity of the Book," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 107, no. 4 (1988): 641-56.

Hence, from a literary and theological perspective, the prayer in Neh 9:5-37 lies at the heart of the Ezra-Nehemiah narrative.²¹⁵ It is a historical retelling of the return of God's people from Exile, in accordance with his covenant faithfulness, and the reciprocal reaffirmation to covenant commitment on the part of the people.

The task at hand is to consider the characteristics of the NS in Neh 9:5-37. While many scholars have noted the historical recollection, and observed its place in a prayer of confession, which is in turn an element in the act of covenant renewal in the Old Testament, relatively little has been done to examine how this historical recollection is effected, in relation to the OT historical narratives.

The rich and varied connection between the prayer in Neh 9:5-37 and the rest of the Old Testament, especially the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, the four books of the Kingdoms, Psalms and the Prophets, have been explored in many standard commentaries, such as those by Myers and Williamson.²¹⁶ In order not to replicate what has already been done, I shall use this information as the starting point for the discussion. Based on the work of Myers and Williamson, these intertextual connections may be collated and summarised as in Figure 9 below.

²¹⁵ The varied formal elements in this prayer (which may be indicative of multiple editorial interventions or additions to an original version of the text), and the composition of the book of Ezra-Nehemiah in relation to its sources, have been extensively discussed in Williamson's commentary, H. G. M. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah* (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1985). See especially his Introduction, pp. xxi to xxxv, and pp. 275-276, 305-310. While the compositional history of the text may be uncertain (and this is just an hypothesis, based on our expectation that certain formal elements, e.g. prose or poetry, must be consistent in the hand of one writer), what is relevant for us here is to consider the form of the text that the Jews during the Second Temple period, as well as the early Christians (including Paul himself), would have read, which is essentially attested in the textual witnesses in our possession today.

²¹⁶ Jacob M. Myers, *Ezra, Nehemiah* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965), 167-69; Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, 312-17.

Figure 9: Intertextual Connections in Nehemiah 9:5-37

(1) Passage	(2) Content	(3) Intertextual Connections ²¹⁷
Neh 9:6	God's creation of heaven and earth.	Gen 2:1; Deut 10:14; 1 Kgs 8:27; 2 Kgs 19:15, 19; 2 Chr 2:5 [2:6]; 6:8; Ps 85:10 [86:10]; 148:4; Isa 37:16, 20; Jer 39:17 [32:17].
Neh 9:7-8	God choosing Abraham and making a covenant with him.	Gen 15:6, 7, 18-21; 17:5; Deut 4:37; 10:15; 32:4; Ps 118:37 [119:37]; Jer 12:1; Lam 1:18; Ezra 9:15.
Neh 9:9-11	The Israelites suffering in Egypt, and the opening of the Red Sea.	Ex 3:7; 4:31; 14:21-22; 15:5, 9-10, 19; 19:16; Deut 4:34; 6:22; 7:19; 13:3-4 [2-3]; 26:8; 28:46; 29:1 [2]; 34:11; Ps 77:13 [78:13]; 134:9 [135:9]; Isa 20:3; 43:16; 63:12, 14; Jer 39:20-21 [32:20-21]; Dan 9:15.
Neh 9:12-15	God leading the Israelites, the giving of the Law at Sinai, provision of manna and water.	Ex 6:4, 8; 13:21-22; 16:4; 17:6; 19:11, 18, 20; 20:22; Num 14:14, 30; 20:8; Deut 1:33; 11:31; Josh 1:11; 17:3 [18:3]; Jdg 18:9; 2 Chr 6:27; Ps 104:40 [105:40]; Ezk 20:6, 15, 28, 42; 47:14.
Neh 9:16-21	The disobedience of the forefathers, the making of the golden calf, and God's compassionate mercy.	Summarising the rebellions in the wilderness; ²¹⁸ Ex 32:1-8; 34:6-7; Num 14:4, 14, 18; Deut 2:7; 8:4; 9:16; 10:16; 11:28, 13, 27; 28:13; 29:3 [29:4]; 1 Sam 8:19; 2 Kgs 17:14; 1 Chr 16:12; 2 Chr 30:9; 36:13; Ps 50:5 [51:3]; 68:18 [69:17]; 85:15 [86:15]; 102:8 [103:8]; 104:5 [105:5]; 110:4 [111:4]; 111:4 [112:4]; 118:156 [119:156]; 129:4 [130:4]; 142:10 [143:10]; 144:8 [145:8]; Isa 54:7; Jer 7:26; 11:10; 17:23; 19:15; Ezk 35:12; Dan 9:9, 18; Joel 2:13; Jon 4:2.
Neh 9:22-25	God's giving of the kingdoms, Israelites' possession of the promised land.	Gen 12:17; 26:4; Ex 32:13; Numbers 21; 26; 32:33; Deut 1:10; 2-3; 4:1; 6:10-11; 7:24; 8:1, 7-10; 9:3; 10:11, 22; 11:8; 28:62; 31:7; Joshua 1-11; 21:43-44; Jdg 1:4; 2:1; 4:23; 1 Chr 18:10; 27:23; Ps 134:10-12 [135:10-12]; 135:17-21 [136:17-21]; Jer 2:7.
Neh 9:26-28	The disobedience of the people, oppression by their enemies, repentance and God's deliverance.	'Period of Judges', ²¹⁹ Ex 14:10-11; Num 13:20; 21:21-35; 26; Deut 2-3; 3:5; 6:10-11; 8:7-10; 9:1-2; 32:15; Josh 13:13 [14:12]; 23:7 [24:7]; Jdg 2:11-23; 3:9, 15; 4:3; 6:14; 8:22; 10:12; 1 Sam 9:16; 2 Sam 24:14; 1 Kgs 8:37; 14:9 MT; 18:4; 19:10, 14; 2 Kgs 13:5; 17:15; 1 Chr 21:13; 2 Chr 6:21-33; 24:19; Ps 33:8 [34:7], 19 [18]; 44:9 [45:8]; 49:17 [50:17]; 77:16 [78:16]; 106:6 [107:6], 28; 118:156 [119:156]; Jer 10:18; Ezk 23:35; 39:23; Dan 9:18; Amos 3:13; Zech 9:16.

²¹⁷ Adapted and collated from references provided by Williamson and Myers. The few references to the text of Ezra-Nehemiah itself, as well as references to some of the Dead Sea Scrolls (e.g. 1QS *The Rule of Community*) provided by Myers, are omitted.

²¹⁸ Cf. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, 314. Williamson's remark refers to Neh 9:16-18 but I would think it could very well apply to vv. 19-21 as well.

²¹⁹ Myers, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, 169.

Neh 9:29-31	The disobedience of the people, oppression by their enemies, and God's mercy.	Jdg 6:1; 13:1; 1 Sam 8:19; 2 Kgs 13:3; 17:13; 2 Chr 24:19; Ps 105:41 [106:41]; Jer 4:27; 5:18; 11:7; 20:4-5; 21:7; 22:25; 30:11 [49:17]; 42:19 [35:19]; 46:18 [39:18]; Ezk 7:21; 21:36 [21:31]; Amos 3:13; Zech 7:12.
Neh 9:32-35	Appeal to God for intervention despite the people's disobedience in the past.	Ex 18:8; Num 20:14; Deut 7:9; 10:17; 28:20; 1 Kgs 8:23; 2 Kgs 17:15; 2 Chr 6:14; Jer 4:4; 12:1; 21:12; 23:2; 39:18 [32:18]; 51:22 [44:22]; Ps 56:12 [57:11]; 95:3 [96:3]; 105:6 [106:6]; 118:137 [119:137]; 131:12 [132:12]; 144:7 [145:7]; Dan 9:4-5, 14; Zech 1:4.
Neh 9:36-37	Confession that the Israelites are slaves because of past obedience.	Deut 6:23; 19:8; 26:9; Josh 2:9; 1 Sam 8:11-17; 2 Chr 6:31; Isa 1:19b; Jer 2:7.

While the numerous connections in Neh 9:5-37 have been quite extensively treated, what is lacking is a more precise description of how the Old Testament texts are used by the author. Both Myers and Williamson point out the numerous OT passages that correspond verbally to Neh 9:5-37, but there is no attempt to differentiate between those texts that could be indicative of an underlying framework that guides the author, and those that are merely echoes of these basic texts in the framework.

2.1.1 Chronological Order at the Macro Level

The appropriation of the prior texts is not a *mélange* of arbitrary intertextuality as Figure 9 might otherwise suggest. There is a certain order in which the OT texts are used. It is necessary to sort out the genus of these intertextual connections, and to differentiate between those texts that form the basic textual framework that probably guides the author as he draws from Scripture, and the other biblical passages that are merely parallels of these basic texts.

In the case of Neh 9:5-37, it is quite apparent that the author uses the OT historical narratives in their chronological order, and summarises the account in these narratives, while the other OT texts, as reflected in Figure 9, form a secondary channel that might possibly guide his language and interpretation of these events. Thus, beginning with the account of God's creation (Genesis 1) in Neh 9:6, the author moves on to the Abraham narratives (Genesis 12–17) in Neh

9:7-8, Exodus 7–11 and 13–14 in Neh 9:9-11, and so on. A basic framework is discernible, as presented in Figure 10 below (see in particular Column 2).

Figure 10: The Basic Framework and Other Intertextual Connections in Nehemiah 9:5-37

(1) Passage	(2) Basic Framework	(3) Other Intertextual Connections
Neh 9:6	Genesis 1–2	Gen 2:1; Deut 10:14; 1 Kgs 8:27; 2 Kgs 19:15, 19; 2 Chr 2:5 [2:6]; 6:8; Ps 85:10 [86:10]; 148:4; Isa 37:16, 20; Jer 39:17 [32:17].
Neh 9:7-8	Genesis 12–17	Gen 15:6, 7, 18-21; 17:5; Deut 4:37; 10:15; 32:4; Ps 118:37 [119:37]; Jer 12:1; Lam 1:18; Ezra 9:15.
Neh 9:9-11	Exodus 7–11; 13–14	Ex 3:7; 4:31; 14:21-22; 15:5, 9-10, 19; 19:16; Deut 4:34; 6:22; 7:19; 13:3-4 [2-3]; 26:8; 28:46; 29:1 [2]; 34:11; Ps 77:13 [78:13]; 134:9 [135:9]; Isa 20:3; 43:16; 63:12, 14; Jer 39:20-21 [32:20-21]; Dan 9:15.
Neh 9:12-15	Exodus 16–31	Ex 6:4, 8; 13:21-22; 16:4; 17:6; 19:11, 18, 20; 20:22; Num 14:14, 30; 20:8; Deut 1:33; 11:31; Josh 1:11; 17:3 [18:3]; Jdg 18:9; 2 Chr 6:27; Ps 104:40 [105:40]; Ezk 20:6, 15, 28, 42; 47:14.
Neh 9:16-21	Exodus 32–34(?); Numbers 14	Summarising the rebellions in the wilderness; Ex 32:1-8; 34:6-7; Num 14:4, 14, 18; Deut 2:7; 8:4; 9:16; 10:16; 11:28, 13, 27; 28:13; 29:3 [29:4]; 1 Sam 8:19; 2 Kgs 17:14; 1 Chr 16:12; 2 Chr 30:9; 36:13; Ps 50:5 [51:3]; 68:18 [69:17]; 85:15 [86:15]; 102:8 [103:8]; 104:5 [105:5]; 110:4 [111:4]; 111:4 [112:4]; 118:156 [119:156]; 129:4 [130:4]; 142:10 [143:10]; 144:8 [145:8]; Isa 54:7; Jer 7:26; 11:10; 17:23; 19:15; Ezk 35:12; Dan 9:9, 18; Joel 2:13; Jon 4:2.
Neh 9:22-25	Joshua 1–12	Gen 12:17; 26:4; Ex 32:13; Numbers 21; 26; 32:33; Deut 1:10; 2–3; 4:1; 6:10-11; 7:24; 8:1, 7-10; 9:3; 10:11, 22; 11:8; 28:62; 31:7; Joshua 1–11; 21:43-44; Jdg 1:4; 2:1; 4:23; 1 Chr 18:10; 27:23; Ps 134:10-12 [135:10-12]; 135:17-21 [136:17-21]; Jer 2:7.
Neh 9:26-28	Judges	'Period of Judges'; Ex 14:10-11; Num 13:20; 21:21-35; 26; Deut 2–3; 3:5; 6:10-11; 8:7-10; 9:1-2; 32:15; Josh 13:13 [14:12]; 23:7 [24:7]; Jdg 2:11-23; 3:9, 15; 4:3; 6:14; 8:22; 10:12; 1 Sam 9:16; 2 Sam 24:14; 1 Kgs 8:37; 14:9 MT; 18:4; 19:10, 14; 2 Kgs 13:5; 17:15; 1 Chr 21:13; 2 Chr 6:21-33; 24:19; Ps 33:8 [34:7]; 19 [18]; 44:9 [45:8]; 49:17 [50:17]; 77:16 [78:16]; 106:6 [107:6], 28; 118:156 [119:156]; Jer 10:18; Ezk 23:35; 39:23; Dan 9:18; Amos 3:13; Zech 9:16.
Neh 9:29-31		Jdg 6:1; 13:1; 1 Sam 8:19; 2 Kgs 13:3; 17:13; 2 Chr 24:19; Ps 105:41 [106:41]; Jer 4:27; 5:18; 11:7; 20:4-5; 21:7; 22:25; 30:11 [49:17]; 42:19 [35:19]; 46:18 [39:18]; Ezk 7:21; 21:36 [21:31]; Amos 3:13; Zech 7:12.

Neh 9:32-35	1 Samuel—2 Kings	Ex 18:8; Num 20:14; Deut 7:9; 10:17; 28:20; 1 Kgs 8:23; 2 Kgs 17:15; 2 Chr 6:14; Jer 4:4; 12:1; 21:12; 23:2; 39:18 [32:18]; 51:22 [44:22]; Ps 56:12 [57:11]; 95:3 [96:3]; 105:6 [106:6]; 118:137 [119:137]; 131:12 [132:12]; 144:7 [145:7]; Dan 9:4-5, 14; Zech 1:4.
Neh 9:36-37	"To this day"—we are slaves	Deut 6:23; 19:8; 26:9; Josh 2:9; 1 Sam 8:11-17; 2 Chr 6:31; Isa 1:19b; Jer 2:7.

While the finer points in this framework may be debatable, such as the exact scope of passages that the author might have in view in making his summary at each point, the rather indisputable observation here is that he does follow the narrative order in the OT texts. These 'base texts' are more fundamental to his purpose than the myriad of intertextual connections from the other OT passages, which play a secondary role. This is further reinforced when we examine the data in Neh 9:6 more closely, as presented in Figure 11 below.

Figure 11: Nehemiah 9:6, Genesis 1 and Other Texts

(1) Nehemiah 9:6	(2) Genesis 1	(3) Other Intertextual Connections
6A. ²²⁰ You are the Lord, you alone,	—	2 Kgs 19:15, 19; Ps 85:10 [86:10]; Isa 37:16, 20
6B. you made the heavens,	v. 1	
6C. the heavens of heavens,	—	Deut 10:14; 1 Kgs 8:27; 2 Chr 2:4 [5]; 6:18; Jer 39:17 [32:17]
6D. and all their hosts,	vv. 14-18	
6E. the earth	v. 1	
6F. and everything upon it,	vv. 11-12, 21b, 24-25	
6G. the seas	v. 10	
6H. And everything in them;	v. 21a	
6I. You gave life to all,	vv. 21, 24, 26-30	
6J. and the hosts of heavens worship you.	—	Ps 148:4

Apart from the textual referents taken from Genesis 1, the other texts advanced by Williamson and Myers (column 3 in Figure 9) are mostly connected to the interpretative phrases in Neh 9:6—labelled 6A, 6C and 6J in the above table

²²⁰ In order to avoid confusion in the verse references, I use the capital letters (A, B, C, etc.) to refer to verse segments that are presented in the tables for detailed analysis, while retaining the small letters (a, b, c, etc.) for more conventional verse references.

(Figure 11). The only exceptions are Gen 2:1 and Jer 39:17 [32:17], both of which are general summative comments about God having made the heavens and the earth. Rather than seeing these as providing the impetus for the author's summary of Genesis 1 in Neh 9:6, one would think that the more elaborate summary in Neh 9:6 is executed quite independently. This further suggests that, in the case of a summary, there is a basic narrative framework that the author is using, augmented with interpretative comments that are shared with other texts coming from outside of the base narrative.

In Rom 9:6-13, which I examine closely in Chapter 4, Paul's summary of the historical accounts surrounding the births of the patriarchs in Genesis is effected through a series of direct quotations,²²¹ interlaced with interpretative commentary arguing his point that the children of Abraham are reckoned by God's sovereign choice in calling, and not by works (Rom 9:12). The NS has two episodic frames (see 2.1.3 below) separated by a structural marker at the beginning of Rom 9:10, οὐ μόνον δέ ('not only thus'). The first episodic frame, 9:6-9, talks about Isaac, the offspring of Abraham and Sarah. The second episodic frame, 9:10-13, talks about the sons of Isaac and Rebekah, Jacob and Esau. While this may be an NS of smaller scale compared to Neh 9:5-37, the chronological order is nonetheless discernible.

2.1.2 *Rearrangement at the Micro Level*

The information presented in Figure 11 also shows that the raw material in Genesis 1 has undergone rearrangement in Neh 9:6, as far as the narrative sequence is concerned. It seems that although the author works within the framework of Genesis 1 at the macro level, he is not compelled to follow the same order of presentation found in his source narrative at the micro level. For example, material from Gen 1:14-18 is interjected into the declaration that God made the heavens and the earth (Gen 1:1a, 1b); and the comment that God

²²¹ That citations are used by Paul to express the significance of the stories that are recalled is also noted by Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith*, 273.

created the living things that move upon the earth is culled from material taken from various parts of Genesis 1 (vv. 11-12, 21b, 24-25), and attached to Gen 1:1b in one summative phrase, 'and everything upon it'. In order to attain its aim of being concise, a summary necessarily entails some rearrangement of the original material.

This feature is also noticeable among the NS in Paul's letters. Taking the example cited earlier (Rom 9:6-13), and looking at the first episodic frame (9:6-9), material taken from a later passage in the Genesis account (Gen 21:12 in Rom 9:7b) is presented before that from an earlier passage in the narrative (Gen 18:10, 14 in Rom 9:9). Again, albeit at a smaller scale, the same phenomenon is observed in Paul's Narrative Summary—within the same episodic frame, materials derived from the base narrative may be rearranged to suit his purpose in the on-going discourse (in this case, in Rom 9:6-13).

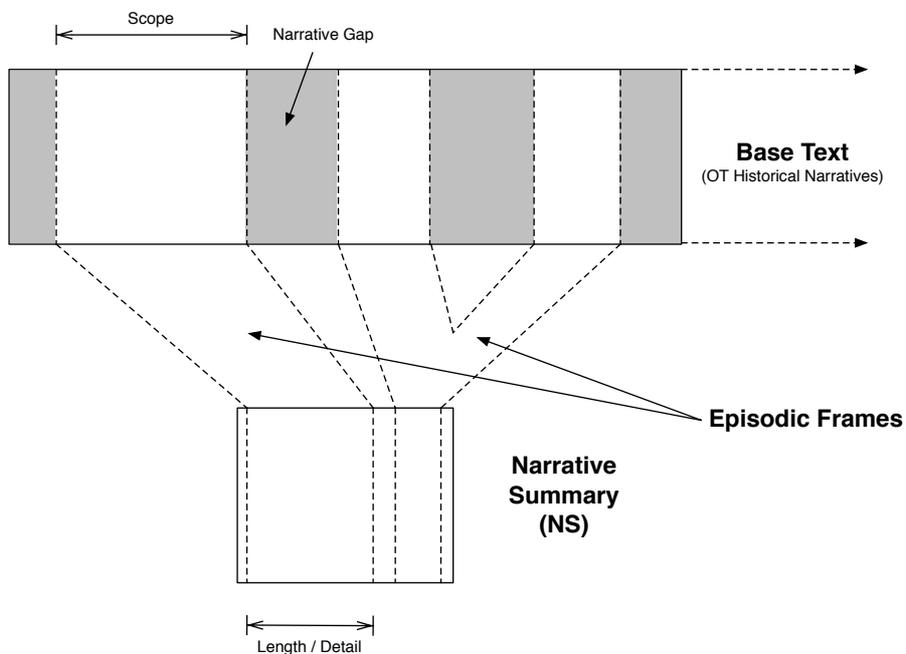
2.1.3 *Episodic Frames*

An analysis of the foregoing features suggests that, in the course of the summary, the historical narratives are also conceived in terms of narrative slices that I shall refer to as *episodic frames*. This does not mean that there are fixed delimitations that are placed on the texts. I refrained from using the label 'episodic blocks' (which suggests rigidity, although it does convey the idea that the author/speaker uses blocks of narrative material in his NS), or 'episodes' (which, according to conventional usage of the term, suggests that they are more-or-less standard narrative units regardless of the author/speaker who is reading them). Rather, *episodic frames* are fluid, and differ from one summary to another. They are only implicitly delineated by the author in the course of making the summary, and are evidenced by how elements within these units are reorganized or conflated in the abbreviated retelling.

How the units are *framed* depends on the author/speaker making use of them. Thus, the story of God’s creation (depicted in Genesis 1–2) is conceived as one episodic frame, while the story of God’s call of Abraham and his covenant of promise (Genesis 12-17, as used in Nehemiah 9) is another. This enables the two features in the foregoing observations to take place at the same time, namely: (1) a chronological order at the macro level, and (2) a simultaneous rearrangement of the elements within each episodic frame at the micro level.

Conversely speaking, the episodic frames in an NS can be determined by bringing together two key observations. One has to do mainly with the structure of the present discourse, and how materials derived from the OT historical narratives are matched to it (corresponding to the macro level above). The other has to do with how narrative elements from the original text are arranged (or rearranged) within the NS, corresponding to the micro level above (see Figure 12).

Figure 12: Episodic Frames in a Narrative Summary



This idea is important, because it helps to explain the following variations that are discernible in the Narrative Summary:

- a. The number of episodic frames in each NS;
- b. The length of a particular episodic frame;
- c. The amount (= 'scope') of base material summarised in each episodic frame;
- d. The level of detail in each summary (e.g. Neh 9:6 is a more detailed summary of Genesis 1–2,²²² in comparison to Neh 9:26–28's summary of the period of Judges);
- e. The overall length of the NS;
- f. The limits of the rearrangement that normally goes on at the micro level (that is, within each episodic frame); and
- g. The 'narrative gap'²²³ between the episodic frames in the NS, in comparison to the source narratives.

Thus, while the Narrative Summary in Nehemiah 9 is a sweeping panorama comprising a number of episodic frames, Paul's NS in 1 Cor 10:1–10 consists of only one episodic frame—that of the Israelites' experience in the wilderness. Nonetheless Paul's summary involves a substantial amount of materials spanning from Exodus 13 to Numbers 25, along with the rearrangement of elements derived from the base text (i.e. Exodus 13–Numbers 25). Similarly, in Stephen's speech in Acts 7, seven-and-a-half verses (making up one episodic frame) are dedicated to a summary of God's calling of Abraham and the making of a covenant with him (Genesis 12–17), whereas in Nehemiah 9 only two verses are expended in summarising the same scope of material (also Genesis 12–17).

²²² Genesis 1–2 is, of course, probably conceived as an episodic frame by the author in this particular summary.

²²³ The term 'narrative gap' refers to the materials in the OT historical narratives (sometimes called 'base material(s)' or 'base narrative(s)') that are left out in the NS, in-between the episodic frames.

2.1.4 Rhetorical Purpose

The author's summary is not made simply to achieve brevity. His use and coordination of the material are meant to advance the point that he wishes to make in his narrative. While scholars may not always agree that there is a good fit between an NS and its literary context (e.g. Acts 7),²²⁴ it is my view that such a case is at least demonstrable in most if not all of the instances in Paul's epistles, and probably in the other writings as well. If an NS is indeed a literary device, it is there to serve a literary purpose, and thus is meant to 'fit' into its literary context, regardless of how effectively it manages to do this.

In Neh 9:6, for example, the information taken from Genesis 1 is restructured and ordered to emphasise the totality of God's creation: heavens–earth–seas (*merism*), each teeming with the living creatures that God has placed in them. The point of this accentuation would have been somewhat weakened in the summary had the author of Nehemiah 9 simply followed the order of presentation in the base text (i.e. Genesis 1). Furthermore, the remark that Yahweh alone is Lord (6A in Figure 11 above) and that he is worshipped by the hosts of heavens (6J) encapsulates this description and completes his emphasis in v. 6, setting the tone for the rest of the prayer.

Regarding the NS in the prayer as a whole (Neh 9:6-35), it serves to highlight the fact that God is sovereign (as observed in my analysis of Neh 9:6 above, and a theme that is evident throughout the rest of the prayer),²²⁵ and that, despite the disobedience of the people (even though they are blessed),²²⁶ God is

²²⁴ Ernst Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, trans., Bernard Noble and Gerald Shinn (Oxford: Blackwell, 1971), 288-90; F. J. Foakes Jackson, "Stephen's Speech in Acts," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 49, no. 3 (1930): 284.

²²⁵ The sovereignty of God is seen in his calling of Abraham, bringing him out of Ur, naming him (7), making a covenant with Abraham and descendants (8), his seeing the suffering of his people in Egypt (9), sending miraculous signs against the Egyptians, his division of the Red Sea, his throwing of the enemy into its depths (10), and so on.

²²⁶ Disobedience—Neh 9:16-17a, 26, 28a, 29, 30b, 34, 35b, 37.

compassionate and merciful.²²⁷ Furthermore, in his faithfulness to his covenant,²²⁸ God does not abandon his people, the Israelites.²²⁹ This premise enables the appeal to be made towards the end of the prayer, that he will see (v. 36a) the distressing situation that his people are in (v. 37b).

The same feature is observed in Paul’s NS, with 1 Cor 10:1-10 being a prime example. The summary comprises a complex blending of elements taken from Exodus and Numbers, all relating to the experience of the Israelites during their exodus out of Egypt into the wilderness, and rearranged to achieve the desired effect in the retelling, as discussed later in this dissertation.

2.1.5 Selective Focus

From Genesis 1 in Neh 9:6, the author moves on to the Abraham narrative (Genesis 12–17) in Neh 9:7-8. Following the same approach that I have taken earlier, the intertextual connections in this passage may be laid out as presented in Figure 13.

Figure 13: Nehemiah 9:7-8, Genesis 12–17 and Other Texts

(1) Nehemiah 9:7-8	(2) Genesis 12–17	(3) Other Intertextual Connections
7A. You are the Lord,	—	2 Kgs 19:15, 19; Ps 86:10; Isa 37:16, 20 (6A in Figure 11).
7B. the God who chose Abram	Gen 12:1	Deut 4:37; 10:15.
7C. and brought him out from Ur of the Chaldeans	Gen 15:7 (cf. Gen 11:31)	
7D. and designated his name Abraham.	Gen 17:5	
8A. And you found his heart faithful before you	Gen 15:6	
8B. and you made with him the covenant	Gen 15:18	

²²⁷ Compassion—Neh 9:17b, 19a, 27b, 28b, 31.

²²⁸ Faithfulness—Neh 9:8b, 32. This thematic emphasis on God’s faithfulness to his covenant should also be viewed together with remarks that God did not abandon his people, and, protected, cared and provided for them (Neh 9:10, 11, 12, 15, 19-21), multiplied them (Neh 9:23), and gave the land of abundance to them (Neh 9:22-25).

²²⁹ Does not abandon—Neh 9:9b (God hearing the cry of his people), 17c, 19b, 20, 31.

8C.	to give the land of the Canaanite, the Hittite, the Amorite, and the Perrizite, and the Jebusite, and the Girgashite	Gen 15:19-21	
8D.	to his seed.	Gen 15:18	
8E.	And your words stand because you are righteous.	—	Deut 32:4; Jer 12:1 Ps 119:137; Lam 1:18.

The observations made for Neh 9:6 are applicable to this passage as well—namely, with respect to the disrupted order in which the narrative in the base text is presented, and the intertextual connections with other OT passages (based on information provided by Myers and Williamson) being related mainly to the interpretative phrases in 7A and 8E. The exceptions are Deut 4:37 and 10:15. These two passages, however, are only indirectly connected with God’s calling of Abraham—with the texts in Deuteronomy affirming that God *loved* (not called) the forefathers and chose the *Israelites* (not Abraham) to be his people. It is clear that Gen 12:1 has been the base text for Neh 9:7B, and the other intertextual connections (between Neh 9:7 and other texts) are quite secondary.

What I would like to examine in more detail is the way that the Abraham narrative in Genesis 12–17 is being used. Although it may seem like an extensive block of narrative material that is in view, the main focus of the summary is in fact limited to Gen 15:5-7 and vv. 18-21. These passages centre on God bringing Abraham out of Ur of the Chaldeans and, finding his heart faithful, making a covenant to give the land of the Canaanites to his descendants.

While the statement that God chose Abraham (7B) may apply to the whole of Abraham’s life as laid out in the narratives and is not necessarily restricted to the material in Gen 12:1 (with God’s initial promise being recorded in vv. 2-3), this first instance of God coming to Abraham to call him and making a promise to him is certainly a prime incident, and would have come to mind if God’s act of choosing Abraham were to be mentioned.

Even if we were to relax this observation, and take the remark about God's choosing Abraham (7B) not just as a summary of Gen 12:1 (although that is certainly to be included), but of Abraham's life as a whole (e.g. the numerous reiterations of that divine promise in subsequent episodes), that summary is still restricted to only one thread of the Abraham narrative. It does not cover all the details in the Abraham narrative, such as how Abraham and Sarah went to Egypt (Gen 12:10-20), the story of Hagar and Ishmael (Genesis 16), and so on. The idea here is that a summary of historical narratives is highly selective and limited to the point that the author/speaker wants to make with that summary.

This feature is discernible in most, if not all, of the NS in Paul's epistles. As an example, in 2 Cor 3:7-18 Paul is specifically referring to a passage taken from Ex 34:29-35, which relates to the veiling of Moses each time after he has spoken to the Israelites, to communicate God's commands to them. The original narrative contains information not mentioned in Paul's summary in 2 Cor 3:7-18. For example, the text mentions that Aaron and all the leaders of the community met with Moses (Ex 34:31) before Moses communicated God's commands to the nation as a whole (Ex 34:32), and that Moses would remove his veil each time he enters into the Lord's presence in the tent of meeting (Ex 34:34). These details are not reproduced (at least not explicitly) in the summary that Paul provides in 2 Cor 3:7-18. When we study the context in 2 Cor 3:7-18, we find that these are not attendant to the point that Paul is making in his exposition, and therefore are left out in his summary. There is a selective focus in his summary of the OT historical narrative.

2.1.6 Interpretative Elements

Closer examination of the passages will reveal that the summary is interspersed with interpretative comments that serve to guide the reader in understanding the point of the summary. In order to understand this phenomenon in detail, I shall examine a couple of sample passages more closely. The first passage is Neh 9:6-

8. The text, translated as literally as possible from the Masoretic Text, is presented below.

Nehemiah 9:6-8

- 6A. You are the Lord, you alone,
- 6B. you made the heavens,
- 6C. the heavens of heavens,
- 6D. and all their hosts,
- 6E. the earth
- 6F. and everything upon it,
- 6G. the seas
- 6H. and everything in them;
- 6I. You gave life to all,
- 6J. and the heavenly hosts worship you.

- 7A. You are the Lord,
- 7B. the God who chose Abram
- 7C. and brought him out from Ur of the Chaldeans
- 7D. and designated his name Abraham.

- 8A. And you found his heart faithful before you
- 8B. and you made with him the covenant
- 8C. to give the land of the Canaanite, the Hittite, the Amorite,
and the Perrizite, and the Jebusite, and the Girgashite
- 8D. to his seed.
- 8E. And your words stand because you are righteous.

It begins with an address to Yahweh (who alone is Lord), and then speaks of his creation (v. 6). The Lord is said to have made (הַשָּׁמַיִם) the heavens (6B), the earth (6E) and the seas (6G), and all the things in them, and he gave life to everything (6I); thus, the hosts of heavens worship him (6J). The allusion to Genesis 1 is clear, even if the verb for the creating (בָּרָא in Gen 1:1) is different—the interchangeability of these two verbs in referring to God’s act of creating is evident from passages such as Gen 2:3-4; 5:1; and 6:7.

Yet, Neh 9:6 is not simply a summary of Gen 1:1—apart from the reference to God’s creation of the heavens and the earth, there are other parts of Genesis 1 that are incorporated into this summary. The reference to the creation of the seas (6G) is not found in Gen 1:1 but in Gen 1:10. The reference to the hosts of heavens (6D), if we accept these to be the sun, moon and stars, would be a summary of Gen 1:14-18. The reference to the creatures on earth (6F) is found in

passages like Gen 1:11-12, 21b and 24-25. The reference to the creatures in the seas recalls Gen 1:21a.

In addition to this so-called 'straightforward summary', there are also the interpretative statements that are interwoven into the text. The phrase in v. 6I, 'you gave life to all,' may be a summary in part, but it is also an interpretation of the text in Genesis 1. The fact that God created 'creatures that move' (Gen 1:21, 24, 26, 28, 30) and everything with 'breath of life' in it (Gen 1:30), not least of all the creation of Man himself (Gen 1:26-27), probably prompts the interpretative summary, 'you gave life to all' (6I). And the two phrases at the beginning and end of Neh 9:6, 'You are the Lord, you alone' (6A) and 'and the hosts of heavens worship you' (6J) are not found within Genesis 1. They are clearly interpretative of what has been summarised—that, in view of his bringing into being the whole of creation, God alone is Lord (6A), and he alone is to be worshipped (6J), as represented by the 'hosts of heavens' who worship him).²³⁰ The same goes for 6C. The phrase, 'the heavens of heavens,' is external to Genesis 1 and is introduced as an intensifier here to emphasise the loftiness of God's creative act.

Interpretative elements in the NS are likewise observable in the letters of Paul. Galatians 4:21-31, for example, contains Paul's interpretation of the narrative surrounding Abraham's two wives, Sarah and Hagar. That Paul is making a summary is evident from his use of the introductory phrase, *γέγραπται γάρ* ('for it is written'). This is followed by, not a direct quotation from Scripture, but an abbreviated statement that captures the main point of what he wants to bring out from the historical narratives: that Abraham had two sons, one by the slave woman and the other by the free woman (Gal 4:22). Inherent in this summary statement, however, is the interpretative remark that one is a 'slave', while the

²³⁰ That contemporary views in Second Temple Judaism could have provided the interpretative resources for Paul (e.g. that the stars and heavenly bodies are metaphorical representations of heavenly beings) cannot be denied. It is, of course, quite evident that Paul's use of Scripture (including his interpretation of the ancient texts) would have been mediated in part by a theological grid shared with his fellow Jewish adherents in the Second Temple period.

other is 'free'. While the original account does refer to Hagar as a slave, nowhere does it explicitly designate Sarah as a free woman (although this is of course implied—if Sarah is not a slave, she is a free woman). It is an interpretation of the text by Paul, not a straightforward summary.

Furthermore, to juxtapose the status of Hagar and Sarah the way Paul does it in Gal 4:22 (slave vs. free) involves a further interpretative move that is not explicit in the base narrative. The summary by Paul in Gal 4:22, therefore, contains an interpretative element that is commensurate with what I have thus far noted about the NS.

2.1.7 Continuation into the Present

The intertextual connections in Neh 9:26-31 appear to be more complicated, compared to what is seen in Neh 9:6-8, and the boundaries of the base text (especially with respect to vv. 29-31) seem to be less distinct than the earlier segments in the prayer.²³¹ It is evident that, as the prayer progresses, the Narrative Summary becomes more general, often with terse statements covering a large span of material. Thus, while the intertextual connections supplied by Myers and Williamson would still apply, it is virtually impossible to correlate parts of this section to more narrowly defined segments in the OT historical narratives where the summary could be in view, like what we have done for the earlier passages. Since the author is proceeding in a chronological order in his summary, and since it is quite evident that in Neh 9:26–28 the period of Judges is in view (see below), Neh 9:29-37 would have covered the history of Israel after the time of Judges (vv. 29-31) until the return from Exile in Nehemiah's day (vv. 32-36).

However, what is interesting about Neh 9:26-31 is that it contains an element that we do not encounter in the earlier passages as clearly. It is relatively easy to

²³¹ With regards to vv. 26-31, Williamson says, '[I]t cannot be said that the author is here following particular biblical passages in the way that was apparent earlier' (Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, 316.).

correlate Neh 9:26-28 to the book of Judges, with its cyclical pattern of *sin* (vv. 26, 28a) → *oppression* (vv. 27a, 28b) → *crying to God* (vv. 27b, 28c) → *God hearing their cry* (vv. 27c, 28d) → and *deliverance* (vv. 27d, 28e). As far as vv. 27 and 28 are concerned, both Myers and Williamson also note their correlation to the period of Judges, and they are not wrong in doing so.²³² Nonetheless, it is clear that v. 26 should also be taken into account in reckoning the cyclical pattern that the author in Nehemiah 9 obviously has in mind, without which the pattern would be incomplete.²³³ And it is remarkable that v. 26 contains elements not drawn from the period of Judges, but from a latter period in Israel's history (as represented in the OT historical narratives), possibly the period of the Divided Kingdom. There, the ministry of the prophets is prominent among the people (cf. 2 Kgs 17:13-15; 2 Chr 24:19), and the prophets are being killed (cf. 1 Kgs 18:4; 19:10, 14), two key elements in v. 26 that are not found in the Judges narratives. There is a transposition of the elements in the summary, whereby later materials (from the period of the Divided Kingdom) are incorporated into the summary of earlier narratives (the period of Judges).

Through his summary, the author of the prayer draws a connection between the Israelites in history and his contemporary generation. This continuity is reflected in the ensuing repetition of the sin-judgment-crying-deliverance cycle that begins with vv. 26-27 as the first cycle, and with v. 28 containing the second cycle in full. Following that, vv. 29-30a articulates the first stage of a third cycle, with the author confessing the disobedience of the Israelites, resulting in the nation being handed over to the neighbouring peoples (v. 30b).²³⁴ Verse 31 is a refrain that

²³² Myers, *Ezra, Nehemiah*; Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*.

²³³ One point that could have caused Myers and Williamson to be reticent about including v. 26 is that its language may be more appropriate to describing the period of the divided kingdom (note their intertextual references), where the ministry of the prophets is prominent among the people (cf. 2 Kgs 17:13-15; 2 Chr 24:19), and the prophets are being killed (cf. 1 Kgs 18:4; 19:10, 14), and so on. This however, can be accounted for by postulating a transposition of the elements in the summary, whereby later materials within the same time frame in the view of the author are incorporated into the summary, even as a chronological progression is being followed at the macro level.

²³⁴ Cf. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, 315-17. My delineation of the passages is different.

concludes the previous section (vv. 29-30b), before the pleading (vv. 32-37) begins. Thus, the prayer of confession in Neh 9:5-37, with its special pleading to God at the end (vv. 32-37), is a cry of distress to Yahweh in Nehemiah's generation, a stage in the sin-judgment-crying-deliverance cycle.

Seen in that light, another observation may be made with regard to the Narrative Summary. While the language used in v. 26 to summarise events in the book of Judges may be more appropriate to the period of the Divided Kingdom, it is a deliberate move by the author to demonstrate that the cyclical pattern of sin-judgment-crying-deliverance is not simply restricted to the period of Judges, but continues into the author's own generation. This reflects not only the purpose of his summary, which is to connect the historical events to his present generation, but also his technique, in using the cyclical pattern observed in the book of Judges and to extend it into the present generation in the course of making the summary. As we shall see below, the speech of Stephen in Acts 7 also achieves the same purpose of connecting the contemporary generation to the historical experiences of the people of Israel, but by using quite a different technique.

The same can be said of Paul's use of the NS as well. It has been noted that Paul's recounting of the Israelites' wilderness experience in 1 Cor 10:1-10 has the effect of bringing that historical event into continuity with those who profess Christ in the present generation. Similarly, even in Rom 9:4-5 (which is essentially a highly abbreviated form of NS, through the use of 'keywords'), the order of the elements, beginning with Ἰσραηλῖται (Rom 9:4a) and ending with ὁ Χριστός (Rom 9:5b), has the effect of making a connection between the Israel of Scripture and the Jews of his day.²³⁵ The summary reveals not only the author's theological perspective about the nation's standing before God, but also his

²³⁵ Dunn shares the same understanding of continuity in this passage, although he arrives at this conclusion on more general grounds. He says, 'In this list of Israel's blessings then, and more clearly than anything he has said so far in the letter, Paul makes plain his fundamental conviction as to the continuity between Israel of old and the believer now, Jew first but also Gentile.' See James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 9-16* (Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1988), 535.

interpretation of Scripture. Crafting a Narrative Summary involves more than just making a précis; it is a hermeneutical exercise that expresses an ideology as well.

2.2 4 Ezra 3:4-27

Located within the first of the seven apocalyptic visions in the book of 4 Ezra, the opening prayer of Ezra begins with a Narrative Summary that stretches from 4 Ezra 3:4 to 3:27.²³⁶ The historical recapitulation is centred around four personalities, with the account of Adam serving as an introduction, and each of the ensuing three accounts being prefaced by a remark on human sin. This is presented in the following outline (see Figure 14), with an illustrative phrase for each remark in column (3). The words in [brackets] represent additional remarks that are located, not at the beginning of the individual accounts but at the end of these accounts.

Figure 14: Structure of 4 Ezra 3:4-27

(1) Passage	(2) Account	(3) Remark on Human Sin
4 Ezra 3:4-7a	Adam	[v. 7a 'but he transgressed it'].
4 Ezra 3:7b-11	Noah	vv. 7b-8 'they did ungodly things in your sight'.
4 Ezra 3:12-19	Abraham	v. 12 'they began to be more ungodly than were their ancestors'.
4 Ezra 3:20-26	David	vv. 20-22 'the evil remained'; [v. 26 'they also had an evil heart'].
4 Ezra 3:27	[Conclusion]	

In addition, it should be noted that 4 Ezra 3:20-22 serves an important theological and literary purpose in the summary. In the theological sense, it expresses, in a fuller form, one key element in the author's (or Ezra's)²³⁷ reading

²³⁶ Another NS is located in 4 Ezra 1:4-23. This material, however, is probably a mid-second century addition to the original work (comprising 4 Ezra 3–14), by a Christian writer. See Bruce M. Metzger, *An Introduction to the Apocrypha* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1957), 22.

²³⁷ As noted by Osterley, the narrative settings of the two Ezras, here and in the canonical account of Ezra-Nehemiah, are at least about 100 years apart, assuming that 4 Ezra 3:29 marks the thirtieth year after the destruction of Jerusalem in around 586/587 B.C. (thus, the setting in 4 Ezra 3:1 is 557 B.C.), and given that the return under Ezra took place in around 458 B.C., according to some reckoning. See W. O. E. Oesterley, *An Introduction to the Books of the Apocrypha* (London: SPCK, 1935), 157. Nonetheless, the author of 4

of the OT historical narratives—those who descended from Adam inherited his evil heart, an evil root that God did not remove from them, and thus they sinned even as God’s law was in their hearts (after Moses). This idea of an evil inclination that is rooted in man’s heart probably comes from the author’s reading of Gen 6:5 and 8:21, used as a key to interpret the accounts of human sinfulness against God in the scriptural narratives. In the literary sense, 4 Ezra 3:20-22 functions, not just as a bridge between the accounts of Abraham and David by summarising the vast body of historical narratives that span these two accounts (Exodus, Numbers, Judges and 1 Samuel 1–15), but also as an overlapping prelude to the final account of David, who was asked to build a city for God’s name (v. 24). This arrangement allows for another remark on human sin to be placed at the end of the David account (4 Ezra 3:26), leading to the conclusion in v. 27.

The NS recapitulates how the people are repeatedly sinning against God (vv. 7a, 8, 12, 21, 25-26)—not just Israel (vv. 21, 25-26), but also ‘every nation’ (vv. 8, 12). After Adam, humans sinned and God sent the flood, leaving Noah and his family to continue the righteous line (v. 8). However, humans multiplied and became worse than before, so God called Abraham, whose descendants received the law on Mt. Sinai (v. 19). The Israelites, however, transgressed the law. So God called David to build a city for God, in order to make offerings to him. Nonetheless, in all that time, the people continued to sin (vv. 25-26). God *therefore* handed ‘his’ (God’s) city to the enemies (v. 27)—which is where this NS is designed to lead us. The point here is that human sinfulness is rooted in something deeper, which is why it cannot be eradicated despite the provision of different measures to curb it. Thus, in the face of intensifying human sins, and the failure of man in spite of the different ways in which the problem was being addressed (through the flood, the giving of the law, and the building of a city for offerings to be made), the root of that sinfulness lies in the evil heart that is inherited from Adam (vv. 21, 26).

Ezra probably does not have this specific chronology in mind.

It is interesting that in both of these instances where the connection to the sin of Adam is specifically mentioned, the context is the sinfulness of the Israelites themselves. Yet, there is perhaps a subtle hint here, which is made clear at the end of the prayer, that Israel, which was given the law and the city to make oblations to God, was at least restrained from degenerating into even worse sins.²³⁸ Ezra, nonetheless, notes that God could have stopped the people from sinning but he did not (v. 8), and neither does he take away the evil in their hearts (v. 20a). The end result is the loss of the city (Jerusalem) to foreign enemies.

These key themes set up the basis for Ezra's complaint in 4 Ezra 3:28-36, which forms the second part of the prayer. Exiled to Babylon for thirty years (v. 29), Ezra saw that the Babylonians are no better than the Israelites (v. 28a); thus, there is no reason for them to gain dominance over Zion (v. 28b). On the other hand, God seems to have put up with the Babylonians' wickedness and sin (vv. 30-31), and has not dealt with them as they deserved. They have grown wealthier (v. 33) when, in fact, their iniquities are greater than that of Israel's (v. 34). None has kept to God's laws like Israel, especially as a nation, even if some heathen individuals could have done so (v.35-36). Therefore, at the root of Ezra's complaint is that God has been duplicitous and treated Israel unfairly; he punishes Israel for its sins, while the more grievous sins of the conquering nation (Babylon) are tolerated.

I shall now proceed to highlight the features in the Narrative Summary that are found in 4 Ezra 3:4-27.

²³⁸ The author notes that the call of Abraham (with its subsequent connection to the giving of the law at Sinai), came at a time when human sinfulness had become worse than before (4 Ezra 3:12). The events following Abraham/Sinai, however, do not carry this remark.

2.2.1 Chronological Order at the Macro Level

The basic narrative framework in 4 Ezra 3:4-27 may be summarised as follows (see Figure 15).²³⁹

Figure 15: The Basic Framework in 4 Ezra 3:4-27

(1) Passage	(2) Account	(3) Contents	(4) Framework
4 Ezra 3:4-7a	Adam	God's creation of Adam, the Fall , and judgment.	Genesis 1–3.
4 Ezra 3:7b-11	Noah	Growth of nations and sin; the flood and Noah.	Genesis 5–8.
4 Ezra 3:12-19	Abraham	Growth of nations and sin; God's choosing of Abraham; giving of the law.	Genesis 9–27; Exodus 13–19.
4 Ezra 3:20-26	David	Evil heart (sin) cf. Adam; David raised to build city; Evil heart (sin) cf. Adam.	Exodus 32–34? Numbers–1 Samuel 15; 1 Samuel 16; 2 Samuel 5; 1–2 Kings; cf. 1–2 Chr.
4 Ezra 3:27	Conclusion	City handed to enemies.	2 Kings 26; 2 Chr 36:15-23.

This presentation is designed to show that the author of 4 Ezra 3:4-27 follows the general chronological order of the Old Testament narratives that he is summarising, working his way from the account of God's creation of Adam and his subsequent fall (Genesis 1–3), through the flood that he sent during the time of Noah (Genesis 5–8), to the choosing of Abraham and his descendants (Genesis 9–27), and so on. This operates in tandem with the concept of the episodic frames that was introduced earlier. It is the exception, rather than the norm, for this general chronological order to be changed *between* episodic frames (at the macro level), whereas elements *within* the same episodic frame (at the micro level) are frequently rearranged, although this may not always be the case, as the

²³⁹ The Hebrew (or Aramaic?) and the Greek texts (the latter being a translation from the Hebrew or Aramaic) are now lost to us. What we have is the Latin text as found in the Vulgate, which is itself a translation from a Greek *Vorlage*. We shall work mainly with the English translation of this text in the NRSV. This translation also takes into account several ancient Oriental versions (Syriac, Ethiopic, two versions of the Arabic, Armenian, and Georgian). The textual relationship among these ancient versions has been covered in part in Robert P. Blake, "The Georgian Version of Fourth Esdras from the Jerusalem Manuscript," *The Harvard Theological Review* 19, no. 4 (1926): 299-375.

following observation exemplifies.

2.2.2 Rearrangement at the Micro Level

In this example, there is very little evidence of departure from the order of the base narrative at the micro level. Elements extracted from the base narrative are generally presented in the same order in the summary executed by the author, except for one minor instance, in 4 Ezra 3:6. The text from the account of Adam (4 Ezra 3:4-7a),²⁴⁰ together with its intertextual connection to Genesis 1–2, is presented in Figure 16 below.

Figure 16: The ‘Adam’ Account (4 Ezra 3:4-7a) and Genesis 1–2

(1) 4 Ezra 3:4-7a	(2) Genesis 1–2
4A. O sovereign Lord,	
4B. did you not speak at the beginning	
4C. when you planted the earth—	Gen 1:11.
4D. and that without help—	
4E. and commanded the dust	Gen 2:7a.
5A. and it gave you Adam,	Gen 2:7b.
5B. a lifeless body?	
5C. Yet he was the creation of your hands,	
5D. and you breathed into him the breath of life,	Gen 2:7c.
5E. and he was made alive in your presence.	Gen 2:7d.
6A. And you led him into the garden	Gen 2:8b , 15.
6B. that your right hand had planted	Gen 2:8a .
6C. before the earth appeared.	
7A. And you laid upon him one commandment of yours;	Gen 2:16-17.
7B. but he transgressed it,	Gen 3:1-6
7C. and immediately you appointed death for him	Gen 3:19
7D. and for his descendants.	(Gen 6:3?)

As can be seen from the above table, the summary generally presents the narrative elements in accordance with the order given in the base text (Genesis

²⁴⁰ Taken from the NRSV.

1–2). The only deviation, which is rather minor, is the transposition of elements taken from Gen 2:8 in 4 Ezra 3:6 (6A and 6B), as highlighted in bold in Figure 16. Apart from this insignificant variation, and despite the fact that this NS is heavily laden with interpretative phrases supplied by the author (see 2.2.6 below), the rest of the summary at its micro level (i.e. with reference to the individual elements in the base narrative that are imported into the summary) sticks closely to the narrative order of the OT texts.

2.2.3 *Episodic Frames*

The episodic frames in this example are centred on four figureheads—Adam, Noah, Abraham and David. As noted previously, after Adam, each frame (Noah, Abraham and David) begins with a remark about human sin, and then proceeds to mention one person whom God had raised in the midst of sin. Thus, Noah (with his household) was left unscathed from the flood (4 Ezra 3:11), Abraham was chosen (4 Ezra 3:13), and David was raised as God’s servant (4 Ezra 3:23).

Our attention here is drawn particularly to 4 Ezra 3:12-19. Moses is conspicuously missing from the above grouping, even though the Exodus from Egypt (4 Ezra 3:17) and the giving of the law on Mt. Sinai (4 Ezra 3:19) are mentioned. This is surprising, since Moses is almost always associated with the Exodus and the giving of the law at Sinai, as seen in many other recollections of the historical narratives. Instead, in the passage, God is the one who leads the descendants of Jacob out of Egypt (v. 17), and he is the one who gave the law to them (v. 19).

On the other hand, perhaps this omission may be better understood if we were to consider the author’s perspective in this historical recapitulation. The whole Exodus event is seen, not independently, but in relation to the promise that God made to Abraham (4 Ezra 3:15). The text says that, after God made an everlasting covenant with Abraham, he gave him (Abraham) Isaac and Jacob (v. 15b); and then it was ‘Jacob’s descendants’ that were led out of Egypt by God (v.17).

Presented in this way, the link between God's covenant with Abraham and the Exodus, culminating in the giving of the law on Mt. Sinai in v. 19, is quite unmistakable. According to the author, the departure of Jacob's descendants from Egypt, and their reception of the law on Mt. Sinai, are fulfilments of the covenant made with Abraham. Consequently, the covenant with Abraham and the Exodus should be seen as belonging to one episodic frame. Just as in the other episodic frames, there is one person whom God preserves, chooses or raises to carry out a specific function. Thus, in the episodic frame relating to Abraham and the deliverance of his children from Egypt, the inclusion of Moses would be a distraction, if not altogether redundant, to the structure that the author has in mind.

In the same manner, the author uses materials from Genesis 9–10 (cf. 4 Ezra 3:12) to begin the episodic frame relating to Abraham. The remark that the people on earth began to multiply and produced children, peoples and many nations (4 Ezra 3:12) seems to logically point to the account of the growth of the descendants of Noah (Gen 9:18-20) and especially to the so-called Table of Nations in Genesis 10. The link to Abraham is indicated in the author's wording in 4 Ezra 3:13: 'when they were committing iniquity in your sight, you chose for yourself one of them, whose name was Abraham.' This statement shows that 4 Ezra 3:12 (with its intertextual reference from Genesis 9–10) is to be taken together with v. 13. Therefore, in this single episodic frame, materials taken from Genesis 9–10 and the Exodus event are included with the historical narratives surrounding the life of Abraham.

The above observations reveal that much of what we observed in Neh 9:5-37 (see 2.1.3 above) can also be validated here. Episodic frames within the same NS can differ, not only in terms of the level of detail in the summary, but also in terms of the extent (scope) of the OT historical narratives that is included. The length of each episodic frame in the same NS would also differ. Thus, episodic frames are asymmetrical, and are shaped by the function which they are intended

to play in the new discourse (which we also call ‘rhetorical purpose’ in this thesis).

2.2.4 *Rhetorical Purpose*

I have outlined earlier, at the beginning of my discussion on 4 Ezra 3:4-27, how the episodic frames that are centred on the four key personalities advance the author’s thesis. Israel, although given the law and the city to make offerings to God, would remain sinful like the rest of humanity as long as its evil heart, which is inherited from Adam, is not removed. The only mitigating factor is that Israel, at least, tries to obey God’s commandments, and thus its sins are perhaps not as grievous as those of its enemies (cf. 4 Ezra 3:35). By structuring the OT narrative materials into a cyclical pattern that is centred on the four figures, the author shows that human sinfulness repeats itself, even though different provisions were made during the times of Noah, Abraham and David. This involves taking materials that might not ordinarily come together in other historical retelling (e.g. Genesis 9–10 and Exodus in connection with Abraham, leaving out Moses), and putting them into the same episodic frame in the course of his summary.

In 4 Ezra 3:23-26, which is located in the second half of the episodic frame centring on David (4 Ezra 3:20-22),²⁴¹ we have a general summary of large portions of the narrative material derived from the OT historical narratives. The contrast is immediately evident, for example, on comparison of this to the significantly more detailed summary that is carried out in 4 Ezra 3:4-7a, which is based mainly on the narrative material in Genesis 1–3. Nonetheless, the basic narrative framework in view is still quite discernible in 4 Ezra 3:23-26, even if it

²⁴¹ The first half of this episodic frame, 4 Ezra 3:20-22, is actually an interpretative excursus put in place by the author to expound a crucial theological theme in his summary, as we have explained earlier (see 2.2 in this chapter). It serves partially (together with 4 Ezra 3:23a, ‘So the times passed and the years were completed’) as a summary of the historical experience of the Israelites following the giving of the law (4 Ezra 3:19), paving the way for the narrative surrounding David (4 Ezra 3:23b-24), and partially as a theological commentary on the historical recollection in 4 Ezra 3:4-27 as a whole.

is not at the same level of clarity and specificity as in 4 Ezra 3:4-7a. The probable framework and other intertextual connections for 4 Ezra 3:23-26 are presented in Figure 17.

Figure 17: The Basic Framework and Other Intertextual Connections in 4 Ezra 3:23-26

(1) 4 Ezra 3:23-26	(2) Basic Framework	(3) Other Intertextual Connections
23A. So the times passed and the years were completed,	Exodus 32-34? Numbers-1 Samuel 15	
23B. and you raised up for yourself a servant, named David.	1 Samuel 16-2 Samuel 2	2 Sam 3:18; 7:5, 8, 20, 26; 1 Kgs 1:13; 3:6-7; 8:24-26, 66; 11:13, 32, 34, 36, 38; 14:8; 2 Kgs 8:19; 19:34; 1 Chr 17:4, 7, 18, 24; 2 Chr 6:15-17, 42; Ps 18:0; 36:0; 78:70; 89:3, 20; 144:10; Isa 37:35; Jer 33:21-22, 26; Ezk 34:23-24; 37:24-25
24. You commanded him to build a city for your name, and there to offer you oblations from what is yours.	2 Samuel 5-7	1 Chr 11:7-8; 29:14, 16, 21
25. This was done for many years; but the inhabitants of the city transgressed,	1-2 Kings	
26. in everything doing just as Adam and all his descendants had done, for they also had the evil heart.		Gen 6:5; 8:21

The chronological aspect of the narrative material spanning the period between the giving of the law at Sinai (Exodus 19-31, cf. 4 Ezra 3:19) and the raising of David (1 Samuel 16-2 Samuel 2) is summarised in one phrase, 'So the times passed and the years were completed.'²⁴² We are not certain about the precise boundaries (as far as the OT texts are concerned) that the author has in view in saying this, but it is clear he is referring to the period between the giving of the law at Sinai and the rise of David (perhaps, to the point where David becomes king in 2 Samuel 2). Thus, whether Exodus 32-34 is in view, one cannot be sure. But certainly, in all likelihood, the books of Joshua and Judges are included in this, as well as the book of Samuel up to the point before the prophet's anointing of David (1 Samuel 16). Given the general nature of this part of the summary, it is

²⁴² 4 Ezra 3:20-22 is the theological aspect of this summary (i.e. it is a theological commentary).

difficult to pursue the precise delimitations with the same degree of confidence.

More relevant to the point here, however, is how the narrative material surrounding David is summarised in 4 Ezra 3:23b-24. Of all the events in the life of David, the author mentions that he was raised as the Lord's servant (v. 23b) and that he was commanded to build a city for God's name (v. 24a). There is no mention, for example, of how David slew Goliath as a young boy, his friendship with Jonathan, his pursuit by king Saul, his sin against Uzziah on account of Bathsheba, his military exploits (except for the small hint in v. 23b), and so on. The author evidently executes his summary such that it would support his overall discourse (which in this case is in the form of a prayer).

Here, David is seen as someone who has been used by God to build the city of Jerusalem (which he did conquer and build up, 2 Sam 5:6-10), in order that the city would offer sacrifices to God in worship (perhaps combined with ideas derived from 1 Chr 11:7-8; 29:14, 16, 21, cf. Myers).²⁴³ This ties in with his statement about how the inhabitants of the city sinned (4 Ezra 3:25) and how the city was turned over to the enemies (4 Ezra 3:27). The other details of David's life would not fit into the rhetorical purpose here. Of course, the rhetorical purpose functions in tandem with selective focus; they are overlapping features that work in combination within any NS. Thus, in the course of his summary, the author (or Ezra) conveys the point that he wishes his readers (or hearers) to grasp.

2.2.5 *Selective Focus*

The foregoing example implies that the author selectively focuses his material, highlighting aspects in the OT historical narratives that would sustain his discourse while omitting details peripheral to his rhetorical purpose. That which is observable at the microscopic level is also discernible from a broader perspective, taking the NS as a whole. The OT historical narratives that are

²⁴³ Jacob M. Myers, *I and II Esdras* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1974), 171. Myers cites 2 Sam 5:9 and 1 Chr 11:7-8.

accessible to the author are rather considerable, stretching from the Genesis account of the creation of man to the sacking of Jerusalem as implied in 4 Ezra 3:27. Whether the author had the written texts in front of him at the point of writing is besides the point; it is clear that, at least in its narrative context in 4 Ezra 3:4-36, the prayer by Ezra is done without the reference to any scrolls. This suggests that, at least within the community that produced the texts, it was possible for one to pray as Ezra did, without recourse to the written texts during prayer, including the summary of the historical narratives. Some prior preparation, of course, could still be possible; but a prayer like this can also be the spontaneous product of a prolonged meditation on the Scriptures of Israel. Nonetheless, the material included in the summary is highly selective. In our case, the author does not mention the creation of Eve, Abraham and Sarah's sojourn in Egypt, the ten plagues in Egypt (we have already mentioned the omission of Moses), nor the exploits of the Judges, to name but a few examples.

On the other hand, some OT events that are not explicitly mentioned by the author can also be included in his summary implicitly. For example, while the story of the tower of Babel in Gen 11:1-9 may not be specifically mentioned, it is implied in the author's summary in 4 Ezra 3:13a, which immediately precedes the account of Abraham. The feud between Jacob and Esau, while not recounted, is recalled by the author's remark that God favoured Jacob but rejected Esau (4 Ezra 3:16). In most cases, distinguishing between what is included and what is not in a detailed summary is possible through a close reading of the texts, though not always so, as in the case of 4 Ezra 3:23a which I discussed earlier.

In the summary taken from Genesis 1-2 in Neh 9:6, the author focuses on the theme of God's creation of the heavens, earth and seas to emphasise his sovereignty over everything, a theme that extends into his sovereign call of Abraham in the next episodic frame (Neh 9:7-8). Here, in the summary taken from Genesis 1-3, the author of 4 Ezra 3:4-7a emphasises how the Lord created Adam from dust, and breathed life into him; but Adam promptly transgressed the

only commandment that was placed upon him. The point of the author here is to demonstrate the human proclivity to sin which, because of the evil root in his heart, would repeat itself in spite of the various provisions by God (sending a flood, giving the law, and providing a temple for making oblations). The two passages illustrate how selective focus is operative in an NS.

2.2.6 *Interpretative Elements*

There are also numerous examples of interpretative elements commingled with the summary in 4 Ezra 3:4-27. Using the same passage (4 Ezra 3:23-26) mentioned earlier (see section 2.2.4 of this chapter): The remark that the inhabitants of the city sinned in the same way that Adam and his descendants had sinned (vv. 25-26a), and that this is because they also had the evil heart (v. 26b), is clearly an interpretative insertion into the historical narratives found in the books of 1–2 Samuel and 1–2 Kings (from the time of David to the Exile). The author could have derived his insight from Gen 6:5 LXX and 8:21 LXX (my translation):

Gen 6:5

And the Lord saw that man's evil was great on the earth, *and all inclination of the thoughts of their hearts was only continually evil.*

Gen 8:21

And the Lord smelled the soothing odour and the Lord said in his heart, 'I will never again curse the ground because of man, *for the inclination of the human heart is evil from youth*, and I will never again smite all life that I have made.'

The first passage is located just before the account of the flood, and is included in the author's summary (assuming the conjecture that he follows the chronological order of the OT historical narratives is correct) in 4 Ezra 3:8, while the second passage appears just after the account of the flood in Genesis. These two passages provide insight into the nature of human sinfulness, and explain why, even after the flood, human evil continued. Our author, the reader of Genesis, used these texts as a framework for his understanding of human history, and

understood man's sin to be rooted primarily in an evil inclination that resides in his heart. He extends this observation into his reading of the historical narratives, including the accounts of the relationship between Israel and God. In his view, this evil root goes back to Adam and is inherent in all who descended from him (4 Ezra 3:21, 26). This insight is thus woven into his NS, where he selected his materials and shaped them to form a cyclical (but not circular) pattern, with his interpretative comment serving as a refrain that explicitly drives home his point.

2.2.7 Continuation into the Present

The NS brings the whole historical situation into connection with the present. Despite the fact that 4 Ezra 3:4-27 starts with the very beginning of the historical narratives, in a mere twenty-verses its historical survey leads the reader to the point in Israel's authoritative history where the narrative setting currently stands—in Exile (cf. 4 Ezra 3:1). Thus, the NS is never simply the retelling of Israel's history. As a literary device operating within a discourse (be it a prayer, sermon or an epistolary writing), its value lies in its relevance to the contemporary situation that the discourse is designed to address. In order to carry the investigation further, it is pertinent to discuss the manner in which our author uses the NS to make his argument in 4 Ezra 3:4-36.

The prayer in 4 Ezra 3 is a complaint against God's dealing with Israel vis-à-vis the nations who ostensibly pay no heed to God's commandments. The author's point is that, while Israel had sinned, it is not more sinful than the other pagan nations, especially Babylon to which Israel has been subjected. Then, why is Israel being punished while the other nations are overlooked? The two key points in his argument are summed up in v. 35: 'When have the inhabitants of the earth not sinned in your sight? Or what nation has kept your commandments so well?' The answers to these rhetorical questions are: (1) All inhabitants of the earth have sinned; and (2) No other nation has kept to God's commandments as well as Israel.

Given this overall tenor, the author presents the OT historical narratives to show that all the inhabitants of the earth from Adam onwards have sinned against God, and Israel is no exception, notwithstanding the special provisions that God made for his people, in the giving of the law and in providing a place in which to offer sacrifices and worship to him.²⁴⁴ I earlier outlined the thematic emphasis that undergirds the author's four-fold arrangement of the historical narratives around Adam, Noah, Abraham and David (e.g. see 2.2 above). God's response to human sin is unique within each of these episodic frames. Nonetheless, no matter what he has done, the result is always the same—his people sin against him. The reason for this is that there is an evil root in the human heart that God has not removed, in order that his law might produce fruit in them (v. 32). On the other hand, Israel is not worse than the other nations, and therefore does not deserve to be punished even as these other nations are being overlooked by God (so it seems to Ezra). Thus, through a carefully laid out summary of the history of Israel based on the OT historical narratives, the author connects the past to the present by building a case that would support his questions about divine justice, in relation to Israel.

2.3 Acts 7:2-53

Another significant example of a Narrative Summary is the speech of Stephen in Acts 7:2-53. In the context of the narrative in Acts, the scene is a crucial hinge in connecting the preaching of the gospel in Jerusalem to the 'breaking out' of its message 'to the ends of the earth' (cf. 1:8). It represents a climax stemming from the rejection of the gospel by the Jews (mainly the Jewish leaders forming the Sanhedrin, but also others),²⁴⁵ a tension that has been building since the first

²⁴⁴ While the text refers to God's command to David to build the city (i.e. Jerusalem), it is not clear whether this includes the building of the temple (in the sense that David was given instructions for it), when it refers to the place as one in which sacrifices were to be made (v. 24b).

²⁴⁵ Sanhedrin, comprising the rulers, elders, teachers of the law, the high priest and men from his family: Acts 4:15; 5:21, 41; 6:12, 15. Also, members of the Synagogue of the Freedmen, comprising Hellenistic Jews from Cyrene, Alexandria, Cilicia and Asia, and 'the people,' 6:12.

public proclamation of the gospel by the apostles during the coming of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost (Acts 2:1-41). Not only would the disciples belonging to the church in Jerusalem (except the apostles, Acts 8:2) be scattered by the ensuing persecution—taking with them the message of the gospel which they preach wherever they go (Acts 8:4)—the episode also serves as the catalyst for the conversion of Paul, who will play a key role in bringing the gospel beyond the boundaries of Israel.

Stephen is accused of saying that (1) Jesus would destroy the Holy Place; and (2) the customs handed down by Moses would be changed (Acts 6:14). While this might be so to a certain degree in relation to the gospel that he preaches, the deliberate misinterpretation of what Stephen actually says is also evident in the accusers' attempt to set up pseudo-witnesses (μάρτυρας ψευδεῖς) against him (Acts 6:11, 13a). Stephen, on the other hand, is more interested in bringing about true conviction in his hearers, than to defend himself. In the face of such circumstances, to answer the trumped up charges directly (did he or did he not speak against the law and the temple?) would only be dealing with the cursory issues. After all, his hearers know that the charges are not true.

Responding to the charges somewhat obliquely, Stephen first draws parallels between the Jews' attitude towards the Messiah and their forefathers' treatment of God's deliverers in history (Acts 7:2-43), with a major emphasis on the account of Moses, and the Israelites' attitude towards him (vv. 17-43). His hearers are accusing him of opposing the customs handed down by Moses (Acts 6:14); here, Stephen shows that their forefathers rejected and disobeyed Moses right from the beginning, and they are no different (cf. Acts 7:51).

Next, probably in response to the charge that he was preaching about the destruction of the temple (by Jesus, Acts 6:14), Stephen seems to make an implicit comparison between the tabernacle and the temple, implying that their forefathers (until the time of David) were blessed even though that was before the

temple was built. He points out that the tabernacle was built in accordance with God's own direction (Acts 7:44) and was with them when God gave them victory over the nations in the land (Acts 7:45), where it remained until the time of David, who enjoyed God's favour. And it was Solomon who built the 'house for him' (God's directions are not indicated). The quotation from Isa 66:1-2 in Acts 7:49-50 only serves to decentre the temple further.

Hence, the speech by Stephen serves to address the deeper issues in his hearer: (1) he challenges the genuineness of their self-proclaimed fidelity (ultimately) to God, and (2) their fixation on the temple as indicative of divine presence and blessings as a nation (for to speak against the temple is to speak against God himself, Acts 6:11 cf. v. 14). Thus, the speech points to a deeper problem to account for the action of his Jewish accusers. Despite F. J. Foakes Jackson's claims that it is 'irrelevant to the occasion,'²⁴⁶ a close analysis reveals that Stephen is addressing a root issue in the situation—the heart condition of his Jewish accusers.

I shall now proceed to analyse some of the salient features in Stephen's Narrative Summary.

²⁴⁶ Jackson, "Stephen's Speech in Acts," 284. Similar remarks are made by Haenchen, in Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary*, 288-90. The implication of a misfit between the speeches in Acts and their literary settings would lend favour to the view that the author made up these speeches himself, possibly using pre-existing materials, and that they have little historical value (thus, Jackson's conclusion that the author of Acts took some old prophecy and inserted it into the mouth of Stephen, p. 286). Dibelius argues likewise. See Martin Dibelius, *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles*, ed. Heinrich Greeven, trans., Mary Ling (London: SCM Press, 1956). Conversely, as F. F. Bruce states, to demonstrate otherwise would give credence to the view that the author's reporting is largely factual cf. F. F. Bruce, "The Speeches In Acts—Thirty Years After," in *Reconciliation and Hope: New Testament Essays on Atonement and Eschatology*, ed. Robert Banks, (Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1974), 54.

2.3.1 Chronological Order at the Macro Level

In the space of about 50 verses, Stephen summarises the materials that are drawn from the historical narratives of the Old Testament. Of course, this summary could very well be executed by the author of Acts himself. This is true, even if there is indeed such a historical summary made orally by the historical figure (Stephen)—thus making the reported speech in Acts itself a summary of the original summary of historical narrative. Nonetheless, the point here concerns the use of narrative summaries in these texts that we are studying, which in our case is the text in Acts 7. Using a similar approach to the treatment of the earlier passages in Nehemiah 9 and 4 Ezra 3, the major OT texts that are followed in the summary at the macro level are tabulated as presented in Figure 18.

Figure 18: Acts 7 and the OT Narratives

Acts 7	Key Events	No. of Verses	OT Narratives
2-8a	Abraham	7.5	Genesis 12–17.
8b	Isaac, Jacob ²⁴⁷	0.5	Genesis 21, 25, 29–30.
9-16	Joseph	8.0	Genesis 37–46; 50:13.
17-43	Moses	27.0	Exodus 1–3; Exodus 32; Amos 5:25-27. ²⁴⁸
44-50	Tabernacle and temple	6.0	2 Samuel 7; 1 Kings 6; Isa 66:1-2.
51-52a	[Indictment]	1.5	2 Chr 36:16?

As anticipated, the summary as a whole follows the chronological order of the OT historical narratives. Beginning with the account of Abraham in Genesis 12,

²⁴⁷ In this NS, the mention of Isaac and Jacob is a hinge that serves to link the account of Abraham with that of Joseph and Moses. The covenant which God makes with Abraham provides the setting for the rest of the NS, in that God chooses the leaders through whom the promises will be actualized for the Israelites, but also whom the Israelites often reject.

²⁴⁸ Although the prophetic writings are not historical narratives in our modern reckoning, the distinction is blurred when we consider their use by the New Testament writers, who see them as voices speaking at various points in Israel's history, as evidenced by what Stephen is doing here. Both Amos 5:25-27 and Isa 66:1-2 (in Acts 7:49-50) are used as interpretative commentary on the historical events that are highlighted, commensurate with the point that Stephen is making.

the speaker works his way through the narratives surrounding Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, the Israelites during the Exodus from Egypt, David, and Solomon in the same general order.²⁴⁹ Even if portions of the narrative materials were to be ‘skipped’ (e.g. there is no mention of the Israelites’ conquest of Canaan, nor the accounts of the Judges), the order remains. This corroborates the earlier observation that, in an NS, working through the historical narratives in their chronological order is an integral feature in the undertaking. Since the NS is usually employed to demonstrate the cyclical nature of a historical pattern that extends into the present,²⁵⁰ this review of Israel’s past based on the OT historical narratives in their chronological order makes sense.

2.3.2 *Rearrangement at the Micro Level*

Notwithstanding its chronological order at the macro level, the NS shows some evidence of rearrangement at the episodic (or micro) level. Take, for example, Acts 7:17-38, the first part of the episodic frame centring on Moses.²⁵¹ The

²⁴⁹ The focus of the material relating to David and Solomon (Acts 7:44-50) is on the tabernacle and the temple, which answers the charge that Stephen advocates the destruction of the temple (6:14). Stephen addresses this fixation on the temple by pointing out that, even without the temple, the Israelites (under David) enjoyed favour with God (7:46), and by implying that, unlike the temple, the tabernacle was built in accordance to God’s direction. The temple, on the other hand, was asked by David, but (adversative $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ in 7:47) built by Solomon as a house for God, which in fact was redundant to God (‘Most High’) himself (7:48-50).

²⁵⁰ In Neh 9:5-37, Ezra uses the NS to show that the cyclical pattern of the book of Judges has continued into his time; his people are experiencing God’s judgment (by being under foreign oppression) because they, like their forefather, had sinned against God. The next development in this scheme of things is for the people to repent and for God to forgive, which is exactly what the prayer in Neh 9:5-37 is seeking to accomplish. In 4 Ezra 3:4-36, the speaker (again, ‘Ezra’) uses the NS to show that the inhabitants of the earth (including the Israelites) repeatedly sinned against God, despite all the different provisions that were made to address human sinfulness, simply because they have an evil heart that has never been taken away from them. Here, in Acts 7:2-57, Stephen uses the NS to demonstrate that Israel’s forefathers has persistently rejected the leader whom God raises to deliver them.

²⁵¹ It is not easy to divide the sections neatly in this NS. Nonetheless I think the episodic frame on Moses can be seen in two parts: (1) Acts 7:17-38 on Moses himself, and (2) Acts 7:39-43 on the Israelites’ response to him (and ultimately to God himself). This is aided by the observation that, in Acts 7:35-38, we have what appears to be a collection of summative-interpretative remarks on Moses, before the author (or Stephen) moves on

connection between this and the base material in Exodus (LXX) can be shown by marking some of the distinctive elements in Acts 7:17-38 that are derived from the Exodus account, as shown in Figure 19. In order to show the intertextual connections more precisely, the Greek texts will be used.²⁵²

Figure 19: Acts 7: 17-38, Exodus and Other Intertextual Connections

Solid underline = identical elements.

Dashed underline = similarities in language, themes or ideas.

(1) Acts 7:17-38	(2) Exodus and Other Intertextual Connections
Acts 7:17 Καθὼς δὲ ἤγγιζεν ὁ χρόνος τῆς ἐπαγγελίας ἧς ὡμολόγησεν ὁ θεὸς τῷ Ἀβραάμ, <u>ἠύξησεν ὁ λαὸς καὶ ἐπληθύνθη ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ</u>	Ex 1:7 οἱ δὲ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ <u>ἠύξθησαν καὶ ἐπληθύνθησαν</u> καὶ χυδαῖοι ἐγένοντο καὶ κατίσχυον σφόδρα σφόδρα, ἐπλήθυνεν δὲ ἡ γῆ αὐτοῦς
Acts 7:18 ἄχρι οὗ ἀνέστη βασιλεὺς ἕτερος [ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον] ὃς οὐκ ᾔδει τὸν Ἰωσήφ.	Ex 1:8 Ἀνέστη δὲ βασιλεὺς ἕτερος ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον, ὃς οὐκ ᾔδει τὸν Ἰωσήφ.
Acts 7:19 οὗτος <u>κατασοφισάμενος τὸ γένος ἡμῶν</u> ἐκάκωσεν τοὺς πατέρας [ἡμῶν] τοῦ ποιεῖν τὰ βρέφη ἕκθετα αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ μὴ ζωογονεῖσθαι.	Ex 1:10 δεῦτε οὖν <u>κατασοφισώμεθα αὐτούς</u> ,
Acts 7:20 Ἐν ᾧ καιρῷ ἐγεννήθη Μωϋσῆς καὶ ἦν <u>ἄστειος</u> τῷ θεῷ· ὃς ἀνετράφη μῆνας τρεῖς ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ πατρὸς,	Ex 2:2 καὶ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔλαβεν καὶ ἔτεκεν ἄρσεν· ἰδόντες δὲ αὐτὸ <u>ἄστειον</u> ἐσκέπασαν αὐτὸ <u>μῆνας τρεῖς</u> .
Acts 7:21 <u>ἐκτεθέντος</u> δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀνείλατο αὐτὸν ἡ θυγάτηρ Φαραῶ καὶ ἀνεθρέψατο αὐτὸν <u>ἑαυτῇ</u> εἰς υἰόν.	Ex 2:3 καὶ <u>ἔθηκεν</u> αὐτὴν εἰς τὸ ἔλος παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν. Also Ex 2:9. Ex 2:10 καὶ ἐγενήθη <u>αὐτῇ</u> εἰς υἰόν·
Acts 7:22 καὶ ἐπαιδεύθη Μωϋσῆς [ἐν] <u>πάσῃ σοφίᾳ Αἰγυπτίων</u> , ἦν δὲ δυνατὸς ἐν λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις αὐτοῦ.	Cf. 1 Kgs 5:10.
Acts 7:23 Ὡς δὲ ἐπληροῦτο αὐτῷ <u>τεσσερακονταετῆς χρόνος</u> , ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ <u>ἐπισκέψασθαι τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ</u> .	Ex 2:11a Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταῖς <u>πολλαῖς ἐκείναις μέγας γενόμενος Μωϋσῆς ἐξήλθεν πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ</u> .
Acts 7:24 καὶ ἰδὼν τινα ἀδικούμενον ἡμύνατο καὶ ἐποίησεν ἐκδίκησιν τῷ καταπονουμένῳ <u>πατάξας τὸν Αἰγύπτιον</u> .	Ex 2:11b. Ex 2:12 καὶ <u>πατάξας τὸν Αἰγύπτιον</u> ἔκρυσεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἄμμῳ
Acts 7:25 ἐνόμιζεν δὲ <u>συνιέναι τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς [αὐτοῦ]</u> ὅτι ὁ θεὸς διὰ χειρὸς αὐτοῦ δίδωσιν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς· οἱ δὲ οὐ συνήκαν.	
Acts 7:26 τῇ τε ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ ὤφθη αὐτοῖς <u>μαχομένοις καὶ συνήλλασεν αὐτούς εἰς εἰρήνην</u> εἰπὼν· ἄνδρες, ἀδελφοί ἐστε· ἵνατί ἀδικεῖτε ἀλλήλους;	Ex 2:13.

to review the Israelites' response to him (Acts 7:39-43).

²⁵² There are no significant text-critical issues in these passages that would impact the main points of our analysis, so the base texts in the GNT and LXX will be used.

Acts 7:27 ὁ δὲ ἀδικῶν τὸν πλησίον ἀπόσατο αὐτὸν εἰπὼν· τίς σε κατέστησεν ἄρχοντα καὶ δικαστὴν ἐφ’ ἡμῶν;	Ex 2:14a ὁ δὲ εἶπεν <u>Τίς σε κατέστησεν ἄρχοντα καὶ δικαστὴν ἐφ’ ἡμῶν;</u>
Acts 7:28 μὴ ἀνελεῖν με σὺ θέλεις ὃν τρόπον ἀνείλες ἐχθὲς τὸν Αἰγύπτιον;	Ex 2:14b μὴ ἀνελεῖν με σὺ θέλεις, ὃν τρόπον ἀνείλες ἐχθὲς τὸν Αἰγύπτιον;
Acts 7:29 ἔφυγεν δὲ Μωϋσῆς ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ καὶ ἐγένετο πάροικος ἐν γῆ Μαδιάμ, οὗ ἐγέννησεν υἱοὺς δύο.	Ex 2:15 δὲ Μωϋσῆς ἀπὸ προσώπου Φαραῶ καὶ ὤκησεν ἐν γῆ Μαδιάμ. Two sons: Ex 2:22; 18:3-4.
Acts 7:30 Καὶ πληρωθέντων ἐτῶν τεσσεράκοντα ὤφθη αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τοῦ ὄρους Σινᾶ ἄγγελος ἐν φλογὶ πυρὸς βάτου.	Ex 3:2 ὤφθη δὲ αὐτῷ ἄγγελος κυρίου ἐν φλογὶ πυρὸς ἐκ τοῦ βάτου.
Acts 7:31 ὁ δὲ Μωϋσῆς ἰδὼν ἐθαύμαζεν τὸ ὄραμα, προσερχομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ κατανοῆσαι ἐγένετο φωνὴ κυρίου·	Ex 3:3-4.
Acts 7:32 ἐγὼ ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων σου, ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ. ἐντρομος δὲ γενόμενος Μωϋσῆς οὐκ ἐτόλμα κατανοῆσαι.	Ex 3:6a καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ θεὸς τοῦ πατρὸς σου, θεὸς Αβρααμ καὶ θεὸς Ἰσαακ καὶ θεὸς Ἰακώβ. Ex 3:6b.
Acts 7:33 εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ κύριος· λῦσον τὸ ὑπόδημα τῶν ποδῶν σου, ὁ γὰρ τόπος ἐφ’ ᾧ ἔστηκας γῆ ἁγία ἐστίν.	Ex 3:5 καὶ εἶπεν Μὴ ἐγγίσης ὧδε· λῦσαι τὸ ὑπόδημα ἐκ τῶν ποδῶν σου· ὁ γὰρ τόπος, ἐν ᾧ σὺ ἔστηκας, γῆ ἁγία ἐστίν.
Acts 7:34 ἰδὼν εἶδον τὴν κάκωσιν τοῦ λαοῦ μου τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ τοῦ στεναγμοῦ αὐτῶν ἤκουσα, καὶ κατέβην ἐξελεῖσθαι αὐτούς· καὶ νῦν δεῦρο ἀποστείλω σε εἰς Αἴγυπτον.	Ex 3:7 εἶπεν δὲ κύριος πρὸς Μωϋσῆν Ἰδὼν εἶδον τὴν κάκωσιν τοῦ λαοῦ μου τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ τῆς κραυγῆς αὐτῶν ἀκήκοα ἀπὸ τῶν ἐργοδιακτῶν οἶδα γὰρ τὴν ὀδύνην αὐτῶν· Ex 3:8 καὶ κατέβην ἐξελεῖσθαι αὐτούς ἐκ χειρὸς Αἰγυπτίων Ex 3:10 καὶ νῦν δεῦρο ἀποστείλω σε πρὸς Φαραῶ βασιλέα Αἰγύπτου.
Acts 7:35 Τοῦτον τὸν Μωϋσῆν ὃν ἠρνήσαντο εἰπόντες· τίς σε κατέστησεν ἄρχοντα καὶ δικαστὴν; τοῦτον ὁ θεὸς [καὶ] ἄρχοντα καὶ λυτρωτὴν ἀπέσταλκεν σὺν χειρὶ ἀγγέλου τοῦ ὀφθέντος αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ βάτῳ.	Ex 2:14 ὁ δὲ εἶπεν <u>Τίς σε κατέστησεν ἄρχοντα καὶ δικαστὴν ἐφ’ ἡμῶν;</u> Also Ex 3:2, 10.
Acts 7:36 οὗτος ἐξήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ποιήσας τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα ἐν γῆ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ἐν ἐρυθρῷ θαλάσῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἔτη τεσσεράκοντα.	General summary, e.g. Ex 11:10; 12:41; 14:21; 15:25; 17:5-6; 33:1.
Acts 7:37 οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Μωϋσῆς ὁ εἶπας τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ· προφήτην ὑμῖν ἀναστήσει ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν ὡς ἐμέ.	Deut 18:15 <u>προφήτην ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν σου ὡς ἐμὲ ἀναστήσει σοι κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου, αὐτοῦ ἀκούσεσθε</u>
Acts 7:38 οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ γενόμενος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ μετὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου τοῦ λαλοῦντος αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ ὄρει Σινᾶ καὶ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, ὃς ἐδέξατο λόγια ζῶντα δοῦναι ἡμῖν,	General summary—Ex 19:1-25, also Ex 20:18-20; 32–34. ²⁵³ Other intertextual connections: Lev 27:34; Deut32:45-47.

²⁵³ Acts 7:38 suggests that Moses acts as an intermediary in bringing the law of God to the people—in the wilderness, he was with the angel *and* he was with ‘our ancestors’, and he received the oracles to give to the Israelites. This role is best epitomized by how Moses went to and fro between God and the people in Ex 19:1-25, as well as Ex 20:18-20 and 32–34.

The above analysis shows that the episodic frame in Acts 7:17-38 generally follows the order of the base narrative (mainly Exodus 1–3), even at this micro level. The only exceptions are (1) Acts 7:32-33 where the order of presentation from Ex 3:5-6 is reversed; and (2) Acts 7:35-38, which is a summative-interpretative comment on Moses. By reversing the order of the presentation, Stephen effectively attaches the significance of the ground being holy to the divine presence of the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, something that is less explicit in the Exodus text. By re-quoting Ex 2:14 in Acts 7:35, Stephen now attaches the words of the rejection of Moses by the two Hebrews in Exodus 3 to the whole cohort of Israelites who followed Moses out of Egypt. Together with the inclusion of other general summative remarks and intertextual references to other texts (see Figure 19), Stephen is highlighting the point that, despite his divine appointment, Moses was rejected by the forefathers. This supports the point of his NS, that the Israelites of his day are rejecting God’s anointed Messiah, like their forefathers who rejected the leaders whom God had chosen to deliver them (cf. Acts 7:35b). These observations, nonetheless, demonstrate the difference between the order of presentation of the NS at the macro level and that at the micro level within each episodic frame, vis-à-vis the base OT historical narratives from which the summary is derived.

2.3.3 Episodic Frames

The postulation that the OT historical narratives are conceptualised in terms of episodic frames in the course of a summary is evidenced by the way the author organised his material around several key figures (or ‘items’, since Acts 7:44-50 focuses on the tabernacle and the temple), beginning with Abraham and ending with the account of the building of the temple under David and Solomon. Furthermore, a disproportionate amount of material is devoted to each of these key figures (see Figure 18).

For example, the account of Abraham occupies 7.5 verses (Acts 7:2-8a), while Isaac and Jacob occupy only half a verse together (v. 8b). It serves merely as a link phrase leading to the account of Joseph, which occupies 8.0 verses (7:9-16). Next, the account of Moses (and the Israelites' response to him) occupies 27 verses (7:17-43). These peculiarities can only be understood if each of these accounts—Abraham, Isaac/Jacob and Joseph—is treated more-or-less as self-contained 'episodes' by the author executing the summary.

2.3.4 *Rhetorical Purpose*

Contrary to the view of Jackson, I propose that the Narrative Summary is there to make a point that fits into the context of the narrative. It functions as an argument from history that the Jews had always resisted God's will, up to the time of Jesus, whom they put to death (7:52b). For example, in recounting the life of Joseph, mention is made that 'the patriarchs' (not 'his brothers,' thereby emphasising the connection more directly to Stephen's hearers rather than to Joseph) were jealous of Joseph and sold him as a slave 'into Egypt' (7:9).²⁵⁴ The intention is for a comparison to be made between the way the patriarchs, the forefathers of Stephen's hearers, treated Joseph, and the way the present generation has treated Jesus.²⁵⁵

Similar points are highlighted with regards to the next major figure, Moses, where even his own people did not recognise him as being sent from God (7:25); and this rejection is repeated twice by Stephen (7:28, 35), to underscore the emphasis in his review of history. The summative reiteration in v. 35, an interpolation drawing on the words that were spoken by the Israelites about Moses in Ex 2:14, even before his divine commissioning in Exodus 3, serves to reinforce the point

²⁵⁴ The text in Genesis mentions that it was actually the Ishmaelites or Midianites that sold Joseph into Egypt; his brothers merely sold him to the merchants. The polemical nature of this language in Acts 7 is highlighted in the study by Earl Richard, "The Polemical Character of the Joseph Episode in Acts 7," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 98, no. 2 (1979): 259.

²⁵⁵ See Rex A. Kovisto, "Stephen's Speech: A Theology of Errors?" *Grace Theological Journal* 8, no. 1 (1987): 106-07.

that the one who was chosen to deliver the nation was in fact rejected by its people, the Jews. Then again, the Israelites ('our fathers') rejected Moses and his words in the desert (7:39). Thus, the point of this summary is made clear when Stephen says, 'Stiff-necked people and uncircumcised in hearts and ears, you always resist the Holy Spirit like your fathers, even you' (7:51).

It was also mentioned earlier, that, in the larger narrative context in the book of Acts, the speech of Stephen functions as a hinge on which the preaching of the gospel turns, from its proclamation to the Jewish people in Jerusalem to the Gentiles in Judea and Samaria, and to the ends of the earth. Thus, the NS epitomises the rejection of the Messiah and the gospel by the Jewish people. It not only reflects the Sanhedrin's persecution of Stephen and his message of the Christ, it also captures the long history of opposition against God's chosen deliverers by the Israelites, paving the way for the Gentiles to receive the gospel as foretold by the prophets.

2.3.5 Selective Focus

This feature is already evident in some of the foregoing discussion. The author chooses what he wants to focus on, with respect to the base historical narratives, in such a way that suits his design and purpose for the discourse. For example, the account of Moses (Acts 7:17-43) takes up 27 of the 50 verses (see Figure 18), whereas that of Isaac and Jacob, the two patriarchs together, only take up half a verse (7:8b). Large portions of the OT historical narratives are omitted, ostensibly because they are not directly relevant to Stephen's speech. On a separate note, the amount of words devoted to a summary has little to do with the length of the historical narratives in mind. The summary of the materials relating to Sodom and Gomorrah in Jude 7 is another example. This leads us to the conclusion, as will be elaborated later, that the central focus of an NS is not the textual material in view, but the story that the text preserves, even though the story and the authoritative text cannot be completely severed from each other.

The same feature is also observable at a more detailed level. For example, in the episodic frame on Moses (see Figure 19), we saw how the author picks (and frequently combines) elements from the base narratives (not whole portions) to include into his summary. On careful examination of the summary, two things are particularly striking: (a) the amount of base material that is included in the summary, and (b) the amount of base material that is also left out at the same time. For example, in the episodic frame centring on Moses, the first 18 verses (Acts 7:17-34) cover almost the whole of the narrative material in Exodus 1–3.²⁵⁶ That is a lot of material; yet, as much as the whole narrative in Exodus 1–3 is in view, much of the detail is subsumed into the summary rather than explicitly mentioned. The author does not detail how Pharaoh added to the workload of the Israelites, nor how the midwives were given instructions to kill the male babies (Exodus 1),²⁵⁷ nor how Moses was placed into the river and discovered by the daughter of Pharaoh (Exodus 2), and so on. These details, nonetheless, would be activated by those who hear the summary and are familiar with the background material. In further reiterating the account of Moses, the author does not detail his exchange with Pharaoh, nor mention the ten plagues in detail as the base narrative (i.e. Exodus) has done. Instead, he summarises it briefly in Acts 7:36: ‘he performed wonders and signs in the land of Egypt’.

Stephen’s Narrative Summary is not a pure retelling of the story *per se*, as the rewritten Bible genre would generally do. Rather, it uses a common reservoir of shared knowledge—some familiarity with the historical narratives is assumed—to build a certain point of view from Israel’s history as recorded in Scripture. Utilising the OT historical narratives as raw materials, the author draws from their words and key ideas to re-present history from an angle that is conducive to the

²⁵⁶ Counting the words in the GNT and LXX, the comparison is 374 words in Acts 7:17-34 GNT versus 1,683 words in Exodus 1–3 LXX. This includes the two interpretative remarks in Acts 7:22, 25 (amounting to 37 words).

²⁵⁷ This is summarised in one sentence: ‘He craftily (κατασοφισαμενός, same word in Ex 1:10) did evil to our race to make our fathers abandon their infants so that they do not survive’ (Acts 7:19).

context of his discourse.²⁵⁸ Even the explicit citations in our case are strategically chosen to express the main emphasis in his summary.

2.3.6 *Interpretative Elements*

The author's hermeneutical mediation in the process of summary takes place in a number of ways. The most explicit of these is the interpretative remarks that he inserts into the summary to guide his hearers (or readers) to his point, such as in Acts 7:22 and 7:25. In v. 22, the author says that Moses was instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians and was powerful in words and deeds. This is not found in the Exodus narrative itself, but would certainly be a conclusion that can be reached in reading the Moses account, and perhaps influenced by a similar comment in 1 Kgs 5:10 LXX (= 4:30 EB), where it is said of Solomon: 'And Solomon was greatly multiplied [in wisdom], above the knowledge of all the people of old and above all the wise men of Egypt.'

In v. 25, the author says that Moses thought his brothers would understand that God was giving salvation to them through his hand, but they did not understand. This, again, is not in the Exodus narrative, but is an interpretation of the text. The Exodus account does not say, at this point in the narrative, that it was God who sent Moses to intervene in the quarrel between the two Hebrews. It was Stephen's conclusion, perhaps extending Moses' divine commission in Exodus 3 retrospectively into the earlier part of his life in Exodus 2. Nonetheless, it represents an interpretative angle that is sustainable from one's reading of the text. In the context of Acts 7:25, it is an interpretative remark that is inserted into the NS.

Another similar phenomenon can be observed in Acts 7:35. As I remarked earlier, it constitutes the author's interpretative remarks on Moses, before he moves on to deal with the Israelites' response to him in Acts 7:39-43. Here,

²⁵⁸ Keesmaat makes a similar point with respect to Scripture's own use of Israel's history. See Keesmaat, *Paul and His Story*, 34-48.

Stephen describes Moses as ‘ruler and redeemer’ (ἄρχοντα καὶ λυτρωτήν). While the word ἄρχοντα was used in Ex 2:14 (cited in Acts 7:27, 35), the word λυτρωτήν is not. Taken as a whole, while this phrase does appropriately describe the role of Moses, it is nonetheless derived through an interpretation of the historical narratives.

More subtle in manner is the choice of words used in the course of the summary, not set apart as a separate interpretative comment, but interwoven into the recapitulation itself. For example in Acts 7:23, the author remarks (regarding Moses) that ‘it arose in his heart to visit his brothers’. The text in Ex 2:11 simply states that Moses went out to his own people. That the intention ‘came into his heart’ suggests divine incitement, which is consistent with Stephen’s understanding of the incident (see above) but is nonetheless an interpretation on his part. It is not set out as a separate comment on the historical narrative, but is woven into the recapitulation.

2.3.7 Continuation into the Present

The continuity flowing from the historical summary to the present generation of Jews in Stephen’s day is also reflected in the subtle transition in Acts 7:51-52, linking Israel’s historical past with Stephen’s contemporaries. The sins of the forefathers made apparent in the historical recapitulation is suddenly loaded onto the Israelites of his day when Stephen says, ‘You who are stiff-necked and uncircumcised in hearts and ears, you are *always* resisting the Holy Spirit like your forefathers’. This seamless connection, between the people of God in history and the present generation, is similar to what we observed in Nehemiah 9, when the historical summary leads immediately to the present generation to demonstrate the on-going story of the people of God under divine ordination. As in Nehemiah 9, the summary in Acts 7 also loses its sharpness (in terms of the summary being increasingly general, rather than confined to more narrowly defined portions of the OT texts) towards the end of the summary, in tandem with

the transition into the present.

3 Conclusion

What I attempted to do in this chapter is to establish a framework for analysing the use of the Narrative Summary in Paul's letters. I began by differentiating between the NS and the rewritten Bible genre, since both categories are superficially similar in their approach towards the OT historical narratives, in that they involve some form of retelling or recapitulation. However, as I have argued, the form and function of these practices are different, and their key points of distinction may be presented as shown in Figure 20.

Figure 20: Key Points of Distinction between NS and Rewritten Bible

	Narrative Summary	Rewritten Bible
Type	A literary device, as part of a literary work.	A literary genre, in itself a complete work.
Main Purpose	To support a specific argument by illustrating, proving or clarifying a point within a discourse.	Mainly to augment the canonical accounts or to reconcile them with supplementary oral traditions.
Sources (Prior 'Texts')	The OT historical texts (that are presumed to be authoritative for both author and reader).	Historical texts and oral traditions (not all of which may be equally 'authoritative') that are put together with the aim of elevating or cementing the authority of the resulting product.
Relative Scope	Very brief in relation to the written texts from which the summary is made.	Usually a somewhat self-contained account, comparable in scale to the alternative narratives that it seeks to replace or supplement.
Focus	Highly selective, slanted towards some specific point in the context of the new discourse.	A fuller, more panoramic account.
Assumption / Precondition	Assumes at least some familiarity with the written texts.	May be read independently of other written texts.

I then selected three examples of the use of NS in the biblical writings to form an initial 'control group', to generate an initial framework with which to analyse Paul's use of the NS. The selection of this initial group of examples have been made on the basis of three considerations: (a) they should be roughly contemporaneous with the biblical writings as far as possible, i.e. falling within the Second Temple period; (b) they should be 'fuller' specimens of the use of NS;

and (c) they should be of manageable length in order to facilitate the purpose of this study. This is the reason why books like Deuteronomy are not included, although there are portions in the text that may be treated as summaries or recapitulation of earlier narratives (e.g. Deut 1:6–3:29). Thus, I selected one sample each from both the Old and the New Testaments (Neh 9:5-27 and Acts 7:2-53), as well as 4 Ezra 3:4-27, which is another work roughly contemporaneous with the writings of Paul.

From these examples, seven basic features (or characteristics) of the NS are derived, which will be used in comparison with the Narrative Summaries in Paul's letters. One key observation is that the NS is used to convey a certain pattern in history in connection with the contemporary audience. In each case, the author's (or speaker's) purpose is to utilise the lessons from history to argue that, unless a choice is made to the contrary, things will happen (or are happening) as they did in the history of Israel's forefathers. In Neh 9:5-37, Ezra uses the NS to show that the cyclical pattern of the book of Judges had continued into his time; his people were experiencing God's judgment (by being under foreign oppression) because they, like their forefathers, had sinned against God. The next step, under this proposition, was for the people to repent and for God to forgive, which was exactly what the prayer in Neh 9:5-37 was doing. In 4 Ezra 3:4-36, the speaker (again, 'Ezra') uses the NS to show that the inhabitants of the earth (including the Israelites) had been sinning against God despite all the different provisions that were made to address human sinfulness, simply because they had an evil heart that had never been taken away from them. Here, the implication is that God must act to correct the problem, which is the thrust of Ezra's complaint. Finally, in Acts 7:2-53, Stephen uses the NS to show that the Israelites of his day, like their forefathers, were rejecting the Messiah simply because it had been their habit to resist the Holy Spirit and reject the leaders / deliverers whom God sent.

In addition, it should be noted that these characteristics work together in the NS dynamically to facilitate the purpose of the author in deploying them as literary devices in his discourse. For example, the selective focus of the NS and the interpretative elements are conditioned by the rhetorical purpose of the author. The rearrangement at the micro level takes place within the episodic frame, yet at the same time it also serves as a clue as to where each episodic frame lies. How the author builds the continuation of the history that he is summarising into the present is also necessitated by his rhetorical purpose, and determines how the chronological order of the narrative begins and ends. In the next two chapters, I shall turn to the epistles of Paul, and see how his NS and its use in his epistles compare with the benchmarks that have been established.

CHAPTER 4

PAUL'S NARRATIVE SUMMARIES (A)

1 Overview

In the previous chapter, I distinguished the Narrative Summary from the rewritten Bible on the one hand, and the other intertextual categories in Hays' framework on the other. A standard framework was then formulated to facilitate the comparison between the use of the Narrative Summary in Paul's letters and that found in the other scriptural writings. A 'control group' of three passages was used (Nehemiah 9; 4 Ezra 3; and Acts 7), from which a framework of seven common features of the Narrative Summary was then derived.

The next stage of the study is to compare the various Narrative Summaries in Paul's writings using the established framework, and observe the extent to which they share the seven common features. The presence of these common features would reveal that the Narrative Summary is a rather sophisticated literary and hermeneutical device used by the author to achieve a desired rhetorical effect,²⁵⁹ and therefore deserving of our systematic and in-depth study in order to understand Paul's use of the Old Testament more fully.

Seven Pauline passages are selected for this study, giving due consideration to the significance of these texts with regard to Paul's use of the narrative material in the Old Testament. Thus, Rom 4:1-25 (Abraham), Gal 4:21-31 (Isaac and Ishmael), and Rom 9:6-13 (Isaac and Jacob) will be treated in this chapter, while 1 Cor 10:1-13 (Exodus), 2 Cor 3:1-18 (Moses), Rom 11:1-6 (Elijah) and Rom 9:4-5 (Israelites) will be treated in Chapter 5. The order in which these passages are presented approximates the chronological order in which the historical narratives are taken from the Old Testament.

²⁵⁹ In the terminology of J. L. Austin's *Speech-Act Theory*, this would be the perlocutionary act, cf. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words*, 101-02.

2 Abraham (Romans 4:1-25)

2.1 Introduction

In Romans 4, Paul uses the historical narratives on Abraham to substantiate the points he makes in Rom 3:21-31 that: (1) righteousness from God comes without the law, as testified by the Law and the Prophets (3:21),²⁶⁰ (2) this righteousness comes through faith (διὰ πίστεως) to all who believe (3:22), and (3) all are made righteous by faith without works of the law (3:28). Paul's discourse in Romans 4 serves to demonstrate that this truth is grounded in Scripture, using the narratives centring on none other than Abraham, the archetype of faithfulness among the Jews.²⁶¹ Schmidt, likewise, observes that Abraham is the classic example of works righteousness in the synagogue, and the question that Paul is dealing with in this chapter is not whether Abraham should be reckoned as one's ancestor on physical or spiritual grounds, but whether righteousness is to be found by faith or by adherence to the law.²⁶²

Texts such as Sir 44:20, 1 Macc 2:52, Jas 2:22-23 and Heb 11:17-19 show that there is a broad interpretative tradition surrounding the faith / faithfulness of Abraham that stands in the background of Paul's discussion.²⁶³ This traditional interpretation of the story of Abraham could be seen as a deviation²⁶⁴ and perhaps set aside in Romans 4 as Paul turns to Scripture itself to explain what the faith of Abraham means.²⁶⁵ However, as studies that posit Paul's re-reading of Genesis as a response to the traditional interpretations of the text would demonstrate,²⁶⁶ this intertextual background is not totally out of view as Paul discusses the faith of Abraham in Romans 4.

²⁶⁰ As Schmidt observes, the reference to the story of Abraham demonstrates the testimony of 'the law and the prophets', cf. Schmidt, *Römer*, 79.

²⁶¹ Watson makes a similar point, cf. Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith*, 41.

²⁶² Schmidt, *Römer*, 76.

²⁶³ Cf. Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 226-27.

²⁶⁴ Adolf Schlatter, *Der Brief an die Römer* (Stuttgatt: Calwer Verlag, 1962), 79.

²⁶⁵ Lohse, *Römer*, 148.

²⁶⁶ E.g. Michael Cranford, "Abraham in Romans 4: The Father of All Who Believe," *New Testament Studies* 41, no. 01 (1995): 71; Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith*, 167-69; Cranfield, *Romans*, 1:228-30.

The use of the Genesis material, in addition, entails a Narrative Summary which, together with the citation from Psalms that is attributed to David in Rom 4:7-8, probably corresponds to the two-fold 'Law and Prophets' referenced in Rom 3:21.

In his opening words in Rom 4:1, Paul unceremoniously draws the reader's attention to the account of Abraham. He says, somewhat abruptly, 'What, then, shall we say that Abraham, our forefather according to the flesh, found?'.²⁶⁷ Thereafter he proceeds to put forth his argument derived from the account of Abraham, that if Abraham were to be made righteous by works, then he has something in which to boast, but not in the presence of God (4:2). Any introductory material to lead the reader into the Abraham narratives is thus kept to a minimum. In addition, as my analysis shows later, the explicit intertextual references to the text in Genesis are very limited, clustering mainly around a few passages such as Gen 15:5-6 and 17:5, 10-11.²⁶⁸

What is more pronounced is the use of a single verse, Gen 15:6, in Rom 4:3, 5, 9, 11, 22, and 23. These observations, however, do not mean that Paul is not summarising the historical narratives, and that an extended scope of the historical narratives surrounding the Abraham account is not materially in view. On the contrary, on the strength of the same evidence, one may argue that Paul presumes some prior knowledge of the story of Abraham on the part of his readers, at least among some, if not the majority, of them. I shall come back to these and other observations as we examine the NS in detail.

²⁶⁷ Schlier rejects the interesting idea that Abraham's words in Gen 18:3 (Κύριε, εἰ ἄρα εὗρον χάριν ἐναντίον σου) could be significant here, even as εὕρισκειν χάριν is deemed to be a formulaic expression in the LXX (e.g. Gen 6:8, 'Noah found favour [εὗρεν χάριν] with the Lord'), simply because Paul has not cast it expressly in that language in Rom 4:1, cf. Schlier, *Römerbrief*, 122. Lohse, however, is convinced that it alludes 'unmistakeably' to Gen 18:3 ('Die Frage spielt unverkennbar auf Gen 18,3 an'), cf. Lohse, *Römer*, 147. Stuhlmacher makes a similar point, cf. Stuhlmacher, *Römer*, 67.

²⁶⁸ Gen 17:10-11 is summarised in Rom 4:10-11, and is not an explicit citation.

2.2 Textual Referents and Scope of Material

Allowing for some flexibility, the text in Romans 4 may be outlined as follows:

Outline of Romans 4

4:1-2	Introduction
4:3-8	'Credited as righteousness'
4:9-18	'Righteousness by faith, not law' ²⁶⁹
4:19-21	The faith of Abraham
4:22-25	Conclusion

This outline is comparable to those included in some of our standard commentaries. Notably, the three sections in the main body of this outline parallel the three parts in Paul's argument in the chapter: After introducing his subject (Rom 4:1-2), (1) Paul cites Gen 15:6 in the next section (Rom 4:3-8) to show that Abraham's faith was 'credited' (λογίζεται) as righteousness by grace, and without works, just as Ps 31:1-2 LXX attests to the blessedness of the one whose sins the Lord does not 'reckon' (λογίζεται). The next part in the development of his thesis (Rom 4:9-18) is that (2) faith was credited to Abraham before his circumcision, and he was made righteous by faith and not by law, so that even the uncircumcised can share in the promise that he was given. Next (Rom 4:19-21), (3) Paul elaborates on the faith of Abraham which is demonstrated in his trust in God's promise, before impressing on his readers that faith was credited to Abraham not just for his sake but for ours as well (Rom 4:22-25).

The discourse is marked by the citation of a limited number of OT texts, as tabulated in Figure 21.

²⁶⁹ Cranfield (*Romans*, 1:225, probably followed by Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, 233) divides v. 17 in the middle, by reason of its 'content', although grammatically the whole verse belongs to the sentence that begins in v. 16. It is just as possible, as in our outline, to divide the section at the end of v. 18, where vv. 17-18 is in fact a 'hinge' that shifts the focus from the content of God's promise, which Abraham believed and was thus credited with righteousness (vv. 9-18), to the subsequent elaboration of the outworking of that trust, which led Abraham to give glory to God (vv. 19-21).

Figure 21: Explicit Citations in Romans 4

Outline of Romans 4		Explicit Citations
4:1-2	Introduction	
4:3-8	'Credited as righteousness'	Gen 15:6; Ps 31:1-2 LXX
4:9-18	'Righteousness by faith, not law'	Gen 15:6; 17:5; 15:5
4:19-21	The faith of Abraham	
4:22-25	Conclusion	Gen 15:6 (in Rom 4:22, 23)

Apart from these explicit citations in Romans 4,²⁷⁰ Paul draws from the Genesis account in other ways:

- 1) In Rom 4:10-11, while speaking about the timing of Abraham's faith, reference is made to the circumcision that is commanded by God in Gen 17:10-11;
- 2) In Rom 4:13, Paul summarises the promise that is found in passages such as Gen 17:4-8; 18:18 and 22:17 when he mentions the promise given to Abraham and his seed, who would inherit the world;
- 3) In Rom 4:19, when Paul speaks about how Abraham considers his own body and Sarah's womb being 'dead', it is based on materials taken from Gen 18:1-15;
- 4) In Rom 4:20, Paul probably has Genesis 22:1-18 (the offering of Isaac) in view when he comments that Abraham, having been strengthened in his faith, proceeded to 'give glory to God' (δοῦς δόξαν τῷ θεῷ).

²⁷⁰ In differentiating between a citation and an allusion, Beetham proposes that a verbal correspondence of five words or less would constitute an allusion, whereas an identity of six or more words would constitute a citation, cf. Beetham, *Echoes*, 16-17. It should be noted that this is an arbitrary rule of thumb (as Beetham would acknowledge) that is to be used along with other criteria (e.g. a citation is clear in Rom 4:18 even though it comprises only five words, because it is preceded by a citation marker, κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον). Similarly, the citation from Gen 15:6 is clear in Rom 4:2, even though it has only four words from the original text.

These observations show that Paul’s use of the Genesis material goes beyond the explicit citations that are reflected in Romans 4. Following the same approach used in the previous chapter, the key intertextual connections may be laid out as presented in the table below (see Figure 22).

Figure 22: An Outline of Romans 4:1-24 and Its Intertextual Connections

Solid underline = identical elements (between Romans 4 and Genesis).

Dashed underline = similarities in language, themes or ideas.

[A] = allusions.

Verse References (underlined) = Specific texts in Genesis reflected in Paul’s summary.

(1) Outline	(2) Romans 4:1-24 GNT	(3) Intertextual Connections (LXX)
4:1-2 Introduction	Rom 4:1 Τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν εὐρηκέναι Ἀβραάμ τὸν προπάτορα ἡμῶν κατὰ σάρκα;	
	Rom 4:2 εἰ γὰρ Ἀβραάμ ἐξ ἔργων ἐδικαιώθη, ἔχει καύχημα, ἀλλ’ οὐ πρὸς θεόν.	
4:3-8 ‘Credited as righteousness’	Rom 4:3 τί γὰρ ἡ γραφή λέγει: <u>ἐπίστευσεν δὲ Ἀβραάμ τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην.</u>	Gen 15:6 καὶ ἐπίστευσεν Ἀβραμ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην.
	Rom 4:4 τῷ δὲ ἐργαζομένῳ ὁ μισθὸς οὐ λογίζεται κατὰ χάριν ἀλλὰ κατὰ ὀφείλημα.	
	Rom 4:5 τῷ δὲ μὴ ἐργαζομένῳ πιστεύοντι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν δικαιούντα τὸν ἄσεβῆ <u>λογίζεται ἡ πίστις αὐτοῦ εἰς δικαιοσύνην.</u>	[A] Gen 15:6 καὶ ἐπίστευσεν Ἀβραμ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην. Also echoes Rom 4:3.
	Rom 4:6 καθάπερ καὶ Δαυὶδ λέγει τὸν μακαρισμὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου <u>ᾧ ὁ θεὸς λογίζεται δικαιοσύνην χωρὶς ἔργων.</u>	
	Rom 4:7 μακάριοι ὧν ἀφέθησαν αἱ ἀνομίαι καὶ ὧν ἐπεκαλύφθησαν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι.	Ps 31:1 [32:1] Μακάριοι ὧν ἀφέθησαν αἱ ἀνομίαι καὶ ὧν ἐπεκαλύφθησαν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι.
	Rom 4:8 μακάριος ἀνὴρ οὐ οὐ μὴ λογίσσεται κύριος ἁμαρτίαν.	Ps 31:2 [32:2] μακάριος ἀνὴρ, οὐ οὐ μὴ λογίσσεται κύριος ἁμαρτίαν, οὐδὲ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ δόλος.
4:9-18 ‘Righteousness by faith, not law’	Rom 4:9 Ὁ μακαρισμὸς οὖν οὗτος ἐπὶ τὴν περιτομὴν ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκροβυστίαν; λέγομεν γάρ· <u>ἐλογίσθη τῷ Ἀβραάμ ἡ πίστις εἰς δικαιοσύνην.</u>	Gen 15:6 καὶ ἐπίστευσεν Ἀβραμ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην. Also echoes Rom 4:3.
	Rom 4:10 πῶς οὖν ἐλογίσθη; ἐν περιτομῇ ὄντι ἢ ἐν ἀκροβυστίᾳ; οὐκ ἐν περιτομῇ ἀλλ’ ἐν ἀκροβυστίᾳ.	Gen 17:10.
	Rom 4:11 καὶ σημεῖον ἔλαβεν περιτομῆς σφραγίδα τῆς δικαιοσύνης τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐν τῇ ἀκροβυστίᾳ, εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν πατέρα πάντων τῶν πιστευόντων δι’ ἀκροβυστίας, εἰς τὸ λογισθῆναι [καὶ] αὐτοῖς [τὴν] δικαιοσύνην.	Gen 17:10-11. Also [A] Gen 15:6 and echoes Rom 4:3.

<p>4:9-18 'Righteousness by faith, not law'</p>	<p>Rom 4:12 καὶ πατέρα περιτομῆς τοῖς οὐκ ἐκ περιτομῆς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς στοιχοῦσιν τοῖς ἴχνεσιν τῆς ἐν ἀκροβυστία πίστεως τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀβραάμ.</p>	
	<p>Rom 4:13 Οὐ γὰρ διὰ νόμου ἡ ἐπαγγελία τῷ Ἀβραάμ ἢ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ, τὸ κληρονόμον αὐτὸν εἶναι κόσμου, ἀλλὰ διὰ δικαιοσύνης πίστεως.</p>	<p>Gen 17:4-8 also [A] 12:7; 13:14-17; 15:18-21. Also cf. 18:18; 24:7; 26:2-6; 28:3-4, 13-15; 35:11-12; 48:3-4.²⁷¹</p>
	<p>Rom 4:14 εἰ γὰρ οἱ ἐκ νόμου κληρονόμοι, κεκένωται ἡ πίστις καὶ κατήρηται ἡ ἐπαγγελία</p>	
	<p>Rom 4:15 ὁ γὰρ νόμος ὀργὴν κατεργάζεται οὐ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν νόμος οὐδὲ παράβασις.</p>	
	<p>Rom 4:16 Διὰ τοῦτο ἐκ πίστεως, ἵνα κατὰ χάριν, εἰς τὸ εἶναι βεβαίαν τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν παντὶ τῷ σπέρματι, οὐ τῷ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἐκ πίστεως Ἀβραάμ, ὅς ἐστιν πατὴρ πάντων ἡμῶν.</p>	
	<p>Rom 4:17 καθὼς γέγραπται <u>ὅτι πατέρα πολλῶν ἐθνῶν τέθεικά σε</u>, κατέναντι οὗ ἐπίστευσεν θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶοντος τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ καλοῦντος τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς ὄντα.</p>	<p>Gen 17:5 καὶ οὐ κληθήσεται ἔτι τὸ ὄνομά σου Ἀβραμ, ἀλλ' ἔσται τὸ ὄνομά σου Ἀβρααμ, <u>ὅτι πατέρα πολλῶν ἐθνῶν τέθεικά σε</u>.</p>
	<p>Rom 4:18 Ὃς παρ' ἐλπίδα ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ἐπίστευσεν εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι αὐτὸν <u>πατέρα πολλῶν ἐθνῶν κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον οὕτως ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα σου</u>.</p>	<p>[A] Gen 17:5 καὶ οὐ κληθήσεται ἔτι τὸ ὄνομά σου Ἀβραμ, ἀλλ' ἔσται τὸ ὄνομά σου Ἀβρααμ, ὅτι <u>πατέρα πολλῶν ἐθνῶν τέθεικά σε</u>.</p> <p>Gen 15:5 ἐξήγαγεν δὲ αὐτὸν ἔξω καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Ἀνάβλεπον δὴ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἀρίθμησον τοὺς ἀστέρας, εἰ δυνήσῃ ἐξαριθμῆσαι αὐτούς. Καὶ εἶπεν <u>Οὕτως ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα σου</u>.²⁷²</p>

²⁷¹ While all these intertextual connections refer to the promise of land being given to Abraham and his descendants, the primary texts are those in Gen 12:7; 13:14-17; 15:18-21; and 17:4-8. The rest are either secondary derivations or promises given to Isaac and Jacob that reiterate those given to Abraham. Of these primary texts, Gen 17:4-8 is most likely in view in Paul's NS in Rom 4:13, as evidenced by the citation from Gen 17:5 in Rom 4:17.

²⁷² Despite the citation from Gen 15:5 in Rom 4:18, it is still Gen 17:1-14 that is principally in view in Rom 4:17-18. In Paul's appropriation of the texts, the promise that Abraham will have many seed (Gen 15:5) is assimilated into the promise that Abraham will be the father of many nations (Gen 17:5), as evidenced by Paul's interweaving of the two texts in Rom 4:17-18.

4:19-21 The faith of Abraham	Rom 4:19 καὶ μὴ ἀσθενήσας τῇ πίστει κατενόησεν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα [ἤδη] νεκρωμένον, ἑκατονταετῆς που ὑπάρχων, καὶ τὴν νέκρωσιν τῆς μητρᾶς Σάρρας	Gen 18:1-15. ²⁷³
	Rom 4:20 εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ θεοῦ οὐ διεκρίθη τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ ἀλλ' ἐνεδυναμώθη τῇ πίστει, δοὺς δόξαν τῷ θεῷ	Gen 22:1-18.
	Rom 4:21 καὶ πληροφορηθεὶς ὅτι ὁ ἐπήγγελται δυνατὸς ἐστὶν καὶ ποιῆσαι.	
4:22-25 Conclusion	Rom 4:22 διὸ [καὶ] ²⁷⁴ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην.	Gen 15:6 καὶ ἐπίστευσεν Ἀβραμ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην.
	Rom 4:23 Οὐκ ἐγράφη δὲ δι' αὐτὸν μόνον ὅτι ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ	Gen 15:6 καὶ ἐπίστευσεν Ἀβραμ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην. Also echoes Rom 4:22.
	Rom 4:24 ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς, οἷς μέλλει λογιζέσθαι, τοῖς πιστεύουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐγειράντα Ἰησοῦν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν ἐκ νεκρῶν,	
	Rom 4:25 ὃς παρεδόθη διὰ τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν καὶ ἠγέρθη διὰ τὴν δικαίωσιν ἡμῶν.	[A] Isa 53:6, 12 LXX.

The three sections in the main body of the outline correlate with Paul's use of the text in Genesis.²⁷⁵ Indeed, a closer study of these three sections reveals that clusters of texts taken from Genesis correspond to each phase in Paul's argument in Romans 4. These texts, used in Romans 4, make up the episodic frames in the NS. Thus, in Rom 4:3-8 the key narrative material in view is taken from Gen 15:1-6, while in Rom 4:9-18 it is mainly Genesis 17, perhaps Gen 17:1-14, up to the point where the Lord institutes the circumcision to which Paul refers in Rom

²⁷³ While the promise of a son to be born to Abraham is also recorded in Gen 17:15-17, it seems less likely to be the text in view in Rom 4:19-21, compared to Gen 18:1-15. Paul says in Rom 4:19 that Abraham was 'about a hundred years old', whereas Gen 17:1 indicates that Abraham was 'ninety-nine years old' when the promise in Gen 17:15-17 was announced. This discrepancy (99 vs. 100 years old) can be accounted for by supposing that Paul is referring to the account in Gen 18:1-15, where the promise of a son was reiterated. The time lapse between Gen 17:1-17 and Gen 18:1-15 would enable Paul to speak of Abraham being about a hundred years old when he considered his body being as good as dead. Furthermore, Abraham's response upon hearing the promise in Gen 17:15-17 ('he laughed') was hardly positive, and would have been an awkward detail for Paul in Rom 4:19-21 when speaking of Abraham's faith.

²⁷⁴ The textual evidence is quite evenly distributed for the presence (or absence) of καί.

²⁷⁵ The citation from Ps 31:1-2 LXX (=Ps 32:1-2 EB) in Rom 4:7-8 seems to play a secondary role, by augmenting the main argument that is derived from the Genesis text. Similarly, Michel notes that the words from Ps 31:1-2 play a subordinate role to those from the Torah in this chapter, cf. Michel, *Römer*, 164-65.

4:9. This demarcation, in terms of the episodic frames, is crucial because Paul makes use of the chronological order in these events to make his argument. The faith that is ‘credited as righteousness’ is found in Genesis 15, an earlier occurrence within the flow of the historical narrative in relation to the rite of circumcision, which comes later (Genesis 17).

Furthermore, in Rom 4:19-21, when Paul talks about Abraham’s subsequent response to God’s promise, he draws from Gen 18:1-15 (remarks about Abraham’s and Sarah’s bodies being past their child-bearing age). It ends with the phrase, ‘being strengthened in faith, he gave glory to God’ (Rom 4:20b), which points to the offering of Isaac in Gen 22:1-18, as we shall examine later (section 2.4 of this chapter). This third grouping of the OT historical narrative material in Rom 4:19-22 constitutes another episodic frame, so to speak. Consequently, the probable narrative framework in Paul’s use of the Genesis text may be summarised as outlined in the table below (Figure 23), bearing in mind that the exact delineation of the OT narrative material in each section cannot be certain.

Figure 23: The Probable Framework and Other Key Intertextual Connections in Romans 4:1-25

(1) Passage	(2) Probable Framework	(3) Other Key Intertextual Connections
Rom 4:1-2		
Rom 4:3-8	Gen 15:1-6.	Ps 31:1-2 LXX.
Rom 4:9-18	Gen 17:1-14.	Gen 12:7; 13:14-17; 15:18-21. Also cf. 18:18; 24:7; 26:2-6; 28:3-4,13-15; 35:11-12; 48:3-4.
Rom 4:19-21	Gen 18:1-15; 22:1-18.	
Rom 4:22-25		

While we cannot be dogmatic about the exact scope of the Genesis material used in each section within Romans 4, it is evident that a Narrative Summary is involved, and that Paul has a certain narrative order in mind as he executes the summary to argue for his point. We can further adduce that Paul expects at least some of his audience in Rome to be familiar with the historical narratives surrounding Abraham in Genesis. This is acknowledged by no less a scholar than

C. D. Stanley, who has seriously questioned the ability of Paul's ancient readers to appreciate most of his intertextual references. Stanley says in relation to Romans 4: 'Throughout the chapter he assumes that the Romans know the story of Abraham; again and again he alludes to details of the narrative in the expectation that the Romans will be able to fill in the gaps.'²⁷⁶

²⁷⁶ Christopher D. Stanley, *Arguing with Scripture* (New York; London: T&T Clark International, 2004), 150. Stanley questions the ability of Paul's readers to detect or appreciate his use of citations, allusions or echoes. The linchpin in his thesis, however, lies in the view that a low rate of literacy in the ancient world means a lack of scriptural knowledge (pp. 41-45). This, I think, is not necessarily the case, as Scripture, in one's own mother tongue, can be well-mastered even by those who are illiterate. Just to share an anecdote: During my several trips to China, I met Christian farmers in rural communities who knew large portions of the Bible by heart, even though they were hardly able to read the texts themselves. Similarly, I saw Christians among the *Lisu* tribes in the mountains of North Thailand who knew the Bible well, even though they were not literate! While this form of biblical knowledge may not necessarily render them capable of appreciating the intertextuality in Paul's letters in great detail (it is still possible they could, we just do not know), it does caution against assuming that a lack of basic literacy automatically means a lack of scriptural knowledge and, consequently, an inadequacy in perceiving intertextual references to Scripture. A secondary argument advanced by Stanley is that the biblical scrolls were not easily accessible to the early Christians, by virtue of the fact that scrolls were expensive and that the Jewish synagogues, where biblical scrolls might otherwise be available, were difficult to access because of the strained relationship between Christian churches and Jewish synagogues (pp. 41-42). However, there is simply no concrete evidence that the early Christians (or other Jewish groups) had little access to the biblical texts; available indications from the NT, the Dead Sea Scrolls and other Second Temple writings point to the contrary. At one point (p. 50), Stanley does give some consideration to the *non sequitur* between basic literacy and biblical knowledge; nonetheless, throughout his work, he proceeds on the premise that Paul's readers were mostly not sufficiently knowledgeable to appreciate his use of Scripture, because of the low rate of literacy. To him, Paul had mostly misjudged his audience in this regard, when he uses scriptural citations (p. 50). Then again, the comparable use of Scripture by other ancient Jewish writers (cf. Watson, *Hermeneutics*), including the writers of the New Testament (e.g. Matthew, John and Peter, the writer to the Hebrews, etc.), argues against this—could they also have misjudged their audiences? Furthermore, we are not talking about having to express every aspect of an intertextual connection *fully*, as a modern biblical scholar may do when he treats this topic. What Paul's readers might grasp is that words are used to recall a portion of Scripture that parallels and resonates with the present discourse, which adds to the significance of Paul's words. This is actually not that difficult to achieve.

2.3 Features in the Narrative Summary

Careful examination of Paul's summary of the Genesis material reveals many of the features of the NS that I outlined in the previous chapter.

2.3.1 *Chronological Order at the Macro Level*

Paul's use of the Genesis material follows the general chronological order of the OT historical narratives, as seen in the arrangement of the basic framework presented in Figure 23. Although we cannot be dogmatic about the precise delineation of the OT materials that are utilised in each section, the sequence in which they are taken from the Genesis account is evident. Thus, the material from Gen 15:1-6 (cf. Rom 4:3-8) is used before the material in Genesis 17:1-14 (cf. Rom 4:9-18). This is followed, in Rom 4:19, by the use of Gen 18:1-15.

Finally, as we shall see, Paul turns to the material in Gen 22:1-18 (Rom 4:20-21). Gen 18:1-15 and 22:1-18, as it were, constitute one episodic frame. These are used, in Rom 4:19-20, to make a single observation regarding Abraham's subsequent response after receiving God's promise. From this observation it emerges that there is a chronological order to Paul's use of the historical narratives, in the form of episodic frames that correspond to each stage of the development of his discourse.

2.3.2 *Rearrangement at the Micro Level*

The summary generally follows the order of the OT historical narrative. However, there are departures from this chronological order when we look within each episodic frame to examine the use of the historical narratives at the micro level.

These departures, however, must be differentiated from the special use of Gen 15:6 in Rom 4:3, 5, 9, 11, 22, and 23. Genesis 15:6 functions as a key text in Romans 4 (with Gen 15:5 being an associated text that summarises the *content* of

God's promise, in which Abraham exercised his faith), and Paul repeats it throughout the chapter as he expounds the text from various angles by embedding them into his Narrative Summary, transcending the so-called episodic frames, and using it to interpret the Abraham account as a whole. Thus, in Rom 4:9-17, it is used to remind the reader that Abraham's circumcision came later. In Rom 4:18-21, Gen 15:5 is cited in a section where the outworking of Abraham's faith is demonstrated—he believed in the promise even though he and Sarah were past their child-bearing age, and he proceeded to be strengthened in his faith and 'gave glory to God' (Rom 4:20). Finally, in Rom 4:22-25, Paul uses Gen 15:6 in his conclusion, to emphasise that faith was credited to Abraham not only for his sake, but for ours as well. The recurrence of Gen 15:6 in this case is not so much a rearrangement of elements in the OT historical narrative within an episodic frame—it is the reiteration of a key verse for thematic emphasis and exposition.

Nonetheless, the actual rearrangement of the narrative elements at the micro level (i.e. within the episodic frame) in this NS can be seen in Rom 4:9-18. As mentioned earlier, Paul uses the materials from Gen 17:1-14 in Rom 4:9-18. Within this section, however, the narrative elements are rearranged: In Rom 4:10-11, Paul summarises materials taken from Gen 17:10-11. In Rom 4:13, the mention of God's promise is based on materials found in Gen 17:4-8, before going back to Gen 17:5 in Rom 4:17-18. These narrative elements are presented in a way that deviates from the order in which they are found in Genesis 17. Why that is done, ostensibly, is due to the manner of Paul's argument in Rom 4:9-17. He draws from the historical narrative in Genesis 17 to make his argument that Abraham was circumcised after his faith was credited as righteousness, but rearranges the materials in order to facilitate his exposition of the historical narrative which, of course, is meant to support his discourse.

These observations highlight the point that blocks of the historical narratives are used more-or-less sequentially (albeit with narrative gaps in-between) to support

the key arguments in a discourse, but the same narrative elements are frequently rearranged within each episodic frame if necessary, in order to facilitate the author's presentation of his argument. At the same time, such rearrangements may also reflect the interpretative activity which is going on within the NS.

2.3.3 Episodic Frames

These observations lead to the conclusion that, instead of looking at the historical narratives surrounding Abraham in Genesis as an enmeshed whole, Paul keeps in view the distinction among the various occasions in Abraham's life. The occasion of the Lord coming to Abraham (then called 'Abram') in a vision in Genesis 15, during which Abraham put his trust in God's promise, is separate from another appearance of God when Abraham was ninety-nine years old, in Genesis 17, and still separate from the response of Abraham after the reception of the promise (focusing on materials found in Genesis 17–22). This allows Paul (1) to ground his argument on the fact that Abraham's faith preceded the rite of circumcision, and (2) to elaborate on the response of Abraham after receiving the promise.

The subtle shift in Paul's use of Genesis 17 should be noted here. In Rom 4:10–11, Paul recalls Gen 17:10–11 to draw attention to the timing of Abraham's circumcision; in Rom 4:17 he cites Gen 17:5 to recall God's promise that Abraham would be the father of many nations, including those who are not circumcised (cf. Rom 4:16). Furthermore, the focus of Paul's argument in Romans 4 develops in line with his use of Scripture, as explained in section 2.2 of this chapter. The coming together of these observations can be accounted for by noting the episodic frames that Paul might have in view as he used the historical narratives.

2.3.4 Rhetorical Purpose

To put it succinctly, Paul's rhetorical purpose in the NS is to show that Abraham was made righteous by faith, not by works, and that he is the father of all who

follow in his footsteps of faith before he was circumcised, regardless of whether they are circumcised or not. In its wider literary context, Romans 4 contains Paul's use of Scripture to validate what he says in Rom 3:21-27, that the righteousness of God, which is now revealed, comes to all by faith and not by observing the law. Abraham, who is the father of the Jews and a prototype of faith-faithfulness, is shown to be one who was credited as righteous even before his circumcision, thus attesting that righteousness comes by faith and not by obedience to the law (with circumcision being a key indicator of adherence to the law).

Thus, those who have faith (i.e. believe) stand to inherit the promise given by God to Abraham and his descendants. This is accomplished by showing that righteousness was credited to Abraham on account of his faith, even before he was circumcised. Thereby, even circumcision itself, instead of being seen as an act of outward obedience to the law that results in righteousness, is now seen as 'a seal of righteousness by faith', given while Abraham himself was still uncircumcised, but who had already been made righteous because he believed (cf. Rom 4:11-12).

This rhetorical purpose shapes Paul's NS in Romans 4 in various ways, which results in certain features in his summary, such as the rearrangement, episodic framing, selective focus and interpretative elements that are woven into his text. These are all influenced by the purpose that the author has in mind in using the NS in the discourse. At a more detailed level, how Paul's NS is moulded by his rhetorical purpose can also be seen in the language used in the summary.

In Rom 4:13, for example, Paul refers to the promise to Abraham and his descendants (literally, 'seed'). Following the trajectory of the NS, and if Paul indeed follows the narrative order of the account in Genesis, we would expect this summary to be based on Gen 17:4-8, perhaps informed by passages such as Gen 12:7; 13:14-17; 15:18-21 as well as Gen 18:18; 24:7; 26:2-6; 28:3-4, 13-15;

35:11-12; and 48:3-4, which specifically mention God's promise to give the land (or lands) to Abraham and his descendants.²⁷⁷ They point to the inheritance that is centred mainly on the land at Canaan. In summarising the promise given to Abraham in Gen 17:4-8 and its other connected passages, however, Paul uses the term, 'he is to be the heir of the world' (τὸ κληρονόμον αὐτὸν εἶναι κόσμου), in Rom 4:13. This expression, naturally, ties in better with his discourse in Romans 4, where Paul's emphasis is that, through faith, the Jews and Gentiles will both enjoy the fruit of the promise that is given through Abraham. Thus, it is not just 'Canaan' that is in view, but the 'world'. While this observation may be classified as an example of hermeneutical intervention,²⁷⁸ it can also be seen (at the same time) as Paul's choice of language in presenting his summary, in such a way that it advances the writer's rhetorical purpose as a literary device.

2.3.5 *Selective Focus*

Although materials are drawn from a number of episodes in the life of Abraham (as presented in Figure 23 above), it is also evident that Paul is highly selective with regard to what to include in his summary. At a broader level, Paul's summary of the account of Abraham does not include mention of Hagar and

²⁷⁷ See fn. 271. I suppose similar passages outside of Genesis may also be cited, such as Ex 6:4, 8; 13:5, 11; Num 11:12; Deut 1:8; 2:31, Ps 105:9-11; Jer 25:5; Ezk 47:14, and so on. They echo the iterations of the promise given to Abraham, which Paul has in view in Romans 4. For this discussion, however, these passages are secondary to the analysis and would not alter the point that I wish to make here.

²⁷⁸ It is perhaps possible to see how Paul could have reached this conclusion on the basis of the texts in Genesis, in the light of the gospel: If all the nations of the world would be blessed through Abraham (Gen 12:1-3), and this blessing (cf. Rom 4:9; Gal 3:8) is now mediated through Christ to everyone in the world who believes, Jew and Gentile alike (Rom 3:22), then this world-wide scope of the covenant with Abraham is complemented by the world-wide scope of its inheritance (Rom 4:13). The giving of the land of Canaan to the Jews could be seen, perhaps, as an intermediate stage in the unfolding of this promise to Abraham (Rom 9–11, cf. Gal 3:17), which finds its fullest expression in the gospel: That the righteousness of God comes through faith in Jesus Christ to all who believe, whether Jew or Gentile, and together they inherit the promise given through Abraham. The writer in Sir 44:21, without the purview of the gospel, reflects a similar world-wide perspective when he says that God gives Abraham's descendants an inheritance 'from sea to sea', and 'from the Euphrates to the ends of the earth'. Käsemann also cites Jub 17:3; 19:21; 22:14; 32:19 and *Mekilta Exodus* 14:31, cf. Käsemann, *Romans*, 120.

Ishmael (Genesis 16), the visit by the Lord and his angels (Genesis 18), the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (Genesis 19) and the visit to Gerar with Sarah (Genesis 20).

Even when we turn to those passages that are covered under Paul's NS, details in these narratives that are not pertinent to the point of his summary are simply passed over. Take, for example, God's promise to Abraham in Genesis 15. Paul draws from this episode and mentions (1) the promise of numerous descendants (Gen 15:5) in Rom 4:8; (2) that Abraham believed and his faith was credited as righteousness (Gen 15:6) in Rom 4:3, 5, 9, 11, 22, and 23; and (3) the promise to Abraham and his seed that they would be 'heirs of the world' in Rom 4:13, perhaps drawing most directly from Gen 17:4-8 but with a related passage such as Gen 15:18-21 in view. What is not mentioned, however, is that, at the request of Abraham (Gen 15:8), the Lord affirmed his promise by causing his presence to pass through a pathway flanked by pieces of meat from the slaughtered animals which Abraham had prepared (Gen 15:17), and that his descendants would be mistreated in a foreign land for 400 years before they were brought back to the land promised to them (Gen 15:13-16). Paul probably deemed these details to be peripheral to his purpose in the NS.

2.3.6 Interpretative Elements

In line with the basic observations made in the foregoing chapter, Paul's NS in Romans 4 comprises elements taken from the historical narratives as well as interpretative elements that are woven into the summary. Thus, in the earlier example in section 2.3.4 (on Rom 4:13), Paul's summary of the promise given to Abraham and his descendants comprises elements taken from the text (or texts) in Genesis where God makes the promise to Abraham that he and his descendants would inherit the land, as well as Paul's interpretative statement that this promise is that Abraham and his descendants would 'inherit the world'.

Still another example may be found in Rom 4:9-11. In it, Paul asks a question ('How, then, was it credited? Was it while circumcised or while uncircumcised?') that both summarises the incidents in Genesis 15 and 17 and also expounds them. Paul's argument rests on the reader being able to appreciate the chronological order of the two events. Thus, when he says, 'it was not while circumcised but while uncircumcised,' his argument can be understood because Abraham's circumcision (Genesis 17) indeed came after he was declared to be righteous (Genesis 15).²⁷⁹ His recollection of the Abraham accounts and his interpretation of the texts are interwoven together.

2.3.7 *Continuation into the Present*

The relevance of the faith of Abraham to Paul's generation is evident in a number of ways. First, it reveals that righteousness comes by faith, and not by works of obedience to the law, as the fact of Abraham's faith being credited as righteousness even before his circumcision attests. Thus, Paul's Jewish readers who may be boasting about their works under law would be prompted to examine their basic assumptions about the role of the law in the light of Abraham's faith, as Paul interprets it. As much as Paul's reading of the Genesis account may be taking place with a rich hermeneutical tradition or intertextual field in the background, there is nonetheless a real competition for the 'right' reading to be accepted here.

Second, in Rom 4:11, Paul makes it clear that Abraham is the father, not only of those who are circumcised, but also of those who are uncircumcised, and who

²⁷⁹ Of course, not everyone who hears this is expected to have the same level of knowledge, so as to be able to confirm Paul's argument immediately. Perhaps Stanley is right about this when he talks about a 'typology' of Paul's implied readers, cf. Stanley, *Arguing with Scripture*, 68-69. However, Paul's audience would at least be able to follow his argument by tentatively accepting the crucial point in his summary of the historical narratives. At least some familiarity with the Abraham account among some of the readers can reasonably be assumed, and they can be expected to confirm the point of Paul's argument (the order of the events) by checking the texts if necessary. If they do not know and do not check, they are so much the poorer.

‘walk in the footprints’ of his faith (Rom 4:12). Consequently, the faith of Abraham makes it possible for him to be the father even of the Gentiles, and for them to be heirs of the world, which God promised to Abraham and his seed (Rom 4:13, 16). For Paul, the lineage of Abraham is not contingent on whether those who come after him are Jews or Gentiles, but whether they are of faith, like Abraham. In that sense, the narrative of Abraham is continued into Paul’s generation, not only because of the faith that they share, but also in view of the continuing narrative of God’s promise to Abraham, and its fulfilment among those who come after him.

Third, in his concluding exhortation in Rom 4:22-25, Paul tells his readers that the experiences of Abraham were not recorded for his sake only, but for ours as well, to whom [righteousness] is ‘about to be reckoned’ (μέλλει λογίζεσθαι).²⁸⁰ Thus, as Cranfield says, it ‘explains the relevance of Abraham’s story to Paul and those to whom he is writing: to them too faith—their faith—is to be reckoned for righteousness’.²⁸¹ The narrative of Abraham demands a personal response—do they believe like Abraham and thus be counted among the righteous, instead of relying on their obedience to the law?

For Paul, the historical account of Abraham not only shows that righteousness comes by faith and not by works of the law; it also shows that the promise given through Abraham is inherited, not by those who physically descend from him, but by those who share in his faith, regardless of whether they are Jews or

²⁸⁰ I have two comments: (1) The most straightforward view would be to take μέλλει λογίζεσθαι as a reference to the believer’s justification (i.e. being made righteous) as something that is about to happen, including having a future judgment in view, cf. Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 240; Cranfield, *Romans*, 1:250. However, in my view, the use of μέλλει suggests that this act of being made righteous is much more immediate than any eschatological hope would portend; and (2) while Cranfield’s explanation (that the use of the present indicative μέλλει with the present passive infinitive λογίζεσθαι means that the act of being made righteous has to take place in accordance to divine decision) seems to be based more on theological considerations than on grammatical construction, it does explain why Paul could speak of the believer’s justification as something that has already happened, elsewhere in Romans (e.g. Rom 5:1, 9).

²⁸¹ Cranfield, *Romans*, 1:250.

Gentiles. Thus, a new re-reading of the life of Abraham as contained in the Genesis account would prompt a basic re-examination of our assumptions about faith and law in the light of the righteousness of God that is revealed through the gospel of Christ. The story of Abraham only records the giving of God's promise; the fulfilment of that promise is a narrative that continues into Paul's day. Hence the narrative is told, not only for the sake of Abraham, but also for our sake, to whom God will credit faith as righteousness if we believe that he delivered Christ to death and raised him to life on our account (Rom 4:24-25).

2.4 Does Paul Have the Offering of Isaac in View in Romans 4:20?

2.4.1 Introduction

The aim of this section is to present the possibility that Paul is referring to the offering of Isaac in Gen 22:1-18, when he says that Abraham, having being strengthened in his faith, 'gave glory to God' (Rom 4:20). Based on an initial reading of the text, it would appear that Paul is referring to nothing more than Abraham's confidence in God's promise that a son would be born, even though he and Sarah were essentially 'dead' in their bodies (i.e. being long past their child-bearing age, Rom 4:19). Thus, instead of doubting, Abraham was strengthened in his faith and he 'gave glory to God' (Rom 4:20).

This impression is further reinforced on taking v. 20 to be the logical antithesis of v. 19,²⁸² contrasting *μὴ ἀσθενήσας τῇ πίστει* (v. 19) with *ἐνεδυναμώθη τῇ πίστει* (v. 20), without further consideration as to whether they could in fact be referring to different junctures in the historical narratives that Paul is summarising. Thus, under this line of thinking, the remark that Abraham 'was not weakened in his faith' (v. 19) refers to the same instance as him 'being strengthened in his faith and gave glory to God' (v. 20)—just as Abraham was not weakened in believing God's promise in spite of the fact that he and Sarah were already past their child-bearing age, he was at the same time strengthened in his

²⁸² Thus Käsemann, *Romans*, 124.

faith, and gave glory to God, by way of his *inward confidence* in the promise that Sarah would bear a child despite their old age.²⁸³ In reality, however, we cannot assume that vv. 19 and 20 necessarily belong to the same juncture in the flow of the Abraham account that stands behind them; seeing the logical antithesis between the two phrases in vv. 19 and 20 respectively does not require us to also think that, temporally, they refer to the same point in Abraham's story.

2.4.2 *Giving Glory to God*

The phrase, 'he gave glory to God' (δοῦς δόξαν τῷ θεῷ) in Rom 4:20 points to something more than merely *quiet confidence* in God's promise (which the foregoing view would imply). Elsewhere in our Scripture, 'giving glory to God' is often accompanied by an outward act that qualifies the remark. Thus, in Josh 7:19, Joshua tells Achan to give glory to God *by making a confession of his sin*. In 1 Sam 6:5, the Septuagint says that the Philistines were to 'give to the Lord glory' (MT: פְּבוֹדָה) *by making models of the tumours and rats* that were destroying the land, thus acknowledging that this was a punishment sent by Yahweh for keeping the ark in their territory (1 Sam 6:1-6). In Isaiah 24:14-15, 'giving glory to God' entails *shouting for joy and giving praise orally*. Other similar references may be found in Jer 13:16 and also LXX *Esdras A* 9:8;²⁸⁴ 4 Ezra 9:45; and 4 Macc 1:12.

Examples along the same lines may also be cited from the New Testament. As a negative example: In John 9:24, when the Jews told the blind man who was healed to 'give glory to God', they were in fact asking him to *testify* that Jesus was not the Christ, but a sinner (cf. vv. 22, 25). Similarly, when Acts 12:23 suggests that Herod did not 'give glory to God,' it was because he failed to *verbally deny* that he was a 'god', even though the people proclaimed he was one. In Rev 14:7, giving glory to God entails, not just *worship*, but also *obeying God's commands*

²⁸³ As Rom 4:17-18 would make clear, the essence of God's promise to Abraham is not simply that he and Sarah will have a child, but that he will be a father of many nations, and his seed shall be many (see *Section 2.4.3* below).

²⁸⁴ LXX *Esdras A* is also *3 Esdras* in the Latin Vulgate and *1 Esdras* in the English Bibles.

and *being faithful* to Jesus, as the context would indicate (cf. Rev 14:12). A similar sense is found in Rev 11:13 and 16:9.

These references suggest that 'giving glory to God' involves more than just an inward attitude of faith. Faith, if it is there, is expressed in some outward, visible action that glorifies God. In the context of Rom 4:20, the question that we should ask is, 'What did Abraham do to give glory to God after he heard God's promise of a son to be born to Sarah?'

2.4.3 *The Scope of the Narrative Summary in Romans 4:20*

If our understanding of the NS is correct, we would expect Paul to work with a certain chronological order in Rom 4:1-21, on the basis of the historical narrative he is summarising. Some variation to this chronological order is still possible; but, when that happens, it is usually with a specific literary or rhetorical purpose in mind. Hence, if Rom 4:9-18 were to contain materials derived from Gen 17:1-14 (as presented in Figure 23 earlier), we should look at the account of Abraham's life after Gen 17:1-14, to see how it would merit Paul's use of the phrase, 'he gave glory to God' in v. 20. Paul's own comments in Rom 4:18, that 'along with hope against hope' Abraham believed,²⁸⁵ also shows that he has in view the response of Abraham to God's promise that is subsequent to its reception in Gen 17:1-14. From the viewpoint of the NS, Rom 4:18 is an intricate transitional verse that requires further explication: The verse summarises the response of Abraham immediately upon the reception of the divine promise in Gen 17:1-14. Yet, it is stated that this itself is in fulfilment of prior promises given in Gen 17:5 (by way of allusion, but cf. the citation from the same verse in Rom 4:17) and Gen 15:5. Thus, while the citations and allusion in Rom 4:17-18 draw from prior texts (Gen 17:5 and 15:5), the 'point of the narrative' that is in view is just after the

²⁸⁵ Here, I take *παρ' ἐλπίδα ἐπ' ἐλπίδι* to mean that Abraham has a hope in the midst of an otherwise (humanly-speaking) hopeless situation. Schlier writes, 'Abraham glaubte entgegen jeder Hoffnung in dem Sinn, daß nichts Irdisches Hoffnung erwecken könnte', Schlier, *Römerbrief*, 133.

reception of the divine promise in Gen 17:1-14. Through **[A]** his believing, Abraham became the father of many nations, in fulfilment of **[B]** Gen 17:5, which in turn is a fulfilment of the promise given in **[C]** Gen 15:5, that his seed shall be many. The flow of the narrative in Rom 4:18 is thus backwards, represented as follows: **[C]** ← **[B]** ← **[A]**. What we are interested in here, and what Paul probably has in view in Rom 4:19-21, is the life of Abraham thereafter: **[A]** → [...]. Therefore, it is the life of Abraham after Gen 17:1-14 that is most probably in view from this point onwards in his NS.

The faith of Abraham which is stated in Rom 4:18 is further elaborated in Rom 4:19, where Paul says that it was not weakened, although Abraham considered his own body and Sarah's womb (cf. Gen 18:11) as already dead. Therefore, despite our delineation of the episodic frames, v. 18 is, logically speaking, a transitional verse that goes with v. 19. Romans 4:20, however, is quite another matter. The use of the conjunction *δέ* tells us little about the scope of the narrative material underlying vv. 18-19 and v. 20. But the statements in v. 20, 'with respect to the promise of God he was not made to waver by unbelief' and 'being strengthened in faith, he gave glory to God' are weighty expressions that suggest more than Abraham's quiet confidence in God's promise.

Considering the account of the life of Abraham from Genesis 18 onwards, we need only to take into account the chapters leading up to the beginning of Genesis 25, where the death of Abraham is reported. Of these, Genesis 19 relates to the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, and not so much Abraham's response to God's promise, while Genesis 20 is outright unflattering in its portrayal of Abraham's faith, as he deals deceitfully with Abimelech. Genesis 23 and 24, on the other hand, covers the accounts of the death of Sarah and the betrothal between Isaac and Rebekah.

Thus, among these chapters, only Genesis 18, 21 and 22 need to be seriously considered as the background material for Paul's summary in Rom 4:20. Of

these, Genesis 18 and 21 speak relatively little, if at all, about the endurance of Abraham's faith, to the extent that 'he gave glory to God'. Taking these considerations together, and juxtaposing Rom 4:20 against Genesis 18–25, only the account of Abraham's faith as portrayed in Gen 22:1-18, relating to his offer of Isaac, would fit the bill.

Furthermore, the phrase, 'the promise of God' (τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ θεοῦ) in Rom 4:20 refers not merely to the birth of a child (i.e. Isaac), but to the fact that Abraham would be the father of many nations and his seed shall be many (see Rom 4:13, 17-18). The instruction for Abraham to offer Isaac, therefore, poses a fundamental threat to this promise. This makes the intertextual connection to Genesis 22 even more tenable. Otherwise, the language of Paul in Rom 4:20-21, that 'he gave glory to God', and that 'he was also fully convinced that the one who promised is also able to do it' would be curiously strong, if it pertains only to the inward (and somewhat passive) belief that God would simply bless him with the birth of a child.

In a paper presented at Durham University in 2011, Schliesser proposed that the word διεκρίθη in Rom 4:20 does not simply mean *doubt* or *hesitate*, but *dispute*.²⁸⁶ Thus, Abraham did not dispute in unbelief (οὐ διεκρίθη τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ) but, being strengthened in faith, he gave glory to God. This view would further support my proposed interpretation, since it would make more sense to think of Abraham as (not) disputing with God when a *command* is given (as in Genesis 22), rather than a *promise* that is made (as in Genesis 17).

Seen in this light, Paul's reading of the significance of Abraham's faith in Genesis 22 is especially enlightening—it is not merely about the loss of a son, but the potential predicament posed to the fulfilment of God's promise. Genesis 22 demonstrates how Abraham, on being asked to take Isaac up to the mountain,

²⁸⁶ Benjamin Schliesser, "The Dialectics of Faith and Doubt in Paul and James," in *unpublished paper presented at NT Seminar, Department of Theology and Religion* (Durham University, 17 October 2011).

was unwavering in his faith—that God would nonetheless be able to fulfil the promise that Abraham would be the father of many nations. The writer of the *Letter to the Hebrews* amplifies Paul’s thoughts at this point, when he says that Abraham rationalised that God could raise Isaac from the dead if necessary (Heb 11:17-19). His citation from Gen 21:12 in Heb 11:18, ‘Through Isaac your seed will be called’, similarly connects Genesis 22 to the promise that Abraham will be the father of many nations. This testimony is important, since it points to a possible interpretative tradition behind these texts within the Pauline circle.

Thus, when Paul refers to God as one who makes alive the dead in Rom 4:17, it may be a *double entendre* that points to more than just the bodies of Abraham and Sarah—God could also raise Isaac from the dead and fulfil his promise to Abraham, if Abraham had indeed sacrificed Isaac as instructed. This postulation, that Paul has Genesis 22 in view, is further supported by the intertextual tradition that lies behind the passage, of which the apostle must surely be aware at the point of his writing.

2.4.4 *The Intertextual Matrix*

The rich intertextual tradition surrounding the faith-faithfulness of Abraham in Romans 4 has been noted by scholars.²⁸⁷ Therefore, it would be surprising if this intertextual background is not brought into our discussion of Rom 4:18-21, since the faith-faithfulness of Abraham is exactly what Paul has in view here. The key passages that are particularly relevant to our discussion are Sir 44:19-21; Wis 10:5; 1 Macc 2:52; Jas 2:20-24 and Heb 11:17-19.

In Sir 44:19-21, Abraham is said to have upheld the covenant in his flesh and, when tested (*πειρασμῶ*), he was found to be faithful (vv. 19-20). Because of this

²⁸⁷ For example, see Idem, *Abraham's Faith in Romans 4* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 152-220. Wilckens’ treatment of Romans 4 also suggests that Paul has the traditional discussion surrounding Gen 15:6 in the background of Romans 4, cf. Ulrich Wilckens, *Der Brief an die Römer*, vol. 1 (Zürich; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Benziger Verlag; Neukirchener Verlag, 1978), 261-62.

(διὰ τοῦτο), God promised on oath to bless the nations through his seed, multiply his descendants, and give them an inheritance ‘from sea to sea’ (v. 21). The use of the term *πειρασμῶ* makes it clear that Gen 22:1-18 is in view, where a similar word, *πειράζω*, is used to introduce the pericope (Gen 22:1)—the offering of Isaac is described as a ‘test’. This passage (Sir 44:19-21) is interesting not just because the writer understands the promise of God to Abraham (cf. Gen 12:1-3, etc.) to be the result of Abraham’s faith-faithfulness; rather, in a passage extolling Israel’s ancestors (cf. Sir 44:1), these events in the life of Abraham, and nothing else, are highlighted. The writer of Sirach, as it were, in summarising that which is praiseworthy about Abraham, focuses on Abraham’s adherence to the covenant, his faithfulness in offering Isaac, and the consequent promise of God that the nations would be blessed through his seed, that he would have many descendants, and that they shall inherit the earth (‘from sea to sea’). Abraham’s heroic rescue of Lot (Genesis 14) and his great intercession for Sodom and Gomorrah (Genesis 18) are among some of the events that are not mentioned. What Paul has in common is that in his treatment of the Abraham account in Romans 4, he highlights the same elements as that in Sir 44:19-21.

With regards to Wis 10:5, which itself is part of an NS, the flow of the historical summary makes it evident that the text refers to Abraham when it says that wisdom ‘knows the righteous one and preserved him blameless before God, and kept him strong (*ἰσχυρόν*) in the face of affection for his child’. The use of the adjective *ἰσχυρόν* is interesting because in Rom 4:20 Paul uses a synonymous verb, *ἐνδυναμώω*, when he talks about Abraham’s faith being strengthened, and ‘he gave glory to God’.²⁸⁸ The writer of Wis 10:5 sees the strengthening of Abraham in connection with his offer of Isaac, in spite of the father’s love for his child. This strengthening, naturally, also refers to the faith of Abraham being reinforced.

²⁸⁸ That the two word-groups are somewhat overlapping in meaning is evident in their use in Eph 6:10; Phi 4:13; Rev 5:12; 7:12, as well as many instances in the LXX.

In 1 Macc 2:52, we have one of the clearest statements of the connection between Gen 22:1-18 and Gen 15:6. It says, ‘Was not Abraham found faithful in testing (πειρασμῶ), and it was credited to him as righteousness?’ Here again, the use of the word πειρασμός makes it clear that the testing of Abraham in Genesis 22 is in view. To this writer, of all the examples that could be cited, it is Abraham’s offer of Isaac that comes to mind as the one event that characterises his faithfulness. The *Tendenz* is comparable to the passages that we have discussed thus far. When speaking of Abraham, his faith-faithfulness is inevitably connected with his offer of Isaac, and as a result of this demonstration of trust and obedience, he is credited with righteousness, or otherwise receives the promise that all nations will be blessed through him, and that his many descendants shall inherit the world.

James, likewise, reflects the same interpretative tradition when he asks, ‘Was not Abraham our father made righteous by works when he offered up Isaac his son on the altar?’ (Jas 2:21). Accordingly, like the writer of 1 Macc 2:52, Abraham’s offer of Isaac results in him (Abraham) being made righteous. While it is possible that James might have 1 Macc 2:52 in mind, it is not necessary to prove this direct connection in order to understand the intertextual matrix in which Paul’s exposition of the historical accounts in Romans 4 could be located.

As noted earlier, the writer of the *Letter to the Hebrews* shares a similar viewpoint as Paul, with respect to Genesis 22 in Rom 4:20. A comparison of Heb 11:8-12, 17-19 and Rom 4:17-21 reveals several points of identity between the two as far as their reading of Genesis is concerned. Both texts note that Abraham (or his body) was as good as *dead* (νεκρόω, Heb 11:12; Rom 4:19), and yet by *faith* (πίστις) he becomes the father of many nations or has many descendants (Heb 11:11-12; Rom 4:17-18), each citing a text to underscore the fulfilment of God’s promise (Gen 22:17; cf. 32:12 in Heb 11:12; Gen 17:5 and 15:5 in Rom 4:17-18). These texts are part of a web of interrelated passages pertaining to God’s promise to Abraham. *Faith* is also indicated as the attitude that accompanies

Abraham's obedience to offer Isaac as a sacrifice in Heb 11:17, as well as Rom 4:20, if my postulation is correct. Both texts use the word *δυνατός* to describe God's ability to raise the dead or to fulfil his promise (Heb 11:19; Rom 4:21), and mention this in connection with Abraham's deliberation (*λογισάμενος* in Heb 11:19; *πληροφορηθείς* in Rom 4:21). These various points of correlation between Heb 11:8-12, 17-19 and Rom 4:17-21 further enhance the plausibility that Paul has Gen 22:1-18 in mind in Rom 4:20.

2.4.5 *Closing Remarks*

Taking into consideration the texts that I have just discussed, a fairly clear picture emerges. Whenever the Second Temple writings discuss the faith of Abraham, the offer of Isaac in Genesis 22 inevitably enters the stage.²⁸⁹ If Abraham is the epitome of the faith-faithfulness of a pious Jew, then, according to these texts, it is his faithful obedience in offering his beloved son that renders concrete expression to that faith in God. Consequently, against such a backdrop, it would be reasonable to think that, when Paul dialogues with his Jewish interlocutor in Romans 4, the faith of Abraham as expressed ultimately in his offer of Isaac, in accordance to God's command, is in view. Given the strong intertextual tradition, many of his readers would have this episode at the back of their mind anyway.

3 Isaac and Ishmael (Galatians 4:21-31)

3.1 Introduction

In Gal 4:21-31, Paul uses the accounts surrounding Sarah and Hagar to argue for the incompatibility between those who are made righteous by faith through the gospel of Christ, and those who preach that believers ought also fulfil the demands of the law (of which circumcision is the capstone). That Paul tells the

²⁸⁹ The connection between the faith of Abraham and his offer of Isaac is also evident in *Jubilees*, *4QPseudo-Jubilees* (4Q225) and Philo. See Schliesser, *Abraham's Faith in Romans 4*, 152-220, esp. 178-9, 185 and 210-11.

Galatians to *hear* what the law says (v. 21, cf. Deut 6:4) in making his point is a ‘paradox’, as Mussner points out.²⁹⁰ The law is both the determinative standard for living as well as the history of salvation that contains a promise.

Scholars usually view this passage as part of Paul’s argument that begins with Gal 3:1, ending with Gal 4:31. In this larger section (Gal 3:1–4:31), Paul uses the Abraham account to argue that the blessing that is promised to Abraham comes to the Gentiles by faith through Jesus Christ (Gal 3:8, 14), and not by works of the law (e.g. Gal 3:11). Thus, in this reckoning, the account of Hagar and Sarah is also used in Gal 4:21-31 to underscore the same point. Dunn probably represents this view when he says that this passage (Gal 4:21-31) ‘could be regarded not so much as a further or independent argument, but as an illustration or additional documentation of the point already made’, perhaps after a pause in the dictation (after Gal 4:1-20), when he is in a ‘more relaxed mood’.²⁹¹ In my reading of the passage, however, I find that Paul is making quite a different point in Gal 4:21-31. This understanding of Paul’s argument in Gal 3:1–4:31 may be summarised as in Figure 24.

²⁹⁰ Franz Mussner, *Der Galaterbrief*, 2nd ed. (Freiburg; Basel; Wien: Herder, 1974), 317-18.

²⁹¹ James D. G. Dunn, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians* (London: A & C Black, 1993), 243. Burton calls it a ‘supplementary argument’, cf. Ernest DeWitt Burton, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1921), 251. Oepke recognises a new stage in the discourse when he notes that the discussion in Gal 4:21-31 should belong to Galatians 3 and probably comes to Paul’s mind later, and that this requires a new reflection on the subject. Oepke says, ‘Das setzt neues Nachdenken über den Gegenstand, vielleicht auch neue Septuagintalektüre voraus’, cf. Albrecht Oepke, *Der Brief des Paulus an die Galater*, 3rd ed. (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1973), 147.

Figure 24: Summary of Paul's Argument in Galatians 3:1–4:31

Gal 3:1-14	The promise that was made to Abraham, that 'all nations will be blessed through [him]' (i.e. Gentiles being made righteous), comes by faith through Jesus Christ and not by the law.
Gal 3:15-25	Further elaboration with regards to the purpose of the law before the coming of the seed (Jesus Christ). The coming of the law did not set aside the promise to Abraham; it was put in charge to supervise us (as παιδαγωγός, a tutor-supervisor, v. 24) until Christ comes.
Gal 3:26–4:7	Through faith in Jesus Christ, all are sons of God and co-heirs, and no longer slaves.
Gal 4:8-20	Paul pleads with the Galatians not to be enslaved by the law. They are to become like him (taking a stand against those who contradict the gospel; cf. Gal 2:11), on the basis of the affection between them, and not to be won over by those who are seeking to alienate them from Paul.
Gal 4:21-31	Using the account of Hagar and Sarah, Paul argues that there is a basic incompatibility between those who are made righteous by faith through the gospel of Christ, and those who preach that believers ought also fulfil the demands of the law. Implication: The latter are to be cast out, cf. Gal 4:30.

Therefore, from this perspective, Gal 4:8-20 is a hinge passage that changes the direction of Paul's discourse, setting Gal 4:21-31 apart from the preceding lines of argument in Gal 3:1–4:7. In Gal 3:1–4:7, the focus of Paul's discourse has been on the continuity between God's promise to Abraham and the gospel of Jesus Christ that he preaches, that the Jews and Gentiles would be made righteous by faith and not by law. Beginning with Gal 4:8-20, however, Paul begins to persuade the Galatians to distance themselves from those who are confusing them with another gospel (cf. Gal 1:6-7; 3:1), namely that, in addition to their faith, they need also to fulfil the law's requirements and be circumcised (Gal 6:12-13, cf. Gal 5:2-3, 6). This culminates in the strong imperative that is taken from Gen 21:10 (the words of Sarah, but posited as the word of Scripture itself, Gal 4:30a): 'Cast out the slave woman and her son'.

A similar conclusion is reached by G. W. Hansen, who, using insights obtained from ancient Greek epistolography, analysed Galatians as a *rebuke-request* letter.²⁹² Thus, Gal 4:21-4:31 is seen to come under the second part of the epistle, in which the apostle makes a request of the Galatians, and is quite separate from

²⁹² G. Walter Hansen, *Abraham in Galatians* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 27-54, 141-54. Longenecker also arrived at a similar conclusion, cf. Richard N. Longenecker, *Galatians* (Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1990), cv to cviii.

his discourse in the first part of the epistle (Gal 1:1-4:7). This work by Hansen supports the reading proposed above, although it should be noted that the same conclusion has been reached without recourse to any special Greek epistolary framework. Our understanding of the structure of Paul's discourse is important because it shapes our appreciation of how the NS is used in Gal 4:21-31, and the particular way in which the summary of the historical narratives is presented by the apostle.

3.2 Textual Referents and Scope of Material

Most scholars suggest a two-part development in Paul's argument in Gal 4:21-31, with the first being Gal 4:21-26, and the second being Gal 4:27-31. This is a delineation that is congenial to my reading of the passage. In the first part, Paul lays out a series of contrasts (using primarily the μέν...δέ construction) to argue for the difference between those who are under law, represented by Hagar, and those who are under promise, represented by Sarah.²⁹³ In the second part (Gal 4:27-31), Paul focuses on the relationship between the two groups, and their response to one another. Their relationship appears to be one of enmity, as Paul sees it; one persecutes the other (v. 29), while the latter is to 'cast out' the former (v. 30).

In fact, this two-part division corresponds to the two episodic frames in the NS, the first being materials based on Genesis 16–18 and Gen 21:1-2, and the second being materials taken from Genesis 21:9-10, and may be summarised as follows:

<u>Outline of Galatians 4:21-31</u>	<u>Possible Scope of Materials in NS</u>
4:21-26 Contrasts	Genesis 16–18; 21:1-2
4:27-31 Responses	Genesis 21:9-10

A more detailed presentation of the intertextual connections in these passages is shown in Figure 25 below.

²⁹³ As Dunn has noted, the incomplete symmetry between the two contrasting entities does not necessarily mean that the emphasis is on Hagar. See Dunn, *Galatians*, 244.

Figure 25: An Outline of Galatians 4:1-24 and Its Intertextual Connections

Solid underline = identical elements (between Galatians 4 and Genesis).

Dashed underline = similarities in language, themes or ideas.

[A] = allusions.

Verse References (underlined) = Specific texts in Genesis reflected in Paul's summary.

(1) Outline	(2) Galatians 4:21-31 GNT	(3) Intertextual Connections (LXX)
4:21-26 Contrasts	Gal 4:21 Λέγετέ μοι, οἱ ὑπὸ νόμον θέλοντες εἶναι, τὸν νόμον οὐκ ἀκούετε;	
	Gal 4:22 γέγραπται γὰρ ὅτι Ἀβραάμ δύο υἱοὺς ἔσχεν, ἓνα ἐκ τῆς παιδίσκης καὶ ἓνα ἐκ τῆς ἐλευθέρας.	'slave woman': <u>Gen 16:1-3</u> . 'born by a slave woman': <u>Gen 16:15</u> . 'born by a free woman' (Sarah): <u>Gen 21:1-2</u> .
	Gal 4:23 ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐκ τῆς παιδίσκης κατὰ σάρκα γεγέννηται, ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐλευθέρας δι' ἐπαγγελίας.	'according to flesh': <u>Gen 16:1-4</u> . 'through promise': <u>Gen 17:16-21; 21:1-2</u> , cf. 18:10-14.
	Gal 4:24 ἅτινά ἐστιν ἀλληγορούμενα· αὐταὶ γὰρ εἰσὶν δύο διαθήκαι, μία μὲν ἀπὸ ὄρους Σινᾶ εἰς δουλείαν γεννώσα, ἥτις ἐστὶν Ἀγάρ.	
	Gal 4:25 τὸ δὲ Ἀγάρ Σινᾶ ὄρος ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ· συστοιχεῖ δὲ τῇ νῦν Ἱερουσαλήμ, δουλεῦει γὰρ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς.	
	Gal 4:26 ἡ δὲ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐλευθέρα ἐστίν, ἥτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ ἡμῶν·	
4:27-31 Relationship and Response	Gal 4:27 γέγραπται γὰρ· εὐφράνθητι, στείρα ἢ οὐ τίκτουσα, ῥῆξον καὶ βόησον, ἢ οὐκ ᾠδίνουσα· ὅτι πολλὰ τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐρήμου μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἐχούσης τὸν ἄνδρα.	<u>Isa 54:1</u> Εὐφράνθητι, στείρα ἢ οὐ τίκτουσα, ῥῆξον καὶ βόησον, ἢ οὐκ ᾠδίνουσα, ὅτι πολλὰ τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐρήμου μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἐχούσης τὸν ἄνδρα, εἶπεν γὰρ κύριος.
	Gal 4:28 ὑμεῖς δέ, ἀδελφοί, κατὰ Ἰσαὰκ ἐπαγγελίας τέκνα ἐστέ.	
	Gal 4:29 ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τότε ὁ κατὰ σάρκα γεννηθεὶς ἐδίωκεν τὸν κατὰ πνεῦμα, οὕτως καὶ νῦν.	[A] Gen. 21:9 ἰδοῦσα δὲ Σαρρα τὸν υἱὸν Ἀγαρ τῆς Αἰγυπτίας, ὃς ἐγένετο τῷ Ἀβραάμ, παίζοντα μετὰ Ἰσαακ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτῆς.
	Gal 4:30 ἀλλὰ τί λέγει ἡ γραφή· ἔκβαλε τὴν παιδίσκην καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς· οὐ γὰρ μὴ κληρονομήσει ὁ υἱὸς τῆς παιδίσκης μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἐλευθέρας.	<u>Gen 21:10</u> καὶ εἶπεν τῷ Ἀβραάμ· Ἐκβαλε τὴν παιδίσκην ταύτην καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς· οὐ γὰρ κληρονομήσει ὁ υἱὸς τῆς παιδίσκης ταύτης μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ μου Ἰσαακ.
	Gal 4:31 διό, ἀδελφοί, οὐκ ἐσμὲν παιδίσκης τέκνα ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐλευθέρας.	

The episodic frames suggested for this NS are established by bringing together two key observations. One has to do mainly with the structure of Paul's discourse and how the NS is used, while the other has to do with how narrative elements from the original text are arranged (or rearranged) within the NS. First, it should

be noted that, corresponding to the two-part development in his argument, Paul uses a different episode in the Genesis narratives to substantiate a different point. Thus, to make the point that there are two sets of descendants born by the two women, one slave and one free, Paul uses the accounts found mainly in Genesis 16–18, and also Gen 21:1-2. Then, to argue for the relationship and response between the two groups, he uses an incident between Hagar’s son, Ishmael, and Sarah’s son, Isaac, recorded in Gen 21:9-10, to demonstrate that the two groups are at enmity and one is to cast out the other.²⁹⁴

Second, the rearrangement of the narrative elements derived from Genesis takes place within a certain boundary in Paul’s discourse. For example, materials taken from Genesis 16–8 and Gen 21:1-2 are rearranged within Gal 4:21-26, and do not cross over into Gal 4:27-31, the second part of Paul’s discourse. The convergence of these two sets of observations allows us to establish the limits of the episodic frames in Paul’s NS.

In addition, a few preliminary observations may be made regarding the three instances where an introductory formula is used to indicate that Scripture is referenced—in v. 22 (γέγραπται γὰρ ὅτι); v. 27 (γέγραπται γάρ); and v. 30 (τί λέγει ἡ γραφή). First, the introductory formula in v. 22 does not introduce an actual scriptural citation, but a summary of the historical narratives surrounding Hagar and Sarah in Genesis.²⁹⁵

²⁹⁴ Wilckens represents a common view when he says that Paul’s use of the Hagar/Sarah story in Gal 4:21-31 amounts to saying that the Jews have been rejected by God, which is contradicted in Rom 11:1 when Paul argues passionately that God has not rejected his people, cf. Wilckens, *Römer* v. 2, 184. Bell goes on to say that ‘Paul’s argument in Gal 4:21-31 has been a source of embarrassment for Christians’, cf. Richard H. Bell, *The Irrevocable Call of God* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 177. The juxtaposition of these texts, however, cannot be made simplistically, since Paul is writing on different issues. In Romans 9 he deals with the relationship between the Jews and God in the context of the history of salvation (*Heilsgeschichte*), whereas in Galatians 4 he focuses on the incompatibility between the gospel (salvation by faith) and the teaching of the Judaizers (adherence to the law). Calling the Galatians to cast these Judaizers out of their fellowship is not tantamount to saying that God has rejected Israel as his people. See Longenecker, *Galatians*, 217; Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, 332.

²⁹⁵ Longenecker, *Galatians*, 207; Jürgen Becker, Hans Conzelmann and Gerhard

Second, v. 27 contains a citation from Isa 54:1 that functions as an interpretative comment on the relationship between Hagar and Sarah. The verse is taken from a passage that speaks of the restoration of Israel, and comes closely after Isaiah's discourse on the Suffering Servant (Isa 52:13–53:12), who would bear the sins of his people and bring righteousness to them (cf. Isa 53:11). Isaiah 54:1, consequently, is seen in the context of God's promise to Abraham, where the previously barren woman would now bring forth many children.

Finally, in Gal 4:30 we have an introductory formula in the form of a question ('What does the Scripture say?'), with its ensuing words that are taken almost verbatim from Gen 21:10.

These three explicit references connect Paul's discourse to the OT historical narratives, in the same way that buoys may be used to mark a fishing net that is submerged in water. This can be said even with respect to the citation from Isa 54:1, because this prophetic text functions as an amplification of the Genesis account which is primarily in view in Gal 4:21-31. The citations are visible, but there is more to the intertextuality beneath the surface than the citations themselves. Likewise, the full weight of Paul's argument can only be appreciated if there is a familiarity with the Abraham accounts going beyond the brief citations, even if these accounts might have been previously understood from a different hermeneutical perspective.²⁹⁶

Thus, in Gal 4:21-31, there is an implicit assumption that, either Paul's readers are already conversant with the OT historical narratives surrounding Abraham (cf.

Friedrich, *Die Briefe an die Galater, Epheser, Philipper, Kolosser, Thessalonicher und Philemon*, 14th ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976), 56.

²⁹⁶ Traditionally, the Jews, based on physical lineage, would have regarded Sarah→Isaac as their forefather, while the descendants of Hagar→Ishmael would be deemed to be Gentiles. Paul, on the basis of spiritual lineage, overturns these categories in Gal 4:21-31 by identifying the descendants of Sarah→Isaac with those who are justified by faith, while those who seek to fulfil the law's requirements are identified with Hagar→Ishmael. Cf. F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle of Paul to the Galatians* (Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1982), 218-19.

Gal 3:6-14), Sarah and Hagar, or they are welcome to verify these scriptural accounts for themselves, in order to ascertain what he is saying.²⁹⁷ This is implied in the way the discourse is introduced in Gal 4:21: ‘Do you not listen to the law?’ While it does not necessarily prove that Paul presupposes an immediate familiarity with the scriptural account, it does indicate that the reader is welcome (probably, even encouraged) to consult these written texts if necessary.²⁹⁸ On the other hand, the fact that Sarah is not even named in the NS suggests that Paul assumes some familiarity with the original story on the part of his readers.

3.3 Features in the Narrative Summary

3.3.1 *Chronological Order at the Macro Level*

Our earlier discussion regarding the texts that are used by Paul in Gal 4:21-31 shows that Paul adheres to the broad chronological order of the historical narratives surrounding Hagar and Sarah (see the data presented in Figure 25). In the first part of his argument (Gal 4:21-26), Paul uses texts taken from Genesis 16–18 as well as Gen 21:1-2. In the second part of his argument (Gal 4:27-31), Paul uses the text from Gen 21:9-10. This is in keeping with similar observations previously made with respect to the NS—it generally follows the chronological order of the OT historical narratives at the macro level, as we move from one

²⁹⁷ Stanley himself observes that ‘[t]he argument of 4:21-31 presumes that the audience is familiar with the Genesis narrative about the births of Ishmael and Isaac and the ensuing tensions between their mothers, Hagar and Sarah, including the expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael into the desert’, cf. Stanley, *Arguing with Scripture*, 130.

²⁹⁸ Here, I suppose we come back to the question of how much Paul’s readers would be able to work out the intertextual connections in his writings—the citations, allusions, echoes, and summaries of historical narratives. This impinges on questions regarding the general literacy of these early Christian communities and their knowledge of Scripture, accessibility to the scriptural texts, the role of messengers, the role of teachers within the church, the activities during a church meeting, whether Paul’s letters were carefully studied after it had been read, and so on. While conclusive results still await further research, I am inclined towards the view that, based on what we know thus far, and especially given the internal evidence in Paul’s writings, Paul’s initial readers were able to understand his use of Scripture to an appreciable degree. The view that Paul could have misjudged his readers’ competence, I think, relies on weak circumstantial evidence (cf. fn. 276).

episodic frame to the next. This chronological order, however, is limited by the rearrangement of the narrative elements that is also seen at the micro level, within the episodic frame.

3.3.2 Rearrangement at the Micro Level

In Gal 4:22-23, Paul uses elements from various parts of the Genesis account surrounding Hagar and Sarah to summarise the contrast between the two. The key data (taken from our earlier table) may be presented as follows (see Figure 26).

Figure 26: Narrative Elements from Genesis 16-21 in Galatians 4:22-23

<p>Gal 4:22 γέγραπται γάρ ὅτι Ἄβραάμ δύο υἱοὺς ἔσχεν, ἓνα ἐκ τῆς παιδίσκης καὶ ἓνα ἐκ τῆς ἐλευθέρας.</p>	<p>παιδίσκης: Gen 16:1-3. 'born by a slave woman': Gen 16:15. 'born by a free woman' (Sarah): Gen 21:1-2.</p>
<p>Gal 4:23 ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐκ τῆς παιδίσκης κατὰ σάρκα γεγέννηται, ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐλευθέρας δι' ἐπαγγελίας.</p>	<p>'according to flesh': Gen 16:1-4. 'through promise': Gen 17:16-21; 21:1-2, cf. 18:10-14.</p>

Using an introductory formula to refer to the Scripture, Paul notes that Abraham has two sons, one by a slave woman, and the other by a free woman (Gal 4:22). That Hagar is the slave woman mentioned here is evident in Gal 4:24. Her identity as a slave may be culled from various portions of the Genesis narratives, but most evidently in Gen 16:1-3, which introduces her into the story. Through the devices of her mistress, Sarah, Hagar gave Abraham a son, Ishmael (Gen 16:15). The birth of Isaac by Sarah, on the other hand, is not recorded until Gen 21:1-2.

In Gal 4:23, Paul comes back to the same texts in Genesis to emphasise a different aspect of the two births. His comment that one is born of the slave woman *according to the flesh* appears to be a reference to Gen 16:1-4, where the birth of Ishmael is 'engineered' through Sarah's arrangements, as opposed to the promise of God, which is the case for Isaac. Isaac is born of the free woman *through promise*. It recalls Gen 17:16-21, where God promised that Sarah would

bear a child to Abraham despite their old age. This promise is reiterated in Gen 18:10-14, when the three superhuman visitors came to Abraham and Sarah in their tent. Thereafter, the birth of Isaac is specifically noted (twice) to be in accordance to the promise of God in Gen 21:1-2.

These, then, are the texts that supply the basic building blocks for Paul's summary in Gal 4:22-23. Rather than using them in a strictly linear way, Paul rearranges the elements within this episodic frame to emphasise a different aspect of his argument: In v. 22 it is to emphasise the status of the two mothers of Abraham's sons—one a slave woman, and the other a free woman; in v. 23 it is to emphasise the nature of the two births—one according to the flesh, the other through promise.

The next concentration of the Genesis material where a summary is evident is found in Gal 4:29-30. Paul uses the text in Gen 21:9-10 to argue for the point that those who belong to the line of promise through faith are persecuted by those who promulgate obedience to the requirements of the law (Gal 4:29), and the former are to 'cast out' the latter (Gal 4:30). In contrast to the earlier episodic frame, there is no rearrangement of the narrative elements taken from the text in Genesis. While it cannot be said to be a simple use of the text, it is nonetheless used linearly, summarising Gen 21:9 and then citing Gen 21:10. Paul's use of the word *διώκω* ('persecute') in Gal 4:29 shall be discussed later (see section 3.3.4).

3.3.3 Episodic Frames

The presence of the two episodic frames that we discerned in this NS has been covered in detail in my foregoing analyses, so I shall keep my comment to a minimum here. Paul evidently conceives the Genesis accounts surrounding Hagar and Sarah, not as a single narrative block, but as different episodic slices, which are then used at different junctures as he develops his argument (cf. section 3.2 of this chapter).

3.3.4 Rhetorical Purpose

While it is possible that Paul's opponents might have used the same Genesis accounts to argue for the need to fulfil the law and follow the rite of circumcision even for those who are justified by faith in Jesus Christ, Paul nonetheless uses them to accomplish his own rhetorical purpose in Galatians. In Gal 4:21-31, Paul's purpose is to persuade the Galatians to stand firm against those who are seeking to enslave them with the law and asking them to be circumcised (cf. Gal 5:1-2). This is characterised by his quotation from Gen 21:10 in Gal 4:30: 'Cast out the slave woman!'

In line with this rhetorical purpose, Paul shapes his summary of the Genesis accounts accordingly. In describing the attitude of Ishmael towards Isaac in Gal 4:29, Paul uses the word *διώκω* ('persecute'), whereas Gen 21:9 LXX uses a less intense word, *παίζω* ('play' or 'amuse oneself'), to describe Ishmael's action towards Isaac. The word *παίζω* can have positive or negative connotations in LXX.²⁹⁹ That Sarah did not welcome the action is evident when we observe her response, and considering the tension that had developed between the two mothers even before their children were born (cf. Gen 16:4b-6). Nonetheless, it remains unclear whether Ishmael (being 14 years old at that time) was playing with the baby in the positive or negative sense of the word; either nuance would fall within the possible meaning in the text.

²⁹⁹ Positively, it is used to translate instances where the Hebrew text depicts dancing or celebration (2 Sam 6:5, 21; 1 Chr 13:8; 15:29; Jer 38:4 and 4 Ezra 5:3), merry-making (Jer 15:17; 37:19), and children playing together (Zech 8:5). It is used in its negative sense in Jdg 16:25 (where Samson was made to 'play' [MT: *קנח*, 'to perform'] to amuse the Philistines) and 2 Sam 2:14 (prisoners made to fight one another to entertain captors). More significantly, it has been used in the context of amusing oneself by toying with animals (or humans), at the expense of the latter: Job 20:29 LXX (=41:5 EB); Sir 47:3; and perhaps Prov 26:19. In the NT, the word appears only in 1 Cor 10:7, to mean 'merry-making'.

Paul's choice of the word *διώκω* in Gal 4:29, therefore, involves an interpretative decision on Gen 21:9-10 that ties in with his discourse,³⁰⁰ although this could have been augmented by a hermeneutical tradition that interprets Ishmael's action negatively.³⁰¹ In Gal 4:27-31, after having drawn out a distinction between those who belong to the slave woman and those who belong to the free woman (Gal 4:21-26), Paul goes on to describe the relationship between the two. It is one of enmity, where the children born of slave woman (Hagar), who are those who seek to fulfil the legal requirements of the law and seek circumcision, 'persecute' those who are born of the free woman (Sarah), who have been made righteous, not through works of the law, but through faith (Gal 3:1-14). In such context, *διώκω* would emphasise the negative relationship more clearly than *παίζω*.

Another example of how the NS is shaped to accomplish Paul's rhetorical purpose is seen in how he frames the Hagar and Sarah narratives as allegorical speech (*ἀλληγορέω*) in Gal 4:24.³⁰² Against what would be the typical understanding of this passage (see fn. 296 above), Paul 'reclassifies' Hagar, the slave woman, as representative of the covenant at Mt. Sinai in 'Arabia',³⁰³ and 'the present Jerusalem', whereas, the free woman (Sarah) represents the covenant

³⁰⁰ This is especially interesting, since the Greek translator himself interpreted his Hebrew *Vorlage* when he adds the words *μετὰ Ισαακ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτῆς* into the translation. The Hebrew text has the root *קִיץ* ('laugh' or 'mock'), which has a negative slant. Paul might have been influenced by his awareness of the Hebrew version.

³⁰¹ Longenecker gives a survey of these texts that may reflect such a tradition. Cf. Longenecker, *Galatians*, 200-06.

³⁰² The word *ἀλληγορέω* is *hapax legomenon* in the GNT, and not used in the LXX. While allegory is not foreign to Jewish scriptural interpretation during the Second Temple period, Paul's use of the word here does not necessarily refer to allegorical interpretation in its technical sense, such as the approach used by Philo in Alexandria. The apostle's approach is decidedly different from that of Philo's. Here, in Gal 4:21-31, Paul apparently sees a typological significance in the historical account of Hagar and Sarah, which parallels the situation between the Galatians and those who are persuading them to observe the law's stipulations. Another example of such an approach is 1 Cor 10:1-10, which we shall examine in the next chapter. Indeed, the repeated observation that the NS usually connects the historical accounts to the present generation ('continuation into the present') suggests such a typological view of history in a general sense.

³⁰³ For a discussion of the possible linguistic link between 'Hagar' and 'Sinai' in Arabic, see Oepke, *Galater*, 150; Becker, Conzelmann and Friedrich, *Die Briefe*, 56.

of promise established through Abraham, and 'the Jerusalem above'. These correspondences are effected in order to support Paul's rhetorical purpose—to help the Galatians see that there is a distinction between them and those who were preaching circumcision.

3.3.5 *Selective Focus*

The selectivity in Paul's NS is evident once we consult the original accounts from which his summary is made. There are what I call 'gaps' in the summary of the OT historical narratives. Paul does not elaborate on the promise to Abraham (as he does in Galatians 3), although that is presupposed in the summary, when he talks about the two covenants (Gal 4:24). He does not mention the three visitors who came to Abraham and Sarah in Genesis 18, nor the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah in Genesis 19. Focused on the story of Hagar and Sarah, he skips over those materials that do not serve his rhetorical purpose. From the Hagar-Sarah narratives, he also does not mention the rivalry between the two as recorded in Gen 16:4b-6. Whether Paul's readers would be familiar with such details, and the apostle presumes it, is a separate consideration. What is significant is that, in the course of summarising these narratives for his purpose, Paul does not deem it important (or relevant) to include these details.

Instead, in a deliberate way, Paul uses just those elements found in the Genesis accounts to enable him to make the distinction between Hagar and Sarah (slave and free, each giving birth to a son), and then cast them as correspondences to those who follow the law of Moses and those who have been made righteous by faith through Jesus Christ. From this distinction, he shows how the son of one woman persecutes the other (Gal 4:29), implying a parallel relationship between the Galatians and their troublemakers. Thus, they are to be 'cast out'! Any detail that does not serve this message is left out of the summary. That is selective focus.

3.3.6 *Interpretative Elements*

The interpretative elements in the NS are present at the implicit level as well as at the explicit level. Implicitly, interpretative elements are woven into the summary through the use of selected expressions and arrangement of the elements. Earlier, I highlighted Paul's use of the word *διώκω* instead of *παίζω*, which is found in Gen 21:9 LXX that he is summarising (see section 3.3.4 of this chapter). The use of the word is an implicit interpretative element that is woven into his summary. In addition, from the account of Hagar and Sarah in Genesis, Paul develops a schematic framework that juxtaposes Hagar and Sarah in Gal 4:22-23, contrasting the two identities, which permits him, later in Gal 4:24-26, to draw theological and ethical significance out of this antithesis. This act of juxtaposing the two women in the Genesis account, I submit, is an interpretative element that is knitted into the summary.

Explicitly, the interpretative elements in the NS are found in the commentary following the presentation of the summarised material, such as that found in Gal 4:24-26. What we have here is that, following the material taken from Genesis 16–18 and Gen 21:1-2, which Paul lays out in accordance to a schematic framework that draws a distinction between the two women, Paul proceeds to give his explanation on what they represent. Hagar is the slave woman who bears a son according to flesh unto slavery, and so on; whereas, Sarah is the free woman who bears a son through promise (and, by implication, unto freedom), and so on. This explanation is an interpretative component in the NS—Paul's review of the historical narratives includes interpretative commentary that guides the reader to the point that he is making through the NS.

Similarly, the citation from Isa 54:1 in Gal 4:27 effectively functions as a commentary on the historical narrative that Paul is summarising. Although Paul does not introduce it as the words of Isaiah, the prophetic tenor of the citation can hardly be missed by those familiar with the prophet, especially Isaiah 53–

54.³⁰⁴ Before I continue with our observation that this constitutes an interpretative element in the NS, I will make some brief comments about the use of Isa 54:1 in Gal 4:27.

Following a passage that speaks of the Suffering Servant sent by God to justify his people (Isa 52:13–53:12), Isa 54:1 begins a section that contains an eschatological vision of Jerusalem's redemption. Jerusalem, the barren woman, shall shout for joy because her children will be many. Commentators have proposed that Paul connects the 'Sarah' of Genesis 16–21 with the 'Jerusalem' of Isa 54:1 by applying the rabbinic principle of *gēzêrâ sāvâ* (interpretation by verbal analogy), in that both have been understood as 'barren woman'.³⁰⁵ However, there is perhaps another more complex way in which the connection may also be understood. Sarah, not explicitly named in Galatians 4, is equated with 'Jerusalem above' (Gal 4:26)—a reference to the eschatological Jerusalem, in contrast to the 'Jerusalem now', to which Hagar corresponds (Gal 4:25). Thus, Sarah, the free woman, bears children according to promise (Gal 4:23), including the Galatians who are justified by faith ('our mother'; cf. Gal 4:26). The Galatians are the children of Sarah who represent the eschatological fulfilment of God's promise to Abraham, even in the present.³⁰⁶

Seen in that light, if the eschatological hope expressed in Isa 54:1ff is fulfilled through the mediation of the Suffering Servant (identified as the Messiah), then the children of Jerusalem in Isa 54:1 are essentially the same as the children of Sarah in Gal 4:22–26. The identification of the woman and her children in Isa

³⁰⁴ As Watson says, Isaiah 53 is 'crucially important for early Christian reflection on the death of Jesus,' cf. Watson, "Mistranslation," 215. While the data in Strack and Billerbeck's *Kommentar* should be used with caution as Sandmel has warned, there is some evidence of Isa 54:1's significance in Jewish rabbinic sources that may reflect an earlier tradition of the text's prominence, cf. H.L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, vol. 3 (München: Beck, 1926), 574–75. See also Longenecker, *Galatians*, 215; Sandmel, "Parallelomania."

³⁰⁵ Longenecker, *Galatians*, 215.

³⁰⁶ Longenecker says, 'the Galatian believers had come into the eschatological situation of already participating in that future reality, in that the promise made to Abraham was fulfilled in Christ', cf. *Ibid.*, 216.

54:1 with the free woman and her children in Gal 4:23, 26 is established through the same children that both 'women' metaphorically bear. Thus, the connection between Sarah and Isa 54:1 goes deeper, rather than hinging on the use of a catch-phrase ('barren woman').

All this reflects the complex hermeneutical moves operating within the NS, both at the implicit as well as the more explicit levels. The apostle uses words to summarise the OT historical narratives in such a way that they reinforce his argument; at the same time, within the NS, there are additional interpretative comments that guide the reader to understand how these narratives sustain the point of the present discourse.

3.3.7 *Continuation into the Present*

The continuation between the OT historical narratives that Paul summarises and his readers is manifest in a number of ways. First, the free woman (Sarah), who corresponds to the Jerusalem above, bears children that fulfil the promise made to Abraham; the Galatians are now part of that progeny, and they continue the story that begins with these OT historical narratives. Second, to say that the Galatians are 'like Isaac' (*κατὰ Ἰσαάκ*, Gal 4:28), which translates into inheriting the hostility that Ishmael harboured towards Isaac, also binds the historical narratives to the present generation in a closer connection. Third, the theme of enmity between Ishmael and Isaac (Gal 4:29) itself frames the relationship in the present generation, between those who are made righteous by faith and those who seek to adhere to the requirements of the law.³⁰⁷ These observations show that history is not understood simply as a record of the past, but as a sequence of antecedent events that continue to shape the present.

³⁰⁷ Whether Paul actually views the relationship between the Galatians and those who are troubling them as negatively as that between Ishmael and Isaac (cf. his use of the word *διώκω*) is debatable. After all, these opponents are most probably Jewish Christians, cf. John M. G. Barclay, "Mirror-Reading a Polemical Letter: Galatians as a Test Case," *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 10, no. 31 (1987): 73-93. Note also Paul's own conduct in Gal 2:11-14, which he might have desired the Galatians to imitate (cf. Gal 4:12, 5:1).

4 Isaac and Jacob (Romans 9:6-13)

4.1 Introduction

Romans 9:1-5 marks the beginning of a crucial development in Paul's presentation of the gospel.³⁰⁸ What he has preached before in this epistle (Romans 1–8) has to be reconciled with the on-going experience of the Jewish people which, to a great extent, has not embraced God's provision for its salvation by faith in Jesus Christ. How is this to make sense, since the Jews have been given unconditional promises that the descendants of Abraham will be blessed and yet, as Paul has argued, no one will be declared righteous by observing the law (Rom 3:20)? Has God abandoned his people? Has his word of promise somehow been invalidated?

Thus, after lamenting over the state of his fellow countrymen in spite of their special privileges in Rom 9:1-5, Paul turns to Scripture to show that God's word has not failed and, as an indirect outcome of his argument, implies that God's promise to Israel has in fact been encapsulated in the gospel that is preached.³⁰⁹ Although Rom 9:6 is not framed as a question (cf. vv. 14, 19 and 30), it presupposes a question that goes something like this: 'God has promised to bless Abraham and his seed, and the Jews who are given the law are Abraham's descendants; yet, you say that no one is justified by the law, but by faith in Jesus Christ, and not all (or, very few) Jews have believed. Has the word of God fallen?' To this, Paul answers: 'It is not as though the word of God has fallen' (v. 6). Using the account of the events surrounding the birth of Isaac, Paul emphasises God's election of Abraham's son (Rom 9:7-9). Undergirding this observation, of course, is the story of Isaac being designated the son whom God intended Abraham to have, and through whom he would fulfil his promise to bless Abraham and his descendants, as opposed to Ishmael.

³⁰⁸ Lohse, *Römer*, 272.

³⁰⁹ Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 539.

Next, Paul uses the account of the two children of Rebekah (Rom 9:10-13). Not only were they born of the same mother (as opposed to Isaac and Ishmael, who are born to Sarah and Hagar respectively), they were twins, conceived at the same moment in the course of a single marital act. If there is any question as to whether God's choice of Isaac over Ishmael might be due to their conception by different mothers (a point Paul utilises in Gal 4:21-31),³¹⁰ the account of God's choice of Jacob as opposed to Esau makes it clear that is had nothing to do with who their mothers were, but everything to do with God's promise and election. Therefore, contrary to those who think that vv. 7-9 and vv. 10-13 are simply two parallel arguments,³¹¹ it should be noted that vv. 10-13 are in fact a heightening of the argument that goes before.³¹²

How the historical narratives are used in Rom 9:6-13 is thus shaped by this leading literary consideration as Paul makes his argument. The point of his argument in the ensuing discussion shall be examined in more detail later (see section 4.3.4). What I shall do next is to set forth the intertextual connections between Paul's discussion and the historical narratives in the Old Testament.

³¹⁰ The difference in how the story of Isaac and Ishmael is used in Gal 4:21-31 and Rom 9:7-16 should be noted. In Gal 4:21-31 Paul emphasises the fact that Isaac is born of Sarah and Ishmael is born of Hagar, with both women representing different covenants and thus producing different offspring. Here, the maternal link is significant. In Rom 9:6-13, however, the story is used in a context where the significance of this maternal link is curtailed, if not obliterated altogether—God's election determines the lineage of Abraham and his descendants, regardless of who their mothers might be!

³¹¹ For example, Moo, *Romans*, 571. Similarly, Schlier sees Rom 9:10-13 as 'another example' (*ein anderes Beispiel*) of Scripture that demonstrates the repetition of the principle of God's election, despite noting the differences between the two, cf. Schlier, *Römerbrief*, 291-92. On the other hand, Wilckens notes the 'new accent' (*ein neuer Akzent*) in the second example, but does not say that it is a heightening of the argument, cf. Wilckens, *Römer* v. 2, 194.

³¹² As Dunn notes, *Οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καί* in v. 10 signifies 'both continuity and development of thought', Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 542. Lohse, likewise, mentions the intensification of the reasoning here, cf. Lohse, *Römer*, 274.

4.2 Textual Referents and Scope of Material

The observations made in the foregoing discussion indicate that the passage under consideration may be divided into two parts. Romans 9:6-9 deals with the birth of Isaac and Ishmael, while Rom 9:10-13 deals with the birth of Jacob and Esau. Romans 9:6a ('But it is not as if the word of God has fallen') serves as a transition to the discussion that follows, where Paul sets forth his thesis, which is then substantiated by his appeal to Scripture. This is followed by his discussion of the historical narratives surrounding Isaac and Jacob, making intertextual connections to the text of the Old Testament as summarised in the following table (see Figure 27).

Figure 27: An Outline of Romans 9:6-13 and Its Intertextual Connections

Solid underline = identical elements (between Romans 9:6-13 and Genesis).

Dashed underline = similarities in language, themes or ideas.

Verse References (underlined) = Specific texts in Genesis reflected in Paul's summary.

(1) Outline	(2) Romans 9:6-13	(3) Genesis and Other Connections
Rom 9:6-9 Isaac vs. Ishmael	Rom 9:6 Οὐχ οἶον δὲ ὅτι ἐκπέπτωκεν ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ. οὐ γὰρ πάντες οἱ ἐξ Ἰσραὴλ οὗτοι Ἰσραήλ.	
	Rom 9:7 οὐδ' ὅτι εἰσὶν σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ πάντες τέκνα, ἀλλ' ἐν <u>Ἰσαὰκ κληθήσεται σοι σπέρμα.</u>	Gen. 21:12 εἶπεν δὲ ὁ θεὸς τῷ Ἀβραάμ Μὴ σκληρὸν ἔστω τὸ ῥῆμα ἐναντίον σου περὶ τοῦ παιδίου καὶ περὶ τῆς παιδίσκης· πάντα, ὅσα ἐὰν εἴπῃ σοι Σαρρα, ἀκουε τῆς φωνῆς αὐτῆς, ὅτι ἐν <u>Ἰσαὰκ κληθήσεται σοι σπέρμα.</u>
	Rom 9:8 τοῦτ' ἔστιν, οὐ τὰ τέκνα τῆς σαρκὸς ταῦτα τέκνα τοῦ θεοῦ ἀλλὰ τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐπαγγελίας λογίζεται εἰς σπέρμα.	
	Rom 9:9 ἐπαγγελίας γὰρ ὁ λόγος οὗτος: <u>κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἐλεύσομαι καὶ ἔσται τῇ Σάρρα υἱός.</u>	Gen. 18:10 εἶπεν δὲ Ἐπαναστρέφων ἤξω πρὸς σὲ <u>κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον</u> εἰς ὥρας, <u>καὶ ἔξει υἱὸν Σαρρα</u> ἢ γυνή σου. Σαρρα δὲ ἤκουσεν πρὸς τῇ θύρᾳ τῆς σκηνῆς, οὐσα ὀπισθεν αὐτοῦ. Gen. 18:14 μὴ ἀδυνατεῖ παρὰ τῷ θεῷ ῥῆμα; εἰς <u>τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἀναστρέψω</u> πρὸς σὲ εἰς ὥρας, <u>καὶ ἔσται τῇ Σάρρα υἱός.</u>

Rom 9:10-13 Jacob vs. Esau	Rom 9:10 Οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ῥεβέκκα ἐξ ἑνὸς κοίτην ἔχουσα, Ἰσαὰκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν·	Gen 25:21, 22-24.
	Rom 9:11 μήπω γὰρ γεννηθέντων μηδὲ πραξάντων τι ἀγαθὸν ἢ φαῦλον, ἵνα ἢ κατ' ἐκλογὴν πρόθεσις τοῦ θεοῦ μένη,	
	Rom 9:12 οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ καλοῦντος, ἐρρέθη αὐτῇ ὅτι <u>ὁ μείζων</u> δουλεύσει τῷ ἐλάσσονι,	Gen. 25:23 καὶ εἶπεν κύριος αὐτῇ Δύο ἔθνη ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ σου εἰσιν, καὶ δύο λαοὶ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας σου διασταλήσονται· καὶ λαὸς λαοῦ ὑπερέξει, καὶ ὁ μείζων δουλεύσει τῷ ἐλάσσονι.
	Rom 9:13 καθὼς γέγραπται τὸν <u>Ἰακῶβ ἠγάπησα</u> , τὸν δὲ <u>Ἡσαῦ ἐμίσησα</u> .	Mal. 1:2 Ἠγάπησα ὑμᾶς, λέγει κύριος, καὶ εἶπατε Ἐν τίνι ἠγάπησας ἡμᾶς; οὐκ ἀδελφὸς ἦν Ἡσαῦ τοῦ Ἰακῶβ; λέγει κύριος· καὶ <u>ἠγάπησα τὸν Ἰακῶβ</u> , Mal. 1:3 τὸν δὲ <u>Ἡσαῦ ἐμίσησα</u> καὶ ἔταξα τὰ ὄρια αὐτοῦ εἰς ἀφανισμόν καὶ τὴν κληρονομίαν αὐτοῦ εἰς δόματα ἐρήμου.

The tabulation above shows how the OT narratives are recalled through the use of several citations, and in one place there is a clear indication of the summary of a specific text in Rom 9:10, where Paul provides an interpretative summary on the information supplied in Gen 25:21 and 25:22-24, in relation to Rebekah's conception of the children. Gen 25:21 simply supplies the information that Rebekah conceived, while 25:22-24 makes it clear that she conceived twins, which Paul's NS has in view (see the discussion earlier). Additionally, the citation from Mal 1:2-3, which caps the discussion in Rom 9:13, functions as an interpretative comment on the Genesis text that is in view.

However, there is more to the substructure in this Narrative Summary than what has been mentioned thus far, and this is discernible when we consider the presuppositions that are present in Paul's discussion of these narratives. There are narrative elements that are crucial to the discussion, which are not explicitly mentioned, but presumed by Paul to be familiar to the reader.

For example, when Paul cites from Gen 21:12 in Rom 9:7 and says, 'Through Isaac your seed will be called', the words are significant only if the selection of

Isaac entails a deliberate (and gracious) choice, and not by default. Paul assumes, therefore, the reader's awareness of the background of the narrative as recounted in Genesis 21, where Abraham finds himself in a tension of choice over Isaac and Ishmael, an issue that is forced by Sarah (cf. Gen 21:10). Without understanding this 'competition' between Isaac and Ishmael, the thrust of Paul's argument in Rom 9:7-9 would have been blunted. For, if the selection of Isaac does not also entail a corresponding 'passing over' of Ishmael, the significance of the selection would be quite inappreciable.

Nonetheless, Ishmael is not mentioned explicitly in Paul's NS; his presence is only understood by implication. It is implicit not because the case of Ishmael is unimportant to Paul's argument; indeed, Ishmael serves as a foil that enables a heightening of the focus on God's selection of Isaac.³¹³ Rather, it is implicit because Paul's readers are presumably familiar with the historical accounts. At minimum, the reader of Paul's discourse would be expected to know the events that are recorded in Gen 21:8-13, where Abraham is forced to make a choice, and God comes to him to reveal that Isaac has in fact been selected. In other words, Gen 21:8-13 would probably be the scope of narrative material that is primarily in view in Rom 9:7-8.

On the other hand, the extent of the intertextual substructure is not so clear in Rom 9:9. The citation from Gen 18:10, 14 is a conflation of two texts that are found in the account of the three visitors who came to Abraham, and who promised (not merely foretold) the birth of Isaac to Sarah in the following year. While the larger narrative context from which Gen 18:10-14 is taken could be significant, it is difficult, on the basis of the available evidence from the text in Rom 9:9, to determine the extent to which Paul may have this wider narrative setting in view. In contrast to the use of Gen 21:8-13 earlier (Rom 9:7-8), there is

³¹³ That Ishmael is important to Paul's argument here is also evident in Cranfield's exposition of this passage, cf. Cranfield, *Romans*, 474-75.

little evidence that the reader is expected to recall the underlying account here.³¹⁴ Paul only says that the Lord promised that Sarah would have a son by the following year. Nonetheless, it should be noted that, at minimum, the citation from Gen 18:10, 14 itself functions as an explanation (cf. the explanatory γάρ in Rom 9:9) that further illustrates the connection between Isaac and the divine promise introduced in Rom 9:7. So, even if it is a very ‘thin’ summary, it minimally reflects the episode in Gen 18:10-14, where the Lord gives a promise about Isaac’s birth. Significantly, the negative connotation of Sarah’s laughter in Gen 18:12 underscores the point that, just as Yahweh can bring forth descendants (seed) out of those that are barren in spite of scepticism, he can likewise bring forth salvation among the Gentiles in spite of Israel’s unbelief.

In any case, with respect to the narratives surrounding Jacob and Esau recounted in Rom 9:10-13, the presumed knowledge of the narratives is clearer. Although Paul’s Narrative Summary does not mention Esau at all, there is an implicit reference when he uses the plural in v. 11 to say that before *they* were born, and before *they* did anything good or evil, God already made his choice (cf. v. 12). In that way, both Jacob and Esau are in view. Those who read Paul’s discussion of these historical narratives are not only presumed to be substantially familiar with the accounts, they are also expected to make the right intertextual connections as they follow Paul’s discourse. Thus, in v. 10, when Paul says that Rebekah conceived ‘out of one marital act’ with Isaac, there is a presumption of familiarity with the fact that both Jacob and Esau were twins and were conceived at the *same moment* (not just in the same womb). Otherwise, the important phrase, ‘out of one marital act’, would make little sense to the reader. There is nothing remarkable in saying that a child is conceived ‘out of one marital act’, but to say that two (or more) children are conceived ‘out of one marital act’ makes the phrase especially informative!

³¹⁴ To use Hays’ language: The ‘volume’ is very faint.

Therefore, on top of the intertextual connections listed in Figure 27, it should be noted that the NS in Rom 9:6-13 operates within a framework based on the following texts in Genesis:

<u>Outline of Romans 9:6-13</u>		<u>Possible Scope of Materials in NS</u>
9:6-9	Isaac vs. Ishmael	Gen 21:8-13; Gen 18:10-14
9:10-13	Jacob vs. Esau	Gen 25:21-24

This delineation, of course, does not mean that Paul's citation from Mal 1:2-3 in Rom 9:13 should be excluded from our analysis of this NS. As stated before, the citation functions as an interpretative commentary, which provides additional support to his elucidation of the historical accounts.

4.3 Features in the Narrative Summary

4.3.1 *Chronological Order at the Macro Level*

It is quite evident that, in line with the observations for the NS in other Pauline passages that I have dealt with thus far, Paul's summary in Rom 9:6-13 is executed in chronological order, as far as the OT historical narratives are concerned. The account surrounding the birth of Isaac (and Ishmael), covered in Rom 9:7-9, is extracted from materials found in Gen 18:10-14 and 21:8-13, whereas the accounts surrounding the birth of Jacob (and Esau), summarised in Rom 9:10-13, are taken primarily from materials located in Gen 25:21-24.

4.3.2 *Rearrangement at the Micro Level*

As delineated earlier, the base text that supports Paul's summary in Rom 9:7-8 is primarily Gen 21:8-13. This is followed by another citation, a conflation of two texts taken from Gen 18:10 and 18:14, which may or may not reflect the full narrative context in Gen 18:10-14.³¹⁵ The promise of a child to be born to

³¹⁵ The point of the two citations in Rom 9:6-9 are not exactly the same. In Rom 9:7-8, Paul cites from Gen 21:12 to establish the premise that Abraham's descendants will be

Abraham and Sarah is also found in an earlier passage, Gen 17:16-19, but Paul's use of the texts from Gen 18:10, 14 is significant because the birth of Isaac is announced with a specific time frame in this latter account. In Rom 9:9, it is precisely the timing of the birth that is emphatic when Paul places the phrase *κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον* at the head of his citation (Rom 9:9).

Thus, we have here, in a summary that recapitulates the events in the life of Isaac, an earlier portion of the narrative that is recalled in a later part of the Narrative Summary. Yet, significantly, this 'rearrangement' takes place within the same episodic frame (see below). Apart from this single rearrangement of the narrative elements, the rest of the Narrative Summary appears to follow the chronological order of the OT historical narratives.

4.3.3 *Episodic Frames*

The episodic frames in this NS are well defined. The first episodic frame centres on the birth of Isaac (Rom 9:6-9) whereas the second episodic frame centres on the birth of Jacob (Rom 9:10-13). As noted earlier, the two episodic frames correspond to the two 'movements' in Paul's argument in Rom 9:6-13. Paul first uses the account surrounding the birth of Isaac in Gen 21:8-13 to argue that the seed of Abraham is *not by physical descent* (or else Ishmael and his descendants would have been included), but by God's calling through Isaac and his descendants (Rom 9:7). The citation from Gen 18:10, 14 further reinforces this theme by reiterating that the birth of Isaac takes place in the context of a divine promise. Next, Paul uses the account surrounding the birth of Jacob in Gen 25:21-24 to emphasise that it is *not by works*, but by the one who calls (Rom 9:12), that Jacob is chosen instead of Esau.

called through Isaac, whereas in Rom 9:9, the citation from Gen 18:10, 14 goes backward (in terms of its narrative order) to point out that Isaac himself was a child of divine promise, not merely of flesh.

4.3.4 Rhetorical Purpose

Paul's immediate purpose in recalling these historical narratives is to establish the precise meaning of the crucial terms, Ἰσραήλ and τέκνα / σπέρμα and, from there, to maintain that God's promise to Israel has not been nullified by the gospel. In fact, the gospel that he promised is fulfilled through the coming of his Son (cf. Rom 1:3; 3:22). Through the use of contrasts (signified by the presence of the contrastive conjunction ἀλλά) in Rom 9:6-13, albeit asymmetrically, he sets forth what these terms *mean* and *do not mean*. Not all who are born of Israel (οἱ ἐξ Ἰσραήλ) are *Israel*. In line with what is covenant terminology in Paul's use of the term Ἰσραηλίται in Rom 9:4, this second reference to *Israel* refers to those who would truly experience the covenantal blessings that God promised to Abraham and his descendants. It is here that the full meaning of Paul's lament in Rom 9:1-5 is brought to the fore—his fellow countrymen are the Israelites, and they ought to have enjoyed the blessings of the covenant, but it is on the basis of faith, not physical lineage, that these blessings are to be experienced; nonetheless his countrymen are now rejecting the gospel that would enable them to enjoy what God has promised (by making them righteous, through faith). Thus, not all who are born of Israel (physical lineage) are *Israel*, but it is by the God who calls that they are deemed as such (cf. καλέω, vv. 7, 12). As Lohse observes, this distinction has led to a 'split' in the meaning of the term *Israel*.³¹⁶ Similarly, it is not the 'children of the flesh' (τέκνα τῆς σαρκός) that are the 'children of God' (τέκνα τοῦ θεοῦ), but the 'children of promise' (τέκνα τῆς ἐπαγγελίας), who are 'reckoned as seed' (λογίζεται εἰς σπέρμα, v. 8).³¹⁷ Furthermore, as Paul goes on to show in Rom 9:10-13, this has nothing to do with anything that one has done or not done, but with 'God's purpose according to free choice' (ἡ κατ' ἐκλογὴν πρόθεσις τοῦ θεοῦ).

³¹⁶ Lohse, *Römer*, 275.

³¹⁷ The use of λογίζεται, of course, is significant in the light of its use in Romans 4. Just as righteousness is 'reckoned' without works, one is 'reckoned' as seed by grace and not by works (cf. Rom 9:12).

That this *rhetorical purpose* shapes the Narrative Summary is evident in a number of ways, ranging from the scope of material that is included in the summary (*selective focus*), to how it is being arranged (*chronological order at the macro level and re-arrangement at the micro level*), and from the *interpretative elements* that are inserted to how the *episodic frames* are structured, and so on. For example, in order to advance his thesis, Paul selects from the birth narratives of the patriarchs³¹⁸ (viz., Isaac and Jacob) and summarises what God says with respect to their future. In the case of Isaac, it is through him that the seed of Abraham shall be called (Rom 9:7); as for Jacob, it is that the older shall serve the younger (Rom 9:12). Highlighting these words of God, which figure prominently in the lives of these patriarchs even when they were babies, or even before they were born, serves Paul's discourse by underscoring the role of the divine promise in determining who God's people are, as opposed to works of obedience to the law.

Another example that may be cited is the way the material is summarised in Rom 9:10, with respect to the conception of Rebekah. The base material used for the NS, as mentioned earlier, is Gen 25:21 (conception) and 25:22-24 (twins). The tone in Gen 25:21 is rather muted, telling us that Rebekah was barren, Isaac prayed, the Lord granted his prayer, and Rebekah conceived. It then quickly becomes clear that Rebekah was expecting, not one child, but twins (25:22-24). However, in Paul's summary, this is somewhat 'dramatised' (perhaps more accurately, 'emphasised') when he says that Rebekah, 'out of one marital act had [children]' (Rom 9:8). It is both a summary as well as an interpretation of the text in Gen 25:21-24, and delivered in such a way as to emphasise the simultaneous conception of Jacob and his brother, Esau. This, of course, serves Paul's purpose in emphasising that one is selected over the other purely on the basis of God's free choice (Rom 9:11), and not on the basis of anything that they might have done, or the manner of their conception.

³¹⁸ Here, I am using the term 'birth narratives' in a broad sense, to apply to accounts that relate events that happened close to the time of the births of Isaac and Jacob, but not necessarily the account of their actual births.

There are many other examples that can be cited—our limited space simply does not allow us to exhaustively discuss them all. At the same time, the influence of the rhetorical purpose in shaping the NS will also be noted in my discussion of the other features in the NS, so I shall not cite further examples.

4.3.5 *Selective Focus*

The Narrative Summary is highly selective in terms of the scope of the narrative being included in the recapitulation. Despite the observation earlier that there are details in these historical accounts that Paul's readers are presumed to already know in order to understand his discourse clearly, these are nonetheless left largely implicit in the summary. Thus, while the choice between Isaac and Ishmael, and between Jacob and Esau, plays a significant role in Paul's argument, Ishmael and Esau are not explicitly noted in the summary. Their presence, on the other hand, is clearly implied in the NS, in such a way as to assume that the reader would, as a matter of course, supply the requisite details. In other words, the technique of the Narrative Summary involves making use of the reader's knowledge of the OT historical narratives, and the selective focus is part of that feature.

Additionally, the level of detail covered in each episodic frame is kept to a minimum, concentrating only on information that serves the purpose of the discourse. At the same time, there are details in the base text that are amplified in the summary, simply because doing so would further the point of the NS. Thus, when speaking of Rebekah's conception in Rom 9:10, Paul does not mention anything about her initial barrenness, and how her children were conceived as a result of God's answer to Isaac's prayer. These details are not pertinent to the point that he is making. Yet, Paul expands on the manner of Rebekah's conception of the children, saying that it was done 'out of one marital act'. The original text in Gen 25:21 LXX only says that 'Rebekah his (Isaac's) wife received

in the womb'. Selective focus is at work when some details are left out and others are magnified in the NS, precisely because it is a literary device that must serve a rhetorical purpose in the discourse. In the context of Paul's discourse, the use of the Rebekah-Jacob material serves to highlight the sovereign, gracious choice of God as opposed to man's progeny or deeds (Rom 9:11-12). Thus, God's answer to Isaac's prayer with regards to Rebekah's barrenness (Gen 25:21a) are not as germane as the fact that both Jacob and Esau were conceived at the same time, and God's declaration that 'the elder shall serve the younger' was given when they were still in their mother's womb (Gen 25:21b, 22-24). Details like the stirring of the babies inside her womb (Gen 25:22a) and Rebekah seeking an answer from the Lord (Gen 25:22b) are non-essential details that are completely bypassed in the summary.

Similar observations may be made with respect to the words of God just after the birth of Isaac (Gen 21:12 in Rom 9:7) and the throwback to the earlier promise about his birth to Sarah (Gen 18:10, 14 in Rom 9:9). In these instances, details pertinent to Paul's purpose are included or expanded (e.g. Rom 9:8 being an expansion of the meaning of the text summarised in Rom 9:7), while those that are not to the point (e.g. the laughter of Sarah on hearing the news of her impending pregnancy in Gen 18:12) are not included. Since the mention of God's choosing of Isaac (Rom 9:7) also implies the operation of divine election that bypasses others (in our case, Ishmael),³¹⁹ it is interesting that Paul allows the latter to remain implicit in his summary. On the one hand, it reveals his assumption that his readers would fill in the gaps. On the other hand, it points us to the finer points of a Narrative Summary. The Narrative Summary is not a simple exercise in précis writing, but a complex literary technique that selects from the base material and uses both the explicit as well as implicit modes to communicate a point. At the same time, the reader is not assumed to be passive; he is expected to understand the point of the summary because he knows enough

³¹⁹ In this regard, see our discussion earlier, in *Section 3.2*.

of the historical narratives to complete the picture.³²⁰

4.3.6 *Interpretative Elements*

Paul inserts interpretative elements into his NS in many places. For example, before citing from Gen 21:12 in Rom 9:7, he says, ‘Neither are the seed of Abraham all children’. This is followed by the citation from Gen 21:12, which says, ‘but through Isaac your seed will be called’. Paul’s remark, which goes before the citation, is an interpretative gloss that draws out the implications of the text he cites. In its context, Gen 21:12 contains Yahweh’s assurance to Abraham that he should go ahead and do what Sarah asked of him—to send Hagar and Ishmael away—because it is through Isaac that his (Abraham’s) seed will be called. Of course, if that is the case, then, conversely, not all of Abraham’s children are seed, but only those who are called through Isaac. That is Paul’s conclusion; and his interpretation of the text is inserted into his summary.

A similar observation may be made with regard to the comment that follows in Rom 9:8, when Paul asserts demonstratively (τοῦτ’ ἔστιν) that ‘it is not the children of the flesh that are children of God, but it is the children of the promise that are reckoned as seed’. This is an extension of the conclusion reached on his reading of Gen 21:12 earlier, and the logic leading to it is quite clear: Just as not all (his) children are Abraham’s seed,³²¹ but only those who are called through Isaac, it is consequently true that not all children of the flesh are children of God, but it is the children of the promise that are reckoned as seed. What we have here is essentially the same principle in both statements, but the implications have been widened in the second iteration.

³²⁰ Here, we must avoid the two extremes of (1) assuming that all the readers are expected to know the OT historical narratives *intimately*, or (2) thinking that only very, very few of Paul’s readers are conversant enough to pick up the subtleties of Paul’s intertextual references.

³²¹ See Dunn’s discussion whether either τέκνα or σπέρμα is to be taken in the more restrictive sense, Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 540.

Further interpretative intervention can be seen when we compare Paul's comments in Rom 9:8 with the citation from Gen 18:10, 14 in Rom 9:10. In their context, Gen 18:10, 14 present God's promise to Abraham that Sarah would bear a son a year from thence, which follows through from the promise given in Gen 17:16. Dunn observes that Paul removes that temporal restriction of the original text by leaving out the words εἰς ὄρατος in his citation, thus giving it an eschatological overtone.³²² Just as significant however, is Paul's generalisation of these words, containing God's specific promise of the birth of Isaac to Sarah (cited in Rom 9:9), to apply to those who are called and 'reckoned as seed' (Rom 9:8), thereby locating it in the framework of salvation-history.

4.3.7 Continuation into the Present

Like the Narrative Summaries previously examined, this NS is told as a story that continues into the present. It is not just that the NS has a point to its story that has relevance for those who live in the current generation. Rather, the story in the historical narratives is seen to be an on-going drama that leads up to the present, and its unfolding story is now enacted by those in Paul's generation. When Paul says that 'not all who are born of Israel is Israel' at the beginning of his answer (Rom 9:6b), it immediately extends the storyline from the historical narratives into the present.

This can be seen, for example, in Dunn's observation that Paul removes the temporal elements in the original narrative to locate the story of the birth of Isaac in the context of salvation-history (cf. Gen 18:10, 14 in Rom 9:9).³²³ By doing so, the historical narrative surrounding the birth of Isaac is now seen as the beginning of a story that is continued by those who come after him, those who are called to be seed to inherit the blessing that was promised to Abraham and his descendants. Paul's 'generalisation' of the promise given in the context of the birth of Isaac (Rom 9:9), to extend to those who are 'the children of the promise'

³²² *Ibid.*, 541.

³²³ *Ibid.*

(Rom 9:8) also achieves a similar effect, since ‘the children of the promise’ include those who believe in the gospel.³²⁴ In addition, the phrase ἵνα ἡ κατ’ ἐκλογὴν πρόθεσις τοῦ θεοῦ μένη in v.11 also indicates that the principle of God’s election continues not only in the story of Isaac and Ishmael, but also in Jacob and Esau, and so on.³²⁵ It is a principle that ‘remains’ to this day, in the present generation.

³²⁴ Note the connection between Rom 9:7-9 and Romans 4, cf. *Ibid.*

³²⁵ Schlier, *Römerbrief*, 292-93.

CHAPTER 5

PAUL'S NARRATIVE SUMMARIES (B)

1 Overview

I continue my examination of Paul's use of the Narrative Summary by looking at the remaining four passages selected from the epistles of Paul, using the same framework established in Chapter 3. In 1 Cor 10:1-13, Paul's summary of the Exodus experience involves the use of narrative elements drawn from a wide narrative scope in the Old Testament, and woven into a single episodic frame.

In addition, Romans 9:4-5, interestingly, is but a list of key terms that Paul uses to depict the special privileges that accrue from the Israelites' position as God's people. As we shall demonstrate, this list of key terms is in effect a highly abbreviated summary of what the OT describes about the nation of Israel.

In the previous chapter, we saw how Paul's summary of the OT historical narratives involved the use of multiple episodic frames that accompanied the development of his argument. It is interesting that in the following passages we will encounter instances where the Narrative Summary comprises only a single episodic frame, even though the OT material that undergirds the summary may be quite substantial.

2 The Exodus Experience (1 Corinthians 10:1-13)

2.1 Introduction

In 1 Cor 8:1, Paul begins his discourse on the issue of food offered to idols, in reply to questions raised by the believers at Corinth (cf. 1 Cor 7:1, 25; 8:4; 12:1; 16:1, 12). Since 1 Cor 10:1-22 appears to be taking a position that is significantly different from 1 Cor 8:1-13 and 10:23-11:1, the question arises as to whether it is still plausible for 1 Cor 8:1-11:1 to be treated as a single unit in the discourse,

with the inclusion of 1 Corinthians 9 as part of Paul’s argumentation, rather than seen as a digression.³²⁶ This is because while Paul’s ‘defence of his rights as an apostle’ in 1 Corinthians 9 may appear to be incompatible with the flow of his argument in 1 Corinthians 8–10 at first sight, an integral reading is nonetheless possible—in 1 Cor 9:1-27 the apostle is essentially using his personal example to encourage the Corinthians to restrain their own freedom (or ‘rights’, ἐξουσία) for the sake of the gospel, even if defending his means of financial support could also be a secondary issue that he addresses.³²⁷ Indeed, it may be said that Paul is not defending his status as an apostle *per se*, but establishing the point in order to support his broader argument of not exercising one’s rights, for the sake of the gospel, even if there were to be some hint of his opponents’ accusation in 1 Cor 9:1-3 that somehow he is in the ministry to accrue personal benefits (an issue that he certainly takes up in 2 Corinthians). My proposed understanding of Paul’s argument in 1 Corinthians 8–10 may be summarised as follows (see Figure 28).

Figure 28: Summary of Paul’s Argument in 1 Corinthians 8:1–11:1

1 Cor 8:1-3	Paul begins his discourse on eating food sacrificed to idols (v. 1a; cf. v. 4) by cautioning against anyone who thinks he knows something, when in fact he may not have the necessary knowledge, although all do possess (some) knowledge. Knowledge puffs up, but love builds up (v. 1b; cf. 10:24).
1 Cor 8:4-7	An idol is nothing, and there is only one God, the Father, and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom all things came into being (vv. 4-6). However, not everyone knows that an idol is nothing, and some with a weak conscience may eat such food, and their conscience is troubled by the thought that the food has been sacrificed to idols (v. 7).

³²⁶ Among those who view it as a digression are Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 353-55, 357; Stanley, *Arguing with Scripture*, 85. Those who view it as an integral part of Paul’s discourse on food offered to idols include E. Coxe Still, III, "Paul's Aims regarding εἰδωλόθυτα: A New Proposal for Interpreting 1 Corinthians 8:1-11:1," *Novum Testamentum* 44, no. 4 (2002); Peter D. Gooch, *Dangerous Food* (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1993), 50; Archibald Robertson and Alfred Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1914), 171.

³²⁷ Thus, Hays thinks that Paul is killing two birds with one stone in 1 Corinthians 9, cf. Richard B. Hays, *First Corinthians* (Louisville: John Knox Press, 1997), 146.

1 Cor 8:8-13	Food does not change our standing with God in anyway (v. 8), but the 'strong' need to be careful not to be a stumbling block (v. 9). Those with a weak conscience may be emboldened to eat food offered to idols if they see the 'strong' eating food in an idol's temple (v. 10), and they are destroyed as a result of the knowledge which the 'strong' possess, but they themselves do not (v. 11). Since wounding the conscience of a weak brother amounts to sinning against Christ (v. 12), it would be better not to eat the meat at all (v. 13).
1 Cor 9:1-6	Paul asserts his status as an apostle (vv. 1-2). To those who may judge him, Paul's defence is that as an apostle he is entitled to certain rights: to food and drink, and to taking a wife, just like the other apostles and the Lord's brothers, as well as Peter (vv. 3-6).
1 Cor 9:7-12a	Furthermore, both from the human point of view and from the point of view of the law of Moses, Paul and his companions have the right to expect support from those who have come to faith through their ministry.
1 Cor 9:12b-18	Yet, Paul has not used this right (vv. 12b, 15), so that the gospel would not be hindered (v. 12c), and that it may be offered free of charge (v. 18).
1 Cor 9:19-27	It is Paul's conviction to be all things to all men, so that as many as possible could be saved through the gospel (vv. 19, 22b). This includes becoming weak to those who are weak (vv. 22a). For that reason, Paul disciplines himself so that in preaching the gospel he himself does not become disqualified (vv. 24-27).
1 Cor 10:1-13	The experience of the forefathers ³²⁸ in the wilderness (vv. 1-10) serves as an example and a warning to the Corinthians to be careful when they think they are standing firm, lest they fall (vv. 11-12). They are to keep themselves from the sins of idolatry and sexual immorality, which their forefathers had failed to do and were punished (vv. 6-8).
1 Cor 10:14-22	Just as taking the wine and bread is fellowship in the blood and body of Christ (vv. 16-17), and just as the people of Israel who eat the sacrifices (at the temple in Jerusalem) ³²⁹ are in fellowship of the altar (v. 18), eating the pagan sacrifices (at the temple) would amount to fellowship with demons, even though the sacrifices and the idols themselves are nothing (vv. 19-20).
1 Cor 10:23-11:1	Everything is permissible, but not everything builds up others (vv. 23-24, cf. 8:1). The Corinthians are free to eat anything sold in the meat market or served by their hosts without raising questions of conscience (vv. 25-27), but for the sake of others they should not eat food that is identified as having been sacrificed to idols (vv. 28-29), so that they would not be blamed for the food, for which they have given thanks (v. 30). The Corinthians are to follow the example of Paul, just as he follows the example of Christ (11:1).

The relationship between 1 Cor 8:1-13 and 1 Cor 10:1-22 is that Paul is adopting a two-stage argument in his discourse, with 1 Cor 9:1-27 being a personal example that is inserted in-between to strengthen his point that the Corinthians (those who have no problem eating food offered to idols) should exercise restraint with regards to their personal freedom (cf. 1 Cor 8:12-13), for the sake of the gospel.³³⁰ Therefore, while an idol is nothing, the Corinthians are urged to restrain

³²⁸ Literally, 'the fathers' (οἱ πατέρες).

³²⁹ The use of the present tense is noted.

³³⁰ Paul's rhetorical question in 1 Cor 10:19 ('What am I saying? Is the sacrifice anything, or is the idol anything?') links to the point which he makes in 1 Cor 8:4 ('an idol is

their rights for the sake of those who may be weak in their conscience (1 Cor 8:1-13). Here, Paul is impressing upon them the superiority of love over so-called 'knowledge' (1 Cor 8:1, 3), just as Paul also withholds exercising his rights as an apostle for the sake of the gospel (1 Cor 9:12). But 1 Cor 10:1-22 carries the discussion further. While the idol and the sacrifice in themselves are nothing, the sacrifices at the temple are made to demons, and to eat them (in that context)³³¹ is to be in fellowship with demons.³³² Thus, they are not to eat them (1 Cor 10:19-21). That is something that the Corinthians might not have known.³³³

My outline of the flow of Paul's argument, admittedly, is not bereft of problems. The analysis of his use of the NS in 1 Cor 10:1-13, however, is not materially contingent upon the resolution of these issues. What I have done is to set out the general literary context in which the NS is used, and provide a working model from which to further the discussion on Paul's use of the OT historical narratives. With that in mind, I shall now turn to the text in 1 Cor 10:1-13.

nothing in the world'), so it is unlikely that they are meant to be separate discourses. Both 1 Cor 8:9-13 and 1 Cor 10:14-22 refer to having meals in the pagan temples, while 1 Cor 8:4-8 may speak of food sacrificed to idols more generally. On the other hand, 1 Cor 10:23-30 refers to the consumption of meat or food in home settings. A similar view is advanced by Christian Wolff, *Der erste Brief des Paulus an die Korinther*, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1982), 35-36. Wolff argues against seeing 1 Cor 10:1-22 as part of the previous letter mentioned in 1 Cor 5:9.

³³¹ Since Paul apparently permits eating food that has been offered to idols (and purchased from the market) but consumed in private settings (1 Cor 10:23-30), my interpretation here is that 1 Cor 10:14-22 refers to meals taken in pagan temples where the sacrifices are served. The food itself is not of anything (thus permitted in vv. 23-30), but the gesture of having the meal in the pagan temple, eating the sacrifice in the presence of the pagan deities, amounts to fellowship with demons. Paul's use of the words, the 'cup of demons' (ποτήριον δαιμονίων) and the 'table of demons' (τραπέζης δαιμονίων) in v. 21, in contrast to the 'cup' and 'table' of the Lord, suggests a meal taken in the context of a worship ritual, which lends support to this interpretation. The parallels between Paul's recollection of the experiences of the wilderness generation (*Würstengeneration*) and the Christian sacraments is discussed by Wolff in *ibid.*, 40-43.

³³² Gooch observes that the pagan meals taken in the pagan temples always involved religious rituals that amounts to the worship of demons, cf. Gooch, *Dangerous Food*, 80-83. The phrase κοινωνοὺς τῶν δαιμονίων ('fellowship with demons', v. 20) is a parallel to κοινωνία τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ (v. 15) and means 'union with the demons', *contra* Jourdan who thinks otherwise, cf. George V. Jourdan, "KOINΩΝΙΑ in I Corinthians 10:16," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 67, no. 2 (1948): 122.

³³³ This two-stage understanding of Paul's discourse is not novel, and is reflected in a number of studies, cf. Robertson and Plummer, *1 Corinthians*, 171.

2.2 Textual Referents and Scope of Material

Based on the foregoing discussion, 1 Cor 10:1-22 represents the next stage in Paul's discourse, where he advances the idea that eating food offered to idols in the temple amounts to fellowship with demons. The wilderness experience of the forefathers (1 Cor 10:1-13) is presented as an example that serves as a warning to the Corinthians (v. 6, 11), that they should be careful that they do not lapse into sin, even as they think they are standing firm in their faith (v. 12; probably, due in part to the confidence that they have in their own knowledge or wisdom). The point of this historical summary is then made clear in 1 Cor 10:14-22.

It should be noted that the Narrative Summary contains only one episodic frame, as we shall see later. What I would like to consider at this juncture is the connection between 1 Cor 10:1-13 and the OT materials from which the summary is derived. Careful examination of the intertextual connections between the NS in 1 Cor 10:1-13 and the possible base materials in the OT historical narratives reveals that the exact verbal correspondences are highly fragmentary, even though the link between the NS and the OT historical narratives at the conceptual level remains just as evident.

For example, in 1 Cor 10:3, Paul says that the forefathers all ate the same spiritual food (καὶ πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ πνευματικὸν βρῶμα ἔφαγον). This phrase has little verbal correspondence to the text in the LXX (perhaps except for the verb, ἐσθίω, 'I eat'), but it is evident that the information is obtained from texts such as Exodus 16, and Num 11:7-9. Further comparisons reveal that this feature (links between the summary and the base texts that go beyond verbal correspondences) runs throughout the NS, and is not just evident in this verse alone. I will say more about this later. At this point, however, I shall present the intertextual connections pertaining to 1 Cor 10:1-13 and the OT historical narratives, bearing in mind the observation that I have just stated.

Due to the fragmentary nature of the verbal correspondences, it is more conducive to examine the data, not by looking for verbal links between the texts (as I have done for most of the earlier specimens), but by analysing their contents, in order to establish the various OT passages from which the NS could have derived its recapitulation. This approach reflects the mostly conceptual nature of the intertextual connections for this particular NS, and explains the difference in the presentation of the data, in comparison to the format used in earlier discussions (see Figure 29).

Figure 29: 1 Corinthians 10:1-13 and Its Intertextual Connections

Solid underline = Identical elements (between 1 Corinthians 10:1-13 and Exodus-Numbers).

Dashed underline = Relevant element in 1 Cor 10:1-13 as reflected in the **Key OT Passages**.

(1) Text of 1 Cor 10:1-13	(2) Key OT Passages	(3) Other Intertextual Connections
1 Cor 10:1 Οὐ θέλω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν πάντες ὑπὸ τὴν νεφέλην ἦσαν καὶ πάντες διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης διήλθον	Ex 13:17–14:31 (crossing of the Red Sea) ³³⁴ but also Num 9:15–22; 10:11–12, 36; Deut 1:32–33. ³³⁵	Ps 65:6 (=66:6 EB); 77:13 (=78:13 EB); 104:39 (=105:39 EB).
1 Cor 10:2 καὶ πάντες εἰς τὸν Μωϋσῆν ἐβαπτίσθησαν ἐν τῇ νεφέλῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσει		
1 Cor 10:3 καὶ πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ πνευματικὸν βρῶμα ἔφαγον	Ex 16:1–36 but also Num 11:4–9, 31–34; Deut 8:3, 16. ³³⁶	Neh 9:15, 20–21; Ps 77:24–29 (=78:24–29 EB).

³³⁴ That the Israelites were led out of Egypt under a divine cloud is first mentioned in Ex 13:21–22. This text, along with Num 9:15–22; 10:11–12, 36; and Deut 1:32–33, constitutes the complex of base materials for Paul’s NS (see fn. 335 below). However, since Paul also ties this reference closely to the crossing of the Red Sea (1 Cor 10:1b), which is reflected in Ex 14:21–29, it is likely that the text in Ex 13:17–14:31 (the account of the crossing of the Red Sea) stands primarily behind Paul’s summary in 1 Cor 10:1, yet at the same time having the other instances in view. The reference to their baptism in the cloud and sea in 1 Cor 10:2 gives additional support to this proposition. Wolff shares a similar conclusion when he says that the text refers to Ex 14:16, 19, 22, and 29, cf. Wolff, *1 Korinther v. 2*, 40.

³³⁵ In most OT occurrences, the ‘cloud’ is associated with divine presence, and is frequently mentioned in connection with the ‘tent of witness’ while the Israelite congregation is stationary, as in Ex 16:10; 19:9, 13, 16; 24:15–16, 18; 33:9–10; 34:5; 40:34–38; Lev 16:2; Num 11:25; 12:5, 10; 14:10, 17:7; and Deut 31:15. In 1 Cor 10:10, however, the context suggests that Paul has in mind a more dynamic picture of the leading and protection that the ‘cloud’ provided as the Israelites moved out of Egypt. The texts cited in the table (cf. fn. 334) are those that depict the ‘cloud’ functioning in this role.

³³⁶ The provision of manna (Num 11:4–9) and quail (Num 11:31–34) are mentioned in the context of a complaint by the mixed peripheral group that came out of Egypt with the

1 Cor 10:4 καὶ πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ πνευματικὸν ἔπιον πόμα· <u>ἔπινον γὰρ ἐκ πνευματικῆς ἀκολουθούσης πέτρας, ἡ πέτρα δὲ ἦν ὁ Χριστός.</u>	Ex 17:1-7; Num 20:2-13.	Ps 77:15 (=78:15); 104:41 (=105:41 EB); 113:8 (=114:8 EB).
1 Cor 10:5 Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἐν τοῖς πλείοσιν αὐτῶν εὐδόκησεν ὁ θεός, <u>κατεστρώθησαν γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ.</u>	Num 26:64-65, with Num 14:1-38 (God's judgment, vv. 20-23, 29-33, 35 cf. vv. 2, 12, 16, 37). ³³⁷	
1 Cor 10:6 Ταῦτα δὲ τύποι ἡμῶν ἐγενήθησαν, εἰς τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἐπιθυμητὰς κακῶν, καθὼς κάκεινοι ἐπεθύμησαν.		
1 Cor 10:7 μηδὲ εἰδωλόλατραι γίνεσθε καθὼς τινες αὐτῶν, ὡσπερ γέγραπται· <u>ἐκάθισεν ὁ λαὸς φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν καὶ ἀνέστησαν παίζειν.</u>	Ex 32:6 καὶ ὀρθρίσας τῇ ἐπαύριον ἀνεβίβασεν ὀλοκαυτώματα καὶ προσήνεγκεν θυσίαν σωτηρίου, καὶ ἐκάθισεν ὁ λαὸς φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν καὶ ἀνέστησαν παίζειν.	
1 Cor 10:8 μηδὲ πορνεύωμεν, καθὼς τινες αὐτῶν ἐπόρνευσαν καὶ <u>ἔπεσαν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ εἴκοσι τρεῖς χιλιάδες.</u>	Num 25:1-9.	
1 Cor 10:9 μηδὲ ἐκπειράζωμεν τὸν Χριστόν, <u>καθὼς τινες αὐτῶν ἐπειράσαν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὄφεων ἀπώλλυντο.</u>	Num 21:4-6 with Ex 17:1-7; Num 14:22 cf. Deut 6:16; 33:8. ³³⁸	Ps 77:18 (=78:18 EB) cf. Num 11:34 and Ps 104:14 (=105:14 EB); Ps 77:41 (=78:41 EB), 77:56 (=78:56 EB); 94:9.

Israelites and their subsequent judgment by God. The context is mainly negative, whereas the context in Paul's NS is largely positive with respect to God's provision for his people in the wilderness. This suggests that the only other key passage, Exodus 16, is primarily in view in Paul's NS, with the other passages in the background.

³³⁷ Paul has in view the passing away of most of the first generation of Israelites who came out of Egypt with Moses (except for Caleb and Joshua), which is noted in Num 26:64-65, in fulfillment of God's judgment following the events that transpired in Num 14:1-38.

³³⁸ Despite a myriad of possible texts, Num 21:4-6 is evidently the primary passage, since the Israelites were killed by snakes in this instance as mentioned in Paul's NS. However, Paul's summary is informed by a more complicated web of intertextuality, as Num 21:4-6 itself does not say explicitly that the Israelites tested God. It is Ex 17:1-7 (the incident of the lack of water at Massah) which specifically mentions that the Israelites tested the Lord by complaining against him and showing a lack of faith in his providence. This sentiment is echoed in Deut 6:16 and 33:8, which refer to the same incident in Ex 17:1-7 and commented that the Israelites tested God. When Num 14:22 says that the Israelites tested the Lord 'ten times', it must have taken into consideration, not only their disobedience against God following the report of the spies in Canaan (Num 14:1-10a), but such incidences as the complaining against God in the desert of Sin (Ex 16:1-36), the making of the Golden Calf (Ex 32:1-35), and so on. On the number 'ten,' see Philip J. Budd, *Numbers* (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1984), 158. These passages (Ex 17:1-7; Num 14:22; Deut 6:16; and 33:8) function collectively in the OT historical narratives as an interpretative guide to understand the Israelites' action as a testing of God. Consequently, all the incidences where the Israelites disobeyed God (or his servant Moses) or showed a lack of faith are implied in the intertextual base underlying Paul's summary.

<p>1 Cor 10:10 μηδὲ γογγύζετε, <u>καθάπερ τινὲς αὐτῶν ἐγόγγυσαν</u></p> <p>καὶ ἀπώλοντο <u>ὑπὸ τοῦ ὀλοθρευτοῦ.</u></p>	<p>Num 16:1–17:15³³⁹ (rebellion of Korah and Reubenites; vv. 11, 41) <i>but also</i> Ex 15:24 (bitter water at Marah); Exodus 16 (manna in Desert of Sin; vv. 2-3, 7-11); 17:3 (water from rock at Massah); Num 11:1 (Taberah); Numbers 14 (complaints following the report of spies; vv. 2-4, 27, 29, 36). Num 17:11-14 (=16:46-49 EB). cf. Ex 12:23.</p>	<p>Ps 106:13-15, 25-26, 28.</p>
<p>1 Cor 10:11 ταῦτα δὲ τυπικῶς συνέβαινε ἐκείνοις, ἐγράφη δὲ πρὸς νοθεσίαν ἡμῶν, εἰς οὓς τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰῶνων κατήνηκεν.</p>		
<p>1 Cor 10:12 Ὡστε ὁ δοκῶν ἐστάναι βλέπετω μὴ πέση.</p>		
<p>1 Cor 10:13 πειρασμὸς ὑμᾶς οὐκ εἴληφεν εἰ μὴ ἀνθρώπινος· πιστὸς δὲ ὁ θεός, ὃς οὐκ ἐάσει ὑμᾶς πειρασθῆναι ὑπὲρ ὃ δύνασθε ἀλλὰ ποιήσει σὺν τῷ πειρασμῷ καὶ τὴν ἐκβασιν τοῦ δύνασθαι ὑπενεγκεῖν.</p>		

As may be observed from the table, there seems to be no particular order in which the materials from Exodus and Numbers (and Deuteronomy) are recapitulated. Much of the summarising here is done through the use of brief phrases, in relation to the base materials that are covered in the summary. In addition, materials from different portions of the narrative are sometimes brought together in a single summary statement, as can be seen from vv. 9 and 10. In v. 9, the reference to the testing of God, probably understood on the basis of passages such as Ex 16:2-3; 17:2-3, 7; 32:1-4; Num 14:22; 21:4-9, and the death through snake bites, from Num 21:5-6, are brought together and placed into one sentence. In v. 10, the people's complaining and subsequent judgment, found in Numbers 16, are connected to the work of the angel of destruction, referenced in Ex 12:23. These are just a few examples that illustrate the complexity of this NS; it is a highly-digested recapitulation of the OT historical narratives.

³³⁹ Num 16:1–17:15 LXX (and MT) = Num 16:1–50 EB

These observations tell us that: (1) Paul probably summarised from memory, and not by working directly on the specific OT texts in question, even if these historical narratives still stand behind his summary;³⁴⁰ and (2) these texts are understood as a 'whole' in the course of the summary, as evidenced in the bringing together of different parts of the texts in the narrative that illuminate each other.³⁴¹ Thus, the testing of the Lord, mentioned explicitly in Ex 17:2, also serves as a commentary on the Israelites' situation in Num 21:5-6 (cf. 1 Cor 10:9); and the destroying angel, mentioned in Ex 12:23, is also understood as the agent executing God's judgment in Num 16:49. The act of summarising, therefore, is an act of interpretation. Consequently, the rhetorical purpose behind this summary can only be attained if Paul's readers were to be somewhat familiar with the materials that are used, although the *degree* to which each individual knows the Old Testament may itself be debated.³⁴² The next step in the

³⁴⁰ This is further supported by the fact that Paul cites the number of people who died as 23,000, whereas both the Greek and Hebrew texts (and the Latin Vulgate) carry the figure 24,000. The variant reading of '24,000' in 1 Cor 10:8, which is found only in minuscule 81 (a late manuscript dated to 1044 A.D.), a few individual readings in the Vulgate, and the Harclean version of the Syriac, is probably due to a correction being made on the basis of the Hebrew (or Greek) text in Num 25:9. There is no textual variation with respect to this number in the extant witnesses to the MT and LXX. Barrett and Wolff attribute Paul's version to a lapse of memory, and a confusion with the 3,000 who died in Ex 32:28, cf. C. K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1968), 225; Wolff, *1 Korinther v. 2*, 44. See also Robertson and Plummer, *1 Corinthians*, 204-05; Hans Conzelmann, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther*, 11th ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969), 198. The practice of memorising historical narratives among the Jews during the Second Temple period is reflected in 2 Macc 2:25.

³⁴¹ The view that Paul may be working with pre-existing materials is unlikely, in view of the seamless integration between the Narrative Summary and Paul's discourse. Furthermore, Schrage notes that the material has been 'thoroughly processed' by Paul, cf. Wolfgang Schrage, *Der Erste Brief an die Korinther* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1991), 384. Wolff also points out that the language in 1 Cor 10:1-10 reveals Pauline authorship, even if it is based on traditional midrash, cf. Wolff, *1 Korinther v. 2*, 39-40.

³⁴² In his paper presented during the SBL Annual Meeting in 2006, Christopher D. Stanley noted that at least some of Paul's readers were expected to have certain familiarity with the OT materials being referenced in 1 Cor 10:1-11 [sic], cf. Christopher D. Stanley, "The Role of the Audience in the Interpretation of Paul's References to the Jewish Scriptures," in *SBL Annual Meeting* (Washington, D.C.: 2006). See also Stanley, *Arguing with Scripture*, 76. Stanley's point, nonetheless, is that Paul's audience was largely illiterate and would not appreciate his intertextual references and re-reading of Scripture, an issue which we discussed earlier (see Ch. 4 fn. 276).

investigation is to see how this NS compares with the other sample passages in our study thus far, using the established framework.

2.3 Features in the Narrative Summary

From the discussion so far, it is evident that Paul's NS in 1 Cor 10:1-13 is quite different from the other Narrative Summaries that we have examined until now. What is significant, however, is that there are fundamental features that are still common to them.

2.3.1 *Chronological Order at the Macro Level*

Careful observation of the historical narratives underlying Paul's Narrative Summary reveals that the base texts (taken from Exodus, Numbers and, to some extent, Deuteronomy) are used without any particular chronological order. Rather than following the OT historical narratives in a linear fashion, the narrative elements are often brought together from disparate incidents in these books, and regurgitated as a single piece of retelling of the experiences of Israel's forefathers. This is, of course, a strong indication that Paul may be working from his memory here, recalling materials that are highly familiar to him and his readers.

2.3.2 *Rearrangement at the Micro Level*

What I have just stated also applies here. The elements from the historical narratives on which the summary is based are rearranged and combined in ways that not only set aside the chronological order of the base narratives, but also in a manner that suggests that all the different episodes in the wilderness experience of the forefathers are now flattened and seen as a single piece of *textual montage*.³⁴³ Thus, in 1 Cor 10:9, when Paul says that the Israelites tested God

³⁴³ A *montage* refers to the technique (and result) of selecting, editing and piecing together fragmentary pieces of a picture, text or film to form a new composite whole.

(and were killed by snakes), he probably has in view more than just the incident recorded in Num 21:4-6. The notion that, to complain about their situation, about Moses' leadership or about God's handling of the situation, is to *test* God is explicitly stated in passages like Ex 17:1-7 and Num 14:22 (but not Num 21:4-6).³⁴⁴ With these passages functioning as interpretative cues, the reader of the historical narratives would understand that the Israelites 'tested' God many times by complaining against him or his servant Moses, even though it was only on one particular occasion that they were killed by snakes as a result of their complaining (Num 21:4-6). What Paul's summary probably does is that it takes into account a number of incidents in which the Israelites tested God (on one instance they were killed by snakes), compresses them into a single terse recapitulation, and tags it with the outcome of one particular incident.

Another example may be cited from 1 Cor 10:1. While the remark that the forefathers were all under the same cloud and crossed the sea together may be found specifically in Ex 13:17–14:31, Paul probably has more than just one textual reference in mind when he states that the forefathers were 'all under the same cloud'. The use of the construction πάντες...καὶ πάντες in v. 1 (and continued into vv. 2-4) points to the discrete emphasis being given to the two clauses, that *all* were under the cloud and *all* crossed the sea, thus making it possible to see each of these as individual *summary statements* that are based on a complex of intertextual references taken from the historical narratives. I mentioned texts such as Num 9:15–22; 10:11–12, 36; and Deut 1:32-33 (see fn. 334). These texts, which indicate that the forefathers were under the cloud as they moved, probably provide the intertextual base for Paul's summary in 1 Cor 10:1 (even though the crossing of the sea itself happened only once), and mentioned in one statement. Thus, in the same way, Paul also refers to their eating the same spiritual food (v. 3) and drinking from the same spiritual rock (v. 4), not just with singular episodes in mind. As indicated in Figure 29, the

³⁴⁴ The reader of the OT texts would understand the Israelites' action as a test to God on the basis of passages like Ex 17:1-7; Num 14:22; Deut 6:16; and 33:8.

forefathers' experience of partaking the food is derived not only from Ex 16:1-36, but also from texts such as Num 11:4-9, 31-34; Deut 8:3, 16; and there is more than one episode of drinking from the rock—Ex 17:1-7 and Num 20:2-13. Paul's NS probably has both these occasions in view.

The presentation of these wilderness episodes has been totally rearranged in Paul's NS, in relation to their narrative order in the OT. Instead of a chronological arrangement, what we have in 1 Cor 10:1-10 is a thematic recapitulation—the forefathers were under the same cloud, passed through the sea, ate the same spiritual food, drank from the same spiritual rock, indulged in pagan revelry, committed sexual immorality, tested God, complained (ultimately, complaining against God himself), and experienced death. Many of these incidences occurred on multiple and separate occasions, but are brought together thematically in the summary.

2.3.3 *Episodic Frame*

The two observations concerning this NS—that (1) it lacks a chronological order at the macro level and (2) the narrative elements have been rearranged (in relation to the base materials, of course)—point to the inevitable conclusion that Paul sees the whole wilderness experience of the forefathers as one episodic frame in this NS. This is further supported by the observation that 1 Cor 10:1-13 itself should be treated as one rhetorical unit.³⁴⁵ Paul's NS supports his discourse in the wider literary context of 1 Cor 10:1-22. Unlike his other summaries where multiple episodic frames are involved, this NS is used to support a single main

³⁴⁵ There is no agreement as to how 1 Cor 10:1-13 should be further sub-divided, even though most scholars would see 1 Cor 10:1-13 as one unit. Fitzmyer takes the passage as a whole, without further division. The editors of NA27 insert a break between vv. 1-5 and 6-13. Barrett takes vv. 1-11 as one segment, while vv. 12-13 constitutes another. Orr and Walther divides the passage into vv. 1-4, 5-10, and 11-15 [sic]. The NRSV and NIV allocate vv. 1-5, 6-10 and 11-13 into separate paragraphs. These differences in opinion show that while 1 Cor 10:1-13 clearly forms a rhetorical unit, any further sub-division is probably quite artificial. See Fitzmyer, *1 Corinthians*, 376-77; Barrett, *1 Corinthians*, 218-19; William F. Orr and James Arthur Walther, *1 Corinthians* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1976), 244.

argument: The forefathers all experienced the same blessings in God's redemption, but they sinned against him and suffered judgment while they were in the wilderness—the Corinthians are to take heed and not be like them, especially with regard to their indulgence in idolatry (cf. 1 Cor 10:14). There is no major 'movement' (like a new part in a musical symphony) or development to Paul's overall discourse within the NS, such as that observed with respect to the NS in Rom 4:1-25 (see Chapter 4).

2.3.4 *Rhetorical Purpose*

How the NS is shaped by its rhetorical purpose is discernible in a number of places. First of all, Paul is deliberate in showing that while the forefathers *all* (πάντες) experienced the blessings of God's redemption, including being under the cloud (v. 1a), being led through the sea together (v. 1b), being baptised *into* Moses together (v. 2), partaking of the same spiritual food (v. 3) and drinking of the same spiritual drink from the rock (which is Christ, v. 4), God was not pleased with *most of them* (τοῖς πλείοσιν αὐτῶν). The incongruity is intended, and is highlighted through the thematic arrangement in the summary. The rhetorical effect is to impress upon the Corinthians that while they may have experienced salvation by the grace of God (with vv. 2-4 paralleling their sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper),³⁴⁶ it is no guarantee that they are exempt from the temptation that would lead them to incur God's displeasure,³⁴⁷ or even assure their salvation.³⁴⁸

This ordering of the materials to achieve the desired effect carries into the latter portion of the NS, when Paul lists the various sins which the forefathers committed against God while they were in the wilderness (vv. 7-10), and in each

³⁴⁶ Orr and Walther, *1 Corinthians*, 382; Barrett, *1 Corinthians*, 221; Hays, *1 Corinthians*, 160; Fitzmyer, *1 Corinthians*, 382; Wolff, *1 Korinther v. 2*, 42-43; Adolf Schlatter, *Die Korintherbriefe*, vol. 6 (Stuttgatt: Calwer Verlag, 1962), 120.

³⁴⁷ Barrett, *1 Corinthians*, 230; Orr and Walther, *1 Corinthians*, 247.

³⁴⁸ Friedrich Lang, *Die Briefe an die Korinther*, 16th ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), 123-24.

case (except for one, the citation in v. 7) death is noted, promptly, as the consequence for their sins. The historical narratives do not present the materials in this way; it is Paul's NS that accomplishes the desired result by connecting each sin with a consequence of death, as a warning to the Corinthians, notwithstanding their relationship with God.

Furthermore, the insertion of interpretative elements, which we shall discuss later, is also governed by Paul's rhetorical purpose in the NS. For example, when he says that the forefathers were 'baptised into Moses' (εἰς τὸν Μωϋσῆν ἐβαπτίσθησαν) in v. 2, it achieves the rhetorical purpose of identifying the experience of the forefathers in the wilderness as much as possible with the current experience of the Corinthians who profess faith in Christ and are baptised in him (cf. 1 Cor 1:14-15).

2.3.5 *Selective Focus*

The highly condensed and selective nature of the summary should be evident to us by now. The range of materials accessible to the NS is extensive, covering much of the books of Exodus and Numbers, but only a small selection of this is included in Paul's summary. For example, how the Egyptians perished in the sea as they pursued the Israelites, the numerous battles that were fought in the wilderness (e.g. against the Amalekites in Ex 17:8-15), the giving of the law, and so on—these are not mentioned in Paul's NS.

On top of that, for those materials that *are* selected for inclusion into the NS, the summary is remarkably succinct. The crossing of the Red Sea is an episode of high drama in the Exodus account. However, in Paul's summary, it is simply noted with a pithy remark that 'all passed through the sea' (v. 1). I have already noted how the multiple occasions when the people ate food provided by God, when they tested God by complaining against him, and so on, are mentioned in the historical narratives; yet, in Paul's summary, they are compressed into brief,

singular statements. The highly abbreviated and selective nature of the summary points to a certain purpose in deploying the NS, and helps to accomplish the desired effect exactly because the ‘unwanted’ details are left out and not allowed to clutter the point of the summary.

2.3.6 Interpretative Elements

The insertion of interpretative elements is a critical procedure in the process of summarising the OT historical narratives, even if it were to be executed subconsciously as a matter of course. In any case, the interpretative statement by Paul in 1 Cor 10:2 is hardly unwitting. After noting that the forefathers were all under the cloud and all passed through the sea (1 Cor 10:1), Paul says that they were all baptised into Moses in the cloud and in the sea.³⁴⁹ This is, evidently, a distinctly Pauline interpretation of the Exodus event.³⁵⁰ Similarly, whatever the use of the term *πνευματικός* to describe the food and drink in 1 Cor 10:3-4a may mean, it is a hermeneutical move by Paul to bring the experiences of the forefathers in the wilderness into closer identity with the present circumstances of his addressees.³⁵¹

³⁴⁹ This does not contradict the earlier proposition that when Paul refers to the forefathers being under the cloud in v. 1, he may also have other intertextual references from Exodus, Numbers and Deuteronomy in view, just as he does with respect to the food and drink (vv. 3-4).

³⁵⁰ While Barrett says that there is ‘some evidence’ (which he does not cite) that the Jews viewed the event as some kind of baptism, he also notes that the qualifier ‘into Moses’ has no Jewish parallel, cf. Barrett, *1 Corinthians*, 221. See also Fitzmyer’s remark that it is Paul’s own formulation, cf. Fitzmyer, *1 Corinthians*, 382.

³⁵¹ The most common views are that Paul uses the term ‘spiritual’ either (1) because the food and drink were given by God, or (2) because they prefigured the elements used in the Lord’s Supper, or both; cf. Fitzmyer, *1 Corinthians*, 382; Barrett, *1 Corinthians*, 222; Orr and Walther, *1 Corinthians*, 245. My inclination is towards the former view (1), further noting that Paul is making a moral comparison here, without actually thinking that the food and drink taken by the forefathers prefigured the Eucharist meal. His purpose in vv. 1-4 is merely to align the correspondences between the two respective situations as closely as possible, so that the Corinthians would learn from the lessons provided by the example of the forefathers. Hays suggests just as much when he says that these (in vv. 1-4) are ‘metaphorical correspondences’ used by Paul to strengthen the link between the story of Israel and the Corinthians, cf. Hays, *1 Corinthians*, 160.

Another example of interpretative intervention in the NS is located in v. 4b, where Paul says that the rock from which the forefathers drank, and which followed them, was none other than Christ himself. Paul's understanding of the rock, which followed the Israelites to provide water for them in the wilderness, may be rooted in a tradition within ancient Judaism.³⁵² As Hays notes, 'the off-handed way' in which Paul refers to it also suggests that 'the tradition was already familiar with his readers'.³⁵³

Nonetheless, linking the spiritual rock to Christ is itself a Pauline intervention.³⁵⁴ The purpose is to show the Corinthians that their situation is, in reality, not very different from that of their forefathers, and that the lessons to be learnt from the experiences of the Exodus generation are of great relevance to the Corinthians. In using the appellation 'their forefathers', Paul is, of course, employing another subtle technique to bring the two entities into closer affinity with each other.

Furthermore, what I have just discussed are the more explicit interpretative elements that are inserted into the NS. There are more implicit ways in which interpretative elements are woven into the summary. An excellent example is found in 1 Cor 10:10, where Paul says that there were some who complained, and they were killed by 'the Destroyer' (τοῦ ὀλοθρευτοῦ). As presented in Figure

³⁵² Thackeray shows how the parabiblical material on the well that followed the Israelites arose (on the basis of the biblical text in Num 21:16-20) in *Tg. Onkelos*, with further expansion recorded in *Tg. Palestine* (the latter dated to c. 7th century A.D.), cf. Henry St J. Thackeray, *The Relation of St Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought* (London; New York: Macmillan, 1900), 206-07. The tradition is also recorded earlier in Pseudo-Philo (*LAB* 10.7), which dates to 70-100 A.D., cf. Fitzmyer, *1 Corinthians*, 383. See also M. R. James, *The Biblical Antiquities of Philo* (London: SPCK, 1917), 105.

³⁵³ Hays, *1 Corinthians*, 161. Cf. Conzelmann, *1 Korinther*, 194.

³⁵⁴ Among the Second Temple literature, the attribution of the provision of water to divine wisdom (*Wis. Sol.* 11:4), the identification of the rock which provided water as the wisdom of God and even God himself (Philo, *Legum Allegoriae* 2.21 cf. 2.86), the belief that a well of water accompanied the Israelites in the wilderness (Pseudo-Philo, *LAB* 10.7) and, perhaps in early Christianity, the identification of Christ as the wisdom from God (cf. 1 Cor 1:30), could have supplied the intertextual basis for Paul's identification of the spiritual rock that followed the Israelites with Christ in 1 Cor 10:4. See Hays, *1 Corinthians*, 161; Orr and Walther, *1 Corinthians*, 245; Barrett, *1 Corinthians*, 222-23; Strack and Billerbeck, *Kommentar*, 406-08.

29, the intertextual base for this part of the NS probably comprises texts like Ex 15:24; 16; 17:3; Num 11:1; 14; and 16:1–17:15 [16:1–50].

In none of these references is there any mention of this Destroyer, although the death of the Israelites as a divine punishment is certainly indicated in Num 17:11-14 [16:46-49]. There, however, the Israelites are reported to have died from a plague that God sent. Instead, it is Ex 12:23 that refers to ‘the one who destroys’ (τὸν ὀλεθρεύοντα), who struck down all the firstborn in Egypt during the last of the Ten Plagues that God dealt upon the Egyptians.³⁵⁵ What Paul does is to insert this information, which is derived from Ex 12:23, into his summary of various passages depicting the Israelites’ predicament in the wilderness (where they complained), thus revealing his interpretation of the text: the Israelites who complained did not simply ‘die’—they were killed by the same destroying angel who brought death upon all the first-born among the Egyptians.

2.3.7 Continuation into the Present

The *relevance* of the story of the forefathers in the wilderness to the Corinthians is evident in the way Paul presents his historical recapitulation. He uses the word τύπος in 1 Cor 10:6 and the related τυπικῶς in 1 Cor 10:11a to convey his intention for retelling the experiences of the forefathers to the Corinthians. This is done in order that these things would serve as ‘examples’ to them, and as a ‘warning’ or ‘admonishment’ (νουθεσία, v. 11b; cf. Eph 6:4; Tit 3:10) against repeating the same mistakes as their forefathers. These forefathers suffered divine discipline because of their transgressions against God in the wilderness, even though, like the Corinthians (cf. 1 Cor 1:4-9), they enjoyed his special providence following their redemption from Egypt. Hence, in vv. 7, 8, 9, 10, Paul’s repeated statements following each recollection of their transgression is, ‘Do not...as some of them did/were’. These hortatory statements reveal not only his purpose for the historical summary; they also show the connection that he sees between the

³⁵⁵ Lang, *Korinther*, 125.

experiences of the forefathers in the wilderness and the situation of the believers at Corinth.

The *continuity* between the Exodus generation and the Corinthians, however, is highlighted when Paul says in v. 11c that ‘the ends of the ages’ (τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰώνων) have arrived upon him and the Corinthians. The use of such language in connection with the historical recapitulation suggests that, to Paul, what God has done and what has been experienced by his people in previous generations now reaches its climax in the current generation.³⁵⁶ Their story is relevant not simply because there are lessons to be learnt from their experiences. Rather, there is a sense in which those who come after them are in some way participants in their story. Indeed, Paul sees the Christian community as the end-time fulfilment of events that are prefigured in the Old Testament.³⁵⁷ A similar view of the connection of the Exodus ‘tradition’ to the present has been argued by Keesmaat, who says, ‘The exodus was recalled as having been experienced by every Israelite in the present day. As such it became a symbol of what God had done in the past, is doing in the present and will do in the future.’³⁵⁸ From a broader perspective, the narrative that is (re)-told in the historical summary continues into the present, and the Corinthians, together with Paul, are part of the story about God’s plan through the ages.

3 The Veil of Moses (2 Corinthians 3:7-18)

3.1 Introduction

Paul’s use of the Exodus account of the veiling of Moses’ face in 2 Cor 3:7-18 is part of his discourse in defending the conduct of his ministry in preaching the

³⁵⁶ See also David E. Garland, *1 Corinthians* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2003), 465. For a discussion of the meaning of εἰς οὓς τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰώνων κατήντηκεν in v. 11c see Barrett, *1 Corinthians*, 227-28.

³⁵⁷ Schrage, *Der Erste Brief an die Korinther*, 403-04.

³⁵⁸ Keesmaat, *Paul and His Story*, 36.

gospel (2 Cor 2:14–7:4).³⁵⁹ He uses the text in Exodus to draw a distinction between the ministry of the ‘new covenant’ (3:6) that is mediated by him (and his companions) and the ministry of the ‘old covenant’ (3:14) mediated by Moses. As noted by Watson, Paul draws from the account ‘to reinforce a point about his own ministry,’ first by means of an *a fortiori* argument in 2 Cor 3:7-11 to highlight the surpassing glory of the new covenant, and then by means of a contrast between the boldness of Paul in preaching the message and the hiding of Moses’ face with a veil that conceals a fading glory in 2 Cor 3:12-18.³⁶⁰ I shall comment more about this later (see section 3.3.4 of this chapter). Now, taking this to be the two-fold argument that Paul is making through his use of the Exodus account, I shall proceed to analyse the execution of the Narrative Summary.

3.2 Textual Referents and Scope of Material

Paul’s Narrative Summary in 2 Cor 3:7-18 is derived primarily from two passages in Exodus, namely Ex 32:15-28 and Ex 34:29-35.³⁶¹ The first account narrates the occasion when Moses came down from the mountain and, with the tablets of stone containing the writing of God (32:16) in his hands, saw the Golden Calf and the dancing Israelites, presumably in the presence of the idol which they had made (32:19). In his anger, Moses smashed the stone tablets, and what ensued was a mass slaughter of the Israelites by the Levites who came to Moses’ side, resulting in the death of some 3,000 people (32:27-28). When Paul invokes this episode in 2 Cor 3:7-18, he calls it (i.e. the mediation of the law by Moses) a

³⁵⁹ The composite nature of this epistle is discussed in many of our standard commentaries, e.g. Martin, *WBC 2 Corinthians*, xl-lij; Victor P. Furnish, *II Corinthians* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1984), 30-48; Alfred Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Second Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1915), xxii-xxxvi. See also W. H. Bates, "The Integrity of II Corinthians," *New Testament Studies* 12, no. 01 (1965): 56-69.

³⁶⁰ Watson, *Judaism*, 157.

³⁶¹ My understanding of the role of Exodus 32 and 34 in 2 Cor 3:7-18 differs from that of Richard B. Hays, who says, ‘In this passage...there is no complex interplay of subtexts; the single obvious subtext is Exodus 34’, cf. Hays, *Echoes*, 132. My ensuing discussion will reveal the rather sophisticated use of the two texts (Exodus 32 and 34) by Paul, as he brings them together into one episodic frame in his Narrative Summary.

‘ministry of death’ (v. 7) and a ‘ministry of condemnation’ (v. 9). That which is meant to establish the Israelites’ status as a treasured possession and a kingdom of priests (Ex 19:5-6) has led to death and condemnation for the nation.

The second account (Ex 34:29-35) relates to the time when, after the second giving of the law written on stone tablets (Ex 34:27-28), Moses came down from the mountain (Mt. Sinai) and met with the Israelites. When the Israelites saw that the face of Moses was radiant, they were ‘afraid’ (ἐφοβήθησαν, v. 30) to come near him. Yet, the veiling of Moses’ face was not *when* he was speaking to them, but *after* he had finished doing so (v. 33). Whenever Moses went into the Lord’s presence, he removed the veil (v. 34), only to put it back again after meeting the Israelites and allowing them to see that his face was radiant (v. 35). As I shall demonstrate, Paul exploits the small details of this account to the full when using it to make comparisons with his own ministry under the new covenant. In order to facilitate our discussion, the intertextual connections between Paul’s Narrative Summary in 2 Cor 3:7-18 and the two texts in Exodus are laid out in the table below, as in previous sections.

Figure 30: 2 Corinthians 3:7-18 and Its Intertextual Connections

Dashed underline = Relevant element in 2 Cor 3:7-18 as reflected in the **Key OT Passages [in bold]**.

(1) Text of 2 Cor 3:7-18 GNT	(2) Key OT Passages	(3) Other Intertextual Connections
2 Cor 3:7 Εἰ δὲ (a) ἡ <u>διακονία τοῦ θανάτου</u> (b) <u>ἐν γράμμασιν ἐντετυπωμένη λίθοις</u> ἐγενήθη ἐν δόξῃ, ὥστε (c) <u>μὴ δύνασθαι ἀτενίσαι τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον Μωϋσεως</u> (d) <u>διὰ τὴν δόξαν τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ τὴν καταργουμένην.</u>	(a) Ex 32:19-28. (b) Ex 32:15-16. } Ex 32:15-28 (c) Ex 34:30. (d) Ex 34:35. } Ex 34:29-35	Ex 24:12; 31:18; 32:16; 34:1, 4; Deut 4:13; 5:22; 9:10; 10:4.
2 Cor 3:8 πῶς οὐχὶ μᾶλλον ἡ διακονία τοῦ πνεύματος ἔσται ἐν δόξῃ;		
2 Cor 3:9 εἰ γὰρ τῇ <u>διακονίᾳ τῆς κατακρίσεως δόξα</u> , πολλῶ μᾶλλον περισσεύει ἡ διακονία τῆς δικαιοσύνης δόξῃ.	Ex 32:19-28.	

2 Cor 3:10 καὶ γὰρ οὐ δεδόξασται τὸ δεδοξασμένον ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μέρει εἵνεκεν τῆς ὑπερβαλλούσης δόξης.		
2 Cor 3:11 εἰ γὰρ τὸ καταργούμενον διὰ δόξης, πολλῶ μᾶλλον τὸ μένον ἐν δόξῃ.	Ex 34:29-35.	
2 Cor 3:12 Ἔχοντες οὖν τοιαύτην ἐλπίδα πολλῇ παρρησίᾳ χρώμεθα.		
2 Cor 3:13 καὶ οὐ καθάπερ (a) <u>Μωϋσῆς ἐτίθει κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ</u> (b) <u>πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀτενίσαι τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ εἰς τὸ τέλος τοῦ καταργουμένου.</u>	(a) Ex 34:33. } Ex 34:29-35 (b) Ex 34:35.	
2 Cor 3:14 ἀλλὰ ἐπωρώθη τὰ νοήματα αὐτῶν. ἄχρι γὰρ τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας τὸ αὐτὸ κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναγνώσει τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης μένει, μὴ ἀνακαλυπτόμενον ὅτι ἐν Χριστῷ καταργεῖται.		Ex 34:9 cf. Ex 32:9 MT. ³⁶²
2 Cor 3:15 ἀλλ' ἕως σήμερον ἡνίκα ἂν ἀναγινώσκηται <u>Μωϋσῆς, κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν κείται</u> .	[A] Ex 34:33.	
2 Cor 3:16 ἡνίκα δὲ ἐὰν ἐπιστρέψῃ πρὸς κύριον, <u>περιαιρεῖται τὸ κάλυμμα.</u>	[A] Ex 34:34.	
2 Cor 3:17 ὁ δὲ κύριος τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν· οὐ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου, ἐλευθερία.		Isa 61:1-2.
2 Cor 3:18 ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντες <u>ἀνακεκαλυμμένῳ προσώπῳ τὴν δόξαν κυρίου</u> κατοπτριζόμενοι τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα μεταμορφούμεθα ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν καθάπερ ἀπὸ κυρίου πνεύματος.	[A] Ex 34:34.	

³⁶² Paul's comment that the Israelites were 'hardened' (ἐπωρώθη) in their minds compares with Moses' remark that the people were 'stiff-necked' (σκληροτράχηλος, translating the Hebrew עִבְרָה-הַצַּוְנָה) in Ex 34:9 LXX, referring to the people's rebelliousness in building the Golden Calf. The same Hebrew expression is also used when God spoke to Moses in Ex 32:9 MT, immediately after the Israelites built the Golden Calf, but this verse is not in the LXX. In any case, Paul is using information found in the text in Exodus to make his assessment about the attitude of the Israelites at the time when the law was given. It would be reasonable to think that those who are familiar with the Exodus account would understand his point in the context of the Golden Calf incident, which is entwined with the giving of the law at Sinai. The stubbornness of the people led to immediate judgment and death.

Earlier, I noted the two-fold argument that Paul is making with the Exodus texts in his discourse in 2 Cor 3:7-18, first in vv. 7-11 and then in vv. 12-18. As reflected in the table above, the texts from Exodus 32 and 34 are used alternately in Paul's discourse. This pattern is clearer when we condense the information further, as in the following tabulation (see Figure 31):

Figure 31: Texts from Exodus 32 and 34 Used in 2 Corinthians 3:7-18.

Text references from **Exodus 34** are in **bold** in order to facilitate comparisons.

2 Cor 3:7-18 GNT	Passages from Exodus	Note
2 Cor 3:7-11	Ex 32:15-28 Ex 34:29-35 Ex 32:19-28 Ex 34:29-35	
2 Cor 3:12-18	Ex 34:29-35 ³⁶³	

Two important observations may be made with regard to this analysis. First, the use of the two texts (from Exodus 32 and 34) in a single discussion suggests that, in Paul's view (and for this particular discourse), they constitute a single episodic frame for the purpose of his argument. Second, Paul repeatedly gleans from the same texts as he makes the two-fold argument. He makes two 'passes' through Exodus 32 and 34 for the first part of his argument in vv. 7-11, and then draws from Exodus 34 again for the second part of his argument in vv. 8-12.

Thus, while it is clear that the texts are drawn differently for each part of Paul's argument, it is at the same time evident that, for the two 'movements' in his argumentation, the same episodic frame is referenced, and this episodic frame is a combination of two texts, taken from Exodus 32 and 34 respectively. These two texts relate to two separate (albeit closely connected) events in the Exodus account, each connected with the giving of the law in stone tablets (they were given a second time after Moses smashed the first set in anger over the Golden Calf, Ex 32:19), but are now merged into one episodic frame in Paul's

³⁶³ Including allusions to Ex 34:33-34 in 2 Cor 3:15-16, 18.

recollection of the historical narratives.³⁶⁴

3.3 Features in the Narrative Summary

3.3.1 *Chronological Order at the Macro Level*

What we have here is another single episodic frame in the use of a Narrative Summary. In such a context, the feature of the chronological order at the macro level is diminished, since by definition the chronological order is discernible only when a spanning review of the historical narratives is present and multiple episodic frames are involved. There is one episodic frame, even though the texts that are covered in the summary are drawn from two distinct incidences that occurred during the Israelites' stay on Mt. Sinai. Nonetheless, as noted earlier, Paul views the two instances of the giving of the law on stone tablets as the two sides of a single event—that of the giving of the law to the Israelites through Moses, who is the mediator. This is reflected in the way the Narrative Summary is presented in his discourse, where materials from Exodus 32 and 34 are used alternately, and summarised as if they belong to the same event in the historical narratives. This merging of the two events is a contrast to the example seen in Romans 4 earlier, where Paul conscientiously exploits the chronological scheme of the historical narratives when he notes Abraham's trust in God's promise before his circumcision.

3.3.2 *Rearrangement at the Micro Level*

The alternating use of the texts extracted from Exodus 32 and 34 respectively is consistent with the observation that, within the episodic frame, narrative elements are rearranged (as opposed to a straightforward, chronological retelling) in order to advance the point of the Narrative Summary in the discourse. Thus, in 2 Cor 3:7-11, while making his *a fortiori* or *qal va-chomer* argument by drawing

³⁶⁴ As Watson observes, Paul assimilates the two accounts, and the two sets of stone tablets 'represent two sides of the single event of the giving of the law', cf. Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith*, 289.

an analogy between the glory that came with the giving of the law (a ministry that had resulted in death and condemnation) and the glory of the new covenant, Paul effectively combines the textual data from Exodus 32 and 34 as he refers to the ministry of Moses. Furthermore, this reference is made twice, in 2 Cor 3:7 and 3:9-11.

This combination (or 'conflation') of data taken from different texts in order to achieve a desired effect adds 'rhetorical value' to the resulting NS as a literary device in the discourse. In other words, the author shapes the raw materials in the course of his Narrative Summary so that it would function suitably as a literary device in advancing the point of his argument. This process of shaping and using the information afforded by the texts enables the Narrative Summary to accomplish its literary purpose. In this case, the combination of the two texts from Exodus 32 and 34 serves to highlight the ministry of the old covenant as a ministry of death. Thus, in any discourse, each Narrative Summary is a custom-made literary device, and (among other things) it entails the rearrangement of the narrative elements derived from the historical narratives, which is observed in 2 Cor 3:7-18 and elsewhere.

3.3.3 Episodic Frames

What is interesting about this NS is that, although there are essentially two aspects to Paul's argument, only one episodic frame is involved. Both parts of the argument (2 Cor 3:7-11 and 3:12-18) refer to the same event in the historical narratives, being used in the form of an NS that involves the aggregated summary of the information found in Exodus 32 as well as Exodus 34.

Closer scrutiny of the text reveals that, in 2 Cor 3:12-18, Paul is primarily extending and applying the points established in his earlier use of the Narrative Summary in 2 Cor 3:7-11, when he compares and contrasts the ministry of the old covenant under Moses and that of the new covenant under him and his

companions who preach the gospel (cf. 2 Cor 2:14-17). In this regard, the use of the conjunction οὐν in v. 12 is particularly significant, indicating a prior deliberation that leads to the current line of thinking. Thus, if the ministry of death came in glory (v. 7), and the ministry of the Spirit (viz. the new covenant) is even more glorious (v. 8), then Paul and his companions would have boldness in their proclamation of the gospel, unlike Moses who had to veil his face because of the fading glory (vv. 12-13).³⁶⁵ And, if the Israelites were not able to look steadfastly at the face of Moses because it was veiled (v. 7, repeated in v. 13), those who are trying to read ‘Moses’ today are likewise blocked by the veil that is in their hearts (v. 15), which leads to the hardening of their minds (going back to v. 14a). Consequently, while there is a development of the argument from 2 Cor 3:7-11 to 3:12-18, only one episodic frame is involved. This differs from some of the examples examined earlier, where Paul uses different episodic frames derived from the historical narratives (usually in chronological order) to develop different parts of his arguments. The episodic frame does not always correspond to the different ‘movements’ in a discourse in a simplistic and straightforward manner.

3.3.4 *Rhetorical Purpose*

Paul’s fundamental purpose in his use of the Narrative Summary is to contrast his ministry under the new covenant against that of Moses under the old covenant. This is evident in the contrastive terminologies used in his discourse, which may be set forth as shown in the table below. In order to arrive at a more complete picture, I include his discussion beginning at 2 Cor 3:1 (see Figure 32).

³⁶⁵ Bultmann describes the glory of the new covenant as an eschatological phenomenon that is experienced by every believer in the present, cf. Rudolf Karl Bultmann, *Der zweite Brief an die Korinther* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976), 85.

Figure 32: Contrastive Terminologies in 2 Corinthians 3:1-18.

Moses and the Law	Paul and the Gospel
Written with black [ink], v. 3. ³⁶⁶	Written with the Spirit of the living God, v. 3.
Written on tablets of stone, v. 3.	Written on tablets of fleshly hearts, v. 3.
Old covenant, v. 14.	New covenant, v. 6.
Letters (as in 'alphabets'), v. 6.	Spirit, v. 6.
Ministry of death, v. 7.	Ministry of the Spirit, v. 8.
Ministry of condemnation, v. 9.	Ministry of righteousness, v. 9.
Glorious, v. 11.	More glorious, v. 11.
Veil remains, v. 14.	Veil removed, v. 14.
Put veil on face (Moses), v. 13.	Unveiled faces, v. 18.
Glory set aside, vv. 11, 13. ³⁶⁷	Glory remains, v. 11.
Moses, vv. 7, 13.	Paul ('us'), v. 6.
Glory set aside, vv. 11-13.	From glory to glory, v. 18.

This is despite the fact that, as we noted earlier, 2 Cor 3:7-11 contains points that are made through the use of *a fortiori* (or *qal va-chomer*) reasoning. Since many of these points are brought into 2 Cor 3:8-12 in an extended peroration to contrast between those who are under the new covenant and those who were under the old covenant, the overall effect of Paul's fundamental argument in 2 Cor 3:7-18 is contrastive as he differentiates between the ministry of the old covenant under Moses and the ministry of the new covenant under him and his co-workers.

In this regard, the influence of the rhetorical purpose in shaping the NS is evident in a number of ways. For example, in 2 Cor 3:7-8, Paul makes the point that if the old covenant that was engraved in stone, being a ministry of death, was

³⁶⁶ The dative here is understood as the dative of material, cf. Wallace, *Greek Grammar*, 170.

³⁶⁷ Hays' point that the verb *καταργέω* in 2 Cor 3:7 (also used in 2 Cor 3:11, 13), should be understood not as 'to fade' but as 'to nullify' certainly merits our consideration, in view of Paul's usage of the word elsewhere (especially in contexts that talk about the relationship between the law and the gospel), and also its presence as a passive participle in 2 Cor 3:7, signifying not an attribute of the noun it modifies but an action performed on it, cf. Hays, *Echoes*, 134-35. The NRSV translators adopt a similar position when they render the translation, 'a glory now set aside'.

brought forth in glory, then the ministry of the Spirit would be 'even more so' (the sense of οὐχὶ μᾶλλον in this context). He makes this point by bringing together, into one Narrative Summary, the texts taken from Ex 32:15-28 (which depicts the disastrous consequences of the Israelites' breach of the covenant that was given through Moses) and Ex 34:29-35 (which narrates how the face of Moses shone in glory as he communicated the law to the Israelites). This combination enables Paul to advance his point of view on this narrative, which then facilitates a comparison against his own ministry under the new covenant.

By the same token, the part taken from Ex 32:15-28 is also abstracted with the rhetorical purpose of the NS in mind. Paul makes the remark that 'the ministry of death' (i.e. the giving of the old covenant) was 'by letters engraved in stone' (2 Cor 3:7). The first part of this remark ('the ministry of death') is taken from Ex 32:19-28, which depicts the death that came to the Israelites after they broke the Lord's commandment. The second part of the remark ('by letters engraved in stone') is derived from information taken from Ex 32:15-16. What is significant here is that, in the course of abstracting from the historical narrative, many of the details have been left out, evidently because they are not essential to the point of the summary.

For example, Paul does not mention that the deaths came about because the Israelites had built the Golden Calf, precisely at the time when Moses was up on Mt. Sinai to receive the commandments from God (Ex 32:1-14). Nor does Paul mention that Moses broke the tablets of stone (Ex 32:19), or burnt the Golden Calf, ground it into powder and made the Israelites drink the water that contained the powder (Ex 32:20), or that Moses questioned Aaron upon the former's return from the mountain and received from Aaron what appears to be a lame explanation (Ex 32:21-24). These are details that would be incorporated to some extent in any straightforward recapitulation, in order for the episode to make sense. However, in a Narrative Summary, such thoroughness is unnecessary, and probably even undesirable as well, since it may detract from the point of the

summary. At the same time, the author does presume a certain degree of familiarity with the background material on the part of the reader, in order for his literary device to work.³⁶⁸ What he highlights in his Narrative Summary are the key points that are drawn from the already-familiar story, in order to advance his rhetorical purpose.

3.3.5 *Selective Focus*

Since the Narrative Summary is a literary device, it can be assumed, at least from the viewpoint of the author, that it contributes to the overall point of the discourse. Therefore, by scrutinising what the author chooses to include or exclude in his Narrative Summary, light is shed on the overall point of his discourse. When Paul mentions that the giving of the law is a 'ministry of death' (2 Cor 3:7, based on Ex 32:19-28), this selective focus, on a negative aspect of the ministry of the old covenant, facilitates the contrast against his own ministry, which is a ministry of the new covenant that is even more glorious than the old covenant (2 Cor 3:9-10). Consequently, Paul's point in the argument is to assert the superiority of his ministry in the new covenant over that of the old, even if it is somewhat at the expense of the latter. This is especially significant, as the Jews' high regard for Moses could have led Paul's opponents to present Moses as the prototype of an apostle, who wrote the laws under the guidance of God, using it to undermine the ministry of Paul in Corinth.³⁶⁹

In addition, Paul's focus on the veiling of the face serves to advance yet another point that he is making in the discourse. Not only is the face of Moses veiled, those who read *Moses* 'today' are themselves veiled in their hearts, unless one turns to the Lord, who takes the veil away (2 Cor 3:15-16, cf. Ex 34:33-34).³⁷⁰

³⁶⁸ That Paul assumes his readers' familiarity with the story is also held by *ibid.*, 132.

³⁶⁹ In this regard, Wolff discusses the intertextual traditions behind the figure of Moses, which Paul's opponents could have used, cf. Christian Wolff, *Der zweite Brief des Paulus an die Korinther* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1989), 65-66.

³⁷⁰ The allusion to Ex 34:33-34 (cf. 2 Cor 3:16, 'whenever one turns to the Lord') is noted by Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith*, 297. Moses, who went to meet the Lord,

Consequently, unless one turns to Christ, one's reading of the law will hinder him from seeing the transitory nature of the glory of the law, which has been replaced by the permanence of the glory of the gospel of Christ.³⁷¹ This latter point, that one's reading of *Moses* is obscured unless one turns to the Lord, is one of two key reasons for focusing on the veil of Moses. The other reason, of course, is found in 2 Cor 3:12-13, when Paul says that, unlike Moses who veiled his face, he and his companions have boldness.³⁷² Therefore, as much as the use of a Narrative Summary serves to advance the argument in a discourse, it is the careful shaping of the historical narratives from which the Narrative Summary is crafted that drives home the point. This 'shaping of the historical narratives' is evidenced in the author's *selective focus* in his Narrative Summary.

3.3.6 Interpretative Elements

Paul does not simply do a plain retelling of the Exodus story, as if to regurgitate the historical material, albeit in a more compact form. What he does is that, on top of delineating the material, rearranging the narrative elements, selecting and shaping them to fit into his discourse, he also inserts interpretative elements into the Narrative Summary in order to convey what it is supposed to say. That, after all, is the function of a literary device in any discourse.

Therefore, in 2 Cor 3:7, when Paul says that the ministry of the old covenant is 'a *ministry of death* by letters engraved in stone', it is both a *pure summary* of the

is now interpreted metaphorically to indicate those who turn to the Lord and believe in him.

³⁷¹ See *ibid.*, 295.

³⁷² The connection between 2 Cor 3:12 and what follows (vv. 13-18) has presented some exegetical problems for commentators, e.g. see the discussion in Martin, *WBC 2 Corinthians*, 65-67. In view of what Paul says in 2 Cor 4:1-3, however, I am inclined to think that he is referring to the presentation of the truths of the gospel in a forthright and clear manner, in contrast to the law of Moses, where the meaning can be obscured (cf. 2 Cor 3:15). Bultmann associates it with courage, cf. Bultmann, *2 Korinther*, 88. Wolff, noting that both Hellenistic as well as Jewish traditions equate the lifting of the veil to being liberated (from fear?), suggests that it means being free to proclaim the power of God in the risen Christ without compromise or fear, cf. Wolff, *2 Korinther*, 71.

historical materials as well as an *interpretation* of the same. These two aspects are commingled in the Narrative Summary. Thus, while the text of Exodus does not call the giving of the law through Moses a ‘ministry’ (διακονία), Paul’s summary reveals his interpretation when he calls it a ‘ministry’. This renders it comparable to the ‘ministry’ of the new covenant, under which he and his companions are serving. And then, to call it ‘a ministry of death’ involves even more of a hermeneutical move. The text in Exodus (or elsewhere in the Pentateuch) certainly does not tell us directly that the giving of the law through Moses, and the role of Moses as a mediator of God and his people, is a ministry of death. The same thing can be said when Paul calls it ‘a ministry of condemnation’ in 2 Cor 3:9. It is Paul’s *reading* of the narrative in Exodus³⁷³ that leads him to such a conclusion, and this is then inserted as an interpretative element into the NS.

Another example is Paul’s remark that the ministry of the old covenant was brought forth (ἐγενήθη) in glory (2 Cor 3:7, cf. 3:9-11). Again, this is an interpretation based on the fact that Moses’ face was radiant as he delivered the commandments (which he received from the Lord) to the Israelites (Ex 34:29-30, 31). The narrative in Exodus (or anywhere else in the Pentateuch) does not say explicitly that the law came in glory, although the glory of Yahweh (ἡ δόξα τοῦ θεοῦ or ἡ δόξα κυρίου) did settle on Mt. Sinai as he communicated his law to the Israelites through Moses (Ex 24:16-17). Here, however, Paul’s base text is most likely Ex 34:29-35, where the LXX uses the word δοξάζω (‘I glorify’) in its passive form to describe Moses’ radiant face as he addressed the Israelites (Ex 34:29-30, 35). It is conceivable how Paul, in the course of summarising this passage, would describe the giving of the law as coming in glory; yet, it is an interpretation of the text, nevertheless, and this conclusion is inserted into the Narrative Summary as an interpretative element.

³⁷³ Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith*, 286-91.

3.3.7 Continuation into the Present

As observed in the foregoing studies, Paul's Narrative Summary is rarely just a simple recollection of a story in order to derive a lesson from what has been recorded in the historical narratives. The Narrative Summary is almost always executed with the view that the historical experiences of the forefathers are part of a continuous narrative that extends into the current generation. In this case, when Paul uses an expression like 'until this day' in 2 Cor 3:14-15, it reveals such a perspective.

This *shift from past to present* relies on a seamless line of continuation that Paul draws from the story of the past generation to that of the present. For Paul, the experience of Israel's forefathers at Mt. Sinai is not just *replicated* by those who are not able to understand the book (or books) of Moses today, as though there is a disjunction between that historical generation and the present one. Rather, that experience has *continued*, as though uninterrupted, 'until this day'.

There is, of course, a certain disjunction when Paul contrasts his ministry under the new covenant against that of Moses under the old covenant. This, however, does not negate the point that the behaviour of Israel's forefathers is also continued to this day by those who read the books of Moses with a veil covering their hearts (and are hardened, cf. 2 Cor 3:14). While those who 'turn to the Lord' (i.e. believe in Christ, in Paul's context) would have the 'veil' removed as they read *Moses*, there has always been those who still read *Moses* with their hearts covered by a veil which prevents them from understanding the writings unhindered. What they should have understood from the law is its *promise* of salvation, which is ultimately fulfilled in Christ.³⁷⁴

This perspective of continuation into the present is also expressed in another way. While those who do not turn to the Lord represent one line of the

³⁷⁴ Bultmann, *2 Korinther*, 90-91.

continuation between the Exodus generation and the present, those who do believe in the Lord (2 Cor 3:15, cf. the 'we' in 3:18) represent another. They may not have repeated the mistakes of their forefathers,³⁷⁵ who were given the law and yet were 'stiff-necked' in their disobedience to Yahweh, but they stand nonetheless in the same line of continuation from the past into the present.

4 The Israelites (Romans 9:4-5)

4.1 Introduction

In Rom 9:4-5, Paul uses a list of key terms to characterise the position of the Jews in their relationship to God, and their identity as a people: Ἰσραηλίται, υἰοθεσία, δόξα, διαθήκαι, νομοθεσία, λατρεία, ἐπαγγελίαι, πατέρες, and Χριστός. It supplies the basis for Paul's lament in Rom 9:1-3 when he sees that his fellow countrymen are not responding positively to the gospel. It serves to evoke, among Paul's Jewish readers, a sense of identity and continuity with the people of God as recorded in the holy Scriptures, placing them back at the centre of God's history of redemption, as he begins the next part of his discourse in Romans 9–11. Paul is saying, in effect, that his people have everything going for them. But now, they fail to respond to God as they are supposed to do, by putting their faith in Jesus Christ. This causes Paul to have anguish (Rom 9:2). It is not because Paul thinks that the Jews are actually perishing (as the rest of Romans 9–11 would make clear), but because they are not responding reciprocally to the grace of God by putting their faith in his Son, who is sent to provide redemption for his people.

Furthermore, there is the question of what is going to happen to the nation, since they have rejected the Messiah. And how is it that the Gentiles, rather than the Jews, are now being saved on account of the gospel? What happened to the promises that God made to his people? Or, are the Gentiles now being

³⁷⁵ I use this expression, 'their forefathers', with reference to Gentile Christians as well, as Paul does in 1 Cor 10:1.

particularly favoured rather the Jews? Framing his discourse in the form of a discussion with a Jewish interlocutor, Paul's discourse provides the answers to these questions.

In that regard, most scholars would view the keywords in Rom 9:4-5 simply as a list describing the privileges of the Jews as a people of God. It should not be overlooked, however, that this list is effectively a concise summary of materials found in the Pentateuch. The difference between this and the other examples in our study is the manner in which the summary is executed. In the other examples, the Narrative Summary takes the form of an abbreviated recapitulation. Here, we have a list of keywords that encapsulates the scriptural material.

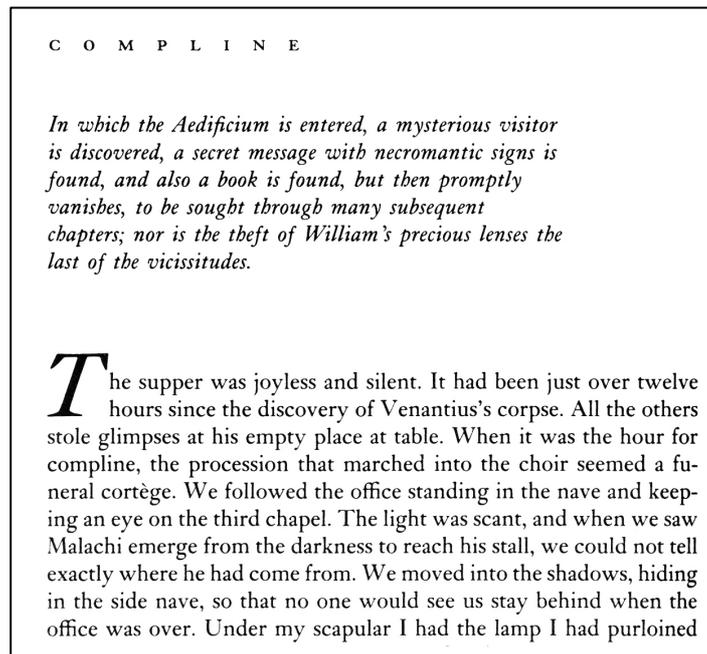
This is consistent with the fact that summaries do come in different forms, and their lengths may vary. An analogy may perhaps be found in the way articles are summarised in our modern scholarly journals. The summary may be in the form of an *abstract*, which captures, in an abbreviated format, the essence of an article. At the same time, the same article may also be encapsulated in the manner of a string of *keywords* tagged to it. This list of keywords is, consequently, a kind of summary of the article. Both the abstract and the list of keywords represent different kinds of summary that is being made of the same article, and they are of different lengths.

Another kind of summary, which is shorter than the article *abstract* and yet longer than a list of *keywords*, is perhaps the *synopsis* that can be found at the beginning of each chapter in a novel. In Umberto Eco's *The Name of the Rose*,³⁷⁶ for example, a brief synopsis is given at the beginning of each chapter, summarising the events that are narrated in that chapter (see Figure 33).³⁷⁷

³⁷⁶ Umberto Eco, *The Name of the Rose*, trans., William Weaver (London: Secker & Warburg, 1983). Eco's novel, incidentally, has been regarded by literary critics as a masterpiece in semiotics.

³⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 160.

Figure 33: A Page from Umberto Eco's Novel



This shows that the different kinds of summaries may vary in length. Yet, they share the common characteristic of encapsulating or condensing a larger body of materials. This is true of the abstract, the synopsis, and the word list. The same characteristic is seen in Rom 9:4-5, where the list of key terms provided by Paul primarily encapsulates portions of the Pentateuch, as we shall see.³⁷⁸

That great care has been undertaken in the formulation of the list has been noted by many scholars.³⁷⁹ Richard H. Bell, for example, notes the carefully paired endings between the first and fourth, the second and fifth, and the third and sixth words in the first relative clause following Ἰσραηλιταὶ (Rom 9:4), which heads the list, and points out that their significance in relation to the Exodus, temple

³⁷⁸ The example is not perfect, however, since the *abstract* and the *keywords* used in the summary of the journal articles are usually the straightforward *précis* (for which I also use the term *pure summary* in this dissertation), whereas, in Paul's Narrative Summary, there is a rhetorical purpose to the summary, and its resulting form is shaped very much by its function as a literary device.

³⁷⁹ E.g. Cranfield, *Romans*, 460; Moo, *Romans*, 560-61. It is possible that perhaps these words could have come in a pre-existing form that Paul uses (maybe from some material used in a synagogue service). However, in the absence of any external evidence, and since the chosen words fit well into the context of Paul's argument, it is more likely to be Paul's own composition, cf. Lohse, *Römer*, 267. See also fn. 380 below.

service and promises to the fathers:³⁸⁰

ἡ νιοθεσία καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ αἱ διαθήκαι
καὶ ἡ νομοθεσία καὶ ἡ λατρεία καὶ αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι

When Paul thinks about the identity of his people, he turns to the foundational book of the Jewish people, the Pentateuch, and delineates the things that make them special as a people of God. This may be compared to Philo, whose works show that he thinks primarily in terms of the Pentateuch, as far as the historical identity of the Jews are concerned. The pairing of the words as laid out by Bell reveals some interesting associations: the sonship of Israel is associated with the giving of the law; the glory of God is associated with the worship service of the tabernacle or temple; and the covenants are associated with the divine promises. These paired associations appear to feature different dimensions of the Israelites' relationship with Yahweh. The first centres on the personal, father-and-son relationship between God and the Israelites. In adopting Israel as son (νιοθεσία), God also gives instruction on how the Israelites are to live (νομοθεσία). This idea of a father who instructs his son on how the latter should live his life is paralleled in the book of Proverbs, where the father urges his son to pay heed to parental instruction (Prov 1:8). More profoundly, Schmidt speaks of this 'sonship' as a gift of the covenant.³⁸¹

The second centres on the relationship between Yahweh as the transcendent God, whose presence is indicated in the form of the divine glory, and the Israelites as worshippers who perform their obligations through the services in the tabernacle or temple. This is best seen in Ex 40:34-35, where the divine glory is said to fill the tabernacle after Moses set it up and made offerings on the altar (cf. Ex 40:26-29). It is also seen in the dedication of the temple by Solomon, where

³⁸⁰ Richard H. Bell, *Provoked to Jealousy* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994), 174. Attributed by Bell to unpublished lectures on Romans 9–16 by Professor Dr. O. Hofius in summer, 1987. In view of the lack of any similar list in contemporary or rabbinic writings, Bell also argues that it is Paul's own composition, even if he might have used it in prior teaching occasions.

³⁸¹ Schmidt, *Römer*, 157.

the glory of God filled the temple in response to the sacrifices and burnt offerings that were made (2 Chr 7:1-3).

The third paired association centres on the covenantal relationship between Yahweh and the Israelites. The covenants which God makes with Abraham and David are said to be the unconditional-promissory type, while that which is made with the Israelites on Mt. Sinai are said to be the conditional-obligatory type.³⁸² Whatever the case may be, it is the relationship between that of a suzerain and a vassal, where the former makes a covenant with his people, and out of that come the various promises that are given.³⁸³

These three dimensions, undoubtedly, are intricately connected and are quite inseparable in describing the Israelites' relationship to Yahweh. Nonetheless, the interesting point to note here is that, when Paul delineates the identity of the Jewish people in Rom 9:4-5, he does so in terms of their relationship to God. The identity of the Jews, from Paul's perspective, is inextricably linked to their relationship with Yahweh, to whom the nation owes its existence.³⁸⁴ Being the special, called-out people of God is what makes them unique and significant in salvation-history. With that observation in mind, we shall now explore the intertextual significance of Paul's list of keywords in Rom 9:4-5.

4.2 Textual Referents and Scope of Material

The scope of the OT materials summarised by the key terms in Rom 9:4-5 can be discerned by undertaking a careful examination of their intertextual connection to the Old Testament. As we shall see, it is the foundational events in the

³⁸² M. Weinfeld, "The Covenant of Grant in the Old Testament and in the Ancient Near East," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 90, no. 2 (1970): 184.

³⁸³ The intricate relationship between covenant and promise is discussed from the perspective of secular law in Samuel Stoljar, "Promise, Expectation and Agreement," *The Cambridge Law Journal* 47, no. 2 (1988). See also Martin Hogg, *Promises and Contract Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 58-108.

³⁸⁴ Schmidt writes, 'Das Volk sollte Gott gehören und mit Gott verbunden sein wie sonst kein anderes Volk.' Cf. Schmidt, *Römer*, 157.

Pentateuch that give birth to these key terms. As we noted earlier, since Paul is elaborating on the distinctive identity of the Jewish people, nothing is more relevant for him than to go back to their historical roots, by way of the historical records that are found in the sacred texts of the nation of Israel.

For this reason, we can further deduce that the foundational events which are summed up in the key terms—not just any intertextual connection—are likely to be most significant. The later references to these ideas in Scripture emanate from those foundational events. As we shall see, the core intertextual connections in Rom 9:4-5 mostly reside in the Pentateuch, while the other usages of these terms seem to either echo or derive from them. On the other hand, what is important for my purpose here is not the mere verbal correspondences between Rom 9:4-5 and the OT. Rather, because the key terms listed by Paul are in fact summaries of the OT texts, it would be more significant to look at the *substance* of these texts, and see if the key terms in Rom 9:4-5 are representative of them as a keyword-summary.

4.2.1 Ἰσραηλίται

The word Ἰσραηλίται occurs only in Lev 24:10; Num 25:8, 14; 2 Sam 17:25; 4 Mac 18:1; Ps 87:1; 88:1 in the LXX. In almost every instance, it is used in contexts that delineate the identity of the Jewish people in contradistinction to the Gentiles.³⁸⁵ Thus, it is significant that, when speaking of the Jews in Rom 9:4-5,

³⁸⁵ The only exceptions are the two instances in the superscriptions introducing the Psalms, where the contexts cannot be determined with certainty. In Lev 24:10, Yahweh addresses his people as ‘Israelites’ as he gives instructions concerning what they ought to do when they enter into the land of the heathens. In Num 25:8, 14 (together with ἄνθρωπος τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραηλ in 25:6), the description is used in juxtaposition to the Midianite woman in the narrative. In 2 Sam 17:25, the term is used in a context where the narrator is careful to distinguish between the people of different nationalities surrounding David, although there are textual issues as well as genealogical problems with this appellation, cf. 1 Chr 2:17. See A. A. Anderson, *2 Samuel* (Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1989), 233. Similarly, in 4 Mac 18:1, the writer uses the term as a contrast to the pagans—the writer accuses Antiochus IV Epiphanes of trying to force the Israelites to adopt pagan practices (18:5).

Paul uses this term to head the list of privileges.³⁸⁶ The word reminds Paul's Jewish readers of their place in the redemptive plan of God in history. More significantly, Paul uses the term (or its singular form, Ἰσραηλίτης) in Rom 11:1 and 2 Cor 11:22, where his personal identification with the historical people of God is being discussed, as in Rom 9:4-5.³⁸⁷

In addition, the significance of this term expands even further, on consideration of the semantically comparable expressions like υἱὸς Ἰσραηλ ('son of Israel') or φυλὴ Ἰσραηλ ('tribe of Israel') or even θυγάτηρ Ἰσραηλ ('daughter of Israel'). We will find a huge number of examples where these appellations are used, most of them serving a similar literary function as Ἰσραηλίται. Despite Cranfield's remark that the term 'Israel' is used in later Palestinian Judaism as 'the regular self-designation of the Jews expressing their consciousness of being the people of God',³⁸⁸ it should be noted that the preponderance of the occurrences of this term is in fact in the earlier texts, especially the Pentateuch itself. For example, out of the 719 occurrences of the expression υἱὸς Ἰσραηλ in the LXX, 408 are found in the Pentateuch, while another 185 occur in the pre-Exilic books of Joshua–2 Kings.³⁸⁹ Thus, among these examples in the earlier writings, the term 'Israel' already serves an important function in defining ethnic self-identity—the Israelites or the sons of Israel are the covenant people of God. Its significance in later Palestinian Judaism, such as that noted by Cranfield, is built on the foundation of this primary usage in the Pentateuch.

³⁸⁶ The grammatical construction, οἵτινές εἰσιν Ἰσραηλίται followed by the relative clauses (in the genitive) ὧν ἡ..., καὶ ἡ..., καὶ αἱ..., καὶ ἡ..., καὶ ἡ..., and so on, indicates that this first term serves as a general heading to the list, followed by elaborations in the words that follow. However, as Cranfield noted, this first term is part of the list itself, and not outside of it, cf. Cranfield, *Romans*, 460.

³⁸⁷ Paul usually uses the term Ἰουδαῖος when speaking of the Jewish people in contradistinction to the Gentiles. See Rom 1:16; 2:9–10, 17, 28–3:1; 3:9, 29; 9:24; 10:12; 1 Cor 1:22–24; 9:20; 10:32; 12:13; 2 Cor 11:24; Gal 2:13–15; 3:28; 1 Th 2:14; cf. Col 3:11. Here, however, he uses the term Ἰσραηλίται to connect back to what the Scriptures say about his people.

³⁸⁸ Cranfield, *Romans*, 460–61.

³⁸⁹ I am speaking generally here, without recourse to source or redaction analysis that might otherwise show that the use of the phrase υἱὸς Ἰσραηλ comes from later sources.

4.2.2 υίοθεσία

While the word υίοθεσία (literally, 'being made a son') is not found in the LXX, the concept of Israel being reckoned as God's son is well known.³⁹⁰ In Ex 4:22-23 Yahweh addresses Israel as his first-born son, and threatens to kill Pharaoh's first-born son if the latter would not let the Israelites go.³⁹¹ Deuteronomy 32:6 (οὐκ αὐτὸς οὐτός σου πατήρ ἐκτήσατό σε, 'did he not himself, your father, obtain you?') speaks of the father-and-son relationship between God and Israel on the basis of the former's redemption of the latter (cf. Deut 1:31 where God's deliverance is pictured as that of a father carrying a son; and Deut 14:1). These early texts point to the father-and-son relationship that is established between God and Israel as he delivers the latter from the clutches of Egypt to make them into a people for himself. Later uses of the father-and-son imagery in the LXX emanate from these initial references.

Thus, in Isa 1:2, the words of Yahweh that are used to frame his opening charges against the nation of Israel (ostensibly on the basis of the prior covenant between God and his people) carry the picture of a father-and-children relationship between the two that harkens back to the Exodus event. The Israelites are called his 'children', whom he has raised up. In the same way, the Israelites address God as Father in Isa 64:7 [64:8]. Again, in Hos 11:1, the tender words of Yahweh intimate how he has loved Israel as his child (cf. also Jer 3:19; 31:9, 20; Mal 1:6; 2:10).

³⁹⁰ Dunn comments that the use of this term is 'surprising,' since it is not used anywhere else in the LXX. On the other hand, it is precisely because Paul meant for this to function as a *summary* rather than an *allusion* that we are able to understand its place in this list. See Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 526. See also Cranfield's remark that while the word suggests that Paul may have Graeco-Roman adoption practices in mind, it would be 'unwise to claim that the background of the whole metaphor is exclusively Graeco-Roman' in view of Gen 15:2-4; Ex 2:10; Esth 2:7; Ex 4:22f; 2 Sam 7:14; 1 Chr 28:6; Ps 2:7; 89:26f; Jer 3:19; Hos 11:1, cf. Cranfield, *Romans*, 397.

³⁹¹ As Wright mentioned, this is the earliest occurrence of such terminology used in describing the relationship between God and Israel, cf. G. Ernest Wright, "The Terminology of Old Testament Religion and Its Significance," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 1, no. 4 (1942): 407.

The idea encapsulated in these latter passages is especially significant when it is understood in the light of the relationship that is established between God and Israel during the foundational moments of Israel's history, and which are recorded in the Pentateuch. Likewise, Paul's use of the word *υιοθεσία* most certainly refer to these foundational events in the Pentateuch, when Yahweh adopts Israel as his son.

4.2.3 *δόξα*

The 'glory of God' (*δόξα θεοῦ*, translating *כְּבוֹד־אֱלֹהִים*) or 'the glory of the Lord' (*δόξα κυρίου*, translating *כְּבוֹד־יְהוָה*) probably points to the divine radiance that signifies God's presence in the midst of the people.³⁹² In the context of Rom 9:4, it is unlikely to refer simply to God's divine essence, or to his honour and praise, as may be evident in some OT contexts,³⁹³ since in Paul's discourse (i.e. Rom 9:4-5) it is more likely that God's extrinsic presence with the Israelites—rather than simply his own intrinsic possession of some divine essence, honour or repute—makes the Jews unique as a people of God.

The 'glory of God' that is indicative of the divine presence can be found in a number of places outside of the Pentateuch. For example, when the ark was stolen, the glory of the Lord was said to have departed from Israel (1 Sam 4:21), which has more to do with the people's lack of genuine faith in him (and having

³⁹² The discussion here is restricted to understanding the term in the LXX, without taking into account the further developments in its use in the NT and Patristic writings. A comprehensive, diachronic survey has been undertaken by E. C. E. Owen, "Δόξα and Cognate Words," *Journal of Theological Studies* 33 (1932): 132-50; 265-79. See also S. Aalen, who notes that *δόξα* in Classical Greek has a fairly wide semantic range (including 'expectation, view, opinion, conjecture, repute, praise, fame') but when used in the LXX to translate the Hebrew word *כְּבוֹד*, its meaning is narrowed to refer to the divine radiance (*shekinah*) and the radiance of angelic beings (apart from praise, honour and repute), cf. Sverre Aalen, "Glory, Honor," in *The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology*, ed. Colin Brown, (Exeter: Paternoster, 1997), 45.

³⁹³ See Esth 13:14 (Addition C); Ps 18:2; 23:8, 10; 103:31; 137:5; Prov 25:2; 29:23; Hab 2:14; Isa 24:14-15; 26:10; 35:2; 40:5; 60:1. In Ezekiel, however, the term is used consistently to refer to the divine radiance (*shekinah*) that is visible and which indicates God's presence (Ezk 1:28; 3:12, 23; 8:4; 9:3; 10:4, 18-19, 22; 11:22-23; 43:2, 4-5).

a presumptuous and misplaced trust in sacred objects), rather than with the actual absence of the ark. This divine glory was also mentioned when the temple built by Solomon was completed (1 Kgs 8:11; 2 Chr 5:13–14; 7:1–3).³⁹⁴ Furthermore, as noted earlier, the ‘glory of the Lord’ (δόξα κυρίου) is also largely understood in this sense in the book of Ezekiel (see fn. 393).

Nonetheless, in spite of all these latter references, it is in the various accounts of the Exodus event that the glory of God is most extensively featured, especially the books of Exodus and Numbers.³⁹⁵ It may be argued that these later references to the divine glory, as an indication of God’s physical presence with his people, presuppose the prior experiences of the Israelites when God delivered them from the hands of the Egyptians.

For example, upon the completion of the building of the tabernacle as narrated in Exodus 40, it was noted that ‘the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle’ (δόξης κυρίου ἐπλήσθη ἡ σκηνή, Ex 40:34), and even Moses could not enter the Tent of Testimony because the cloud was overshadowing it, and because the Lord’s glory filled the tabernacle (Ex 40:35). This is exactly the language that is used to describe the scene upon the completion of the building of the temple in 2 Chronicles 7, as a comparison of Ex 40:34–35 and 2 Chr 7:1–2 would show (see Figure 34).

³⁹⁴ In 2 Chr 5:13, the LXX translator uses νεφέλης δόξης κυρίου (‘the cloud of the glory of the Lord’) to translate נֶבֶל (‘cloud’), which is probably an interpretative gloss based on 2 Chr 5:14, where the cloud is equated with the glory of the Lord. The association of the cloud with the divine glory is also seen in Ex 16:10; 24:16; 40:34–35; Num 17:7; Isa 4:5; Ezk 1:28; 10:4; and 2 Mac 2:8.

³⁹⁵ Ex 16:7, 10; 24:17; 33:18–23; 40:34–35; Num 12:8; 14:10, 21; 16:19; 17:7; 20:6; but also Lev 9:6, 23. The glory of the Lord that was on Sinai to give the tablets of stone to Moses (Ex 24:12–18), must have been deeply etched in the mind of every Jew who hears the story as a child.

Figure 34: Exodus 40:34-35 and 2 Chronicles 7:1-2 Compared

Solid underline = Identical or similar elements.

Dashed underline = Parallel elements.

Ex 40:34-35	2 Chr 7:1-2
Ex 40:34 Καὶ ἐκάλυψεν ἡ νεφέλη τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου, καὶ δόξης κυρίου ἐπλήσθη ἡ σκηνή.	2 Chr 7:1 Καὶ ὡς συνετέλεσεν Σαλωμων προσευχόμενος, καὶ τὸ πῦρ κατέβη ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ κατέφαγεν τὰ ὀλοκαυτώματα καὶ τὰς θυσίας, καὶ δόξα κυρίου ἐπλησεν τὸν οἶκον.
Ex 40:35 καὶ οὐκ ἠδυνάσθη Μωυσῆς εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου, ὅτι ἐπεσκίαζεν ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἡ νεφέλη καὶ δόξης κυρίου ἐπλήσθη ἡ σκηνή.	2 Chr 7:2 καὶ οὐκ ἠδύναντο οἱ ἱερεῖς εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸν οἶκον κυρίου ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ, ὅτι ἐπλησεν δόξα κυρίου τὸν οἶκον.

The text in 2 Chr 7:1-3 records that after Solomon finished his prayer of dedication, ‘the glory of the Lord filled the temple’ (δόξα κυρίου ἔπλησεν τὸν οἶκον), and the priests (like Moses before, Ex 40:35) could not enter the temple because the Lord’s glory filled the house (2 Chr 7:1b, 2). Allowing for some minor variations, it is evident that the author of Chronicles is describing a scene that recalls an earlier experience that took place during the time of the Exodus. If we were to take into consideration the earlier remark that the glory of the Lord was said to have departed from Israel when the ark was stolen (1 Sam 4:21), this observation by the author of Chronicles is especially significant, since it suggests a restoration of the presence of God with his people upon the completion of the temple by Solomon.

Therefore, when Paul refers to the glory (δόξα) as belonging to the Israelites in Rom 9:4, he has in mind this presence of God that has been with the Jews. Paul would be aware of the various manifestations of this divine glory in the course of the nation’s history; but the foundational events in the Pentateuch (especially Exodus and Numbers) would have formed the primary intertextual core of what he has in mind. This is all the more evident when we consider the list of keywords as a whole, as each of them can be traced to the Pentateuch as its source.

4.2.4 διαθήκαι

The use of the plural διαθήκαι indicates that more than one covenant is in view.³⁹⁶ E. J. Epp specifically identifies these as the two covenants, the 'old' and the 'new' (citing 2 Cor 3:6, 14; cf. 1 Cor 11:25), to argue that the continuity between Israel and the new community, comprising Jewish and Gentile Christians, is the key issue in Rom 9:1-5.³⁹⁷ In Rom 9:4-5, however, Paul seems to be highlighting the distinct privileges of the Jews (as opposed to the position of the Gentiles in the past), with the progeny of Christ according to the flesh being mentioned at the end as a crowning point (v. 5). To include the new covenant (and its attendant gospel) in the middle of this list (v. 4), where the Gentile believers are co-participants in its privileges, would dilute the point that Paul is making here, since it works against the idea of the Jews' distinctive privileges that Paul is emphasising. Furthermore, when a new covenant as opposed to an old covenant (or vice versa) is meant, as in the case of 2 Cor 3:6, 14, Paul would qualify it by the use of the adjectives 'new' (thus, καινῆς διαθήκης) and 'old' (thus, παλαιᾶς διαθήκης).

Therefore, as far as Rom 9:4 is concerned, I think it is more likely that Paul is referring to the covenants between God and Israel's forefathers in the past, prior to the coming of Christ, notwithstanding the fact that the new covenant was pre-announced in the prophets (cf. Rom 11:27). This is mirrored in texts such as 2

³⁹⁶ The presence of the singular ἡ διαθήκη instead of the plural αἱ διαθήκαι is attested in \mathfrak{P}^{46} (ca. 200 A.D.), B (4th century, mainly Alexandrian text), D (V, Western) and others, while the text in the NA27 (with the plural) is attested in \aleph (IV, Alexandrian), C (V, Byzantine), the Majority Text (Western), and others. The textual evidence is close, in terms of the geographical distribution and quality of manuscripts; however, I agree with Metzger's assessment that the plural is probably original, since it is more likely that either (1) a scribe may change it into the singular to match the surrounding words; or (2) the reference to a plurality of covenants may pose a theological problem, whereas there is no reason to change it if the singular were to be the original. See Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 2nd ed. (London; New York: United Bible Societies, 1995), 459. Information on the manuscripts is taken from Bruce M. Metzger and Bart D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament*, 4th ed. (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

³⁹⁷ Eldon Jay Epp, "Jewish-Gentile Continuity in Paul: Torah and/or Faith? (Romans 9:1-5)," *Harvard Theological Review* 79, no. 1 (1986): 83.

Mac 8:15; Wis 18:22; and Sir 44:12, where the term is used in a general sense to refer to the covenants made with Israel's forefathers.³⁹⁸ The usage of this term in Eph 2:12 reflects a similar nuance, where a fuller phrase, 'the covenants of promise' (τῶν διαθηκῶν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας), is presented as a distinctive element that set the Jews apart from the Gentiles. In these instances, unless a specific covenant is indicated, a broad national and historical experience is usually in view. Used in that sense, the keyword effectively encapsulates one strand of OT history (albeit minimally), and points to Yahweh's covenantal relationship with the people of Israel.

Nonetheless, in the case of Rom 9:4-5, one wonders whether Paul could have something even more specific in view. In the light of his exposition of the covenant which God made with Abraham and his descendants in Romans 4 (albeit without the use of the word διαθήκη), it is certainly plausible that this is also in view when he comes to listing what the Jews have been granted in Rom 9:4-5. Thus it would include, at the very least, the covenants, which God made with Abraham as well as his descendants (e.g. 15:18-21 and 17:1-22).³⁹⁹

In the light of Paul's usage of the term elsewhere,⁴⁰⁰ it is also likely that Paul may

³⁹⁸ In the other two instances in Sirach (Sir 44:18; 45:17), the contexts are clear that a more specific reference is intended, even as the plural is used—Sir 44:18 refers to God's 'covenants' with Noah, and Sir 45:17 refers to 'covenants' in the sense of the written statutes of the law (as translated in NRSV) that Aaron has been given to teach to the Israelites (although in this latter case, 'covenants' can possibly be understood as a metonymy for God's historical dealings with his people as well). In Ezk 16:29, the LXX translator probably uses the term as a euphemism where the Hebrew text refers to the 'prostitution' (זָנָה) of the Israelites in 'the land of the Chaldeans' (Babylon).

³⁹⁹ There is some semantic overlap between the terms 'covenant' (διαθήκη) and 'promise' (ἐπαγγελία). However, Gen 9:8-17; 15:18-21 and 17:1-22 are unmistakably clear that 'covenants' are involved, cf. Gen 9:9 (see 6:18); 15:18; 17:4. See also fn. 383.

⁴⁰⁰ Apart from Rom 9:4, Paul uses the term in Rom 11:26-27 (where Paul uses a conflation of Isa 59:20-21 and 27:9 to recall God's promise to take away the sins of the Israelites); 1 Cor 11:25 (recalling the words of Jesus at the institution of the Lord's Supper); 2 Cor 3:6, 14 (on the contrast between the glory of the new covenant and that of the old covenant); Gal 3:15, 17 (on the relationship between the law and the covenant with Abraham) and Gal 4:24 (on the contrast between the children of Sarah and Hagar under two different covenants).

have the covenant made on Mt. Sinai in view. This is because, with the exception of references to the new covenant as a contrast to the old (as in Rom 11:27; 1 Cor 11:25 and 2 Cor 3:6, 14),⁴⁰¹ Paul also mentions the covenants with the Israelites at Sinai and Abraham together in two other significant contexts. In Gal 3:15, 17, he uses an example from everyday life (that of a man's will, *διαθήκη*) to show that the coming of the law does not abrogate the covenant (*διαθήκη*) which God made with Abraham and his descendants. Then, in Gal 4:24, Paul equates the covenant of promise (made with Abraham) with the children of Sarah, while the covenant made with the Israelites on Mt. Sinai is equated with Hagar and her children.

Therefore, unless Paul also has the new covenant in view in Rom 9:4-5 (which I doubt), it is primarily the covenants with Abraham and his descendants and the covenant with the Israelites on Mt. Sinai that are probably encapsulated in the term *διαθήκαι*. We may ask whether a covenant like that in 2 Samuel 7 (where God promises David that his offspring would be on the throne of Israel forever, 2 Sam 7:12-13) could also be in view. That is theoretically possible, since Paul does not qualify what he means or does not mean in his use of this term in Rom 9:4; but, considering his use of the term elsewhere, I would say it is not likely. And since it is primarily in the historical accounts of Genesis, Exodus and the other books of the Pentateuch where these covenants constitute a theme, it would be reasonable for us to say that Paul has these accounts chiefly in view when he uses the word *διαθήκαι* in Rom 9:4.

4.2.5 *νομοθεσία*

The next term on our list, *νομοθεσία*, can mean either 'the *giving* of the law' or 'the given *law*'.⁴⁰² It is found only three times in the LXX—2 Mac 6:23; 4 Mac 5:35; 17:16. In each of these, it is better understood in the sense of the (God-

⁴⁰¹ As we have deliberated a short while earlier, it is unlikely that the new covenant is in view in Rom 9:4-5.

⁴⁰² As noted by Cranfield, *Romans*, 362-63.

given) law, rather than an emphasis on the act itself. In the book of Jubilees (Jub 1:1), however, νομοθεσία clearly refers to the giving of the law. In the context of Rom 9:4, it is unclear which aspect of this word is meant, and Dunn is probably right in saying that 'it is doubtful if the distinction would have been seen to make any difference.'⁴⁰³ However, since Paul usually uses the word νόμος to refer to the law elsewhere (and in our case especially significantly in the letter to the Romans), it is probably the institution of the Mosaic code that is in view here.⁴⁰⁴ The reception of the law by the Jews is an event that marks a high point in the history of the nation, and sets it apart from all other peoples.

The account of this foundational event begins with Exodus 19–24, where Yahweh gives the law to the Israelites on Mt. Sinai, and with Moses acting as intermediary. However, the text also goes on to record how Moses was then summoned up to the mountains to receive the stone tablets, where he remained for forty days and forty nights (Ex 24:12-18), and during which the Lord gave him instructions concerning the tabernacle, the priests, the worship offerings, the skilled craftsmen appointed to build the tabernacle, and the Sabbath (Exodus 25–31). The episode is marred by the sin of the people in making the Golden Calf, just when the tablets of stone were received by Moses (Exodus 32–33), an incident that nearly led to the extinction of the Israelites, if not for Moses' intercession. The book goes on to recount the setting up of the tabernacle according to the Lord's instructions (Exodus 34–40), climaxing with the note that the Lord's glory filled the tabernacle.

These historical experiences of the Israelites are foundational events that surround the giving of the law (νομοθεσία), but that is not all. The book of Leviticus contains detailed instructions concerning the various kinds of offerings

⁴⁰³ Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 527. Therefore, it is difficult to accept Epp's evaluation when he says that Paul 'did not refer simply to "Law"...but he spoke pointedly and specifically of "the giving of the Law";' cf. Epp, "Continuity," 89.

⁴⁰⁴ Cranfield, however, differs and notes the use of this word in the sense of the 'given laws considered collectively' in literature from the 4th century B.C. onwards, and thinks that Paul may likewise be using it in this sense in Rom 9:4; cf. Cranfield, *Romans*, 2:463.

(Leviticus 1–7), the ordination and ministry of Aaron and his sons as priests (Leviticus 8–10), personal purity (Leviticus 11–15), and so on.⁴⁰⁵ If νομοθεσία as an event also leads one to recall the laws that were given to the people of Israel, it would include these laws as recorded in Leviticus.

Similarly, there are sections in the book of Numbers and Deuteronomy that continue the theme of νομοθεσία. The codes that are given in the earlier accounts are often re-presented in the later narratives. For example, Numbers 5 contains various test cases that illustrate how the laws that are stipulated in different parts of Leviticus were applied. In the next chapter, Numbers 6, we have the regulations concerning the Nazirites, which may be seen as a supplement to the legal codes given elsewhere.⁴⁰⁶ Numbers 7–9 relates how the different tribes presented their offerings, the setting apart of the Levites, and the celebration of Passover. Deuteronomy, on the other hand, contains a restatement of the law, cast in the format of a covenant.⁴⁰⁷ All these are corollary extensions of the theme of the law being given to the people of Israel, and the story of how they endeavoured to remember or obey it following its reception. Together, the narratives record the institution and development of the law during the early history of the Jews.

It should not be surprising, therefore, that when Paul wants to delineate the special identity of the Jews using a list of keywords, νομοθεσία is one of them. It captures a major strand of the early history of the Jews, and represents an element that gives them a profoundly distinctive identity in the context of the history of redemption. In that light, the word νομοθεσία can be properly deemed to be a keyword that summarises one aspect of the historical narratives that are located

⁴⁰⁵ Leviticus, of course, is not simply a book of legal codes. It has narrative sections in it as well.

⁴⁰⁶ Gray considers the Nazirite laws in Number 6 as part of the priestly code in the Pentateuch, cf. G. Buchanan Gray, "The Nazirite," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 1, no. 2 (1900): 202.

⁴⁰⁷ It was Mendenhall who first drew our attention to the parallels between Deuteronomy and the treaty documents of the Ancient Near East, cf. George E. Mendenhall, *Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (Pittsburgh: Biblical Colloquium, 1955).

in the Pentateuch.

4.2.6 *λατρεία*

The word *λατρεία* ('service', 'worship') occurs nine times in the LXX—Ex 12:25–26; 13:5; Josh 22:27; 1 Chr 28:13; 1 Macc 1:43; 2:19, 22; 3 Macc 4:14. In almost all instances, it refers, directly or indirectly, to a cultic ceremony enacted as part of a worship centred on the tabernacle or temple. In Exodus, it refers to religious festivals that the Israelites were to observe—the Passover (Ex 12:25–26) and the consecration of the firstborn (13:5) which involve sacrifices and offerings that are being ceremoniously conducted. In Josh 22:27, the word denotes the cultic service to be performed at the tabernacle, in which the Transjordan tribes would have the right to participate despite the fact that they did not settle on the same side of the Jordan as the rest of the Israelites. Similarly, in 1 Chr 28:13, King David briefs his son Solomon on the manner in which the worship services were to be performed, in anticipation of the construction of the temple. In I Mac 1:43 and 2:19, 22, the word is used to describe the Israelites' switching of their 'worship' during the time of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, to the worship of idols by making sacrifices to them. In this sense, *λατρεία* seems to take on the nuance of a 'religious allegiance'. Yet, even in this aspect, the question of a cultic ceremony being performed at the temple is not far from view. The only exception is its use in 3 Mac 4:14, which simply refers to a 'service' of hard labour that the Jews were forced to perform by their masters at Alexandria, which has nothing to do with worship.

Thus, when Paul uses this word in Rom 9:4, he has in mind the special privilege of the Jews in being able to worship God at the tabernacle or temple, through the sacrifices and offerings that they take part in. However, as in our foregoing discussion, what is important is that while the word may be used in various contexts throughout Scripture, its substance goes back to the original institution of worship in the tabernacle, as described (or prescribed) predominantly in the books of Exodus and Leviticus. Exodus 25–30 and substantial portions of Exodus

35–40 are devoted to such instructions relating to λατρεία—even if the word is not used in these texts.

Similarly, substantial portions of the book of Leviticus also contain either direct instructions for the performance of λατρεία, or descriptions of how the rituals were carried out. Leviticus 1–7, for example, stipulates the various kinds of offerings, while Leviticus 8–10, pertaining to the ordination of the Aaronic priests, is a narrative that describes how the ritual service in relation to the appointment of the priests was done. It also contains a lesson on the sons of Aaron who were killed because they did not follow proper procedures and offered unauthorised fire for the incense (Lev 10:1-3). We can go on to make similar observations on the rest of the book of Leviticus—the laws on cleanness (Leviticus 11–15) provide for ritual cleansing at the tabernacle, the section on the Day of Atonement (Leviticus 16) contains detailed instructions on how Aaron was to perform the sacrificial ritual, and so on.

The same goes for the book of Numbers, where many of the examples that I cited earlier may also apply here. Thus, in Numbers 5, a ritual is prescribed for the wife who is suspected of having committed adultery (Num 5:11-31); in Numbers 6, instructions are given for the absolution of a Nazirite who comes into close proximity to a dead body (vv. 9-12), as well as for the ritual at the end of the period of vow (vv. 13-20); and in Numbers 7 there is a description of the λατρεία that is performed by the various tribes at the dedication of the completed tabernacle. Additionally, immediately after the rebellion of the Israelites recorded in Numbers 14, the text follows with instructions for additional offerings that the Israelites are to make when they enter into the Promised Land (Num 15:1-31), and Numbers 28 contains a summary of various festivals where sacrifices are expected in the course of the service ritual. These examples demonstrate the prominence of the theme of λατρεία in the book of Numbers.⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰⁸ The book of Deuteronomy, on the other hand, despite its emphasis on having the right covenantal relationship with God, does not seem to give the performance of

What these observations show is that the keyword which Paul uses here points to a Jewish distinctive that goes back to the historical narratives in the Pentateuch. The later scriptural references to the ritual of worship in the temple usually presuppose the earlier instructions that are given in those foundational texts. For example, in Isa 1:11-17, when the Lord accuses the Israelites of insincerity in their worship and sacrifices, the earlier instructions concerning λατρεία as described in the Pentateuch are presupposed. Outwardly, the Israelites appeared to be performing the λατρεία as instructed, but inwardly their heart has gone astray from Yahweh. A similar charge is given in Jer 6:19-20, when God says that the Israelites' sacrifices are rejected because they had failed to listen to his words. Similarly, in Jer 7:22-23, God says that, in addition to the instructions concerning burnt offerings that were given to their forefathers as they were brought out from Egypt, the Israelites are also expected to obey him. All these references to the performance of λατρεία in the prophets point back to the original instructions that are located in the Pentateuch. Furthermore, when we consider Paul's use of the keyword λατρεία along with the other keywords in Rom 9:4-5, it is reasonable for us to conclude that the Pentateuch is primarily in view, especially Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers.

4.2.7 ἐπαγγελία

The term ἐπαγγελία in the LXX can refer to promises made by humans (1 Esdr 1:7; Esth 4:7; 1 Mac 10:15; 4 Mac 12:9) or by God (Ps 55:9; Ode 12:6; Sol 12:6; Amos 9:6). As can be seen, these usages are mainly in the Greek originals, with the exception of Ps 55:9 and Amos 9:6. Indeed, there is no Hebrew equivalent for ἐπαγγελία; even its use in Ps 55:9 and Amos 9:6 (LXX) does not reflect any Hebrew equivalent for the word 'promise'.⁴⁰⁹ In the context of Rom 9:4-5, ἐπαγγελία would most surely refer to the promises made by God, not by man.

λατρεία the same heightened prominence as found in Leviticus or Numbers.

⁴⁰⁹ In Ps 55:9 the phrase ἐν τῇ ἐπαγγελίᾳ σου translates תְּהִיבֶנּוּ ('in your book'), while in Amos 9:6 καὶ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς θεμελιῶν is a loose translation of הִתְּנִיחַ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה ('and ordains its foundations upon the earth'). In both verses there is no direct equivalent to ἐπαγγελία.

However, the few references that we have just noted can hardly do justice to what Paul actually has in view in Rom 9:4-5. In the context of Rom 9:4, the word ἐπαγγελίαι can very well encapsulate texts in the OT that may not use the same word in the LXX, and yet refer to the promises that God makes to his people through the use of synonymous terms. For example, the LXX frequently uses the term ὄμνυμι ('I swear') to translate the Hebrew שבט (which also means 'I swear'), a term that is usually used to frame God's promises to his people. In the Pentateuch, ὄμνυμι is used to translate שבט in 59 verses in the LXX,⁴¹⁰ and it is highly significant that in 45 of these verses, God is the subject of the promise or oath (the rest have human beings as the subject).⁴¹¹

In order to understand what is in view in Rom 9:4, Paul's use of the word in Rom 4:13-20; 9:8-9; 15:8 would be an important starting point. In these texts, the term refers to the promises that God made to Abraham (and his descendants) that they, who are many, will be blessed, and will inherit the land (or 'world' cf. Rom 4:13). These promises are, of course, rooted in passages like Gen 12:1-3, 17:1-22 and others.⁴¹² I agree with Dunn's observation that while the eschatological and messianic promises (as suggested by Cranfield)⁴¹³ cannot be excluded, it would actually detract from the primary point of Paul's argument in Rom 9:4-5.⁴¹⁴ It would be reasonable to think that, when Paul uses the word ἐπαγγελίαι in Rom 9:4, he has in view the promises that God made (and often repeated) to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, in line with Rom 4:13-20 and 9:8-9. These promises are located primarily in the Pentateuch, with Genesis being the key.

⁴¹⁰ Gen 21:23-24, 31; 22:16; 24:7, 9; 25:33; 26:3, 31; 31:53; 47:31; 50:24; Ex 13:5, 11; 32:13; 33:1; Lev 5:4, 22, 24; 19:12; Num 11:12; 14:16, 23; 30:3; 32:10-11; Deut 1:8, 34-35; 2:14; 4:21, 31; 6:10, 13, 18, 23; 7:8, 12-13; 8:1, 18; 9:5; 10:11, 20; 11:9, 21; 13:18; 19:8; 26:3, 15; 28:9, 11; 29:12; 30:20; 31:7, 20-21, 23; 34:4.

⁴¹¹ Of these 45 verses, 44 instances refer to God's promise that Abraham's descendants would inherit the land (predominantly in Deuteronomy, with 31 of these verses).

⁴¹² The key passages would include Gen 12:1-3, 7; 13:14-17; 14:19-20; 15:4-7, 13-21; 16:9-12; 17:1-22; 18:17-19; 21:12-13; 22:16-18; 24:7; 26:2-6, 24; 27:27-29; 28:3-4, 13-15; 35:1-12; 46:3-4; 48:3-4; 48:15-16.

⁴¹³ Cranfield, *Romans*, 2:464.

⁴¹⁴ Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 528.

4.2.8 πατέρες

The term *πατέρες* has been used to refer to a number of Israel's forebears in Jewish literature: Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, the Twelve Patriarchs, Moses, the Exodus generation,⁴¹⁵ David,⁴¹⁶ and perhaps other notable ancestors from Israel's past.⁴¹⁷ It is frequently used in the context of a historical recapitulation (e.g. Num 20:15; Josh 24:17; 1 Kgs 8:21, 53; Ezra 9:7; Neh 9:9, 32; Ps 22:4; 44:2; 78:5; 106:7; Dan 9:16; and Stephen's speech in Acts 7). In these instances, the use of the term recalls the exploits or the experiences of the ancestors of the Israelites in order to make a point.

Paul could have all these OT figures in mind when he speaks of the Jews' forefathers in Rom 9:5.⁴¹⁸ After all, it ties in with his next point, that it is from them that Christ came according to the flesh. By making the connection between the forefathers and Christ, Paul traces a genealogical trajectory that successively links the history of the Jewish people in the past to the coming of Christ in the present. Their own heritage as Jews, of which they may be proud, is also the same progenitor of Christ in the flesh.

As such, I would think that Paul's use of the keyword *πατέρες* encapsulates the line of Israel's notable ancestors previous to the generation of Paul and his contemporaries as recorded in Scripture.⁴¹⁹ Although many of the accounts of

⁴¹⁵ Cf. 1 Kgs 8:53; Acts 7:45; Josephus *Antiquities* 2.8 (although the word *προγόνων* is used instead of *πατέρων*).

⁴¹⁶ Cf. Mk 11:10; Acts 4:25.

⁴¹⁷ It is, however, unlikely that the Jews in Paul's time would conceive of those earlier than Abraham as their *πατέρες*, even though there are times when one's ancestry would be traced to Adam himself (e.g. the genealogy in the Gospel of Luke, 3:23-38; Josephus' *Antiquities of the Jews*; and even Genesis 1-12). If the writing of Josephus were to be any indication: In *Ant.* 3.87, Josephus speaks of Adam and Noah with a certain distance, but addresses Abraham with the affectionate appellation, 'our forefather' (*ἡμέτερος πρόγονος*).

⁴¹⁸ This is supported by both Cranfield and Dunn, cf. Cranfield, *Romans*, 464, also fn. 2; Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 535.

⁴¹⁹ Dunn's observation that the term includes 'outstanding figures of generations *prior to the speaker*' (my emphasis) is noted, cf. Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 528.

these forefathers are found primarily in the Pentateuch (at least up to the Exodus generation), the other historical accounts in Scripture cannot be excluded.

4.2.9 Χριστός

When Paul uses the phrase, 'out of whom is the Christ according to the flesh' (ἐξ ᾧν ὁ Χριστός τὸ κατὰ σάρκα) to cap off the list of key terms in Rom 9:4-5, it serves as a bridge that links the Israel of history (with all its special privileges in relation to its status as a people of God) to the Jews of his day. This Christ, according to Paul, is closely connected with the current revelation of God's righteousness.⁴²⁰

On the other hand, *χριστός* is also a term that is filled with significance from the standpoint of the Old Testament. The term is often applied to three types of figures: King, Priest and Prophet.⁴²¹ Paul's use of the term in Rom 9:4-5 with reference to Jesus Christ, however, should be considered in the light of the Jewish messianic expectations that came into sharp focus during the Exilic and post-Exilic period, based on the reading of passages like Isa 9:1-6 (=9:2-7 EB); 11:1-5; Jer 33:14-18; Ezk 46:1-8; Zech 4:1-4; 6:12-13; 9:9-10; Dan 9:25-26; Hos 3:5 and Mic 5:2-5.⁴²² The Jews differ in their interpretation of these texts;⁴²³ and whether

⁴²⁰ E.g. Rom 3:21-26, which presents Christ as the sacrifice that makes God's righteousness available through faith. The use of *vñv* in vv. 21 and 26 has a temporal force that underscores what God is doing in the *present*.

⁴²¹ *Χριστός* and its cognates in the LXX translate the Hebrew *חֲשִׁיב* and refer to the anointed **high priest** in Leviticus (Lev 4:3, 5, 16; 6:13, 15; 7:36; 8:12; 16:32; 21:10*, 12*), and to the **king** in 1 and 2 Samuel (1 Sam 2:10, 35; 9:16; 10:1; 12:3, 5; 15:1, 17; 16:3, 6, 12-13; 24:7, 11; 26:9, 11, 16, 23; 2 Sam 1:14, 16; 2:4, 5*, 7; 5:3, 17; 12:7; 19:11, 22; 22:51-23:1), 1 and 2 Kings (1 Kings 1:34, 39, 45; 5:15; 19:15-16; 2 Kings 9:3, 6, 12; 11:12; 23:30) and Psalms (Ps 2:2; 17:51; 19:7; 27:8; 83:10; 88:21, 39, 52; 131:10, 17; except Ps 104:15 which refers to a priest). Other instances are: **prophets** (1 Kings 19:16; 1 Chr 16:22), **kings** (1 Chr 11:3; 14:8; 29:22; 2 Chr 6:42; 22:7*; 23:11; Hab 3:13; Isa 45:1 [Cyrus]; Lam 4:20), **priest** (Ex 28:41; 29:7; 30:30; 40:13; Num 35:25) and '**Anointed One**' (Ps 44:8; Isa 61:1; Dan 9:26; Amos 4:13*). *Asterisks refer to instances where *χριστός* is used without *חֲשִׁיב* in the Hebrew Vorlage. Also in the LXX: 2 Mac 1:10; Sir 45:15; 46:13, 19; 48:8; Sol 17:32; 18:0, 5, 7 where they inevitably refer to the king except 2 Mac 1:10 (prophet) and Sir 45:15 (priest).

⁴²² See Gerbern S. Oegema, *The Anointed and His People* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic

there are one, two, or more distinct entities that fulfil the role of the Messiah as prophet, priest, and warrior-king is a matter of some debate. What is evident, however, is that, to Paul, Christ has come as the Messianic Saviour as anticipated in the various OT texts, an anticipation that was heightened during the Second Temple period.⁴²⁴

Consequently, what we have here is an idea that has its seminal beginnings in the Pentateuch (e.g. Exodus and Leviticus)⁴²⁵ and the historical books (e.g. 1 & 2 Samuel; 1 & 2 Kings), and developed further in the prophetic writings, before reaching its heightened state during the Second Temple period as the authoritative books are being read.⁴²⁶ When Paul refers to Jesus as the Messiah, it is against this backdrop of Jewish Messianic expectation. The key texts, in this case, centre more on the interpretation of the prophetic texts (which, without doubt, have the earlier texts as their foundation), rather than the Pentateuch itself.

4.3 Consolidating Our Findings

After the somewhat detailed survey of the key terms and their intertextual connections to the various OT texts, it is time to consolidate our findings and see if any discernible pattern emerges. I shall organise the data on the basis of the

Press, 1998); Edward A. Wicher, "Ancient Jewish Views of the Messiah," *The Biblical World* 34, no. 5 & 6 (1909): 317-25; 404-09; A. J. B. Higgins, "Priest and Messiah," *Vetus Testamentum* 3, no. 4 (1953): 321-36; John Joseph Collins, *The Scepter and the Star* (New York: Doubleday, 1995).

⁴²³ This point is underscored by Jacob Neusner, "Messianic Themes in Formative Judaism," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 52, no. 2 (1984): 357. Neusner's article covers mainly Rabbinic Judaism (2nd to 7th century A.D.), but his remark here (in his introductory section) is meant for Second Temple Judaism as well.

⁴²⁴ For related texts see Shailer Mathews, "The Jewish Messianic Expectation in the Time of Jesus," *The Biblical World* 12, no. 6 (1898): 438-43; Henry Preserved Smith, "The Origin of the Messianic Hope in Israel," *The American Journal of Theology* 14, no. 3 (1910): 353-55.

⁴²⁵ J. Scott, however, traces this back to Genesis, cf. James Scott, "Historical Development of the Messianic Idea," *The Old Testament Student* 7, no. 6 (1888): 176-77.

⁴²⁶ For the view that the Jewish Messianic hope took shape during the Second Temple period, see Smith, "The Origin of the Messianic Hope in Israel," 340.

foregoing discussion, and differentiate between the texts that record the foundational events from which Paul’s summary in Rom 9:4-5 is made and the more secondary intertextual connections. It should be noted, however, that I am not attempting to achieve the same level of precision in identifying the intertextual connections as was done for the previous examples, simply because of the difference in this particular mode of summary. Paul uses the key terms, in my view, to summarise that which is embedded in a vast pool of scriptural resources. It would be counter-productive to be more precise than what the material allows. With that caveat in mind, I shall now turn to the data as presented in the following table (Figure 35).

Figure 35: Key OT Texts in Romans 9:4-5

Scripture references in **bold** indicate the main intertextual connections.

Key Terms in Rom 9:4-5	Key OT Texts
Ἰσραηλίται	Pentateuch.
υἰοθεσία	Exodus; Deuteronomy.
δόξα	Exodus; Numbers.
διαθήκαι	Genesis; Exodus.
νομοθεσία	Exodus; Numbers, Deuteronomy.
λατρεία	Exodus; Leviticus; Numbers.
ἐπαγγελία	Genesis.
πατέρες	Pentateuch and other books.
Χριστός	Prophets. ⁴²⁷

⁴²⁷ Some may object to my inclusion of prophetic materials as part of Paul’s summary of the historical narratives. Although the prophetic books are generally classified differently from the historical books in terms of literary genre (like the Pentateuch and the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings), and contain a high proportion of oracles in poetic form rather than strictly narrational prose, it should be noted that they are often anchored, however thinly, on a grand narrative of the nation’s history that begins with the Pentateuch. This is true of the Major Prophets (with Lamentations, perhaps, being an exception) and most, if not all, of the Minor Prophets. The book of Micah, for example, is set against this national historical framework at its beginning (Mic 1:1), although the rest of the book contains prophetic oracles. How these prophetic books fit into the overall narrative of the history of the Jewish people from Paul’s point of view is a question that deserves further investigation. On the other hand, the *content* of the prophetic oracles is frequently a continuation of the story of the Jewish nation (albeit with a future perspective) and Paul’s use of the prophetic books in this summary strongly suggests this. In addition, his use of Isaiah in Romans 9–11 in discussing the history of the Jews as a

Despite the general nature of the tabulation, the picture that emerges from the collated data is quite interesting. Paul's key terms can be traced mainly to the Pentateuch, especially the book of Exodus. The words in Rom 9:4-5 are not just descriptive of the Jewish identity, they also point to the most important, formative events that shaped their history as a people. It appears that what Paul is doing with these key words in Rom 9:4-5 is not just to set out the distinctive privileges of the Jews, but to draw attention to their place (at least, historically) in the context of God's unfolding history of redemption (*Heilsgeschichte*).⁴²⁸ Rather than a verbose recapitulation of the people's past, the key terms are put together to activate reminiscences of who the Jews are as a people of God even now, from the standpoint of Israel's Scriptures.

In his own mind, Paul may not have gone through each term consciously in detail as he writes, like what I have done in this analysis. What it does mean, however, is that the terms that Paul chooses are shaped by his knowledge of what the Scripture says about the Jews as a people, and he is simply using words that effectively represent the sum of its contents to make his point in Rom 9:4-5. It may be evident that a number of the terms that are used in the construal by Paul are theologically more significant during the Second Temple period than in the OT texts themselves. In the process of summarising a historical narrative, there is nothing to prevent Paul from using more contemporaneous language to do so (in fact, it would have been desirable sometimes, for the summary to be effective as a literary device). Some may argue that this points to some other extraneous intertextuality apart from the scriptural writings, e.g. to ancient Jewish thought during the Second Temple period. I do not deny that such intertextual connections are possible.⁴²⁹ Yet, it should also be noted that these concepts are frequently rooted in the OT texts themselves, even if they might have gone

people (e.g. Rom 9:33) is also indicative of the same perspective. Furthermore, we need to ask whether Paul, who uses the LXX, would distinguish the literary genres in the same way that we would now differentiate the historical narratives from the prophetic oracles.

⁴²⁸ Thus I agree readily with Bell's emphasis on the soteriological significance of these words in Rom 9:4-5, cf. Bell, *Provoked to Jealousy*, 175-76.

⁴²⁹ See Hays, *Conversion*, 165.

through some development in interpreting them over time (see, for example, our discussion on Paul's use of the word *Χριστός* above). Furthermore, the focus of the study here is to examine the intertextual connections between Paul's writings and that of the Old Testament, without denying other avenues of significance. To Paul, the Scriptures say that the Jews are unrivalled in terms of the special position that has been given to them; but they have not done the one thing that would have helped them to fulfil everything that the nation stands for in the context of God's salvation history—putting their trust in Christ.

4.4 Features in the Narrative Summary

It is apparent that this Narrative Summary is quite different from those encountered earlier in the study. This pertains largely to the manner in which the summary is made. Whereas in the earlier examples we have abbreviated recapitulations of the OT historical narratives in the form of *re-narration*, what we have here is a terse summary based on the use of *keywords*. Nonetheless, how substantially different is this Narrative Summary as a *literary device*, compared to the foregoing examples? This can be determined by looking at its key features using the same framework used in the previous examples. Perhaps the concise nature of the summary may make the task more challenging; but the indications are still discernible upon careful examination.

4.4.1 *Chronological Order at the Macro Level*

Based on the collated data, Paul's Narrative Summary (through the use of a list of keywords) has no particular chronological order in relation to the texts that he is supposedly summarising. While perhaps certain terms like *νομοθεσία* and *λατρεία* may be said to be traceable to specific texts that record foundational events associated with the use of these terms in the summary, some of the terms that Paul uses, like *Ἰσραηλιται* and *πατέρες* for instance, are spread over a number of textual precedents that cannot be narrowed down to any specific texts. In the light of this, I think it is more reasonable to suppose that Paul is not

working with any chronological order in mind here, as far as the historical narratives are concerned.

This is expected, since Paul is treating the materials in the Pentateuch (and some materials outside of it, e.g. the prophetic books with respect to Χριστός) as one episodic frame (see below). There is no ‘movement’ within the NS that would correlate the use of the OT materials with separate points he is making in the Narrative Summary (which, as we have seen thus far, is frequently the case when multiple episodic frames are present). Instead, the keywords work together to advance one point—the Jews have been accorded a special position as a people of God historically, as recorded in the Scriptures. If my postulation is correct, it only goes to demonstrate that the amount of base materials has no bearing on the length of the resulting Narrative Summary. The scope of the historical narratives covered may be rather extensive, as in our example here, and yet they are encapsulated simply through the use of several *keywords* in the summary.

4.4.2 *Rearrangement at the Micro Level*

The fact that materials are drawn from numerous places in the Pentateuch and the prophetic books, and brought into the summary through keywords that point to a thematic emphasis, attests to the rearrangement of the OT materials at the micro level. Thus, when Paul uses the term Ἰσραηλίται as the leading term in his word list, it does not summarise any one particular text within the Pentateuch. Rather, closely related to terms like υἱοὶ Ἰσραηλ, it points to those occasions when the distinct identity of the people of God as opposed to those of the other nations is emphasised. The base texts from which this idea is drawn are distributed throughout the five books of the Pentateuch, which is the root, and it may be said that the later usages are predicated upon these initial references as a precondition.

Next, we have a term, *υἰοθεσία*, that is rooted (as we have shown) in the foundational events recorded in Exodus and Deuteronomy. The next term, *δόξα*, in my reckoning, originates from events recorded in Exodus; but the term after that, *διαθήκαι*, brings us back to Genesis and Exodus. What we have here is not any neat chronological order in which the terms are laid out, such as Genesis–Exodus–Deuteronomy, but Pentateuch (all five books)–Exodus/Deuteronomy–Genesis/Exodus. The same non-chronological order would emerge even if we were to continue our analysis of the other remaining terms. This suggests, in other words, the dislocation of the original OT materials in Paul’s summary, which is what I label the ‘rearrangement (of the narrative materials) at the micro level’.

4.4.3 *Episodic Frames*

The two categories discussed thus far in this Narrative Summary—chronological order at the macro level (or lack thereof) and the rearrangement of the OT elements at the micro level—are complemented by the observation that Paul seems to be conceptualising the base materials as one large episodic frame in this summary. Our earlier studies show that there is some correlation between the ‘movements’ or the sub-points that the author may be making in the course of laying out his Narrative Summary, which functions as a literary device to carry his main argument forward in a discourse, and the episodic frames that are discernible in his summary.

Thus, the presence of a single episodic frame, like in this case, indicates that Paul is using it to make one particular main point. It amounts to a synchronic use of the historical narratives, where the flow of events in the narratives are disregarded or compacted, in contrast to the diachronic mode observed in Rom 4:1-25, Gal 4:21-31 and Rom 9:6-13. In Rom 9:4-5, Paul uses the recapitulation of the OT narratives to underscore the point that the Jews are a privileged people in the context of God’s history of redemption. From here, pointing backwards to Rom 9:1-3, it explains why Paul is aggrieved for his people. Pointing forward, to

Rom 9:6 and following, it leads to the question of whether God has abandoned this privileged people, now that they have failed to embrace the Son who has been sent to redeem them.

4.4.4 Rhetorical Purpose

The rhetorical purpose at play in this brief summary is evident in a number of ways. The format of this summary, for example, is particularly suited for its rhetorical purpose. At this point in his lament, Paul wants to give a vivid and evocative sketch of the Jews' special position as God's people in the history of salvation to underscore the reason for his grief over his people (cf. Rom 9:1-3). What better way than to present the key points in rapid succession? Too verbose a presentation would lose its impact. Through the use of bullet-point-like keywords, Paul sketches a profile that would effectively distinguish the Jews' privileged position from that of the Gentiles.

This, of course, does not undermine the view that Paul had the relationship between the Jewish and Gentile believers at Rome in mind when he wrote the epistle. While emphasising the Jews' special position, Paul is also at the same time saying that they have not responded as they should, and the Gentiles, who are not placed in the same position, have in fact responded in faith. Nonetheless, as the rest of Romans 9–11 would go on to show, the Jews are by no means abandoned by God. The overall effect of such overtures would serve to foster the relationship between the two groups rather than to alienate one group from the other.

Furthermore, there is the careful selection of the terms included in the summary-list, which I discuss more fully in the next section (see section 4.4.5 below). However—it is pertinent to note here—the fact that each of these keywords is connected with some of the most powerful symbols or experiences of the Jews as a people also goes a long way towards advancing the rhetorical impact of the

summary. To those who have any degree of familiarity with the authoritative writings at all, each of the points mentioned would conjure powerful images of the nation's history. These images, symbols or experiences do not just remain in the past; collectively, they continue to shape the Jews in the present. This, evidently, is the effect that Paul wants to create on the part of his Jewish readers.

4.4.5 *Selective Focus*

Paul does not set out to give an exhaustive listing of all the distinctive qualities of the Jewish people in his summary—at least not explicitly. However, as I mentioned earlier (section 4.1), this word list has been carefully crafted. Indeed, a careful examination of each of these words reveals that an astonishing range of historical material may be subsumed, however indirectly, under some of these headings. This suggests that some thought has gone into their inclusion. For example, when Paul uses the term *λατρεία*, it denotes not only the *service of worship*, but also the *temple* (ἱερόν) itself, which is central to the Jews. Not only that, one would also think of the *sacrifices*, the *priests*, the *rituals*, even the singing of *psalms*, and so on. The use of the word *ἐπαγγελία* conjures not only the *promises* that are made, but also the personal *care* of Yahweh for his people, and the sending of *prophets* to shepherd his people during their times of need by delivering the words of encouragement and hope. The use of *διαθήκαι* recalls instances when God demonstrates his merciful love (רַחֲמֵי, largely translated as ἔλεος in LXX) under those covenants, especially when the people were sinning against him (e.g. Ex 34:7; Num 14:19)—a theme that would resonate with Paul's tenor in Rom 9:1-5. All this suggests that *selective focus* is at work.

There is also another way in which the selection of materials is evident. This has to do, not with what is *included*, but with what is *excluded* in the summary. Despite the use of key words that point to some very significant aspects of the Jews' heritage (which also have on-going implications for the present), there are some significant events left out of his summary. For example, Paul does not

mention the military conquests of Israel. Gerhard von Rad, in his study of warfare in ancient Israel, proposes that the holy war is an important institution for the Israelites in the Old Testament, and it is rooted in Yahweh's covenantal relationship with his people.⁴³⁰ The Golden Age of Israel's history during the time of King Solomon is made possible only because his father David, enabled by God, conducted a series of successful military campaigns that enlarged Israel's borders. Yet, in Paul's summary, this is not mentioned.

Of course, various reasons may be advanced to explain this non-inclusion. In an epistle to the Christians in the imperial capital at Rome, comprising Gentile as well as Jewish believers, it is perhaps not prudent to talk about Israel's (historical) campaigns against her Gentile neighbours. It does not help to advance the relationship between Jews and Gentiles in the congregation, and it does not mitigate any tension that could already be present between some members and the Roman authorities (cf. Rom 13:1-7). Furthermore, since Paul's choice of terms are derived mainly from events recorded in the Pentateuch (with the exception of the word *Χριστός*), it may be argued that the conquests of Israel are not in view, since these are mentioned primarily after the Pentateuch (mainly the books of Joshua, Judges and 1 Samuel; but see, for example, the battle against the Amalekites, Ex 17:8-16). Whatever the reason may be, Paul sees fit, for the purpose of his discourse, not to select this for inclusion into his summary.

Furthermore, despite the fact that a number of Paul's keywords in Rom 9:1-4 are connected in one way or another with events associated with the Exodus from Egypt (e.g. words like *υιοθεσία*, *δόξα* and *νομοθεσία* are clearly rooted in Exodus), Paul's summary does not mention the Exodus explicitly, like he does in 1 Cor 10:1-13. Whether Paul thought the indirect references to the Exodus by the selected keywords are good enough, or it is too general an event (encompassing many things: the giving of the law, the people's adoption by God, the

⁴³⁰ Gerhard von Rad and Marva J. Dawn, *Holy War in Ancient Israel* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1991), 41-51.

manifestation of God's glory, etc.), or too specific a reference (crossing of the sea), we cannot be sure. Along with this is the omission of any mention of miracles (are these to be included under the term δόξα?). How Paul makes his choices may not be entirely clear; but certainly there is an element of selected focus here; some aspects of the materials covered in the OT historical narratives are explicitly highlighted, while others are either implied or by-passed altogether.

4.4.6 *Interpretative Elements*

The use of Scripture in a discourse, such as the use of the OT historical narratives in a Narrative Summary, involves drawing out the relevant portions of the text, shaping them, and deploying the resulting excerpt as a literary device to support the argument. This is both a hermeneutical as well as literary task. The hermeneutical intervention in the text would be discernible in the Narrative Summary by carefully comparing the base text (i.e. the OT passage in our case) and the Narrative Summary, with its hermeneutical elements, in the on-going discourse. In theory, the form and function of the Narrative Summary would be commensurate with its rhetorical purpose.

When Paul lists the keywords and presents these as distinctive marks of the Jews' privileged position in God's unfolding plan of salvation, he is in effect interpreting the texts of the Old Testament. The narratives in the Pentateuch tell the story of the people of Israel—how their forefathers were chosen by God, given the promises and covenants, delivered out of Egypt, given the law, and brought into the Promised Land. From these, Paul distills the point that the Jews as a people are given special privileges. That itself is an act of interpretation.

In addition, Paul uses words that have current relevance to execute his summary. While it may seem innocuous, the use of some current terms to capture the essence of the ancient written materials often involves interpretation. Take, for example, Paul's use of the word υἰοθεσία. We observed earlier that this word is

not found in the LXX, but is a word used in Graeco-Roman culture. We further traced this idea of ‘adoption’ to some foundational events in the Pentateuch, particularly Ex 4:22-23, where Yahweh declares to Pharaoh that Israel is his first-born son, and Deut 32:6, a song of Moses that speaks of Yahweh’s relationship with his people as that of father and son, contrasting their disloyalty against Yahweh’s faithfulness.⁴³¹ Nowhere in the narratives that Paul is summarising, however, does it say that Israel has been ‘adopted’ by God as a son. This is a reasonable conclusion, no doubt, that is based on the father-and-son language in several places in the Old Testament, beginning with the Pentateuch; but to apply the term υἱοθεσία (adoption) as a summary of these texts is an interpretation nevertheless.

Similar comment may be extended to the use of the word Χριστός. As we discussed earlier, the word represents a marked development in the theology of the Christ during the time of the Second Temple period. It may be an oversimplification to say that this understanding of the Christ (or Messiah) is based on the interpretation of certain texts in the prophetic writings, which themselves are built upon earlier texts (Pentateuch, and the books of Samuel and Kings, especially) that speak of the Lord’s anointed servants—priests, kings, and prophets. But the point is that, by the time it comes to Paul, the word Χριστός is already reflective of a hermeneutical tradition current during the Second Temple period. To use the word, therefore, is more than just a *pure summary* of the OT texts—it introduces a strong interpretative element into the NS.

⁴³¹ Christensen notes that the song does not mention the covenant, implying that the father-son relationship, rather than a covenantal relationship, is in view, cf. Duane L. Christensen, *Deuteronomy 21:10–34:12* (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 2002), 794. Nonetheless, I think it is too rigid to exclude one from the other, since the father-son relationship between God and his people is predicated on the covenant and vice-versa. The *substance* of the song is clearly covenantal in nature.

4.4.7 *Continuation into the Present*

The fact that Paul is talking about the Jews' privileged position in the context of the history of salvation, yet with on-going implications in mind, is itself indicative that his Narrative Summary does not dwell only in the past, but has in view its continuation into the present. Indeed, Paul is not describing the Jews' forefathers *per se* in Rom 9:4-5; he is actually describing the Jews of his day when he says that 'they are the Israelites, to whom is the adoption, and the glory,' and so on (Rom 9:4-5). He is speaking of his fellow countrymen (Rom 9:1-3). If there is any recourse to the historical accounts, it is deemed to be descriptive of who the Jews are in the present.

Furthermore, in the second and third relative clauses of Rom 9:4-5, Paul says, 'to whom are the fathers, and out of whom came the Christ according to the flesh' (v. 5). This little expression actually draws the reader's mind from the past into the present. The forefathers of the Israelites are spoken of in Scripture, a record of the past; but the Christ, though anticipated in Scripture, is now here, in the present (Rom 3:21–8:39). The continuity between the historical narratives in Scripture, which narrates the stories of Israel's forefathers, and the Christ in the present, among the people whom Paul is addressing in his epistle, is unmistakable. Therefore, compared to the other examples of the Narrative Summary that we have seen thus far, this NS is as clear as any other in manifesting this continuation of the historical narratives into the present.

5 **Elijah (Romans 11:1-6)**

5.1 Introduction

In Rom 11:1-6 Paul uses the account of Elijah's conversation with God in 1 Kings 19 to explain that, despite the failure of the Jews to submit to God's righteousness (Rom 10:3)—and this is not due to God's message of salvation being inaccessible to them (Rom 10:5-21)—God has not rejected his people (Rom 11:1). The

question that Paul poses at the beginning of this part of his discourse (i.e. ‘God has not rejected his people, has he?’) is an issue that has cropped up on a number of occasions in the history of the Jews’ relationship with God, as attested in the OT writings.⁴³² In these instances, the people’s rejection of God’s word either threatens to, or actually does, bring about the corresponding rejection of the people by God.⁴³³ Thus, given the steep intertextual tradition of pondering over such questions when the nation is misaligned in its loyalty to Yahweh, the question that Paul poses at this stage is a logical development in the discourse; the Jews’ failure to embrace the message of salvation through Jesus Christ would prompt such a question from his Jewish interlocutor. It is whether or not, in the light of the Jews’ failure to embrace the gospel, they are in fact abandoned by God.

The answer which Paul gives in response to the question is in two interrelated parts.⁴³⁴ The first part (Rom 11:1b-2a) is found immediately following the question, where Paul first points to himself (being a full-blooded Israelite) as evidence that God could not have abandoned his people; for Paul himself is also

⁴³² Wagner traces the allusion of Paul’s rhetorical question in Rom 11:1 to Ps 93:14 and 1 Sam 12:22, cf. Wagner, *Heralds*, 223-31. Similarly, Stuhlmacher sees the connection to 1 Sam 12:22, cf. Stuhlmacher, *Römer*, 148. It should be noted, however, that underneath this intertextual connection is a vast pool of scriptural references that record the same issue being played up at numerous junctions in the nation’s history, for example, Jdg 6:13; 1 Sam 8:7; 12:22; 15:23, 26; 16:1; 2 Sam 12:10; 2 Kgs 17:20; 21:14; 23:27; Ps 14:4 [15:4]; 21:25 [22:24]; 52:6 [53:5]; 68:34 [69:33]; 72:20 [73:20]; 77:59–60 [78:59-60], 67 [78:67]; 88:39 [88:38]; 93:14 [94:14]; 101:18 [102:17]; 105:24 [106:24]; Hos 4:6; 9:17; Amos 2:4; 5:21; Mal 1:7, 12; 2:9; Jer 2:37; 6:19; 7:29; Lam 5:22; Ezk 5:6; 20:13, 16, 24. These references centre on words like ἀπωθέω and ἐξουθενόω in the LXX, often translating words like שָׁטָה, הִזָּק and כָּסַף in Hebrew, and they are used to refer to the people’s rejection of God’s word as well as God’s rejection of his people. See also Lev 26:44; Ps 43:10, 24 [44:9, 23]; 59:3, 12 [60:1, 10]; 73:1 [74:1]; 107:12 [108:11]; Jer 38:35 [=31:37]; Lam 2:7; Ezk 5:11; 11:16; Hos 9:17. Hence, there is a thick web of intertextual matrix that probably exerts itself on the Jews’ psyche at times when their alignment with God’s purpose is at stake, and which stands behind Paul’s question in Rom 11:1.

⁴³³ Perhaps Dunn puts it better when he says, ‘Paul clearly has in mind the regular OT usage, where the thought of God rejecting his people was entertained as a prospect, or question or conclusion’, Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 634.

⁴³⁴ The expression ἢ οὐκ οἶδατε... (‘or do you not know’) in v. 2 implies a slight disjunction in the argumentation.

an Israelite, and he has been saved (cf. Rom 10:1), not abandoned by God. Paul would be an extraordinary example of God's grace to the Jews because he (Paul) himself was once in enmity against Christ!⁴³⁵

The second part of the answer (Rom 11:2b-6) turns to the conversation between God and Elijah at a time when the Israelites reached one of the lowest points in their relationship with Yahweh. Among the Pauline epistles, this is the only Narrative Summary that is based on OT narrative materials outside of the Pentateuch. Evidently, the relevance of the story is based on seeing a corollary between the widespread abandonment of God's word by the Israelites during the time of Elijah and the Jews' rejection of the gospel in the present. This parallel is even more striking when we compare Paul's description of Elijah in his introductory remark in Rom 11:2b ('how he [Elijah] *appealed* to God concerning Israel') with Paul's own intervention for his fellow countrymen in Rom 9:3; 10:1. As Wilckens remarks, Paul sees himself in Elijah's situation.⁴³⁶ Furthermore, as Wagner observes, it is in line with many of the scriptural texts that Paul draws upon in Romans 9–11 (e.g. Isa 8:28-29, 65; Psalm 68 [69]; and 93 [94]), which portray a time of apostasy and impending judgment by God.⁴³⁷

Just as many of the Jews have not submitted themselves to God's righteousness (Rom 10:3) and have not obeyed the gospel (Rom 10:16), so the Israelites in Elijah's day had also largely deviated from their worship of God. The latter is noticeable, not only in Elijah's observation that the king, Ahab, had abandoned⁴³⁸ the Lord's commands and followed the Baals (1 Kgs 18:18), but also in the Israelites' silence when they were asked to make a decision to follow Yahweh (1 Kgs 18:21).

⁴³⁵ Schlatter, *Römer*, 191.

⁴³⁶ Wilckens, *Römer* v. 2, 237.

⁴³⁷ Wagner, *Heralds*, 224.

⁴³⁸ The word *καταλιμπάνειν* here is used synonymously with *ἀπωθέω* and *ἐξουθενώ*, translating עָזַב.

This is further corroborated by the note that the Lord's altar was allowed to lie in ruins (1 Kgs 18:30), suggesting that the people had deviated from the worship of Yahweh. In the face of such apostasy, then as well as now, God would not abandon his people, would he? The answer provided by Paul's reading of the text is as incisive to his readers in Rom 11:4 as it was to Elijah in 1 Kgs 19:18—'I have left for myself 7,000 men, who have not bent the knee to Baal', and Paul certainly counts himself as one of these remnants in his day (Rom 11:1b).

On the other hand, it might be argued that the situation with Elijah is different from that of Paul. For Elijah, his point is that all the people have seemingly abandoned Yahweh (1 Kgs 19:10, 14), not the other way round, whereas Paul's question is whether or not the Jews have been abandoned by God (Rom 11:1). How is this hermeneutical gap traversed in Paul's reading of the Elijah story? I think the hint lies implicitly with Paul's citation from 1 Kgs 19:18 in Rom 11:4. In response to Elijah's statement (that he alone is left in all Israel, i.e. he is the only remaining faithful Israelite, cf. 1 Kgs 19:14), Yahweh says that *he* [Yahweh] has left for himself 7,000 Israelites who have not bent the knee to Baal. Despite what Elijah may think, it is ultimately the initiative of God that decides whether there is to be a remnant of faithful Israelites left in the nation.

In the same way, for Paul, as much as it is the failure of the Jews to respond positively to the gospel that leads to his rhetorical question in Rom 11:1, the crux of the matter is ultimately the faithfulness of God himself—has he abandoned his people? The answer in both cases is a resolute, 'No!'.

What I am interested to investigate here, nonetheless, is the manner in which Paul goes about crafting his Narrative Summary for the purpose of his discourse. In line with the approach taken thus far in the analysis of the Narrative Summary, I shall begin by looking at the intertextual connections between Paul's Narrative Summary in Rom 11:1-6 and the Old Testament, especially 1 Kings 19.

5.2 Textual Referents and Scope of Material

Paul's Narrative Summary of the Elijah account is effected largely by the two references to 1 Kings 19, found in Rom 11:3, 4. The first (Rom 11:3) is an explicit citation from either 1 Kgs 19:10 or 19:14 (which we shall pinpoint below), the second (Rom 11:4) is a citation from 1 Kgs 19:18. That these citations function merely as 'hooks' to recall the Elijah account in 1 Kings 19 is evident in the fact that many of the narrative elements that are significant to a proper understanding of Paul's point in the discourse are not explicit. Conversely, these details are assumed to be known by Paul's readers, and recalled through the use of the citations.⁴³⁹ Nonetheless, there are some crucial textual issues in relation to these citations that need to be resolved before proceeding further, since these would affect our analysis of Paul's Narrative Summary.

5.2.1 *The Citation from 1 Kings 19:10 in Romans 11:3*

As far as Rom 11:3 is concerned, the presence of the word *κατέσκαψαν* indicates that the citation is probably taken from 1 Kgs 19:10 rather than 1 Kgs 19:14, which has *καθειλαν* instead of *κατέσκαψαν* in the Greek OT. The presence of *κατέσκαψαν* (rather than *καθειλαν*) in 1 Kgs 19:14 in a small group of relatively late Greek manuscripts, b, c₂ and e₂ (akin to the Lucianic recension)⁴⁴⁰ can be attributed to an emendation that was possibly made on the text in 1 Kgs 19:14, either on the basis of Paul's citation in Rom 11:3 or, more likely, as part of an effort to revise the Greek text in conformity to the Hebrew OT.⁴⁴¹ Otherwise, the majority of the textual witnesses would support the

⁴³⁹ Such a use of Scripture is not an *allusion*, since the narrative (i.e. the Elijah account) is explicitly referenced and discussed (in Rom 11:1-6).

⁴⁴⁰ For the sake of convenience, we shall refer to these texts, together with MS o, as the 'Lucianic texts' in our discussion.

⁴⁴¹ Frank Moore Cross, Jr., "The History of the Biblical Text in the Light of Discoveries in the Judaean Desert," *The Harvard Theological Review* 57, no. 4 (1964): 292. Cross postulates the general theory that a series of revisions were undertaken on the Old Greek texts at different times to bring them into conformity with a changing Hebrew textual tradition in Palestine. In the Hebrew text, the wording in 1 Kgs 19:10 and 19:14 are identical. This may explain why a change could be made to the text in 1 Kgs 19:14 by a

identification of Rom 11:3 with 1 Kgs 19:10. I shall, therefore, focus the attention on the Greek text in 1 Kgs 19:10 and Rom 11:3.

In order to facilitate the discussion, I collated the various readings from 1 Kgs 19:10 taken from Brooke-McLean’s Larger Cambridge edition, which uses Codex B ‘Vaticanus’ as the base text for the LXX, along with Paul’s citation in Rom 11:3 (Figure 36).⁴⁴² It should be noted that the text for Rom 11:3 in NA27 does not register any textual variant; and, except for a few minor differences, the two other major witnesses for 1 Kgs 19:10, 14, Codex \aleph ‘Sinaiticus’ and Codex A ‘Alexandrinus’, are similar to the text in B. Furthermore, the text of the LXX (as reflected in Brooke-McLean) approximates the Hebrew MT as we have it.

Figure 36: Textual Variants for 1 Kings 19:10, 14 Compared to Romans 11:3

Single underline = Agreement between Rom 11:3 and Justin Martyr / Origen against B.

Double underline = Agreement in key words between Rom 11:3 and MS b, c2, e2 (and o) against B.

[1] and [2] = Markers for transposed clauses.

1 Kgs 19:10 LXX	[1] τὰ θυσιαστήριά σου κατέσκαψαν καὶ [2] τοὺς προφῆτας σου ἀπέκτειναν ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ, καὶ ὑπολέλειμμαι ἐγὼ μονώτατος, καὶ ζητοῦσι τὴν ψυχὴν μου λαβεῖν αὐτήν
Rom 11:3 NA27	κύριε, [2] τοὺς προφῆτας σου ἀπέκτειναν, [1] τὰ θυσιαστήριά σου κατέσκαψαν, <u>κάγὼ ὑπελείφθην μόνος</u> καὶ ζητοῦσιν τὴν ψυχὴν μου.
1 Kgs 19:10 J. Martyr	[2] τοὺς προφῆτας σου ἀπέκτειναν καὶ [1] τὰ θυσιαστήριά σου κατέσκαψαν ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ, <u>κάγὼ ὑπελείφθην μόνος</u> , καὶ ζητοῦσι τὴν ψυχὴν μου
1 Kgs 19:10 Origen	[2] τοὺς προφῆτας σου ἀπέκτειναν [1] τὰ θυσιαστήριά σου κατέσκαψαν ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ, <u>κάγὼ ὑπελείφθην</u> μονώτατος, καὶ ζητοῦσι τὴν ψυχὴν μου λαβεῖν αὐτήν
1 Kgs 19:10 b, o, c ₂ , e ₂	τὰ θυσιαστήριά σου κατέσκαψαν καὶ τοὺς προφῆτας σου ἀπέκτειναν ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ, καὶ <u>ὑπελείφθην</u> ἐγὼ μονώτατος, καὶ ζητοῦσι τὴν ψυχὴν μου λαβεῖν αὐτήν

A careful comparison between Paul’s citation in Rom 11:3 and 1 Kgs 19:10 LXX reveals that there are two key differences between the two. First, there is a difference in the order of the first two clauses in the texts (marked [1] and [2] in Figure 36 above). Second, where the LXX has the phrase καὶ ὑπολέλειμμαι ἐγὼ

later scribe, in an effort to correct the Greek text on the basis of the Hebrew OT.

⁴⁴² Alan England Brooke, Norman McLean and H. St. J. Thackeray, *The Old Testament in Greek*, vol. 2 pt. 2 I–II Kings (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930), ad loc.

μονώτατος, Paul's citation has *καὶ γὰρ ὑπελείφθη μόνος*.⁴⁴³ The *καί + ἐγώ* in the LXX is also presented as the blended word (crasis) *καὶ γὰρ* in Paul's citation.

These departures from the LXX, curiously, are supported by the readings from Justin Martyr (c. 100–165) and Origen (c. 184–253). However, since the transmission history of these latter textual witnesses is unclear and the texts themselves were open to changes by later scribes (even though Origen would revise the Greek text to correlate with his Hebrew *Vorlage* if there was any discrepancy in the order of the clauses),⁴⁴⁴ this textual evidence has to be weighed against the evidence presented in the better Greek manuscripts, such as *Codex Vaticanus*, which is used as the base text in Brooke-McLean. In all probability, the change in the order of the narrative elements in Rom 11:3 is due to an adaptation by the apostle Paul. In his assessment of this textual variation, Stanley also arrived at a similar conclusion.⁴⁴⁵

For pretty much the same reasons, we may also surmise that the use of the aorist form of the verb *ὑπολείπω* in the texts by Justin Martyr and Origen could be due to the influence of Rom 11:3. The presence of the same verb form in the minority Lucianic texts b, o, c₂ and e₂, which are otherwise identical to the base text, may also be attributed to the influence of Paul's citation in Rom 11:3. Based on these considerations, it seems reasonable to offer the following points as a working hypothesis:

1. Paul cites from 1 Kgs 19:10, and not 19:14, in Rom 11:3;
2. Paul changes the order of the narrative elements; and

⁴⁴³ While the meaning between the two phrases are approximately the same, there is a subtle difference. Paul's citation is marked by the use of the aorist form of the verb *ὑπολείπω*, whereas the LXX has the perfect tense. The use of the perfect in the LXX places an emphasis on the ongoing effect of a completed action (i.e. Elijah talking about the effect of his being the only one left), which is not present in the aorist.

⁴⁴⁴ Swete gives a good account of Origen's methodology, cf. Henry B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, Revised ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914), 59-74.

⁴⁴⁵ Stanley, *Language*, 148-49.

- Paul invents the phrase *καὶ γὼ ὑπελείφθην μόνος* ('and I alone am left') in his Narrative Summary and changes the perfect tense of the verb *ὑπολείπω* to the aorist.

5.2.2 The Citation from 1 Kings 19:18 in Romans 11:4

With regard to the citation from 1 Kgs 19:18 in Rom 11:4, the situation appears to be less clear. The following table shows a collation of these readings that would facilitate the discussion (see Figure 37). I am featuring these texts because they contain the more significant variations.

Figure 37: Textual Variants for 1 Kings 19:18 Compared to Romans 11:4

Single underline = Identical elements between Rom 11:3 and LXX.
Dashed underline = Similarities in language, themes or ideas between Rom 11:3 and LXX.

1 Kgs 19:18 LXX	καὶ <u>καταλείψεις</u> ἐν Ἰσραηλ <u>ἑπτὰ χιλιάδας ἀνδρῶν</u> , πάντα γόνατα, <u>ἃ οὐκ ὄκλασαν γόνυ τῷ Βααλ</u> .
Rom 11:4 NA27	<u>κατέλιπον</u> ἑμαυτῷ <u>ἑπτακισχιλίους ἀνδρας</u> , οἵτινες οὐκ ἔκαμψαν γόνυ τῇ <u>Βααλ</u> .
1 Kgs 19:18 J. Martyr	καὶ ἐτι εἰσι μοι ἐν Ἰσραηλ <u>ἑπτακισχιλίοι ἀνδρες</u> , οἱ οὐκ ἔκαμψαν γόνυ τῷ Βααλ.
1 Kgs 19:18 b, (c ₂), e ₂	καὶ καταλείψω ἐξ Ἰσραηλ <u>ἑπτὰ χιλιάδας ἀνδρᾶς</u> , πάντα γόνατα, ἃ οὐκ ἔκα(μ)ψαν ⁴⁴⁶ γόνυ τῷ Βααλ.

There are multiple points of divergence between the text in 1 Kgs 19:18 LXX and Paul's citation in Rom 11:4, of which the three main ones are as follows:

- Paul has the first person aorist *κατέλιπον* instead of the second person future *καταλείψεις* in the LXX;⁴⁴⁷
- Paul has *ἑμαυτῷ* ('for myself') instead of the prepositional phrase, *ἐν Ἰσραηλ* in LXX; and

⁴⁴⁶ The reading in c₂ has *ἔκαψαν* instead of *ἔκαμψαν*.

⁴⁴⁷ The Hebrew verb *קָטַף* is in the first person singular Hiphil perfect (having a causative force) in 1 Kgs 19:18 MT, which could also have influenced Paul's choice in making the change in his summary.

3. Paul does not have the phrase *πάντα γόνατα* ('all knees').⁴⁴⁸

There are good reasons for Paul to introduce these changes in the course of his Narrative Summary, as we shall see later. The other divergences are relatively minor and insignificant for our purpose, e.g. Paul has *ἑπτακισχιλίους* for 'seven thousand' instead of *ἑπτὰ χιλιάδας* in LXX (the former is deemed to be the more regular form in Greek), and the masculine relative pronoun *οἵτινες* in place of the neuter *ἃ* (along with the missing *πάντα γόνατα*) in the LXX.

The Lucianic group (comprising b, c₂ and e₂), on the other hand, follows the LXX closely except for two significant departures:

1. It has the first person future *καταλείψω*, which translates the MT more faithfully, instead of the second person future *καταλείψεις* in the LXX; and
2. It has the word *ἔκαμψαν* ('they bent down'; with a defective spelling in c₂) instead of *ἔκλασαν* ('they crouched down') in the LXX, which again may be a preferred translation of the Hebrew word *כָּרָעוּ* in the MT.⁴⁴⁹

This strongly suggests that, as far as these Lucianic texts are concerned, there was a revision towards the reading of the Hebrew text now represented in our MT.

As for the text of Justin Martyr, there is, like Paul, the use of the more natural *ἑπτακισχιλίοι* (*ἑπτακισχιλίους* in Paul's text) in place of LXX's *ἑπτὰ χιλιάδας*. In addition, Justin Martyr, like Paul, also omits the phrase *πάντα γόνατα*, which has an equivalent in the Hebrew text, but which also makes the syntax awkward in the Greek. While we must be careful not to be dogmatic in the absence of

⁴⁴⁸ Having the phrase would translate the Hebrew text more literally, but would be a more awkward sentence construction in the Greek.

⁴⁴⁹ However, note Stanley's remark that there is no established practice in translating the Hebrew word *כָּרָעוּ* in the LXX, although *καταλείπω* instead of *ὀκλάζω* is used with *γόνα* in the majority of cases, cf. Stanley, *Language*, 156 fn. 244. Nonetheless, if the Lucianic texts indeed represent a revision made on the LXX reading, whoever that did the revision might have preferred *καταλείπω* as a more appropriate rendering and thus amended the text accordingly.

more concrete evidence, I am personally inclined to think that Paul introduced these changes in the course of his Narrative Summary, and the text in Justin Martyr simply reflects a later scribal correction, with some influence from the Pauline citation in Rom 11:4.

In view of the foregoing discussion, and having examined the text-critical evidence, we can reasonably conclude that the *Vorlage* which Paul from his citation in Rom 11:4 used is quite close to the Greek text as reflected in MS B, \aleph and A, except for several modifications that can be attributed to the apostle himself:

1. Paul substituted ἐμαυτῷ for ἐν Ἰσραηλ;⁴⁵⁰
2. Paul changed the second person singular future form of the verb, καταλείψεις, to the first person singular aorist κατέλιπον to suit his context better, perhaps with some influence from the Hebrew text (where the first person singular Hiphil perfect would render quite naturally into the Greek first person singular aorist);⁴⁵¹ and
3. Paul omits the phrase πάντα γόνατα.

The rest of the variations are more difficult to account for given our current level of knowledge, but not particularly critical to our analysis of Paul's Narrative Summary in Rom 11:1-6.

⁴⁵⁰ Stanley also thinks this is likely, cf. *Ibid.*, 155.

⁴⁵¹ Although the Lucianic texts have the first person singular future καταλείψω, they probably represent a separate, later revision of the Greek OT in the direction of the Hebrew OT. Note that the syntactically awkward phrase, πάντα γόνατα, is retained in these readings, as opposed to Paul and Justin Martyr.

5.2.3 *Scope of Reference*

The explicit connection to the Elijah narrative, which controls the whole discussion in Rom 11:1-6, presupposes a broader familiarity with the account in 1 Kings 18–19. Without this familiarity with the Elijah story, much of the point of Paul’s argument in using this OT material would be lost.

The reader needs to understand, for example, that when Paul cites from 1 Kings 19 and says, ‘Lord, they have killed your prophets, and destroyed your altars, and I am the only one left, and they seek my life’ (Rom 11:3), it is taken from a narrative that is set against a background of widespread unfaithfulness to God, when the Israelites largely abandoned God’s commands, and that the ‘they’ in the citation refers, not to Israel’s enemies, but to God’s own people, the Israelites. Nonetheless, out of these Israelites (‘they’), Yahweh has reserved for himself 7,000 faithful ones.

Lacking this knowledge of the story, Paul’s point would be quite unintelligible—someone reading his words in Rom 11:3, unaware of its background, may think that Paul is talking about Elijah becoming a lone survivor after some kind of genocide, and all his fellow prophets have been killed by this unknown ‘they’, and this ‘they’ (who could be external oppressors) are now seeking to kill him as well. Without knowing their actual identity, the NS would not tie in very well with Paul’s discourse in Romans 9–11.

With these considerations in view, I now turn to the key intertextual connections between Rom 11:1-6 and the LXX, especially 1 Kings 19 (which is called *Regnorum III*, i.e. 3 Kings, in the LXX). Please refer to Figure 38 below.

Figure 38: Romans 11:1-6 and Its Intertextual Connections

Solid underline = Identical elements.

Dashed underline = Similarities in language, themes or ideas.

[A] = Allusion.

(1) Text of Rom 11:1-6 GNT	(2) Key OT Passages	(3) Other Intertextual Connections
Rom 11:1 Λέγω οὖν, μὴ ἀπόσατο ὁ θεὸς τὴν κληρονομίαν ⁴⁵² αὐτοῦ; μὴ γένοιτο· καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ Ἰσραηλίτης εἰμί, ἐκ σπέρματος Ἀβραάμ, φυλῆς Βενιαμίν.		[A] Ps 93:14b. See fn. 432.
Rom 11:2 οὐκ ἀπόσατο ὁ θεὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ὃν προέγνω. ἢ οὐκ οἴδατε ἐν Ἡλίᾳ τί λέγει ἡ γραφή, ὡς ἐντυγχάνει τῷ θεῷ κατὰ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ;		[A] Ps 93:14a. 1 Sam 12:22.
Rom 11:3 κύριε, τοὺς προφῆτας σου ἀπέκτειναν, τὰ θυσιαστήριά σου κατέσκαψαν, καὶ γὰρ ὑπελείφθη μόνος καὶ ζητοῦσιν τὴν ψυχὴν μου.	1 Kgs 19:10 καὶ εἶπεν Ἠλιου Ζηλῶν ἐζήλωκα τῷ κυρίῳ παντοκράτορι, ὅτι ἐγκατέλιπόν σε οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ· τὰ θυσιαστήριά σου κατέσκαψαν καὶ τοὺς προφῆτας σου ἀπέκτειναν ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ, καὶ ὑπολέλειμμαί ἐγὼ μόνωτατος, καὶ ζητοῦσι τὴν ψυχὴν μου λαβεῖν αὐτήν.	1 Kgs 19:14 καὶ εἶπεν Ἠλιου Ζηλῶν ἐζήλωκα τῷ κυρίῳ παντοκράτορι, ὅτι ἐγκατέλιπον τὴν διαθήκην σου οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ· τὰ θυσιαστήριά σου καθεῖλαν καὶ τοὺς προφῆτας σου ἀπέκτειναν ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ, καὶ ὑπολέλειμμαί ἐγὼ μόνωτατος, καὶ ζητοῦσι τὴν ψυχὴν μου λαβεῖν αὐτήν.
Rom 11:4 ἀλλὰ τί λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ χρηματισμός; κατέλιπον ἑμαυτῷ ἑπτακισχιλίους ἀνδρας, οἵτινες οὐκ ἔκαμψαν γόνυ τῇ Βααλ.	1 Kgs 19:18 καὶ καταλείψεις ἐν Ἰσραὴλ ἑπτὰ χιλιάδας ἀνδρῶν, πάντα γόνατα, ἃ οὐκ ὠκλάσαν γόνυ τῷ Βααλ, καὶ πᾶν στόμα, ὃ οὐ προσεκύνησεν αὐτῷ.	
Rom 11:5 οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἐν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ λείμμα κατ' ἐκλογὴν χάριτος γέγονεν·		
Rom 11:6 εἰ δὲ χάριτι, οὐκέτι ἐξ ἔργων, ἐπεὶ ἡ χάρις οὐκέτι γίνεταί χάρις.		

This table encapsulates what I have already said about Paul's use of the Elijah narrative to answer the question that he poses at the beginning of Rom 11:1-6, so

⁴⁵² Despite the availability of a stronger textual evidence for the reading chosen by the editors of NA27 (where Rom 11:1 reads τὸν λαόν instead of τὴν κληρονομίαν), including having textual witnesses that come from a wider geographical distribution, I am inclined towards Given's argument that τὴν κληρονομίαν (attested in the important \mathfrak{P}^{46} [ca. 200 A.D.] and the corrector of Codex Sinaiticus [\aleph^2]) is more probably the original reading. It is the harder reading, and can best account for the introduction of the other textual variants. See Mark D. Given, "Restoring the Inheritance in Romans 11:1," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 118, no. 1 (1999): 89-96. Wagner also argues for its relevance to Paul's argument in Romans 11, cf. Wagner, *Heralds*, 224-28.

I shall not reiterate. The strong correspondences between the background of the Elijah story and the situation of the Jews in Paul's day, as highlighted earlier, suggests that this Narrative Summary (derived from 1 Kings 19:10-18) has been carefully chosen from a theological-hermeneutical perspective, and not just some arbitrary example taken from Scripture, and used in tandem with other scriptural passages referenced in Romans 11.

On the other hand, Paul's Narrative Summary is taken from just one small part of the whole account, involving a brief conversation between Elijah and God, and presented as one episodic frame, despite the broader context of the narrative that is in view. This is not surprising—if Paul's readers are familiar with the original account, it means that the Narrative Summary can be executed economically and yet trigger the background significance of the base narrative that is now imported into the discourse. Our analysis of the features in the NS would further reveal the dynamic factors that go into shaping this literary device to serve its purpose.

5.3 Features in the Narrative Summary

5.3.1 *Chronological Order at the Macro Level*

Compared to the two preceding Narrative Summaries, Paul's reference to the Elijah account in Romans 11:1-6 is much more succinct. Relying on his reader's familiarity with the broader context of the narrative, Paul underscores his point by condensing the dialogue between God and Elijah in 1 Kgs 19:10-18, using two brief citations. This encounter between the two essentially forms the single episodic frame in the Narrative Summary. As such, the chronological order at the macro level is not presented, as opposed to those that we observe in Neh 9:5-37; 4 Ezra 3:4-27; Acts 7:2-53; Rom 4:1-25; Gal 4:21-31; and Rom 9:6-13.⁴⁵³

⁴⁵³ There is, of course, some chronological order when Paul cites first from 1 Kgs 19:10 and then from 1 Kgs 19:18, but this does not fall into our understanding of chronological order at the macro level. By definition, the chronological order at the macro level relates to the sequence of the narrative materials that are presented by the author from one episodic frame to another in the whole Narrative Summary.

Nonetheless, the single episodic frame has its place in the discourse. By compressing all the events in the Elijah account into a single frame, Paul draws attention, not to the internal architecture of the narrative, but to the general facts of the historical account. Paul is not exploring the spiritual struggle of Elijah as such, which would require a multiple-frame analysis of the events that transpired in the narrative. Rather, he is highlighting the state of the nation during the time of Elijah (were there any remnants left in the midst of widespread rebelliousness against God?), and the insight provided by that conversation between God and Elijah. The single-frame NS, bereft of any chronological progression, serves its purpose wonderfully here.

5.3.2 Rearrangement at the Micro Level

The fact that Paul does not slavishly summarise the narrative can be seen in the way the narrative elements are taken 1 Kgs 19:10-18 and put together into the Narrative Summary. In Rom 11:3-4, Paul's report of the dialogue between Elijah and Yahweh, containing the citation from each of their speeches (1 Kgs 19:10, 18), makes it appear as if both are part of the same conversation.

However, in the original account in 1 Kgs 19:10-18, Yahweh's reply is in response to Elijah's statement in 1 Kgs 19:14, and not 1 Kgs 19:10, which Paul uses in his summary. Both statements are almost identical, but they still come from different points in the narrative, and Paul's 'flattening' of the Elijah account (by ignoring its narrative sequences) in his Narrative Summary should not be missed. This compacted view of the historical narrative in the NS enables the rearrangement of the narrative material from the base text, such that items taken from one part of the narrative can be slotted into another part of the narrative in the same summary.

5.3.3 *Episodic Frames*

Paul's use of the Elijah story in the Narrative Summary clearly indicates that a certain delineation of the historical material is in view. Not the whole story of Elijah is included, even if some background knowledge is assumed on the part of the reader. Paul clearly does not have in view, for example, the contest between Elijah and the prophets of Baal featured in 1 Kings 18. What is highlighted, rather, is the conversation between God and Elijah that takes place at a certain juncture in the story.

Furthermore, the extracted material is treated as a stand-alone segment of the story that is complete in itself, for the purpose of the discourse, which differs from an ordinary delineation of a story if a *pure retelling* were to be in view. For example, for someone who is making a plain retelling of the story, Elijah's challenge to Ahab, the Israelites and the prophets of Baal at Mt. Carmel (1 Kgs 18:16-46) would probably count as one logical narrative segment. Elijah's flight to Horeb and his encounter with the Lord (1 Kgs 19:1-18) would probably constitute another. The Narrative Summary in Rom 11:1-6, however, has a delineation that does not coincide with the natural divisions in the Elijah narrative. It does not, for example, follow the structural markers and other grammatical clues in the OT historical narratives, which might be expected if a straightforward re-telling is in view. This suggests to us that the use of the extracted material serves a purpose other than a simple recapitulation of the story, and it illustrates the usefulness of analysing the episodic frames in a Narrative Summary.

5.3.4 *Rhetorical Purpose*

I mentioned earlier that Paul's purpose in using the Elijah narrative is to answer the question, 'God has not rejected his people, has he?' To put it simply, the answer provided by the Narrative Summary is that, just as in the days of Elijah God had reserved for himself 7,000 who had not bowed the knee to Baal, so is

there a remnant that is reserved in Paul's time (cf. Rom 11:5). The effect of this rhetorical purpose on the Narrative Summary is discernible in the way the narrative materials from the base text are handled in the summary.

When Paul changes the *order* of the narrative elements in Rom 11:3 and the *wording* of one of the clauses, the emphasis of the dialogue between Elijah and Yahweh shifts, even though the essential components of the story remain the same. In the original context, Elijah's words emphasised his *aleness*, after all of the Lord's prophets had been killed.

In Paul's Narrative Summary, the change of the clause from καὶ ὑπολέλειμμαί ἐγὼ μονώτατος in 1 Kgs 19:10 to καὶ ἐγὼ ὑπελείφθην μόνος in Rom 11:3 removes two crucial elements that results in a shift in the emphasis of Elijah's words—the change from the perfect to the aorist in the verb ὑπολείπω ('I leave'), and the removal of the emphatic ἐγὼ. As mentioned earlier (see fn. 443), the use of the perfect in the LXX places an emphasis on the ongoing effect of Elijah being alone after the Lord's prophets were killed, an aspect which is not present in the aorist.

Coupled with the change in the order of the first two clauses in Paul's citation in Rom 11:3 (see Figure 36)—the key point of Elijah's statement now shifts (albeit subtly) from his being *the only one left* (thus, hiding in a cave) to the widespread killing of the Lord's prophets by the 'they'—the Israelites. Consequently, when the Lord replies that he has reserved for himself 7,000 men who have not bowed their knee to Baal (and are therefore still faithful to him), it is an apt answer to the question that Paul asks in Rom 11:1. The rhetorical purpose of Paul's discourse, therefore, has shaped the way the Narrative Summary is laid down.

Furthermore, it is probable that in Rom 11:4 Paul substitutes the dative ἐμαυτῷ ('for myself') for the prepositional phrase ἐν Ἰσραὴλ in the LXX. All the key readings selected for comparison earlier contain this phrase, except for Paul's. If

this postulation is correct, then it is easy to see why Paul would leave out the reference to a remnant that is reserved ‘in Israel’, in an epistle that espouses the good news of salvation for Jews and Gentiles, and sent to a Christian community located in Rome. The remnant that the Lord keeps for himself is not just in Israel, but in all places where his historical people are.⁴⁵⁴ In order to fit into the point of his discourse, Paul adapts the wording (and the language) of the original narrative in his summary.

5.3.5 *Selective Focus*

Anyone reading the account of Elijah’s conversation with the Lord in 1 Kgs 19:10-18 would be most impressed by the unusual events recorded in the story. The Lord tells Elijah to stand on the mountain, where he (the Lord) would pass by. Then comes a great strong wind (πνεῦμα) that crushes the rocks, but the Lord is not there. This is followed by the earthquake and then fire, but the Lord is not in any of these. Finally, Yahweh speaks to Elijah in a whisper. In response to Elijah’s report that the Israelites forsook Yahweh (ἐγκατέλιπον, v. 10; v. 14 has ‘forsook your covenant’, whereas the MT has ‘forsook your covenant’ for both verses), Yahweh gives a set of instructions to Elijah. Elijah is to anoint two kings, and a new prophet, Elisha, who would succeed him (vv. 15-16). These, in their turn, would deliver God’s judgment on the Israelites by putting them to the sword (v. 17). Finally comes the statement used in Paul’s summary: ‘I will reserve in Israel 7,000, all knees that have not bowed the knee to Baal’ (v. 18).⁴⁵⁵

Few of these narrative elements, however, make it into Paul’s Narrative Summary. Instead, in order to advance his point, Paul focuses on the explanation

⁴⁵⁴ Stanley also thinks that Paul makes a change in view of the context of Romans; however, I do not see his point when he says, ‘the reference to “Israel” is clearly problematic in the context of Romans, where the incorporation of the Gentiles into historical “Israel” as part of the divine plan is constantly presupposed (9.24-6, 11.7, 17-24)’. Reference to Israel itself cannot be ‘problematic’, since Paul does it throughout his epistle, including Romans 9–11! Cf. Stanley, *Language*, 155.

⁴⁵⁵ What I have just done is an example of a *plain* or *pure* summary, which Paul’s Narrative Summary is not.

that Elijah gives when he is asked what he is doing 'here' (1 Kgs 19:9, 13). Thus, when Elijah says that the prophets have been killed, the altars destroyed and he is the only one left, the divine reply is that there is a remnant that Yahweh has reserved for himself, some 7,000 men who have remained faithful (19:18). What is missing as a result of this selective focus, however, is that, in its context, the 7,000 remnants are mentioned after the instruction for Elijah to anoint the kings and the prophet (Elisha) in 1 Kgs 19:15-17, who would put to death many of the Israelites. The exact connection between this instruction and the 7,000 remnant is by no means clear in the base narrative—are the 7,000 men those who would remain after the rest are put to death by the sword, or is their preservation independent of the instruction that Yahweh is giving to Elijah? The use of the conjunction *καί* at the beginning of 1 Kgs 19:18 can introduce either an independent clause (especially in historical narratives) or the *result* of a preceding event.⁴⁵⁶ Paul's summary, nonetheless, demonstrates very clearly how this relationship is handled. Whatever is instructed of Elijah, the Lord already has 7,000 men who would be left for himself, and they have not bowed their knees to Baal.

On the other hand, just as many of the details in the original narrative have been omitted from the summary, there are other details in the original narrative that are presumed to be understood by Paul's readers, as noted when I discussed Paul's use of the third person plural verb *ἀπέκτειναν* without specifying the persons performing the action, which would be a crucial piece of information to understanding his point in the summary. As it were, the background of the Elijah story (i.e. the state of the nation) is an active ingredient in Paul's discourse, and is supplied by the reader as he follows Paul's argument. The Narrative Summary, therefore, is not a one-sided affair. It is not simply about the author presenting a story, and then making his point from that story. Rather, the transaction that takes place between the author and the reader is a dynamic one. The author presumes

⁴⁵⁶ See Frederick W. Danker and Walter Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), *ad loc.*

the reader's familiarity with the story, and relies exactly on this in order to zero in on the point that is relevant for the discourse. The reader is there to supply the gaps in the summary, while his attention is directed towards what the author chooses to highlight.

5.3.6 *Interpretative Elements*

Like many of the examples cited in the study thus far, the features in the Narrative Summary do not work alone, but as part of a set of characteristics conditioned by the needs of the communication. Thus, when Paul finds a corollary between the state of the people during the time of Elijah and the state of the Jewish people during his own time, it is in effect an interpretative act that undergirds the very use of the Elijah story itself.

Furthermore, the interpretative element is discernible when Paul describes Elijah's speech in 1 Kgs 19:10 as 'pleading' (ἐντυγχάνει) with God (Rom 11:2b).⁴⁵⁷ The reply from God, consequently, is characterised as 'the divine answer' (ὁ χρηματισμός, Rom 11:4a). Thus, the conversation between Elijah and Yahweh is seen as a prophet who pleads with Yahweh, and in response receives a divine reply that Yahweh has left for himself 7,000 men who have remained faithful to God; therefore, Elijah is not alone. Such characterisation of the dialogue between Elijah and God is an interpretative element inserted into the Narrative Summary. The divine reply that Elijah receives is, therefore, also the divine answer for the question that Paul poses in Rom 11:1, which explains the use of the present tense (λέγει) in Rom 11:4. There are, of course, parallels between Paul's anguish on account of his fellow Jews (Rom 9:1-3), Jeremiah's anguish for his people (see Chapter 2), Moses's intercession for the Israelites when they sinned over the Golden Calf (to which Rom 9:3 is an intertextual

⁴⁵⁷ The word is used only in the books of Maccabees, Wisdom of Solomon and Daniel (1x), most frequently in the context of a petition to a king (1 Mac 8:32; 10:61, 63-64; 11:25; 2 Mac 4:36; 3 Mac 6:37; Dan 6:13), but also pleading with God (Wis 8:21; 16:28).

connection), and here, Elijah's pleading with God on his being alone after the nation has gone apostate.

5.3.7 Continuation into the Present

A very strong implication in Paul's appeal to the Elijah story here, and the divine answer given to the prophet, is the consistency of God's character. This leads to the assurance that God's *modus operandi* has not changed. Just as Yahweh had reserved for himself 7,000 (a remnant) who remained faithful to him in the context of a nation that had turned away from God's commands (1 Kgs 18:18, 21, 30), the 'nation' in Paul's time is not about to perish. Instead, there will be a remnant saved through the gospel, including Paul. Thus, in this Narrative Summary, it is God's dealing with his people that continues into the present, which is evidenced by Paul's use of the expression οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἐν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ ('so also in the present time', Rom 11:5), which Schlier refers to as 'the eschatological present' (*die eschatologische Gegenwart*) that starts when the righteousness of God is revealed in the sacrifice of Jesus Christ.⁴⁵⁸

Perhaps more implicitly, but just as significant, is the fact that old questions (i.e. the tradition of asking the questions like that which Paul asks in Rom 11:1) are framed in the context of a new situation, and the answer derived from an ancient historical narrative (Elijah) is the divine answer to the present generation. For Paul, the Jews' failure to respond to the gospel elicit such questions in the present, and the divine word given in the past is now speaking with the same force in the present. It is this perspective that makes the Narrative Summary in Rom 11:1-6 a powerful device for Paul to carry his discourse forward.

⁴⁵⁸ Schlier, *Römerbrief*, 323.

CONCLUSION

This study shows that, by extending the framework for biblical intertextuality as developed by Hays, the role in which the OT plays in the letters of Paul can be examined more comprehensively. At the micro level, using a broader definition of intertextuality than what Hays' framework has assumed, the study has shown how it is possible to investigate the wider intertextual connections which go beyond the verbal correspondences that are usually relied upon in an analysis of citations, allusions and echoes.

Using the proposed approach, an examination of Rom 9:1-3 reveals that Paul draws upon the concepts that are present in the Old Testament to appeal to witnesses who validate what he is saying, and to present himself as a legitimate prophet, speaking the truth, and yet being deeply grieved by the prospect of a people that is slow in responding to the grace of God. These are all ideas and images that are present in the scriptural texts, and they form the intertextual matrix by which the words of the apostle are more acutely understood by his readers. For Paul and his readers, Scripture is the ideational resource that serves as a precondition for understanding the underlying significance that is ingrained in the letters. This is largely missed if we were to adhere to the more restrictive concept of biblical intertextuality that is assumed in Hays' framework.

At the macro level, by analysing the use of the OT historical narratives as a separate category, we are led to explore the sophisticated literary considerations that influence the way the Narrative Summary is shaped in the course of Paul's argumentation, going beyond what Hays' current framework would otherwise allow. This is due to the fact that attention is now paid to the relationship between the OT materials and the Narrative Summary that is presented in Paul's discourse, something which is harder to achieve when they are treated simply as citation, allusion or echo. Furthermore, as explained in Chapter 4, there are fundamental differences between these categories in Hays' framework and the

Narrative Summary. This alone would have convinced us of the need for a separate category of intertextual analysis.

When it comes to the use of the Old Testament materials (especially the biblical narratives) in Paul's epistles, a common practice by commentators is to note the myriad of cross-references to the OT texts where there is either a parallel or some degree of intertextual connection between the texts. This study suggests, rather, that the use of the OT materials is more sophisticated than just a simple amalgamation or condensation of source texts. Specific OT materials are often carefully selected (indicating some serious reflection on the scriptural texts before they are used), and presented in a manner that involves a high level of literary technique. It may side-step what the modern reader sees as the main plot of a narrative (e.g. the use of 1 Kings 19 in Rom 11:1-6), but on closer analysis it reveals the profound way in which Scripture has been read and understood by Paul.

In comparing the set of common features of the Narrative Summary that are found in Neh 9:5-27; 4 Ezra 3:4-27; and Acts 7:2-53 (the 'control group') and each of the examples from the letters of Paul (Rom 4:1-25; Gal 4:21-31; Rom 9:6-13; 1 Cor 10:1-13; 2 Cor 3:7-18; Rom 9:4-5; 11:1-6), it is shown that they share largely the same features, except for variations that are attributable to the need of the discourse. This supports the view that the Narrative Summary is a sophisticated literary device that should be analysed as a separate category.

Examining the use of Scripture as an ideational resource and analysing the use of the Narrative Summary separately as a literary device can further enhance the ongoing effort to account for the use of the Old Testament in the New. In some instances, it has led to insights into how the Pauline texts can be understood afresh.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aalen, Sverre. "Glory, Honor." In *The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology*, edited by Colin Brown, Vol. 2, 45-46. Exeter: Paternoster, 1997.
- Abasciano, Brian J. "Paul's Use of the Old Testament in Romans 9:1-9: An Intertextual and Theological Exegesis." PhD Thesis, Aberdeen University, 2004.
- _____. *Paul's Use of the Old Testament in Romans 9:1-9: An Intertextual and Theological Exegesis*. Library of New Testament Studies 301. London; New York: T&T Clark, 2005.
- _____. *Paul's Use of the Old Testament in Romans 9:10-18: An Intertextual and Theological Exegesis*. Library of New Testament Studies 317. London; New York: T&T Clark, 2011.
- Alexander, Philip. "Retelling the Old Testament." In *It is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture*, edited by Donald A. Carson and H. G. M. Williamson, 99-121. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Anderson, A. A. *2 Samuel*. Word Biblical Commentary. Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1989.
- Austin, John L. *How to Do Things with Words*. The William James Lectures. Oxford: Clarendon, 1962.
- Baltzer, Klaus. *The Covenant Formulary: In Old Testament, Jewish, and Early Christian Writings*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1971.
- Barclay, John M. G. "Mirror-Reading a Polemical Letter: Galatians as a Test Case." *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 10, no. 31 (1987): 73-93.
- Barrett, C. K. *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*. Black's New Testament Commentaries. London: Adam & Charles Black, 1968.
- Barthes, Roland G. "Theory of the Text." In *Untying the Text: A Post-Structuralist Reader*, edited by Robert Young, 31-47. London; Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981.
- Bates, W. H. "The Integrity of II Corinthians." *New Testament Studies* 12, no. 01 (1965): 56-69.
- Beale, G. K. and D. A. Carson, eds. *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic; Apollos, 2007.

- Beare, Francis W. *St. Paul and His Letters*. London: A & C Black, 1962.
- Becker, Jürgen, Hans Conzelmann and Gerhard Friedrich. *Die Briefe an die Galater, Epheser, Philipper, Kolosser, Thessalonicher und Philemon*. 14th ed. Das Neue Testament Deutsch. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976.
- Beetham, Christopher A. *Echoes of Scripture in the Letter of Paul to the Colossians*. Biblical Interpretation Series. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2008.
- Bell, Richard H. *Provoked to Jealousy: The Origin and Purpose of the Jealousy Motif in Romans 9-11*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.Reihe. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994.
- _____. *The Irrevocable Call of God: An Inquiry into Paul's Theology of Israel*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005.
- Berlin, Adele, Marc Zvi Brettler and Michael Fishbane. *The Jewish Study Bible: Jewish Publication Society Tanakh Translation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Bernstein, Moshe J. "Rewritten Bible: A Generic Category Which Has Outlived its Usefulness?" *Textus* 22 (2005): 169-196.
- Blake, Robert P. "The Georgian Version of Fourth Esdras from the Jerusalem Manuscript." *The Harvard Theological Review* 19, no. 4 (1926): 299-375.
- Bloom, Harold. *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1973.
- Boyarin, Daniel. *Intertextuality and the Reading of Midrash*. Indiana Studies in Biblical Literature. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990.
- Brooke, Alan England, Norman McLean and H. St. J. Thackeray. *The Old Testament in Greek: According to the Text of Codex Vaticanus, Supplemented from Other Uncial Manuscripts, with a Critical Apparatus Containing the Variants of the Chief Ancient Authorities for the Text of the Septuagint*. Vol. 2 pt. 2 I-II Kings. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930.
- Brooke, George J. "Rewritten Bible." In *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, edited by Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam, Vol. 2, 777-781. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2000.

- _____. "The Rewritten Law, Prophets and Psalms." In *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries*, edited by Edward D. Herbert and Emanuel Tov, 31-40. London; New Castle, DE: British Library; Oak Knoll, 2002.
- _____. "Between Authority and Canon: The Significance of Reworking the Bible for Understanding the Canonical Process." In *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran*, edited by Esther G. Chazon, Devorah Dimant and Ruth A. Clements, 85-104. Leiden: Brill, 2005.
- Bruce, F. F. "The Speeches in Acts—Thirty Years After." In *Reconciliation and Hope: New Testament Essays on Atonement and Eschatology*, edited by Robert Banks, 53-68. Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1974.
- _____. *The Epistle of Paul to the Galatians: A Commentary on the Greek Text*. The New International Greek Testament Commentary. Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1982.
- Brueggemann, Walter. *The Theology of the Book of Jeremiah*. Old Testament Theology. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Budd, Philip J. *Numbers*. Word Biblical Commentary. Waco, TX: Word Books, 1984.
- Bultmann, Rudolf Karl. *Der zweite Brief an die Korinther*. Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976.
- Burton, Ernest DeWitt. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians*. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1921.
- Childs, Brevard S. "Book Review: *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* by Michael Fishbane." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 106, no. 3 (1987): 511-513.
- Christensen, Duane L. *Deuteronomy 21:10–34:12*. Word Biblical Commentary. Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 2002.
- Collins, John Joseph. *The Scepter and the Star: the Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature*. The Anchor Bible Reference Library. New York: Doubleday, 1995.
- Conzelmann, Hans. *Der erste Brief an die Korinther*. 11th ed. Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969.

- Cranfield, C. E. B. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*. 2 vols. The International Critical Commentary. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1975.
- Cranford, Michael. "Abraham in Romans 4: The Father of All Who Believe." *New Testament Studies* 41, no. 01 (1995): 71-88.
- Crawford, Sidnie W. "The 'Rewritten' Bible at Qumran: A Look at Three Texts." *Eretz-Israel: Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies* 26 (1999): 1-8.
- _____. *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times*. Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2008.
- Cross, Frank Moore, Jr. "The History of the Biblical Text in the Light of Discoveries in the Judaean Desert." *The Harvard Theological Review* 57, no. 4 (1964): 281-299.
- Culler, Jonathan. "Presupposition and Intertextuality." *MLN* 91, no. 6 (1976): 1380-1396.
- Danker, Frederick W. and Walter Bauer. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. 3rd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
- Dibelius, Martin. *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles*. Translated by Mary Ling, edited by Heinrich Greeven. London: SCM Press, 1956.
- Dodd, C. H. *According to the Scriptures: The Sub-structure of New Testament Theology*. London: James Nisbet & Co. Ltd., 1952.
- _____. *The Epistle of Paul to the Romans*. London: Fontana Books, 1959.
- Dunn, James D. G. *Romans 1-8*. Word Biblical Commentary. Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1988.
- _____. *Romans 9-16*. Word Biblical Commentary. Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1988.
- _____. *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians*. Black's New Testament Commentaries. London: A & C Black, 1993.
- Durham, John I. *Exodus*. Word Biblical Commentary. Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1987.
- Eco, Umberto. *The Name of the Rose*. Translated by William Weaver. London:

- Secker & Warburg, 1983.
- Ellis, E. Earle. *Paul's Use of the Old Testament*. Edinburgh; London: Oliver and Boyd, 1957.
- Epp, Eldon Jay. "Jewish-Gentile Continuity in Paul: Torah and/or Faith? (Romans 9:1-5)." *Harvard Theological Review* 79, no. 1 (1986): 80-90.
- Eskenazi, Tamara C. "The Structure of Ezra-Nehemiah and the Integrity of the Book." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 107, no. 4 (1988): 641-656.
- Fee, Gordon D. *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*. New International Commentary on the New Testament. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987.
- Fishbane, Michael A. *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- Fitzmyer, Joseph A. *Romans*. Vol. 33. The Anchor Yale Bible. New Haven, NY: Yale University Press, 1993.
- _____. *First Corinthians*. The Anchor Yale Bible. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.
- Furnish, Victor P. *II Corinthians*. The Anchor Bible. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1984.
- Garland, David E. *1 Corinthians*. Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2003.
- Gaston, Lloyd. "Israel's Misstep in the Eyes of Paul." In *The Romans Debate*, edited by Karl P. Donfried, 309-306. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1991.
- Given, Mark D. "Restoring the Inheritance in Romans 11:1." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 118, no. 1 (1999): 89-96.
- Gooch, Peter D. *Dangerous Food: 1 Corinthians 8-10 in Its Context*. Studies in Christianity and Judaism 5. Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1993.
- Gough, Henry. *The New Testament Quotations: Collated with the Scriptures of the Old Testament, in the original Hebrew and the version of the LXX, and with the other writings, Apocryphal, Talmudic, and Classical, cited or alleged so to be*. London: Walton and Maberly, 1855.
- Gray, G. Buchanan. "The Nazirite." *The Journal of Theological Studies* 1, no. 2 (1900): 201-211.

- Greenspoon, L. "The Use and Abuse of the Term 'LXX' and Related Terminology in Recent Scholarship." *Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies* 20 (1987): 21-29.
- Haenchen, Ernst. *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary*. Translated by Bernard Noble and Gerald Shinn. Oxford: Blackwell, 1971.
- Hansen, G. Walter. *Abraham in Galatians: Epistolary and Rhetorical Contexts*. JSOT Supplement Series 29. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989.
- Harris, J. Rendel. *Testimonies*. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1916-20.
- Hawthorne, Gerald F. and Ralph P. Martin. *Philippians*. Revised ed. Word Biblical Commentary. Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2004.
- Hays, Richard B. *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.
- _____. *First Corinthians*. Interpretation Series. Louisville: John Knox Press, 1997.
- _____. *The Conversion of the Imagination: Paul as Interpreter of Israel's Scripture*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2005.
- Heil, John Paul. *The Rhetorical Role of Scripture in 1 Corinthians*. SBL Studies in Biblical Literature. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005.
- Heschel, Abraham J. *The Prophets*. New York: Harper & Row, 1962.
- Higgins, A. J. B. "Priest and Messiah." *Vetus Testamentum* 3, no. 4 (1953): 321-336.
- Hodgson, Robert, Jr. "The Testimony Hypothesis." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 98, no. 3 (1979): 361-378.
- Hogg, Martin. *Promises and Contract Law: Comparative Perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Holladay, William L. *Jeremiah 2*. Hermeneia Series, edited by Paul D. Hanson. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989.
- House, Paul R. *Lamentations*. Word Biblical Commentary. Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 2004.

- Irwin, William. "What Is an Allusion?" *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 59, no. 3 (2001): 287-297.
- Jackson, F. J. Foakes. "Stephen's Speech in Acts." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 49, no. 3 (1930): 283-286.
- James, M. R. *The Biblical Antiquities of Philo*. London: SPCK, 1917.
- Jobes, Karen H. and Moisés Silva. *Invitation to the Septuagint*. Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2000.
- Jourdan, George V. "KOINΩNIA in I Corinthians 10:16." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 67, no. 2 (1948): 111-124.
- Kaiser, Walter C., Jr. *Exodus*. Expositor's Bible Commentary, edited by Frank Ely Gaebelein. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1982.
- Käsemann, Ernst. *Commentary on Romans*. London: SCM Press, 1980.
- Keesmaat, Sylvia C. "Exodus and the Intertextual Transformation of Tradition in Romans 8.14-30." *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 16, no. 54 (1994): 29-56.
- _____. *Paul and His Story: (Re)interpreting the Exodus Tradition*. JSNT Supplement Series 181. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999.
- Keil, Carl Friedrich and Franz Delitzsch. *Commentary on the Old Testament*. Peabody: Hendrickson, 2006.
- Koch, Dietrich-Alex. *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums: Untersuchungen zur Verwendung und zum Verständnis der Schrift bei Paulus*. Beiträge zur historischen Theologie. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1986.
- Kovisto, Rex A. "Stephen's Speech: A Theology of Errors?" *Grace Theological Journal* 8, no. 1 (1987): 101-114.
- Kristeva, Julia. "Word, Dialogue, Novel." In *The Kristeva Reader*, edited by Toril Moi, 34-61. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1986.
- Lang, Friedrich. *Die Briefe an die Korinther*. 16th ed. Das Neue Testament Deutsch. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986.
- Lim, Timothy H. *Holy Scripture in the Qumran Commentaries and Pauline Letters*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1997.
- Lohse, Eduard. *Der Brief an die Römer*. Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das

- Neue Testament. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003.
- Longenecker, Bruce W. *2 Esdras. Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995.
- Longenecker, Richard N. *Galatians*. Word Biblical Commentary. Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1990.
- Lundbom, Jack R. *Jeremiah 1-20*. Vol. 21A. The Anchor Bible. New Haven, NY: Yale University Press, 1999.
- _____. *Jeremiah 21-36*. Vol. 21B. The Anchor Bible. New Haven, NY: Yale University Press, 2004.
- Marshall, I. Howard. "An Assessment of Recent Developments." In *It Is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture*, edited by Donald A. Carson and H. G. M. Williamson, 1-21. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Martin, Ralph P. *2 Corinthians*. Word Biblical Commentary. Waco, TX: Word Books, 1986.
- Mathews, Shailer. "The Jewish Messianic Expectation in the Time of Jesus." *The Biblical World* 12, no. 6 (1898): 437-443.
- McCarthy, Dennis J. "Covenant and Law in Chronicles-Nehemiah." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 44, no. 1 (1982): 25-44.
- Mendenhall, George E. *Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East*. Pittsburgh: Biblical Colloquium, 1955.
- Metzger, Bruce M. *An Introduction to the Apocrypha*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1957.
- _____. *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*. 2nd ed. London; New York: United Bible Societies, 1995.
- Metzger, Bruce M. and Bart D. Ehrman. *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*. 4th ed. New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Michel, Otto. *Der Brief an die Römer*. 14th ed. Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966.
- Moo, Douglas J. *The Epistle to the Romans*. New International Commentary on the New Testament. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996.

- Morris, Leon. *The Epistle to the Romans*. Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1988.
- Moyise, Steve. "Intertextuality and the Study of the Old Testament in the New Testament." In *The Old Testament in the New Testament: Essays in Honour of J. L. North*, edited by Steve Moyise, 14-41. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000.
- Mueller-Vollmer, Kurt. *The Hermeneutics Reader*. New York: Continuum, 2006.
- Müller, Mogens. *The First Bible of the Church: A Plea for the Septuagint*. Copenhagen International Seminar. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996.
- Mussner, Franz. *Der Galaterbrief*. 2nd ed. Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament. Freiburg; Basel; Wien: Herder, 1974.
- Myers, Jacob M. *Ezra, Nehemiah*. The Anchor Bible. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965.
- _____. *I and II Esdras*. The Anchor Bible. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1974.
- Neusner, Jacob. "Messianic Themes in Formative Judaism." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 52, no. 2 (1984): 357-374.
- Nickelsburg, George W. E. "The Bible Rewritten and Expanded." In *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran, Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus*, edited by Michael E. Stone, 89-156. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1984.
- O'Day, Gail R. "Jeremiah 9:22-23 and 1 Corinthians 1:26-31: A Study in Intertextuality." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 109, no. 2 (1990): 259-267.
- Oegema, Gerbern S. *The Anointed and His People: Messianic Expectations from the Maccabees to Bar Kochba*. JSP Supplement Series 27. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998.
- Oepke, Albrecht. *Der Brief des Paulus an die Galater*. 3rd ed. Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1973.
- Oesterley, W. O. E. *An Introduction to the Books of the Apocrypha*. London: SPCK, 1935.
- Orr, William F. and James Arthur Walther. *I Corinthians*. The Anchor Bible. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1976.

- Owen, E. C. E. "Δοξᾶ and Cognate Words." *Journal of Theological Studies* 33 (1932): 132-150; 265-279.
- Petersen, Anders Klostergaard. "Rewritten Bible as a Boderline Phenomenon—Genre, Strategy, or Canonical Anachronism?" In *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and other early Jewish studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez*, edited by Anthony Hilhorst and others, 285-306. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007.
- Plummer, Alfred. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Second Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians*. International Critical Commentary on the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1915.
- Porter, Stanley E. "The Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament: A Brief Comment on Method and Terminology." In *Early Christian Interpretation of the Scriptures of Israel*, edited by Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders, 79-96. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997.
- Rad, Gerhard von and Marva J. Dawn. *Holy War in Ancient Israel*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1991.
- Räsänen, Heikki. *Paul and the Law*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1983.
- Richard, Earl. "The Polemical Character of the Joseph Episode in Acts 7." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 98, no. 2 (1979): 255-267.
- Riffaterre, Michael. *Semiotics of Poetry*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1978.
- Robertson, Archibald and Alfred Plummer. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians*. 2nd ed. International Critical Commentary on the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1914.
- Sandmel, Samuel. "Parallelomania." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 81, no. 1 (1962): 1-13.
- Sandnes, Karl Olav. *Paul—One of the Prophets?: A Contribution to the Apostle's Self-Understanding*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2 Reihe. Tübingen: Mohr, 1991.
- Saussure, Ferdinand de and others. *Course in General Linguistics*. New York: The Philosophical Library, 1959.

- Schlatter, Adolf. *Der Brief an die Römer*. Erläuterungen zum Neuen Testament. Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1962.
- _____. *Die Korintherbriefe*. Vol. 6. Erläuterungen zum Neuen Testament. Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1962.
- Schleiermacher, Friedrich D. E. "Foundations: General Theory and Art of Interpretation." In *The Hermeneutics Reader*, edited by Kurt Mueller-Vollmer, 73-97. New York: Continuum, 2006.
- Schlier, Heinrich. *Der Römerbrief*. Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament. Freiburg; Basel; Wien: Herder, 1977.
- Schliesser, Benjamin. "The Dialectics of Faith and Doubt in Paul and James." In *unpublished paper presented at NT Seminar, Department of Theology and Religion: Durham University, 17 October 2011*.
- _____. *Abraham's Faith in Romans 4*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.Reihe (WUNT II). Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007.
- Schmidt, Hans Wilhelm. *Der Brief des Paulus an die Römer*. 2nd ed. Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1966.
- Schrage, Wolfgang. *Der Erste Brief an die Korinther*. Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament EKK 7/1-4. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1991.
- Schürer, Emil, Fergus Millar and Geza Vermes. *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C. – A.D. 135)*. Vol. III Pt. 1. Edinburgh: Clark, 1986.
- Scott, James. "Historical Development of the Messianic Idea." *The Old Testament Student* 7, no. 6 (1888): 176-180.
- Segal, Michael. "Between Bible and Rewritten Bible." In *Biblical interpretation at Qumran*, edited by Matthias Henze, 10-28. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2005.
- Smith, Henry Preserved. "The Origin of the Messianic Hope in Israel." *The American Journal of Theology* 14, no. 3 (1910): 337-360.
- Stanley, Christopher D. *Paul and the Language of Scripture: Citation Technique in the Pauline Epistles and Contemporary Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

- _____. *Arguing with Scripture*. New York; London: T&T Clark International, 2004.
- _____. "The Role of the Audience in the Interpretation of Paul's References to the Jewish Scriptures." In *SBL Annual Meeting*. Washington, D.C., 2006.
- Still, E. Coye, III. "Paul's Aims regarding εἰδωλόθυτα: A New Proposal for Interpreting 1 Corinthians 8:1-11:1." *Novum Testamentum* 44, no. 4 (2002): 333-343.
- Stoljar, Samuel. "Promise, Expectation and Agreement." *The Cambridge Law Journal* 47, no. 2 (1988): 193-212.
- Strack, H.L. and P. Billerbeck. *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*. Vol. 3. München: Beck, 1926.
- Stuhlmacher, Peter. *Der Brief an die Römer*. 14th ed. Das Neue Testament Deutsch. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989.
- Swete, Henry B. *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*. Revised ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914.
- Thackeray, Henry St J. *The Relation of St Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought*. London; New York: Macmillan, 1900.
- Thiselton, Anthony C. *New Horizons in Hermeneutics: The Theory and Practice of Transforming Biblical Reading*. London: Harper Collins, 1992.
- Tov, Emanuel. "Rewritten Bible Compositions and Biblical Manuscripts, with Special Attention to the Samaritan Pentateuch." *Dead Sea Discoveries* 5, no. 3 (1998): 334-354.
- VanderKam, James C. and Peter W. Flint. *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Significance for Understanding the Bible, Judaism, Jesus and Christianity*. New York: Harper Collins, 2003.
- Vanhoozer, Kevin J. *Is there a Meaning in this Text? The Bible, the Reader, and the Morality of Literary Knowledge*. Leicester: Apollos, 1998.
- Vermes, Geza. *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies*. Studia Post-Biblica. Leiden: Brill, 1961.
- _____. *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies*. 2nd rev. ed. Studia Post-Biblica. Leiden: Brill, 1973.

- Wagner, J. Ross. *Heralds of the Good News: Isaiah and Paul "In Concert" in the Letter to the Romans*. Supplements to Novum Testamentum. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2002.
- Wakefield, Andrew H. *Where to Live: The Hermeneutical Significance of Paul's Citations from Scripture in Galatians 3:1-14*. Society of Biblical Literature Academia Biblica 14. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003.
- Wallace, Daniel B. *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1996.
- Watson, Francis B. *Text and Truth: Redefining Biblical Theology*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1997.
- _____. *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith*. London; New York: T & T Clark, 2004.
- _____. *Paul, Judaism, and the Gentiles: Beyond the New Perspective*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007.
- _____. "Mistranslation and the Death of Christ: Isaiah 53 LXX and its Pauline Reception." In *Translating the New Testament: Text, Translation, Theology*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Mark J. Boda, 215-250. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009.
- Weinfeld, M. "The Covenant of Grant in the Old Testament and in the Ancient Near East." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 90, no. 2 (1970): 184-203.
- Wicher, Edward A. "Ancient Jewish Views of the Messiah." *The Biblical World* 34, no. 5 & 6 (1909): 317-325; 404-409.
- Wilckens, Ulrich. *Der Brief an die Römer*. Vol. 1. Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament. Zürich; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Benziger Verlag; Neukirchener Verlag, 1978.
- _____. *Der Brief an die Römer*. Vol. 2. Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament. Zürich; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Benziger Verlag; Neukirchener Verlag, 1980.
- Wilk, Florian. *Die Bedeutung des Jesajabuches für Paulus*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998.
- Williamson, H. G. M. *Ezra, Nehemiah*. Word Biblical Commentary. Waco, TX: Word Books, 1985.

Wolff, Christian. *Der erste Brief des Paulus an die Korinther*. Vol. 2. 2nd ed. Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1982.

_____. *Der zweite Brief des Paulus an die Korinther*. Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1989.

Wright, G. Ernest. "The Terminology of Old Testament Religion and Its Significance." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 1, no. 4 (1942): 404-414.