

THE USE OF ISAIAH IN THE PAULINE LETTERS

with Special Reference to His Self-Conception of being an Apostle to the Gentiles

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Declaration of own work

I, HON LEE KWOK, declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own as the result of my own original research.

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ABSTRACT

Many may have noticed that Paul employs large number of passages from the book of Isaiah in his various Epistles. Some of those Isaianic texts are used as explicit citations whilst others are used in a more nuanced manner such as allusions and intertextual echoes. Yet, in spite of the importance of Isaiah in Paul's letters and the centrality of Paul's vocation as an apostle to the Gentiles in Paul's life, no specialized study of the relationship between these two significant aspects has appeared to date. More specifically, amongst those who notice the significance of Isaiah in Paul's Epistles, it has been widely held that Paul identifies himself with the Isaianic Servant in the way that he sees himself as the fulfilment of the Isaianic Servant.

The present study seeks to explore how Paul reads Isaiah as reflected in Galatians, Romans, and 1 and 2 Corinthians, four of his undisputed authentic letters, where explicit citations and clear allusions are detected. It is not so much a study of the mechanics of citation or allusion per se as of seeing Paul as a reader and interpreter of the scriptural text. Special attention is paid to the interplay of Paul's reading of the Isaianic texts, the role of the servant figure portrayed in Isaiah 40-66, and his understanding of Jesus as well as his own Gentile mission in the light of Isaiah.

Based on a slightly modified model set out by Richard Hays, the study proceeds by looking at some of the major instances of Paul's using of Isaianic texts within the larger literary contexts, both in Isaiah and in the flow of Paul's argument. The goal of the study is fourfold: First, to see whether Paul's use of these ancient texts is 'atomistic', taken the text out of context and applied it to his argument to serve his own purpose or given consideration of the wider context of the original text. Second, to explore how Paul reads Isaiah in the light of his special called ministry as an apostle to the Gentiles, and how the reading of the scriptural text provides him insights to God's ongoing salvific work in the history of Israel and the person of Jesus. Third, to clarify Paul's sense of identification with the Isaianic servant figure in relation to the ministry of Jesus and his own mission; and finally, how Paul views the Gentile mission in which he is involved in relation to the final salvation of Israel and humanity. Particular attention has been paid to Paul's identification of the Isaianic Servant. It has been argued that he sees Jesus as the eschatological fulfilment of the Isaianic Servant. Jesus' death and resurrection established the foundation of hope and provided a paradigm for his apostolic existence. He sees himself as the Isaianic servant in the sense that he lives a life in total identification with that of Christ, who, though experiences suffering and death, will be vindicated eventually by God.

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List of Abbreviations

<i>AB</i>	<i>Anchor Bible</i>
<i>ABD</i>	David Noel Freedman ed., <i>The Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> . New York: Doubleday, 1992.
AGAJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
ANTC	Abingdon New Testament Commentaries
ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research
ASNU	Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis
BAGD	<i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i>
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
<i>BBR</i>	<i>Bulletin for Biblical Research</i>
BECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary of the New Testament
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentaries
BRMD	Blackwell Readings in Modern Theology
<i>BTB</i>	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>
<i>BR</i>	<i>Biblical Research</i>
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	The Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
<i>DSD</i>	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
<i>EDNT</i>	<i>Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament</i> . Ed. H. Balz and G. Schneider. 3 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990-93.
EKK	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
<i>ExpTim</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
<i>EvQ</i>	<i>Evangelical Quarterly</i>

HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HTKNT	Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Neue Testament
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>IBR</i>	<i>Bulletin for Biblical Research</i>
<i>ICC</i>	<i>International Critical Commentary</i>
<i>JANESCU</i>	<i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JBLDS</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series</i>
<i>JETS</i>	<i>Journal of Evangelical Theological Society</i>
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
<i>JSNTSS</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series</i>
<i>JSOTSS</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
KKNT	Kritischexegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
LXX	<i>Septuaginta</i> (Alfred Rahlfs, ed., Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelstiftung, 1935)
NCBC	New Century Bible Commentary
<i>Neot</i>	<i>Neotestamentica</i>
NICNT	The New International Commentary on the New Testament
NICOT	The New International Commentary on the Old Testament
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
OTL	Old Testament Library
<i>RTR</i>	<i>Reformed Theological Review</i>
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature

SBLAB	Society of Biblical Literature Academia Biblica
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
<i>SBLSP</i>	<i>Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers</i>
SBLSS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
<i>SE</i>	<i>Studia Evangelica</i>
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SSEJC	Studies in Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity
SNT	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
SNTSS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
<i>ST</i>	<i>Studia theologica</i>
SVT	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
<i>TDNT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> . Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964-67.
<i>TLZ</i>	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
<i>TynB</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
<i>WBC</i>	<i>Word Biblical Commentary</i>
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
<i>WTJ</i>	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i>

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

I. The Significance of Isaiah in NT and Pauline Writings

The book of Isaiah is one of the most frequently cited scriptural texts in the New Testament. There are at least 584 passages in the NT that reflect a reference to Isaianic traditions.¹ Not only do the four gospels draw heavily on the Isaianic traditions in the interpretation of the person and ministry of Jesus Christ and the role of John the Baptist,² but the book of Acts³ and the book of Revelation⁴ are also strongly influenced by Isaianic theology and language. As for extra-biblical texts, the Qumran library also has a vast array of texts testifying to the significance of Isaiah to

¹ This statistic is taken from a list of the scriptural allusions and citations from the Old Testament and Apocrypha that are contained in the various NT books in the fourth appendix to the 27th edition of the *Nestlé-Aland Greek New Testament* (NA27). Under the Isaiah subheading, there are 478 references categorized as direct citations and 106 listed as allusions (indicated by italic typeface). In fact, there are considerably different lists of citations and allusions among different scholars due to the use of different criteria for identifying them. Ludlow, for example, using a more restricted definition of allusions and citations, suggests that there are at least seventy direct reference to Isaianic passages in the NT. See Victor L. Ludlow, *The New Testament and the Latter-day Saints* (Orem, Utah: Randall Book Company, 1987) 149–60. In addition, Ludlow also notes that 31 of Isaiah's 66 chapters are quoted in the New Testament, with the heaviest concentration coming from chapters 6, 8, 28, 29, 40, 49, 52, and 53. See also Moody Smith, 'The Pauline Literature,' in *It is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture*, ed. D. A. Carson and H.G.M. Williamson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 270-72; Bradley H. McLean, *Citations and Allusions to Jewish Scripture in Early Christian and Jewish Writings through 180 C.E.* (Lewiston/Queenston/Lampeter: Edwin Mellen, 1992) 85-98; Hans Hübner, *Vetus Testamentum in Novo* (2 vols.; Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), especially 2nd volume. The term Scripture used in this study presupposes that Paul and presumably his first audience would have taken these as sacred writings. The term 'Old Testament' is avoided as it seems to be anachronistic to Paul.

² For example, Mt. 1:23 (Isa. 7:14); 3:3 (Isa. 40:3); 4:15 (Isa. 8:23-9:1); 12:18-20 (Isa. 42:1-4, 11:10); Lk. 2:30 (Is. 40:5; 52:10); 4:18 (Isa. 61:1-2) Jn. 7:37 (Isa. 55:1).

³ For the importance of the Isaianic tradition behind the writing of Acts, see David W. Pao, *Acts and the Isaianic New Exodus* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck: 2000); Rebecca I. Denova, *The Things Accomplished Among Us: Prophetic Tradition in the Structural Pattern of Luke-Acts* (JSNTSS 141; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997). For other studies of the significance of Isaiah to the gospel of Luke, see James Sanders 'Isaiah in Luke,' *Int* 36 (1982) 144-55; idem, 'From Isaiah 61 to Luke 4,' in J. Neusner ed., *Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults: Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty* (Leiden: Brill, 1975) 1:75-106; and Max M. Turner, *Power from on High. The Spirit in Israel's Restoration and Witness in Luke-Acts* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996).

⁴ For the study of the use of Isaiah in Revelation, see Greg K. Beale, 'Isaiah and Prophetic Traditions in the book of Revelation: Visionary Antecedent and Their Development,' *EQ* 70 (1998) 156-59; Pilcham Lee, 'A Study of the Theme of the New Jerusalem in Revelation 21:1-22:5 Against the Background of Isaiah 65:16-25,' Jacques van Ruiten, 'The Intertextual Relationship Between Isaiah 65,17-20 and Revelation 21,1-5b,' *Estudios biblicos* 51 (1993) 473-510.

the community.⁵ The sheer quantity of the usage of Isaiah leaves no doubt that the book was widely known and frequently used in early Judaism and Christianity. Moreover, the Isaianic passages concerning the fate of the Servant of Yahweh were some of the most significant sources nurturing the development of Christology and soteriology in early Christianity.⁶

The use of Isaiah in the New Testament in general and in Pauline writings in particular has long been noticed,⁷ yet the significance of Isaiah to Paul's self-conception of his apostolate and his Gentile mission has not been fully explored. As will be discussed in more details in the following part of the chapter, previous studies of Paul's use of Isaiah are focused on three main areas: textual issues, citation techniques and interpretive methods, and rhetorical functions of the citation in its new context. In some of the studies, occasional reference to the connection between isolated Isaianic texts and Paul's Gentile mission has been made in passing, and the conclusions have been asserted but not established.⁸ Furthermore, the strong emphasis on the technical aspects of biblical citations tends to overshadow concerns about the theological implications for the evocation of scriptural sources in the Pauline writings.

Among the many apostles in the New Testament,⁹ Paul probably is the only one who is known to us in terms of apostolic self-conception, at least to some extent.¹⁰ Paul's

⁵ For a general survey of the use of Isaiah in the Qumran texts, see George J. Brooke, 'Isaiah in the Pesharim and Other Qumran Texts,' in C. G. Broyles and C. A. Evans, eds. *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition* (2 Vols; VTSup 70; Leiden: Brill, 1997) 2: 609-32; J. J. M. Roberts, 'The Importance of Isaiah at Qumran,' in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls Vol. 1 Scripture and the Scrolls*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (The Second Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins; Waco: Baylor University Press, 2006) 273-86.

⁶ For example, it is explicitly referred to in Mt. 8:17, Mk. 15:28, Lk. 22:37, Jn. 12:38, Ac. 8:32-33, Ro. 10:16 and 1 Pt. 2:22-24. We will come to this in more details in chapter 3 of this study.

⁷ In recent years, a number of studies dedicated to the use of Isaiah in the New Testament have been published, such as the collection of essays edited by Steve Moyise and Maarten J. J. Menken *Isaiah in the New Testament* (London/New York: T&T Clark, 2005).

⁸ E.g. T. L. Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles: Remapping the Apostle's Convictional World* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997), esp. 253-54.

⁹ In the New Testament, the title apostle (ἀπόστολος) is applied to the Twelve disciples. E.g. Mt. 10:2; Mk. 3:14, 6:30; Lk. 6:13; 22:14; Gal. 1:19. Cf. Ac. 1:2-11; 8:14; 14:14.

encounter with the resurrected Jesus on Damascus Road led him to the deep conviction that he had been called by God to be an apostle to preach the good news of Christ Jesus among the nations (Gal. 1:15-16). He refers to himself in his letters as the κλητὸς ἀπόστολος (called to be an apostle) (Ro. 1:1; 1 Cor. 1:1).¹¹ It is clear from his own writings that his confidence in his apostleship and the gospel has its origin in divine revelation and calling.¹² In times of hardship and persecutions, Paul was sustained in his labours by this sense of commission rooted in his conviction of God's call (1 Cor. 1:17-2:5; 15:3-11; 2 Cor. 2:14ff; 11:23-33). Reading the occasional letters he composed during the course of his ministry, we may learn how the Apostle laboured tirelessly, devoting himself to accomplishing the missionary task to which he was entrusted.

¹⁰ There is little direct information available to us concerning the self-consciousness of the apostleship of the other apostles such as Peter or James, though in the letters that bear the names of the two apostles there is some indication that they recognize themselves as leaders of the *diaspora* Jewish Christian community. What we can know from the Epistles of Peter is that Peter sees himself as 'an apostle of Jesus Christ' (1 Pe. 1:1) and 'a servant and apostle of Jesus Christ' (2 Pe. 1:1). It seems that his ministry is among the Jewish diaspora Christians scattered in Asia minor (ἐκλεκτοῖς παρεπιδήμοις διασπορᾶς Πόντου, Γαλατίας, Καππαδοκίας, Ἀσίας καὶ Βιθυνίας). For more discussion, see Oscar Cullmann's chapter on Peter as an apostle in his *Peter, Disciple, Apostle, Martyr: A Historical and Theological Study* (The Library of History and Doctrine; 2nd Edition; London: SCM, 1962). Similarly, it is observed from the opening sentence of the Epistle of James that James has a close connection with the Jewish Christians in *diaspora* as he wrote the letter 'to the twelve tribes in *diaspora*' (ταῖς δώδεκα φυλαῖς ταῖς ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ). The author James did not use the term 'apostle' to describe his status. Rather he simply uses 'servant' to describe his relationship with Jesus Christ. There are various opinions as to which James this refers, but the majority of commentators agree that it is highly possible that he was the half brother of Jesus. John Painter, *Just James: The Brother of Jesus in History and Tradition* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1999), has a good summary of the relevant discussions. In short, although some book-length studies of individual disciples have touched upon the life and ministry of these apostles, only tentative conclusions can be drawn from the highly limited primary sources. As a result, there is little information about their self-understanding of how and to what extent their mission would have an impact on the consummation of God's salvation plan. For a general discussion of the background of these apostles, see Peter H. Davids, *The Epistle of James: A Commentary on Greek Text* (NIGTC; Exeter: Paternoster, 1982) 2-22; James B. Adamson, *The Epistle of James* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976) 18-19; Ralph P. Martin, *James* (WBC 48; Waco: Word Books, 1988) xxxi-lxxvii; Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Letter of James* (AB; New York: Doubleday, 1995) 167-72.

¹¹ Other references in regards to his apostleship are found in Ro. 11:13; 1 Cor. 4:9; 9:1, 2, 5; 15:9; 2 Cor. 1:1; 11:5; Gal. 1:1; 1 Thess. 2:7. In deuterio-Pauline writings: Eph. 1:1; Col. 1:1; 1 Tim. 1:1; 2:7; 2 Tim. 1:1; 1:11; Tit. 1:1. References related to the apostleship of his associates include: 1 Cor. 15:7; 2 Cor. 8:23; 11:13; 12:12; Gal. 1:17 and 19.

¹² Michael J. Gorman, *Apostle of the Crucified Lord: A Theological Introduction to Paul and His Letters* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004) 196.

Paul's letters also reveal to us how he wrestled with the burning pastoral and theological issues arising from his missionary context. One of the most distinctive features of his theological reflection is his intense interaction with Israel's Scripture, and Isaiah was one of the most significant sacred sources to which he turned time and again.¹³ In four of the seven undisputed authentic Pauline letters, namely, Galatians, Romans, and 1 and 2 Corinthians, Paul invoked passages from the oracles of Isaiah not only through direct citations but also through the more indirect ways of allusion and intertextual echo.¹⁴ Almost half of Paul's explicit appeals to the Scripture are found in Romans. As for those letters where authorship by Paul is disputed, allusions to Isaiah can still be identified.¹⁵ The distribution of citations of and allusions to Isaiah across the Pauline corpus attests that Paul found the book of Isaiah a particularly important resource for his ongoing theological reflections when he was trying to make sense of his gospel message, to understand his own special vocation and handle the acute difficulties encountered in his apostolic ministry. More specifically, Paul often appeals to the vocabularies, concepts, images and theology from the so-called Servant of Yahweh in Isaiah in explication of the ministry and Jesus and his own. One may wonder why Paul chooses to dialogue and interact with the prophecy of Isaiah? Are there any portions of Isaiah that are more important to Paul than others to his understanding of his Gentile mission? If the answer is affirmative, then we may ask, why are these passages in particular significant to Paul?

The question how the use of Isaiah informs Paul's self-conception of his apostolate and his Gentile mission has been subsumed under the broader quest of Paul's use of scriptural texts and has not been treated as a subject of its own. As a result, the

¹³ Richard Hays has noted, with many others, that Isaiah has particular importance for Paul. He speaks of it as 'statistically and substantively the most important scriptural source for Paul.' See Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1989) 162.

¹⁴ Richard Hays has identified seven tests for hearing the intertextual echo, which include availability, volume, recurrence, thematic coherence, historical plausibility, history of interpretation and satisfaction. For more detailed discussion, see Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, particularly 29-32. We will have more detailed discussion on the question of the identification of citations and allusions in the course of the study that follows.

¹⁵ For example, in the Epistle to Ephesians, though explicit citations are not available, there are strong indications of verbal and thematic links between the passages in the letter and that of Isaiah. In the Nestle-Aland 27th edition, thirteen passages of allusions have been identified in Ephesians, two in Colossians, seven in 2 Thessalonians, two in 1 Timothy and one in 2 Timothy respectively.

particular contribution of Isaiah to Pauline writings has not been fully addressed and explored. In addition, there is no specialized study on the relationship between Paul's self-conception of his Gentile mission and his reading of Isaiah. Questions such as how this particular prophetic book might have shaped his understanding of his gospel and his Gentile mission, and how the historical context and missionary concerns might have influenced his reading of the Scriptures are yet to be explored. Given the significant role that Paul has played in the early Christianity, and the prominent position that the book of Isaiah was held among the early Jewish and Christian communities, a study of Paul's use of Isaiah with special attention to his self-understanding of his Gentile mission is of great relevancy and significance to the Pauline studies, to the reception of Isaiah in Christian history, and may be even to the study of the mission in early Christianity.

II. Approaches to the Study of the Use of Israel's Scripture in the New Testament

The study of Paul's appropriation of the Scriptures is set against the wider backdrop of the study of the use of the scriptural text in the NT, which continues to generate scholarly interests. Since the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the interest in the question of the interpretation of the sacred text in early Jewish and Christian communities has significantly aroused.¹⁶ The following overview is by no means exhaustive, but is intended to highlight some of the more significant discussions on the subject.

¹⁶ In recent decades, the literature on this topic has been numerous and is still rapidly increasing. For surveys on these topics, see D. A. Carson and H. G. M. Williamson eds., *It is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture: Essays in Honour of Barnabas Lindars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). In addition, the volumes in the Studies in Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity Series compiled by Evans and others also stimulate wide-ranging discussions on issues related to the use of the sacred texts. See, for example, Craig A. Evans ed., *The Interpretation of Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity: Studies in Language and Tradition* (JSPSup 33/SSEJC 7; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000); C. A. Evans and J. A. Sanders eds. *Paul and the Scriptures of Israel* (JSNTSup 83/SSEJC 1; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993); idem, *Early Christian Interpretation of the Scriptures of Israel: Investigations and Proposals* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997); idem, *The Function of Scripture in Early Jewish and Christian Tradition* (JSNTSup 154/SSEJC 6; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998).

The focus of scholarly discussion on issues regarding Paul's use of the Scripture has shifted from textual, historical and redactional issues to literary, theological and sociological concerns, and different research questions have led to different methodologies. As far as methodological issues are concerned, scholars have primarily identified four related questions in the discussion of the use of the scriptural text in the NT. The first question is how the NT authors, as ancient readers, approached the scriptural texts. In other words, in what textual form, or forms, did they encounter the texts? Second, what were the interpretive strategies and hermeneutical assumptions? Did they quote these texts primarily as atomistic, isolated chunks of proof-text, or are these texts meant to invoke the wider literary context of the original texts? How does the cited text function rhetorically in its new context? Third, how could the first audience recognize or identify the citations and allusions of the Scriptures? Fourth, how would a citation, allusion or intertextual echo be defined? These different questions have led the research to take on different directions, and thereby various models and hypotheses have been advanced. In a sense, the focus of discussion can be generally described as moving from the textual-oriented to literary/theological-oriented questions, from the identification of various techniques of citation and allusion to the comparison of various hermeneutical strategies in early Jewish and Christian communities.

Testimony-book Hypothesis

Whether the NT authors cite scriptural texts as atomistic proof-texts or intend to evoke the larger literary context of the cited texts has been vigorously debated in the early studies of the appropriation of the Scripture in the NT. One of the significant theories that support the view of proof-texting is the Testimony-book Hypothesis, which has been advanced by Rendell Harris in 1920s.¹⁷ It was observed that some recurring NT citations agree with one another in contradiction to any extant scriptural text. At times these citations represent a gloss on the scriptural passages grouped around a key word or a common theme. In addition, he observed that the citations seemed to be quoted without reference to their original context. Harris postulated that this phenomenon reflects the possibility that the early Christians did not use the Jewish scriptures as an undifferentiated whole, but rather selected, shaped,

¹⁷ Rendell Harris, *Testimonies* (2 vols.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1916, 1920).

and interpreted certain passages in support of emerging Christian beliefs. Therefore he proposed the idea that the early Christians probably made certain collections of key texts or scriptural excerpts to serve apologetic and kerygmatic purposes. In other words, he suggested that when the NT authors quoted scriptures they were not so much quoting from the actual scrolls but from the collections or *testimonia*.

The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls has provided striking support to what Harris has postulated.¹⁸ In particular, the 4QTestim and 4QFlor are seen as close examples of anthology tradition.¹⁹ These texts appealed to a gloss of thematically related scriptural proof-texts in order to convey their conviction of the eschatological fulfilment of the messianic age in the life of the community. This has led some scholars to conclude that these texts can serve as a useful model for the hypothetical NT testimony tradition, in which some scriptural texts were believed to be excerpted as written collections of testimony texts used in common by early Christian communities for apologetic or kerygmatic purposes, particularly for supporting their messianic claims for Jesus. Some even view the use of scriptural text by the NT authors as essentially similar to that of first century Judaism in general and the Qumran community in particular.²⁰

The postulation of the existence of a primitive Christian testimony is viable. But we should be cautious that even if some early Christians might have kept certain written collections of scriptural texts, it does not necessarily follow that they would have

¹⁸ For a general description on the discovery of the scrolls at Qumran, see Jodi Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), particularly chapter 2; for an introduction to the relationship of the scrolls and interpretative activities of the Essenes, see idem, chapter 3; and James C. Vanderkam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), particularly chapter 4.

¹⁹ 4QTestim is a simple collection of excerpts made up of Dt. 5:28-29, 18:18-19, Num. 24:15-17; Dt. 33:8-11, and a text from a lost apocryphal book ascribed to Joshua. The excerpt collection is held together by a series of keywords such as 'dabar' (to speak) and 'shema' (to hear) in order to convey the message that a prophet like Moses and two Messiahs would arise in the midst of the community. 4QFlor comprises both collection of excerpt texts and midrashic commentary on the significant quotations. For more discussion on the relationship of Qumran texts and the Testimony-book hypothesis, see the discussion in Robert Hodgson Jr. 'The Testimony Hypothesis,' *JBL* 98 (1979) 361-78. For a fuller discussion, see also Hodgson's Th. D Dissertation, 'Die Quellen der paulinischen Ethik' (Heidelberg University, 1976).

²⁰ For example, Jan W. Doeve, *Jewish Hermeneutics in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1953).

appropriated the scriptural texts without considering their original contexts.²¹ In fact, Harris 'testimony-book' hypothesis was challenged by C. H. Dodd in his *According to the Scriptures: the Sub-Structure of New Testament Theology*.²² Dodd conceded that certain passages of the sacred texts are more frequently employed in the New Testament than others. The phenomenon probably reflects the fact that certain passages of the Scripture might have been considered foundational, amongst some early Christian groups, to the formulation of early Christian Christology and theology. However, he rejected the 'testimony-book' hypothesis by arguing that the evidence of such excerpt collections 'is not sufficient to prove so formidable a literary enterprise at so early a date.'²³ Furthermore, Dodd contended that the citation of a particular verse does not stand alone, but is a pointer to the larger context of the original passage in the Scripture. In other words, he viewed the appropriation of the scriptural passage as intending to evoke the whole passage from which it has been selected. The citations, he concluded, have not been selected arbitrarily as proof-texts, nor did the authors of the NT completely disregard the original context. On the contrary, the original literary context has already defined the meaning of these texts, and the NT authors employed the quoted texts with this definite meaning in supporting their argument or discussion in the new contexts. As such, the citations are only comprehensible on the assumption that the audience would be aware of the wider literary context. In the present study, we will examine the citations and the allusions on their own terms and determine whether the larger context of the scriptural texts is at work on a case-by-case basis.

²¹ See T.W. Manson, 'The Argument from Prophecy,' *JTS* 46 (1954) 129-36.

²² C. H. Dodd argues cogently that in many cases the early Christians cited the scriptural text with their wider literary context in view. See *According to the Scriptures: the Sub-Structure of New Testament Theology* (London: Nisbet, 1952). The opponents to his view include Barnabas Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic: The Doctrinal Significance of the New Testament Citations* (Philadelphia: Westminster: 1961); Donald Juel, *Messianic Exegesis: Christological Interpretation of the Old Testament in Early Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988). Until recently, Dodd's challenge still prevails. For example, Martin C. Albl has conducted a comprehensive study on the use of scripture based on the Testimonia hypothesis. He further distinguishes the general scriptural extract collections and *testimonia* collections, in which 'the texts function forensically to "prove" certain claims.' He also purports that the apologetic model put forward by Harris and Lindars was inadequate to explain the functions of such a variety of the use of scriptural passages in the NT and thus requires significant modification. For more discussion, see Albl, 'And Scripture Cannot Be Broken': *The Form and Function of the Early Christianity Testimonia Collections* (Leiden: Brill, 1999). For his critique on Harris and Lindars, see 65-69. The cited phrase is taken from p. 65.

²³ Dodd, *According to the Scripture* 26.

The Study of Paul's Use of the Scripture

Regarding the study of Paul's use of Scripture, several prominent works provide the foundation upon which many recent research of the appropriation of Scripture in Pauline writings stand. There are different trajectories within scholarship in terms of the approach one adopts and the dominating questions one seeks to answer.

The first group, best represented by E. Earle Ellis, primarily addressed to the interpretive assumptions and strategies behind the use of the sacred text and to the purposes of the citations in Paul's letters. Ellis, for example, argued that Paul's use of the Scripture was chiefly influenced by the Jewish *midrash pesher* hermeneutical method.²⁴ In his study, he identified some twenty topics on which Paul dwells and argues that these motifs may be traced back to Israel's scriptural texts.²⁵ Then he tried to reorganise these many themes and put them under five principle headings: faith and works, Jews and Gentiles, ethic, wisdom speech, and eschatology. Similarly, by tracing the use of a citation through the New Testament into the early church Fathers, Lindars conducted a detailed study on the explicit citations of Scripture and their significance in the primitive apologetic and in the formation of theology in early Christianity. Using a primarily Form Criticism approach, he attempted to break down the Gospels into separate literary elements, and then classify them according to their life settings viewed within the context of the tradition of folklore. He categorized the use of the Scripture into five topics: the resurrection, passion apologetic, Christus Revelatus, Bethlehem or Nazareth, and citations in St. Paul. Finally he analysed the use of Scripture in the early church and concluded that the NT authors primarily took the isolated texts out of context and that there is 'a shift application' when the Scripture is used in a wholly Christian milieu,²⁶ being done primarily for apologetic purposes.

The above-mentioned studies reflect that different scholars may choose to categorize the selected scriptural citations into different thematic groups. As a result, it is

²⁴ E. Earle Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1957).

²⁵ Ellis even notes that these topics 'read like an outline of biblical theology.' For a list of these motifs, see Ellis, *Paul's Use* 116.

²⁶ Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic* 22.

difficult to make further comparison due to the lack of commonly accepted categories.²⁷ In addition, these studies have not paid due attention to the distinctive characteristics and functions of each of the citations within its literary context. The undifferentiated thematic division of different biblical texts into some broadly defined groups also flattens out the distinctive character of scriptural citation exhibited in different biblical books. Therefore, this approach is only of limited use in helping us to understand the nature and significance of the citations and allusions in Paul's letters.

The second group primarily concerns the fundamental question of how to identify citations and allusions and probably attempts to reconstruct Paul's *Vorlage*. By distinguishing Paul's *Vorlage* from modifications Paul himself has made to his text, this group of scholars further seek to find out the interpretive and rhetorical ends that Paul's modifications appear to serve. Paul appropriated a text of Scripture sometimes with explicit 'introductory formulae' like 'the Scripture says' (ἡ γραφή λέγει)²⁸ or 'as it is written' (καθὼς γέγραπται),²⁹ and sometimes he did not.³⁰ By adopting techniques of textual comparison, scholars attempt compare the Pauline citations with the LXX, the MT and even the Dead Sea Scrolls in order to identify or reconstruct the so-called 'Paul's bible' and, subsequently, the exegetical alterations in the Pauline scriptural lemma. Many have recognize that the words of Pauline scriptural citations range from verbatim citations from the extant Greek or MT to texts that show significant variations from any of the extant manuscripts. Whether such variations represent signs of Pauline adaptation or arise from textual diversity

²⁷ See for example H. Conzelmann, *An Outline of the Theology of the New Testament* (New York, 1969) 169. In his study which was almost a decade later, he proposed yet another grouping the use of the Scriptures under different headings.

²⁸ For example, Ro. 4:3, 9:17, 10:11, 11:2; Gal. 4:30.

²⁹ For example, Ro. 1:17, 2:14, 3:4, 3:10, 4:17, 8:36, 9:13, 9:33, 10:15, 11:8, 11:26, 12:19, 14:11, 15:3, 15:9, 15:21; 1 Cor. 1:19, 1:31; 2:9, 3:19, 4:6; [9:9], 10:7, 14:21, 15:45, 15:54; [2 Cor. 4:13, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον]; 2 Cor. 8:15, 9:9; Gal. 3:10, 3:13, 4:22, 4:27.

³⁰ This term 'introductory formulae' is commonly used to designate the various phrases that Paul and other NT authors use to identify their explicit citations. However, Stanley has rightly pointed out that such terminology can be rather misleading in the case of the study of Paul's use of Scripture. This is because Paul often incorporates biblical passages into his own arguments without such explicit formal introductions. For more discussion, see Christopher D. Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture: Citation Technique in the Pauline Epistles and Contemporary Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) 253.

among the biblical texts of this period has been a question of heated debate among scholarship.

One of the most substantial and still influential studies along this line was that of Dietrich Alex Koch, who has set forth with methodological precision the criteria used for determining what constitutes a ‘citation’. Koch has put forward seven criteria under which a given Pauline text might legitimately be termed as a citation. They are: (1) when there is a clear citation formula (Ro. 2:24, 3:4, 3:10-18, 4:3); (2) when the same words occur in another context where they are marked as a citation (Ro. 4:22/4:3; 2 Cor. 10:17/1 Cor. 1:31; Gal. 3:11/Ro. 1:17); (3) when there is an interpretive statement showing that the author is moving from biblical text to interpretation (1 Cor. 15:27; 2 Cor. 3:16); (4) when there is a syntactical disjunction between the words in question and their Pauline context, showing that the cited text was not formulated for the present position (Ro. 9:7, 10:13; Gal. 3:12); (5) when the text in question differs stylistically from the texts that surround it (Ro. 11:34, 12:20; 1 Cor. 10:26, 15:32, 33); (6) when there is a light particle of emphasis such as *μενοῦνγε*, *ὅτι*, *ἀλλά*, or an introductory *γάρ* or *δέ* (Ro. 9:7, 10:13, 10:18; 2 Cor. 8:21, 10:17, Gal. 3:11); and (7) when the text represents a tradition that the author clearly assumes will be familiar to his first audience (Ro. 13:9; Gal. 5:14).³¹ Koch’s definition of ‘citation’ has been largely adopted and developed³² while his methodology and conclusion regarding the modifications that Paul might have made to the cited texts have attracted certain criticism.³³

Building on Koch’s study, particularly his seven criteria for identification of citations, Christopher Stanley has advanced the discussion on the fundamental question of what constitutes a ‘citation’ (as over against a paraphrase or an allusion) by giving a

³¹ Dietrich-Alex Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1986) 21-4.

³² See especially Christopher D. Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture: Citation Technique in the Pauline Epistles and Contemporary Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

³³ Timothy H. Lim is one of the significant voices in this regard. Lim has given a detailed review of Koch’s theory in his unpublished doctoral dissertation *Attitudes to Holy Scripture in the Qumran Pesharim and Pauline Letters* (DPhil Dissertation: University of Oxford, 1991) 109-28. Also see *Holy Scripture in the Qumran Commentaries and Pauline Letters* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997) 142-43.

theoretical examination on the subject.³⁴ Stanley raised a concern that there is the need to distinguish between various levels of engagement with the biblical text in Paul's writings, that is, citations, paraphrases, allusions, and reminiscences and so on. Moreover, he also raised the question as to how to decide whether a particular text is a citation when a text demonstrates verbal similarity while it is not marked by any explicit citation formulae such as 'as it is written'.

Stanley started to solve these questions by addressing two related problems: one is a textual question – how to explain the difference between the 'citations' and the '*Vorlage*'? Is it due to the author's intentional modification or is a different *Vorlage* is being used? The other is a methodological question – whether we are adopting a 'reader-centred' or 'author-centred' approach. After a detailed analysis of eighty-three explicit citations at seventy-four different places within the undisputed letters of Paul and by comparing the use of the sacred text in Pauline letters with other contemporary Jewish literature, Stanley concluded that Paul often actively adapted the wording of his biblical citations in order to communicate his own understanding of the passage in question and to obviate other possible readings of the same text. He asserted that Paul's use of the Scriptures could be best described as 'interpretive renderings' of the biblical text, a method that was an accepted literary convention of his day.³⁵

The study of Stanley defined three criteria for determining a citation, which is much narrower than that of Koch.³⁶ To a certain extent the more restrictive definition of citation may help to establish a more objective method of designating biblical citations. However, Stanley's method seems to be problematic in identifying unmarked citations. His insistence on the presence of citation formula as a criterion

³⁴ Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, particularly chapter 2.

³⁵ For a fuller discussion on the social environment of 'free citations' in Paul's time, see Christopher D. Stanley, 'The Social Environment of "Free" Biblical Citations in the New Testament,' in *Early Christian Interpretation of the Scriptures of Israel: Investigation and Proposals*, eds., Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders (JSNTSup 148/SSEJC 5; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997) 18-27.

³⁶ These include: 1) the occurrence of an explicit citation formula; 2) an interpretative gloss accompanies the citation; and 3) syntactical tension is found between the citation and its new context in the epistles. Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, 37.

for identifying a citation seems to be too restrictive, resulting in excluding a number of passages that others would consider to view as citations after application of these criteria.³⁷

Besides, Stanley also follows Koch in contending that Paul's scriptural citations primarily agree with the LXX instead of the MT text.³⁸ Although Stanley concedes in passing the existence of multiple textual traditions and textual fluidity in Paul's time, his conclusion to Paul's modifications of the scriptural text is not immune to criticism. He attributed the instances in which Paul deviates from the scriptural texts simply to stylistic modifications and thus considered them as insignificant. This view is hardly adequate.³⁹ Recognizing the textual diversity of the period, some scholars find it uncertain in many cases how many of the differences between Pauline texts and the cited texts can be credited specifically to his 'intentional adaptations'.

Such an optimistic view of identifying of Paul's modification of scriptural texts proposed by Koch and Stanley is not entirely convincing and demands further investigation. Timothy H. Lim is one of the major critics to the views along this line. In his monograph, *Holy Scripture in the Qumran Commentaries and Pauline Letters*,⁴⁰ Lim has advanced the discussion on two significant aspects of Paul's use of Scripture, namely, the textual complexity and fluidity in the first century milieu and how Paul's interpretation compares with first century Jewish use of Scripture, in particular with that of the Qumran community. Proposing that 'textual comparison of the Pauline lemma should be carried out not only with extant witnesses written in

³⁷ For example, Ro.10:13; 11:34-35; 12:20; 1 Cor. 2:16; 5:13; 10:26; 15:32; 2 Cor. 9:7; 10:17; 13:1; and Gal. 3:11.

³⁸ He supports this view with two observations. First, of the roughly eighty-three biblical texts adduced by Paul in his undisputed citations, thirty-four come from places where the Septuagint is closely allied with the MT. Of the remaining forty-nine texts, however, forty-four fully follow the Septuagint at points where it diverges from the MT. Secondly, there is 'pervasive influence of Septuagintal vocabulary, diction, idioms and thought forms on Paul's manner of expression'. Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture* 67.

³⁹ For a detailed list of his conclusions regarding Paul's adaptation of the scripture in citations, see *Paul and the Language of Scripture* 252-64. A similar position is also seen in his study of biblical citation in the NT, where he stated that the NT authors were 'working consciously but unreflectively within the bounds of contemporary literary conventions that shaped the way citations might be handled.' See his 'The Social Environment,' 18-27.

⁴⁰ Lim, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).

Greek, but also with Hebrew sources,' Lim contributed significantly to the discussion by addressing the issue of the complexity of the textual history.⁴¹ He challenges the confidence with which scholars such as Koch and Stanley have identified Paul's adaptations of scriptural citations, as he cogently argues that the degree of textual fluidity and plurality in the first century is far greater than what is generally imagined. In addition, he rejected E. Earle Ellis' concept of *midrash peshet* as an exegetical genre linking the *pesharim* and Paul. Instead, Lim clearly gives a distinctive definition of *midrash* and *pesharim*, stating that while the former is a gloss of interweaving scripture citations and running commentary, the latter a particular genre of running commentary.

Building upon this, Lim concludes that the differences between the cited texts and the original texts in Paul and Qumran *pesharim* can probably be accounted for in one of two ways. Either the scriptural passage could be cited from a text that is different from all extant manuscripts or, in those cases where textual variety is insufficient to explain the divergence, it is very likely that the variation from known manuscripts come from the author's hands. Lim further put forward the idea that Paul could read Hebrew and Aramaic, and so based on this hypothesis he assumes that 'Paul would have consulted scriptural texts written in these languages, perhaps occasionally even making his own translations into Greek.'⁴² Lim noted that Paul and the *pesharists* regarded themselves as recipients of a new divine revelation, which means that they saw themselves not merely as commentators on a fixed body of Scriptures, but as part of the authors of the sacred text 'participating in the continued unfolding of the divine will.'⁴³ Therefore, even though they showed a profound respect for the language of Scripture, they at times found that it required them to adapt the wording of the text to bring out its "true" meaning.' As such, the authors of *Pesharim* felt free to modify the biblical text to suit their exegetical purposes.

⁴¹ Lim, *Holy Scripture* 142ff. The quotation is taken from p. 142.

⁴² Primarily Lim appeals to Galatians 1:4 and Philippians 3:5, as well as to the testimony of Acts regarding Paul's putative education under a pharisaic master in Jerusalem as evidence for Paul's competence in Hebrew and Aramaic. For more discussion, see Lim, *Holy Scripture* 161-68. However, this view is challenged by Wagner for the reason that Lim has not conducted a comprehensive study of all the Pauline citations from the perspective of textual plurality. For Wagner's critique of Lim's view, see J. Ross Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News: Isaiah and Paul "in Concert" in the Letter to the Romans* (SNT 101; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2002) 8.

⁴³ Lim, *Holy Scripture* 179.

Lim has also demonstrated that the major difference between Paul and other streams of Judaism was not so much technique as to the interpretation of Scripture. Lim made a thought-provoking observation on the nature of Paul's hermeneutics and exegetical practice. He maintained that 'his (Paul's) belief in Jesus as the Christ did not result from a study of the Torah, but in an experiential encounter with the divine.'⁴⁴

Unfortunately, he did not go further to discuss the relationship between the religious 'experience' and the training or study of the Torah. More specifically, it seems for Lim the relationship between Paul's reading of scripture and his Christology is rather uni-directional, that is, his Christology determines how the scripture is read, and Christology itself is not shaped or influenced by the reading of the scripture. If that is the case, then the implication is that Paul's disagreement with his Jewish counterparts derives from a Christological conviction that is self-grounded and self-sufficient, and that the pervasive appeal to scripture is merely a secondary consequence of that primary conviction. In other words, it is not entirely clear whether Lim holds the view that Paul's interpretation of Israel's Scripture was entirely shaped by Paul's 'experience' and to what extent the scriptural text might influence his interpretation.

Whether the nature of biblical exegesis in Qumran and in Paul is similar or not is still debatable.⁴⁵ The subjects that continue to dominate the discussions include: the text type behind Paul's citations and allusions to Scripture, and the functions and role of these citations. However, the limitations of these studies, and those following similar paths, should be noted. First of all, there is a strong emphasis on the presence of explicit scriptural citation formulae. Most of the studies along these lines are

⁴⁴ Lim, *Holy Scripture* 176.

⁴⁵ For example, Stanley contends that they are completely different in nature and it is hard to put them together for comparison. He argued that Paul was not writing a running commentary on the biblical text as the 'pesherists' did. Paul however cited the scriptures primarily for the purpose of supporting his argument to achieve a broader rhetorical goal. Therefore though there are parallels between the way Paul and the authors of the pesharim viewed and interpreted the biblical text, their approaches to the text are rather dissimilar and thus it is inappropriate to draw a comparison. For more discussion, see Stanley's review of *Holy Scripture in the Qumran Commentaries and Pauline Letters*, by Timothy H. Lim, *JTS* 49 (1998) 781-84. Another study along this line is taken up by Shui Lun Shum, who seeks to discover the uniqueness of Paul's use of Scripture as he compares him with some of his Jewish contemporaries, namely, the Jewish Sibyls and the Qumran sectarians. *Paul's Use of Isaiah in Romans: A Comparative Study of Paul's Letter to the Romans and the Sibylline and Qumran Sectarian Texts* (WUNT2.156; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002).

primarily restricted to those texts that have an explicit introductory formula and rarely move beyond allusions, and this tends to overshadow other possible modes of the use of the Scriptures. As a result, many of the indirect uses such as allusions or intertextual echoes are largely ignored. In addition, there is a tendency to analyze isolated citations without awareness of other possible patterns that might exist behind these citations.⁴⁶ Consequently, the relationship between the scriptural citations embedded in the Pauline writings and the development of his argument has frequently gone unnoticed.

The third group of studies is best understood as those that try to extend the analysis to other modes of use of the Scriptures in Paul's writings. Richard Hays is one of the representative scholars who have attempted to move beyond the explicit citations of the Scriptures in Paul. In his groundbreaking study, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*, Hays applies the concept of 'intertextuality'⁴⁷ to biblical studies.⁴⁸ Intertextuality refers to the ways 'a new text is created from the vocabulary, metaphor, symbolic world and image of an earlier text and tradition.'⁴⁹ The interaction between the earlier text and the new literary context brings a new web of meaning and a new symbolic world into being. Hays' adoption of the concept of intertextuality into the study of the use of the Scriptures in Paul has made several significant contributions to NT studies, most notably in the advancing of the search for less explicit modes of the use of the scriptural texts such as allusions and

⁴⁶ This is particularly evident, for instance, in the works of Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic*; E. E. Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament*.

⁴⁷ It is a technical term used in literary criticism to designate the structural relations between two or more texts. Some of the significant discussions on intertextuality in literary criticism include: Jonathan Culler, 'Presupposition and Intertextuality,' in *The Pursuit of Signs: Semiotics, Literature, Deconstruction* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981) 100-118; John Hollander, *The Figure of an Echo: A Mode of Allusion in Milton and After* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981).

⁴⁸ Richard Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1989). Also *idem*, "'Who has Believed our Message?'" Paul's reading of Isaiah,' *SBLSP* 37 (1998) 205-25. In fact, Michael Fishbane, in his work *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985) has already applied intertextuality to his studies of the Old Testament in order to uncover the richness of inner biblical exegesis of the Jewish Scriptures, though he did not give any explicit and sophisticated discussion on its methodological issues. For discussion on theoretical issues, see James E. Porter, 'Intertextuality and the Discourse Community,' *Rhetoric Review* 5 (1986) 34-47.

⁴⁹ For more discussion, see Paul E. Koptak, 'Intertextuality,' *Dictionary for Theological Interpretation of the Bible* (ed. K. J. Vanhoozer et al.; London: SPCK/Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2005) 332-34.

intertextual echo within an author's work, which would otherwise be ignored by many because of their indirectness or inexplicitness.⁵⁰

It should be noted that Hays himself did not define clearly the term 'allusion',⁵¹ and in the discussion he still tends to give those passages with explicit citation formula priority. In addition, his seven criteria for identification of an allusion or echo are to be considered more of a guideline than precise, systematic definitions.⁵² Nevertheless, his proposal has undoubtedly called for attention to the use of the Scriptures beyond the explicit citations, and thus has made a strong impact on the field of study.⁵³

⁵⁰ For a more comprehensive critique on the method and terminology of allusion and intertextuality, see Stanley E. Porter, '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*, ed. C. A. Evans and J. A. Sanders (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997) 79-96, particularly pp. 82-88.

⁵¹ Hays noted that intertextual allusion 'is less a matter of method than of sensibility.' Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, p. 21. In his discussion, Hays' draws largely on the work of John Hollander who did not offer a systematic methodology or a theory of literary allusion either but demonstrated by his finely careful readings of specific instances how intertextual echoes work in the new literary context. In short, Hays suggests that to look out for the 'poetic effects produced for those who have ears to hear' is the task for uncovering allusions. For more detailed discussion on this topic, see Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, 17-19; the quoted phrase is on p.19.

⁵² The seven tests that Hays develops in order to facilitate identification of an echo are as follows: 1. 'Availability' (whether the source of an echo was available to the author/original audience); 2. 'Volume' (the degree of explicit repetition or syntactical coherence); 3. 'Recurrence' (repetition of specific words or themes); 4. 'Thematic Coherence' (how does the alleged echo fit into context of the new text); 5. 'Historical Plausibility' (the possible authorial intention and competency of the intended audience); 6. 'History of Interpretation' (a check with earlier readers, but is not a reliable guide); 7. 'Satisfaction' (does the reading make sense?) Hays himself admits that the last four tests are more attempts to establish the interpretation of the echoes than criteria for identifying them. See Hays, *Echoes of Scripture* 29-32.

⁵³ There are different responses to Hays' proposal. For those who support his view, see C.A. Evans, 'Listening for Echoes of Interpreted Scriptures'; J. A. Sanders, 'Paul and Theological History'. Opponents to Hays include W. S. Green, 'Doing the Text's Work for It: Richard Hays on Paul's Use of Scripture'; J. C. Beker, 'Echoes and Intertextuality: On the Role of Scripture in Paul's Theology.' All these essays are collected in C. A. Evans and J. A. Sanders eds., *Paul and the Scriptures of Israel* (JSNTSS 83/SSEJC 1; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992) 47-51, 52-57, 58-63, and 64-69 respectively. Building on Hays' theory, numerous studies of the use of the scriptures in the NT have been generated. For example, Andrew H. Wakefield, *Where to Live: The Hermeneutical Significance of Paul's Citations from Scripture in Galatians 3:1-14* (SBLAB 14; Atlanta: SBL, 2003); J. Ross Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News: Isaiah and Paul "in Concert" in the Letter to the Romans* (SNT 101; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2002); G. R. O'Day, 'Jeremiah 9:22-23 and 1 Corinthians 1:26-31: A Study in Intertextuality,' *JBL* 109 (1990) 259-67; S. C. Keesmaat, 'Exodus and the Intertextual Transformation of Tradition in Romans 8:14-30,' *JSNT* 54 (1994) 29-56.

Indeed, allusion or intertextual echo⁵⁴ is characterized by its indirectness.⁵⁵ It may be overt or covert, and may appear atomistic in the form of a single word, phrase or clause. These features probably constitute the difficulties in giving allusion or intertextual echo a precise definition, let alone any systematic criteria for identifying it. The indirect nature of allusions has also led some scholars to conclude that context seems to be of little importance as Paul and other NT authors seem to have shown little interest in the original context or meaning of the scriptural texts, as texts may be linked merely on the basis of key words or phrases.⁵⁶ However, the presence of catchwords or word play does not necessarily imply that these words are to be understood as isolated from their context. In fact, in many ways Paul's citations demonstrate a lot of similarities with midrashic discourse, in which supporting texts are often cited only partially 'because the writer or speaker assumes that the audience knows the rest by heart and can identify the catchword connections by themselves.'⁵⁷

Indeed, to establish an allusion or an intertextual echo cannot simply rely on one or two sporadic catchwords or themes. Fishbane exercises extreme caution and seeks to delineate the identification and reinterpretation of a scriptural text with methodological precision when he addresses the complexity of handling the unmarked use of the Scripture.⁵⁸ He employs the aggadic exegesis in the Hebrew

⁵⁴ For the purpose of this study, we follow the practice of previous studies such as Hays (*Echoes of Scripture*) that 'intertextual echo' and 'allusion' will be used somewhat interchangeably for unmarked appropriations of scripture, although 'echo' normally denotes a more oblique reference than 'allusion.'

⁵⁵ The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines allusion as 'a covert, implied, or indirect reference.' There are different views of the nature of allusions. While some scholars, such as Perri, suggest that they are overt (see Carmela Perri, 'On Alluding,' *Poetics* 7 (1978) 290-92; more scholars argue that allusions are often covert, indirect and may even be concealed, which call for the audience to make certain unstated associations. For more discussion, see Michael Leddy, 'The Limits of Allusion,' *British Journal of Aesthetics* 32 (1992) 112; James H. Coombs, 'Allusion Defined and Explained,' *Poetics* 13 (1984) 481.

⁵⁶ For example, Richard N. Longenecker, *Biblical Exegesis in the Apostolic Period* (2nd Edition; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999); E. Earle Ellis, 'Biblical Interpretation in the New Testament Church,' in *Mikra: Text, Tradition, Reading and Interpretation of Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed., Martin Jan Mulder (CRINT 2.1; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1988) 691-725.

⁵⁷ See further discussion in Jewett, *Romans* 579, n.109.

⁵⁸ Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985). In this work Fishbane seeks to explore the issues concerning the history of transmission of the sacred texts and the continuity of biblical interpretation throughout the history of faith community. He argues that scribes did not merely copy the texts but also interpreted them when they reproduced the scriptural texts. Fishbane identifies three types of scribal exegetical activities found in the transmission of the Hebrew Scripture. (1) Legal exegesis: the purpose of this type of exegesis is to clarify laws and ethics

Bible to illustrate in what way an intertextual relationship between two scriptural texts can be established when no explicit citation formula or reference is found. Unlike some of his predecessors who would consider two texts as intertextual related solely on the basis of some shared vocabularies or shared analogous thoughts,⁵⁹ Fishbane contends that two texts can only be considered intertextually linked when (1) the two texts exhibit strong verbal or topical similarities; (2) the ‘multiple and sustained lexical linkages between the two texts can be recognized’; and (3) ‘when the second text [which he termed *traditio*] uses a segment of the first [which he termed *traditum*] in a lexically recognized and topically rethematized way.’⁶⁰ In other words, Fishbane recognizes that a ‘transformative power’ is undergirding the reuse of a scriptural text in its new literary context. Although Fishbane’s study is focused primarily on the phenomenon of ‘inner biblical exegesis’,⁶¹ his methodological discussion on categorizing various types of appropriation of scriptures and the resultant rhetorical strategies is illuminating and instructive, which can serve as a guideline for the identification of allusions for the present study.

It should be noted that the intertextual relationships are not static, i.e. the use of the Scriptures brings the cited or alluded texts and the new texts into a mutually interpreting relationship: the former is transformed by the new context into which it

codes in order to make them relevant to contemporary circumstances. (2) Aggadic exegesis: the goal of this type of exegesis is to draw out the latent, theological, or fuller implications of the sacred texts. (3) Mantological exegesis: by this method scribes seek to read from oracles and prophetic literatures the predictions of the things to come.

⁵⁹ Fishbane criticizes André Robert and his associates with regard to their definition and identification of intertextual relationship of biblical texts as discussed in *procédé anthologique*. According to Fishbane, one of the major weaknesses of the work lies in the imprecision shown in the definition of the style termed *procédé anthologique*. Robert defines the style as ‘re-employs, literally or equivalently, words or formulas of earlier Scriptures’, with or without preserving the original significance, but Fishbane finds this definition somewhat too vague. The weakness of Robert’s definition is magnified in his analysis of the actual texts. In many cases, in Fishbane’s view, the lexical basis is too weak to establish the intertextual relationship between the texts. For more discussion, see Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation* 286-91.

⁶⁰ Fishbane also discusses how Ps. 8:5-7 is reused and transformed by Job 7:17-18, showing that the hermeneutical tension between these texts functions as an indicator of their intertextual relationship. For more discussion, see Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation* 285-87; quoted phrases are taken from 285.

⁶¹ One of the major objectives of Fishbane’s study is to ‘trace some critical path into the remarkable trove of inner biblical scribal exegesis.’ (p. 42). He seeks to demonstrate with methodological precision the extent to which one set of scriptural texts is dependent upon the reinterpretations of earlier written texts, which is different from the objective of the present study. However, his methodological reflections on the principles of establishing an intertextual relationship between texts are worth noting.

has been introduced, while at the same time changing the new context and generating new meaning. When an allusion is read against its original literary context and its relation to its new setting, numerous instated resonances may be produced even though they have not been explicitly stated. This further suggests that interpretation should not isolate the pre-text from its original context.

In order to see a fuller picture of Paul's appropriation of the Isaianic tradition, both explicit citations and more indirect allusions will be examined. In fact, the distinction between citation and allusion is not as clear as is sometimes maintained.⁶² The present study will regard the following three elements as requirements for an allusion to function successfully in a literary work: (1) there is a sign or marker, which may be certain significant phrases or vocabularies, (2) the marker calls to the reader's mind another known text, and (3) there is an authorial intention for a specific purpose.⁶³ In the course of analysis, Paul's use of the scriptural texts and the wider literary context of the texts appropriated will be discussed in order to determine whether the original context of the scriptural text exerts any influence on Paul's texts. It is hoped that through a more accommodating methodology – the intertextuality, the discussion of Paul's use of Isaiah will be more comprehensive.

Moreover, the focus of the present study is not limited to detecting citations and allusions or to discussing the possible hermeneutic logic driving Paul's appropriation of Scripture. Rather, through detecting Paul's use of Scripture and the resonance created by such appropriation of the sacred text, (whether it is an explicit citation or an allusion with a short phrase intending to activate the memory of a larger context, bringing to mind a number of thematic parallels between the earlier and later texts), the investigation will seek to serve the larger purpose of understanding how Paul

⁶² Foster suggests that instead of opting for an easy dichotomy of citation and allusion, the way the scriptural text is used in the NT should be better understood as 'being on a continuum ranging from exact verbal affinity to very free rendering.' (p.65) He rightly points out that the detection of allusion 'cannot be done simply in terms of a set number of words in common, but depends on the distinctiveness of the vocabulary being borrowed as well as the number of shared terms.' (p.66) P. Foster, 'The Use of Zechariah in Matthew's Gospel,' in Christopher Tuckett ed., *The Book of Zechariah and its Influence* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003) 65-86.

⁶³ Foster, 'The Use of Zechariah' 66. Further discussion on detecting of allusions will be carried out in the later part of the study. A scale of classification according to the explicitness of the alleged citation and allusion will be developed.

actually reads and employs Isaiah to tell the story of his special vocation as an apostle to the Gentiles, as well as how the language and theology of Isaiah shape Paul in his understanding of the gospel and his mission.

III. The Pauline Epistles and the Isaianic Story within the Context of Pauline Scholarship

Moving beyond the focus on the criteria of discovering citations and interpretive methods, a number of recent studies highlight the role of the Scriptures in Paul's unfolding argument and its influence on his theological formation. The early study of Paul's use of Isaiah in Romans 9-11 by Paul E. Dinter, following Krister Stendahl and Nils Dahl, called for attention to the role of the Scriptures in shaping Paul's theology.⁶⁴ Dinter argued that the Scriptures were sources for both Paul's Christological affirmations and theological recognitions, and he contended that Paul's use of the Scripture should be understood in the light of *midrash*. He finally concluded that 'Paul's understanding of God's continuing activity was *prophetic* and dynamic.'⁶⁵ Along a similar line, C. A. Evans has argued that it is necessary to view Paul's hermeneutic against the prophetic hermeneutic of the Hebrew Bible.⁶⁶

The study of Paul's use of Isaiah in Romans 9-11 by Aageson established that the text of the Scriptures functions constructively in terms of both structure and language.⁶⁷ He further observed that Paul's argument 'is governed by his theological and religious presuppositions; but his manner of developing and presenting his argument proceeds according to a pattern of verbal links, thematic associations, connecting interrogatives, as well as theological convictions.'⁶⁸ Although not much

⁶⁴ Paul E. Dinter, 'Paul and the Prophet Isaiah,' *BTB* 13 (1983) 48-53.

⁶⁵ Dinter, 'Paul and the Prophet Isaiah,' 52.

⁶⁶ Craig A. Evans, 'Paul and the Hermeneutics of "True Prophecy": A Study of Romans 9-11,' *Bib* 65 (1984) 560-70.

⁶⁷ James W. Aageson, 'Scripture and Structure in the Development of the Argument in Romans 9-11,' *CBQ* 48 (1986) 265-89.

⁶⁸ He says, 'Paul has used verbal and thematic links to develop and to advance his argument.... It has generated ideas and words which Paul has elaborated and incorporated into his literary presentation. These links provide the basis for connecting different scriptural passages and for connecting different parts of the discourse.' Aageson, 'Scripture and Structure,' 288.

attention was received when they were first published, these essays do represent the initial attempts in the investigation of the theological and rhetorical implications of Paul's use of Scripture.

The next study that needs to be called to attention is J. Ross Wagner's monograph entitled *Heralds of the Good News: Isaiah and Paul 'In Concert' in the Letter to the Romans*.⁶⁹ Building on the studies of Hays, Koch, Stanley and Lim, Wagner sets out to launch a vigorous study on Paul's use of Scripture in Romans 9-11 and 15. As the subtitle of his monograph indicates, the study is an analysis of Paul's use of Isaiah 'in concert' with other scriptural texts, therefore it is not a study specifically focused on the use of Isaiah in Romans 9-11 in its strictest sense. In this study, Wagner seeks to address both textual and theological issues concerning Paul's use of the Scriptures. More specifically, he states that he attempts to achieve the following goals in the study: (1) to determine Paul's *Vorlage* and the interpretive assumptions and techniques with which he read and appropriated the prophet's words; (2) to find out the dynamics of Paul's understanding of the gospel and of his calling as an apostle and his reading of Isaiah; and (3) to identify the interplay of scripture, theology, and mission expressed in the unfolding argument of Romans 9-11 and 15.

The strength of Wagner's study is that he has been able to set the discussion of Paul's use of Scripture within the flow of Paul's argument in Romans, while taking seriously the rhetorical effect created by 'the blending of scriptural voices.'⁷⁰ In addition, his argument that Paul's Isaianic citations and allusions in Romans 'are the product of sustained and careful attention to the rhythms and cadences of individual passages as well as to larger themes and motifs that run throughout the prophet's oracles' is generally persuasive.⁷¹ Yet there are some significant deficiencies that render the promised goal of the study not satisfactory achieved. First, as Mary Ann

⁶⁹ This is a revised doctoral dissertation written at Duke University in 1999. J. Ross Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News: Isaiah and Paul 'In Concert' in the Letter to the Romans*, (SNT 101; Leiden: Brill, 2002).

⁷⁰ In his concluding remarks, Wagner states that 'while Paul attends closely to the words of Isaiah, he hears the prophet not simply as a solo voice, but also as a member of a larger scriptural chorus singing the epic story of God's redemption of Jew and Gentile in Christ.' *Heralds of the Good News* 352.

⁷¹ *Heralds of the Good News* 356.

Getty has rightly pointed out, ‘There is less Isaiah than Paul, and less Romans than chaps. 9-11. Most of the time conflicting and dissenting opinions and arguments are not engaged.’⁷² As the sub-title of the book suggests, the study is promised to look at Paul’s handling of Isaiah in the entire Romans. But it turns out that only a section of Romans has been dealt with, while some other significant instances of citations and allusions outside these chapters (e.g. Ro. 2:24; 4:25; 14:11) have not been treated with equal thoroughness.

The lack of serious argumentation is another weakness that undermines Wagner’s argument. In the process of making his case, Wagner has from time to time jumped too quickly to conclusions, making exegetical moves without giving serious argumentation. For example, Wagner repeatedly makes the statement that Paul reads from Isa. 52:7, 52:15 and 53:1 as a prefiguration of his own proclamation as a messenger of the gospel;⁷³ and indeed, this is one of his programmatic statements central to his study, but he makes minimal attempt to argue for his case. In particular, the mode of Paul’s application of each of the Isaianic texts has not been fully dealt with. From the outset Wagner has been asserting that Paul sees himself as the herald of the good news prefigured in Isaiah, but he has not clearly demonstrated how to determine the mode of Paul’s interpretation. It is unclear as to how Wagner arrives at the conclusion that Paul reads one passage as typological prefiguration of his missionary activity while another passage as merely co-witnesses to a particular point of Paul’s argument.⁷⁴

Although Wagner’s study sets out to examine the function of Isaiah in Romans, as the discussion proceeds, the author seems to sway from the original Isaianic-text focused objective. He ends up discussing the function of the blending of various

⁷² Mary Ann Getty, review on Wagner’s *Heralds of the Good News* published in *CBQ* 69 (2007) 600.

⁷³ For example, p. 173, 334, 356

⁷⁴ Wagner simply states that ‘Paul finds not only that the gospel is announced beforehand in the scriptures; he also uncovers in Isaiah 52-53 a prophecy of his own crucial role in God’s redemptive plan. He is one of those depicted in Isaiah 52:7, a herald sent to broadcast the good news that God reigns, that Jesus is Lord. Through his apostolic ministry, people are able to hear, believe, and call upon the Lord.’ (p. 180). He promised to discuss further in the later part of his study in 334-35, but again he merely repeated his statements instead of making further argument on this issue. See Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News*, 180, n182.

citations and allusions. As a result, the distinctive role that Isaiah played in Paul's letter in respect to the understanding and theology of his mission is largely undermined and ignored. As far as methodological issues are concerned, in the beginning of the study, Wagner argued against the notion that the audience of Paul's letter was comprised primarily of illiterate Gentile Christians, which was basically postulated on the historical reconstruction proposed by Dunn and others. As he believes that the reader-focused and even the 'ideal reader' approach to Paul's use of the Scriptures in Romans is inadequate by itself for interpreting the letters on historical, literary and theological grounds, he resolved to adopt a somewhat author-focused approach; i.e. he attempts to focus on 'Paul's reading of Isaiah as it may be recovered from the text of Romans,' but not what might be 'the variety of responses Paul may have evoked from his first hearers.'⁷⁵ However, in the course of his argument, Wagner shows inconsistency in his methodology, switching from time to time between the 'reader-centred' and 'author-centred' approaches.⁷⁶

In short, although Wagner's work has successfully highlighted Paul's interaction with Isaiah and other scriptural texts in some sections of Romans, not all of his analyses are equally convincing. In addition, as his investigation does not separate Paul's use of Isaiah from his use of passages in other books of the Scriptures, the distinctive significance of Isaiah in Romans can hardly be clearly identified. Furthermore, Wagner's analysis is too limited to a section of Romans that how these Isaianic texts correlate to Paul's overall missionary intention expressed in the whole letter is not clearly established. As a result, his conclusion that Paul sees in the Isaianic passages a prefiguration of his own Gentile mission seems to be called into question.

⁷⁵ See Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News*, 33. He also observed that '...to confine one's interpretative interests to what listeners might have picked up on the first hearing of Romans is to seriously underestimate the actual impact of this letter on a community that took its message seriously.' See *idem*, p.39.

⁷⁶ For example, when he contends that Paul might have conflated his citation of Isa. 10:22-23 with an allusion to Isa 28:22b in Romans 9:28, he loosely stated that 'Whether intentional or not on Paul's end, for those who have ears to hear the reverberations of Isaiah 28:22b in Romans 9:28 enrich and amplify the note of imminent deliverance for a people suffering under divine wrath sounded by Isaiah 10:22-23.' See Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News*, 105.

More recently, Mark Gignilliat conducted a study on the embedded biblical excerpts in 2 Corinthians 5:14-6:10, focusing on Paul's identification with the servants of the Servant of Isaiah 40-66.⁷⁷ He argues against the possibility that Paul would identify himself with the Suffering Servant on the grounds that such a reading will result in a 'clash of typological significance.' Gignilliat insists that a theological and typological reading of the text does not allow the Isaianic Servant to have two different referents. By driving a wedge between the category of 'the Servant' of the Second Isaiah and 'servants' in the Third Isaiah,⁷⁸ Gignilliat argues, primarily based on the study of Beuken, that a group of disciples of the Suffering Servant emerged after the death of the Servant, their master. And this group of disciples to which Isa. 53:10 are referred as the Servant's 'offspring', who are later identified as 'the servants'. The servants are none other than the followers of the Suffering Servant. Furthermore, Gignilliat maintains that the Servant in Isa. 52:13-53:12 is so unique in both his humiliation and his exaltation that it should not be understood as a mere human figure. He writes, 'in both his humiliation and his exaltation, [this Servant figure] belongs to the identity of the unique God.'⁷⁹ Therefore, Gignilliat concludes that Paul would not have identified himself with the Suffering Servant. It must be the 'servants of the Servant', as depicted in Isaiah 53-66, with whom Paul might have compared himself.⁸⁰

The major weakness of this study lies in the fact that the author depends his argument entirely on the so-called 'theological, canonical reading' of the Isaianic text, which is based on the construction of modern scholarship of Isaiah. Instead of seeking how Paul would have read the scriptural text in the first century Jewish and Christian communities, the author attempted to build his argument on the research work of modern scholars of Isaiah. Since the author failed to examine the exegetical and hermeneutical practice of the Jewish and Christian contemporaries of Paul, the dynamic interpretations of the prophetic literature among various religious groups have been ignored. In so doing, the multivalent typological referential possibilities of

⁷⁷ Mark Gignilliat, *Paul and Isaiah's Servants: Paul's Theological Reading of Isaiah 40-66 in 2 Corinthians 5.14-6.10* (Library of New Testament Studies; London/New York: T&T Clark: 2007).

⁷⁸ Gignilliat, *Paul and Isaiah's Servants*, especially 46-54.

⁷⁹ Bauckham, *God Crucified* 51.

⁸⁰ Mark Gignilliat, *Paul and Isaiah's Servants* 53-54.

the Servant passages are simply undermined. Finally, there is a lack of coherent methodology in the interpretation of the narrative identity of the ‘servants’ throughout the project. The author on the one hand employed the method of historical reconstruction, which is based primarily on Beuken’s work, to identify what the original referent of ‘the Servant’ and ‘servants’ might be. But on the other hand, the author insists that these texts should be interpreted typologically and theologically. As a result, his identification of the ‘Servant’ and ‘the servants’ is rather confusing.

More specifically, his notion of ‘clash of typological significance’ did not seem to have done justice to Paul’s use of the scripture as reflected in his other epistles. In fact, Paul is not alone in this kind of typological reading. It seems to be quite a common practice in Paul’s time. For example, the typological reading of Qumran commentators was also not always univocal.⁸¹ The typical example of hermeneutical multivalent is 4QpNah 3-4.1.1-11. The commentator, within a few lines of pesher on Nahum, first identifies the ‘lion’ (*aryeh*) of Nah. 2:12 with ‘Demetrius’, the king of Yavan (probably Demetrius III Eucareus, 95-88 BCE). A few lines later, ‘the lion’ of Nahum 2:13 is identified as ‘the contemporary Jewish ruler who hanged living men from a tree,’ i.e. Alexander Jannaeus (who famously crucified eight hundred Pharisaic dissidents).⁸² It appears that commentators in the Second Temple period, even if they read the prophetic texts in terms of typological fulfillment, do not necessarily restrict the referent to one-to-one correspondence. In other words, a typological reading with multiple typological referential possibilities is entirely acceptable to the scriptural exegetes of Paul’s time.

Conclusion

The preceding overview has demonstrated that the various strands of previous studies have advanced the discussion of Paul’s use of Isaiah significantly in different directions. The earlier studies on Paul’s use of the scriptural text have been focused

⁸¹ Markus Bockmuehl, ‘Qumran Commentaries in Graeco-Roman Context’ (an article for Orion Center Conference, Jerusalem 2004) p14.

⁸² See also T. H. Lim, *Pesharim* (Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 3; London/New York: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002) 32-33.

primarily on the detection and classification of Paul's citation techniques, identification of his interpretive strategies and *Vorlage*. A number of significant advancement has been achieved over the past decades. Thanks to the on-going contribution from the Qumran scholars, it has been discovered that the issues concerning Paul's *Vorlage* and interpretative strategies are much more complicated than what most of the early studies have suggested.

Since the groundbreaking study of Richard Hays, more recent studies have been able to move beyond the concern of the mechanics of scriptural citation into an exploration of the literary and theological implications of these citations and allusions to Paul's argument. There is increasing number of scholars that may have noticed the frequent use of Isaiah in the Pauline writings,⁸³ yet the particular significance of Isaiah to Paul's self-conception of his Gentile mission has not been fully explored. Three limitations of the studies mentioned above should be noted. First, most of the studies are restricted to selected passages⁸⁴ or a particular portion of one epistle.⁸⁵ Some may have a broader range of evidence taken from a larger portion of a letter,⁸⁶ but the evidence from other Pauline epistles has not been taken into full account. The scholars have been more successful in demonstrating Paul's use of Isaiah and its significance to an individual passage than on Paul's letter as a whole.

Second, the influence of Isaiah to the wider missionary programme of Paul is still largely ignored. The relationship between Paul's special missionary vocation and his interpretation of Isaiah has not been examined in detail. Some scholars may make occasional references to Isaianic influence on Paul's missionary calling. Yet, due to

⁸³ In recent years, a number of studies dedicated to the use of Isaiah in the New Testament have been published, such as the collection of essays edited by Steve Moyise and Maarten J. J. Menken *Isaiah in the New Testament* (London/New York: T&T Clark, 2005).

⁸⁴ E.g. Brian J. Abasciano, Paul's Use of the Old Testament in Romans 9:1-9: An Intertextual and Theological Exegesis (LNTS 301; London: T&T Clark, 2005).

⁸⁵ Romans 9-11 in the studies of Dinter and Aageson, and the Epistle to Romans, mainly chapters 9-11 and 15 in Wagner's study.

⁸⁶ e.g. Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News*.

the lack of a comprehensive analysis of Paul's use of Isaiah, the isolated remarks are either overstated or skewed.

Finally, most of the studies on Paul's use of Isaiah are largely merged with the quest of Paul's use Israel's Scripture in a general sense. Although those studies attempt to cover a broader of Paul's use of scripture, the particular contribution of Isaiah to Pauline writings has not been fully addressed and explored. As such, in spite of the centrality of Paul's vocation as an apostle to the Gentiles in Paul's life and the significance of Isaiah to Pauline writings, no specialized study of the relationship between these two significant aspects has appeared to date. Questions such as how this particular prophetic book might have shaped his understanding of his gospel and his Gentile mission, and how the historical context and missionary concerns might have influenced his reading of the Scriptures are yet to be explored.

Therefore, a systematic study of the use of the Isaianic patterns in the Pauline corpus with special reference to the themes related to Paul's Gentile mission, such as the inclusion of Gentiles to the people of God, the role of Israel in the salvation plan of God, and the significance of the Servant of Yahweh is needed. It is believed that only through such a study can one appreciate the significance of Isaiah's oracles to Paul's self-understanding of his mission and his perception of the gospel, by which his theological claims are shaped and developed. The present study has been designed to fill this gap. Given the significant role that Paul has played in the early Christianity, and the prominent position that the book Isaiah was held among the early Jewish and Christian communities, a study of Paul's use of Isaiah with special attention to his self-understanding of his Gentile mission is of great relevancy and significance to the Pauline studies, to the reception of Isaiah in Christian history, and may be even to the study of the mission in early Christianity.

IV. The Plan of the Present Study

The present study seek to contribute to the field of study by investigating how the book of Isaiah in general and passages related to the Servant of Yahweh in particular shaped Paul's self-conception of his vocation as an apostle to the Gentiles and his gospel message as reflected in his epistles with which the authenticity of authorship

is not in dispute.⁸⁷ Recognizing that Paul's letters are characteristically occasional letters, with each letter addressing specific issues arising from his missionary context, the study will approach Paul's reading of Isaianic texts by paying a close attention to each of the citations and allusions within their respective literary context, and thereby avoid flattening out the distinctive the questions with which Paul grapples in the respective letters. Therefore, the analysis of selected passages of citations and allusions will be conducted in the order as appeared in each of the epistles. Only after examining where, how and why Paul interacts so extensively with Isaiah will the study attempt to answer the broader questions as to how Paul interprets Isaiah and what the contributions of Isaiah are to Paul.

It should be admitted that Isaiah is only one of the scriptural voices that informs Paul's argument and his reflection on his Gentile missions. Other scriptural references may also provide important interpretive paradigms for Paul.⁸⁸ For example, Paul has also referenced the story of Abraham in Genesis (Ro. 4:1ff, 9:6-10; Gal. 3), the Exodus tradition (Ro. 9:14; 1 Cor. 10:1-11), and passages from other parts of the Torah (e.g. Dt. 32:21//Ro. 10:19), and the Psalms (Ps. 51:4//Ro. 3:4; Ps. 14:1-3//Ro. 3:10-16; Ps. 19:4//Ro. 10:18; Ps. 69:22-23//Ro. 11:9-10) and other prophetic writings in his epistles. But this study will primarily focus on Paul's interaction with the writings of Isaiah. In order to highlight the significance of Isaiah to Paul, our analysis will seek to establish the argument on the basis of the

⁸⁷ The frequency and manner of the use of the scriptural text varies in various Pauline letters, but with most of the instances located in Paul's seven letters whose authenticity is undisputed, the present study deals primarily with these seven letters; namely, 1 Thessalonians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Romans, Philippians and Philemon. 1 Thessalonians and Philippians indicate a complete lack of direct citations, with only a very few cases of allusions; in Philemon there is simply no citation and no allusion; however, first and second Corinthians show an abundant use of the Scriptures. Especially, it is in Galatians and Romans that we can trace a more systematic use of the Scriptures in general and Isaiah in particular. For more discussion on the authenticity of Pauline epistles, see Günther Bornkamm, *Paul* (Trans. D. M. G. Stalker; London: Harper & Row, 1971) 241-43; Michael J. Gorman, *Apostle of the Crucified Lord: A Theological Introduction to Paul and His Letters* (Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2004) 87-96. Cf. David Trobisch, *Paul's Letter Collection: Tracing the Origins* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994); Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, *St. Paul the Letter-Writer: His World, His Options, His Skill* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1995). This is also noted by Romano Penna who gave a detailed explanation in *Paul the Apostle: Wisdom and Folly of the Cross* (2 vols.; trans. T. P. Wahl; Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1996) 2:61, n.1. See also 2:61-91.

⁸⁸ For instance, the work of Abasciano has built a good case that Exodus tradition provides a good background of understanding Rom. 9:1-9. Brian J. Abasciano, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament in Romans 9:1-9: An Intertextual and Theological Exegesis* (LNTS 301; London: T&T Clark, 2005).

occurrences of explicit citations and allusions that are distinctive in Isaiah and which are constitutive to the major arguments in Pauline letters.

Methodology

The study will take an inductive approach, beginning with an examination of the appropriation of the Isaianic passages in four of the Pauline writings where his interaction with Isaiah in the context of his apostolic mission are most readily detected, instead of taking Isaianic themes and making them the interpretive grid for the Pauline epistles. The advantage of this approach is that we will follow Paul's agenda and line of argument in his letters rather than imposing Isaianic themes on Paul. Moreover, the study will require a close reading of the relevant portions of the scriptural texts appropriated within their original context as well as their new literary context in Pauline epistles. After a brief discussion of the mechanics of Paul's use of the Scripture and textual issues where it is deemed necessary, the study will go further to explore how Paul's appropriation of the ancient texts and his interpretive strategies shape his theological claims. The controlling impetus of this study, however, is to explore how Paul understands his Gentile mission in the light of Isaianic texts. Therefore, issues such as the textual history of Isaiah and the comparisons between the techniques of Paul and his Jewish contemporaries will only be mentioned when it is necessary. Our analysis will primarily be based on the distinctive terminological, grammatical or thematic emphases exhibited in Paul's texts as they stand in their canonical form. The approach of the study can therefore also be understood as a 'literary-critical' approach, in the widest sense.

Moreover, our discussion will build on the concept of 'intertextuality'.⁸⁹ It has been well argued that the concept of intertextuality as generally understood in the literary

⁸⁹ The exact understanding of this term varies among scholars. James Porter rightly notes that the basic principle of intertextuality is that texts are interdependent. Texts refer to other texts either through explicit citation or more indirect forms such as allusions, and texts rely on other texts for their meaning. Porter contends that to examine intertextual echoes means to look for "traces", the bits and pieces of Text which writers or speakers borrow and sew together to create new discourse.' As the concept presupposes that the writer is part of a discourse tradition, intertextuality study is focused on the social contexts and the sources from which the writer's discourse arises. For more discussion on the relationship of intertextuality and the interpretive community, see James E. Porter, 'Intertextuality,' 34-47; the phrase quoted is from 35.

field comprises a far wider scope of meaning than that which Hays allows.⁹⁰ In the present study, the use of this term will take a broader sense. This is reflected in two aspects. First, the definitions of citations, allusions or intertextual echo used here will be less restricted than that adopted by Stanley. When ‘explicit citation’ or ‘citation’ is used, we refer to those passages which ‘exhibit substantial verbal agreement’ with a known text of Isaiah, whether with or without a citation formula.⁹¹ In other words, in identifying citations, we would not limit ourselves to the discussion of only those passages that are introduced by an explicit citation formula, which will clearly skew the evidence. Instead, we will include those passages that exhibit significant common vocabulary or phrases between the Isaianic passage and the Pauline text.⁹² In the cases where an explicit citation formula is absent, the occurrence of rare, distinctive or technical vocabulary in both texts will make a stronger case.

The study will define an intertextual echo or allusion as an unmarked invocation of a text that the author could reasonably have been expected to know and the audience could have in principle detected.⁹³ Considering the fact that Paul, like other Jewish exegetes, may modify the form of the texts he used in order to serve the purpose of his writing, and he occasionally switches his referencing texts between the Hebrew and Greek text, it is not necessary that the specific grammatical form of the Isaianic

⁹⁰ In fact, many theorists have rightly emphasized that the study of intertextuality is not so much a ‘source study’, but rather an exploration of the ‘constitutive function of the experience of other texts.’ And this exploration involves primarily not a detecting of ‘particular precursor texts’ but rather a detecting of ‘conventions, systems of combination, a logic of composition.’ For more discussion, see Jonathan Culler, ‘Presupposition and Intertextuality,’ *MLN* 91 (1976) 1380-96; the phrase quoted is from p.1395. In addition, Owen Miller also warns of the danger of defining intertextuality too simplistically in ‘Intertextual Identity,’ in *Identity of the Literary Text*, ed. Mario J. Valdés and Owen Miller (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985) 19-40.

⁹¹ In order to offer a more comprehensive account of Paul’s use of Isaiah, contra to Stanley who limits his investigation to citations explicitly marked by a citation formula, an interpretive gloss or a disruption of the syntax of the sentence (Cf. Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, particularly 56-57), we will employ a looser set of criteria for identifying an appropriation of scripture and thus consider also unmarked appropriations of the ancient text. Instead of relying solely on citation formula, we will focus more on ‘formal correspondence with actual words found in antecedent texts.’

⁹² Stanley Porter has illustrated with the example of the verbatim citation of Job 13:16 in Php. 1:19 to show that ‘the working definition of citation must be accompanied by explicit citation formula’ is clearly too narrow and will exclude such kind of ‘citation’. For more discussion, see Stanley Porter, ‘The Use of the Old Testament,’ 90-92.

⁹³ Ross defines allusion as ‘a speech act whose referent is determined by the speaker’s intent but also by the content of his speech.’ See Stephanie Ross, ‘Art and Allusion,’ *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 40 (1981) 65. Cf. J. H. Coombs, ‘Allusion Defined,’ 475-88.

text should be identical to that in the Pauline text. It sometimes takes the form of loose paraphrase and other times it consists of the presence of a few key words, or a cluster of vocabulary correspondence can be identified in a confined, thematically coherent passage.⁹⁴ As Berkley remarks, ‘In larger narrative contexts this clustering means that the vocabulary may appear as *groups* of words in close proximity to one another scattered over that context.’⁹⁵ The criterion can be termed as ‘the density of occurrence.’ In Fishbane’s words, the density of occurrence refers to ‘the dense occurrence in one text of terms, often thoroughly reorganized and transposed, found elsewhere in a natural, uncomplicated form.’⁹⁶ It is recognized that there might be cases in which Paul may only focus on some vocabulary clusters instead of the entire context of the original story, or he may have unconsciously used terms or phrases evocative of the scripture of ancient Israel. Again, in cases where an allusion is not immediate obvious, the alleged alluded text should be read within its wider literary context and in the light of the citations and more obvious allusions. In so doing we may find ourselves in a more objective position to judge whether such a claim is legitimate or not. It is believed that the combination of verbal agreement and common grammatical forms between the two texts indeed heightens the likelihood that an Isaianic reference has been made in a Pauline text.

As for the question as to how to determine and identify an allusion, those who take up a looser sense of intertextuality have argued that the presence of echo does not depend on authorial intention, thereby encouraging a re-orientation toward a possible reader/hearer response.⁹⁷ They contend that the allusion succeeds only if the first audience has sufficient knowledge of the Scriptures to catch the reference. As for the

⁹⁴ As mentioned earlier, what constitutes to an allusion or a citation does not simply refer to the verbal affinity between two texts, but also the distinctiveness of the vocabulary being adopted and the number of shared terms or themes in the larger contexts.

⁹⁵ Timothy W. Berkley, *From a Broken Covenant to Circumcision of the Heart: Pauline Intertextual Exegesis in Romans 2:17-29* (SBLDSS 175; Atlanta: SBL 2000) 61.

⁹⁶ Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation* 291.

⁹⁷ For example, J. Hollander states, ‘Echo is a metaphor of, and for, alluding, and does not depend on conscious intention.’ *The Figure of Echo: A Mode of Allusion in Milton and After* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981) 64. In addition, M. Thompson observed, “‘Echo’ refers to cases where the influence of a tradition seems evident but where it remains unclear whether the author was conscious of the influence.” *Clothed with Christ: The Example and Teaching of Jesus in Romans 12:1-15:13* (JSNTSup 59; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991) 30.

question how well might the intended first audience detect these Isaianic texts from Paul's flow of argument, some scholars argue that Paul's first audience of the letter were primarily composed of Gentile believers who could not possibly have been able to pick up the nuanced allusions intended by the author.⁹⁸ The problem for taking an entire audience-oriented approach is that no full knowledge of the first audience of Paul's letters is accessible to us. In the case of reconstruction of Paul's audience, for example, it should be pointed out that in some of his letters Paul battles against agitators concerning the status of Gentile believers as well as the authenticity of his own apostleship and gospel. This is best attested in his correspondence with the churches in Galatia and Corinth. Even in the Epistle to the Romans, Paul seems to fight on two fronts, correcting the arrogant boasting of the Gentile congregation over the fellow Jewish believers on the one hand, and explaining Israel's present plight and future hope on the other,⁹⁹ so it is almost certain that his dialogue partners and his first audience were composed of both Jewish and Gentile Christians. Furthermore, as Abasciano has rightly argued, the significance and dynamics of orality in community life and the centrality of Scripture to early Christianity played a much fundamental role in shaping Paul's audience than some might have imagined.¹⁰⁰

Allusions often draw on information not readily available to *every* member of a cultural and linguistic community,¹⁰¹ and are typically, though not necessarily, brief.¹⁰² Therefore we should build our case on the *possibility* of detection.¹⁰³ There

⁹⁸ C. D. Stanley is one of the most prominent voices calling for attention to this issue. He takes an audience-centred approach to Paul's scriptural quotations and characterizes Paul's original audience as scripturally ignorant. See his articles, '“Pearls Before Swine”: Did Paul's Audiences Understand His Biblical Quotations?' *NovT* 41 (1999) 124-44; also idem, *Arguing with Scripture: The Rhetoric of Quotations in the Letters of Paul* (New York: T&T Clark, 2004) 38-61.

⁹⁹ A detailed discussion on the purpose of Romans will be presented in chapter 3 of the study.

¹⁰⁰ For a comprehensive evaluation and critique of Stanley's view, see Brian J. Abasciano, 'Diamonds in the Rough: A Reply to Christopher Stanley Concerning the Reader Competency of Paul's Original Audiences,' *NovT* 49 (2007) 153-83.

¹⁰¹ That not all allusions are readily comprehensible or recognizable to *every* member of a cultural and linguistic community needs further clarification. Allusions may draw on information which is not accessible to the general public, or some of the members do not possess the necessary capability to grasp the sense of text. In such cases, some allusions in a literary piece might not get across to some of the readers.

¹⁰² This is a slightly modified definition of Irwin's. See Irwin, 'What is an Allusion?' 293-94.

are three different perspectives on the roles of text and the author in defining an allusion. First, ‘the intentionalist’ view suggests that the author is the determining factor of an allusion. If an author includes a reference in his or her text that he or she intends to be an allusion to another text, then there is an allusion. Second, the ‘internalist’ view is that ‘when the internal properties of one text resemble and call to mind the internal properties of an earlier text,’ there is an allusion in the text. Finally, ‘the hybrid’ view is that an allusion can be identified when the authorial intent can be traced and affirmed by the internal properties of the text. For example, if there is any linguistic indicator showing that the author intends to appeal to a scriptural text, e.g. in a text exhibiting substantial verbal agreement with a known text of Scripture, where there is no marked formula or interpretative comment, would be regarded as strong case of allusion.¹⁰⁴ Therefore, instead of adopting the extreme views of the intentionalist and the internalist, we will adopt the hybrid position that both the authorial intent and the verbal indicators in the texts should be taken into consideration when evaluating an alleged allusion.¹⁰⁵

The second point is somewhat related to, and is an extension of, the previous one. In applying the theory of intertextuality to Pauline studies, we should always remind ourselves that the intentionality of the author and the capacity of the intended audience to detect the intended allusions should be kept in view. Although there are scholarly dispute over the possibility of having access to the authorial intention, there is no doubt that evidence of the text is a reliable indicator. More specifically, Paul’s explicit citation of Isaianic passages, together with the interpretative framework of salvation envisaged in Isaiah that Paul deliberately set up, provides us with evidence that he intentionally interacted with Isaianic passages. The present study therefore

¹⁰³ Ross also emphasizes that the allusion succeeds only if ‘the audience has sufficient knowledge to catch the reference.’ But even were the allusion not detected by the audience, it is still an allusion. See Stephanie Ross, ‘Art and Allusion,’ *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 40 (1981) 65.

¹⁰⁴ For a more detailed discussion, see Stephanie Ross, ‘Art and Allusion,’ *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 40 (1981) 60-67; Irwin, ‘What is an Allusion?’ 289-96.

¹⁰⁵ As Irwin has rightly noted, ‘Detecting allusions sometimes demands the precision of a science, while making fruitful accidental associations sometimes demands the creativity of an art....we must not get carried away, and we must be careful not to attribute to authors allusions they did not intend.’ We should strike a balance between ‘the deficiency of obsequious reliance upon the author and the excess of unchecked textual play.’ Irwin, ‘What is an Allusion?’ 296.

will seek to build its case upon the evidence from the text within its literary context and the reading of scripture in the first century Jewish and Christian milieu.

As for rules to detect allusions or intertextual echo, the present study will build its case primarily on the modified criteria proposed by Hays for evaluating alleged instances of appropriation of scriptural texts. In order to illustrate what the terms citation and allusion mean in the present study, a few examples are given on a scale of continuum (from 1 to 7, with 1 having the highest degree of verbal parallel and 7 the lowest degree) with the objective of providing a helpful framework for the definition of these terms.

Classification	Explanation	Example
1 Explicit Citation	- With explicit citation formula - In agreement with the LXX and the Hebrew	2 Cor. 6:2 (Isa. 49:8)
2	-Without citation formula. - In agreement with the LXX and the Hebrew	Ro. 11:34; 1 Cor. 2:16 (Isa. 40:13 LXX)
3	-With or without citation formula -In agreement with the LXX against the Hebrew or in agreement with the Hebrew against the LXX	Ro. 9:29 (Isa 1:9); 10:16 (Isa. 53:1); 10:21 (Isa. 65:2); 15:21 (Isa. 52:15); 1 Cor. 15:32 (Isa. 22:13); Gal. 4:27 (Isa. 54:1)
4	- With or without citation formula -At variance with the LXX and the Hebrew where they agree	Ro. 11:8 (Isa. 29:10 + Dt. 29:4); 2 Cor. 6:17 (Isa. 52:11-12)
5	- With or without citation formula - At variance with the LXX and the Hebrew where they vary	Ro. 2:24 (Isa. 52:5); 11:26-27 (Isa. 59:20-21 + 27:9); 11:34 (Isa. 40:13); 14:11 (Isa. 45:23+49:18); 15:12 (Isa. 11:10); 1 Cor.

		1:19 (Isa. 29:14); 2:16 (Isa. 40:13); 1 Cor. 15:54 (Isa. 25:8)
6	There is a slight variation from the LXX (for example, a summary or simplified version)	Ro. 3:15-17 (Isa. 59:7-8); 9:27-8 (Isa. 10:22-23); 9:33 (Isa. 8:14 + 28:16) 10:11 (Isa. 28:16); 10:15 (Isa. 52:7); 1 Cor. 14:21 (Isa. 28:11-12); Php. 2:11 (Isa. 45:23)
7 Free Rendering	There is a significant verbal agreement but difference in word order	Ro. 10:20 (Isa. 65:1); Gal. 1:15-16 (Isa. 49:1-6); 1 Cor. 2:9 (Isa. 64:4 + 65:16)

As Hays rightly cautions that discerning intertextual echoes is ‘less a matter of method than sensibility,’¹⁰⁶ we would consider these criteria a useful guideline rather than a set of rules to be mechanically applied to texts. When particular words or phrases are alleged to point to the Isaianic text, the context of both texts as well as the authorial intent in the wider literary context will be taken into consideration to check for appropriateness of the instances of the associations. In other words, in order to avoid an anachronistic conception of Paul’s reading of Isaiah, we, as modern readers of the text, will consider both the context of the texts and the possible intention of the author for his intended audience, though allusion or echo is indirect in the sense that ‘it calls for associations that go beyond mere substitution of a referent.’¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, 21.

¹⁰⁷ As Irwin has rightly noted, the indirect nature of the reference, the authorial intention or the possibility of detection alone is a necessary but not sufficient condition. All of these three elements should be taken together as a whole to amount to a sufficient condition for allusion. See Irwin, ‘What is an Allusion?’ 294.

Recognizing that the main focus of the present study is Paul's appropriation of Isaianic texts in relation to his self-conception of his Gentile mission, we will consider the potential effect of Paul's reading of a scriptural text on his audience as, after all, secondary to this study. Hence, even if the resonance of Paul's appropriation of Isaiah may sound different to the ears of different groups of his audience, the question will not directly affect the conclusion of the study. It is because the focus of the investigation is on what the author Paul attempts to do, rather than what the intended reader may or may not have perceived, with the understanding that the former may shed light on the latter. As such, it is more appropriate to categorize the present study as adopting the author-centred approach rather than that of reader-oriented. We will focus our discussion on the author's intended message evoked by citations and allusions, rather than on any supposed, reconstructed 'knowledge' of the audience.¹⁰⁸ The investigator is well aware that there are always possibilities of 'reading into' certain meaning which might not be originally intended by the author. In order to minimize this, the investigator will attempt to read the ancient text with high sensitivity to how a first-century *diaspora* Jewish Pharisee Christian would have read it, by taking serious consideration of how a particular scriptural text was read in the first century Jewish and Christian milieu. In addition, it is believed that the more a specific reading of the text fits with other evidence in the wider context, the higher the possibility that such a reading is intended. In addition, we may compare our interpretation of Paul's reading of the ancient text with that of his Jewish and Christian contemporaries. The way in which Paul's contemporaries interpreted the Apostle in the light of Isaiah offered in the book of Acts may provide further grounds on which the validity of our claims is established.

In summary, what the present study aims to uncover is not so much what scriptural texts Paul's audience might be able to detect from his Epistles. Neither does it aim to build a theoretical strategy as to how to identify the scriptural texts that Paul has employed in his epistles. Our focus will remain on the intended meaning of the text produced by the interplay between the text and subtext where Paul appeals to the Scriptures. In examining the appropriation of Isaianic story in the Pauline letters, we

¹⁰⁸ Porter, 'The Use of the Old Testament,' 95-96.

will investigate a combination of the analyses of 1) explicit Isaianic citation; and 2) the Isaianic themes and vocabularies as appeared in Paul's letters. The discussion of the use of Isaianic passages in the Pauline writings will not be confined to the particular passages in the citation itself, but will also take the wider literary context of both the original Isaianic texts and their function in Paul's argument into account.

Reading the prophecy of Isaiah in the Time of Paul

The designation of intertextuality and literary criticism as the major approach of this study does not, however, exclude the use of traditional historical-critical methodology in the present study. The use of Isaiah in Pauline writings should be set within the wider historical and cultural context of the use of Isaiah in first century Jewish Christianity. Although many of the issues touched upon in this brief discussion easily warrant a book-length treatment in their own right, and the brief treatment of these topics here will not do justice to any of them, our tentative discussion simply aims to sketch a picture of Paul as an ancient scriptural reader and thereby to shed further light on the present study.

In establishing the relationship between Isaiah and the interpretation of Paul's self-conception of his Gentile mission in Pauline writings, a few remarks concerning historical plausibility will be helpful. First, how was the book of Isaiah read and interpreted by the first century Christian and Jewish communities? Second, how did Paul, as an ancient reader, encounter the book of Isaiah? What type or types of manuscripts were accessible or available to him? Third, what was the conception of the Servant of Yahweh in its first century Christian and Jewish background? As the last question needs a more detailed treatment, we will leave it to the ensuing chapters when the issues emerge. In the following discussion, we will only tackle the questions regarding the reading of the book of Isaiah in the time of Paul.

By the first century, though a clearly delineated canon had yet to emerge,¹⁰⁹ a basic element of 'Scripture' is already evident.¹¹⁰ The Jewish and Christian circles

¹⁰⁹ It has been generally agreed that not all of the books in the Writings were finally fixed as an authoritative canon until the turn of the first century.

regarded their sacred writings – the Pentateuch, the Prophets, and the Writings as not simply ‘containing’ but as ‘being’ the very words of God Himself. The interpretation and transmission of the scriptural texts were conceived to be ‘a gateway to another, and eternal, world.’¹¹¹ As W. C. Smith puts it, ‘inherited texts are treated as highly special, and indeed of cosmic quality.’¹¹² In addition, there seems to be little doubt that the writings of Isaiah played a significant part in shaping the hopes of various Jewish and Christian groups within the late Second Temple period.¹¹³ For example, at Qumran, Isaiah along with Psalms, Deuteronomy and Genesis has formed a significant part of ‘a canon within the canon’ for this sectarian group. Scholars even characterize the hermeneutics of Qumran scriptural exegesis as ‘fulfilment interpretation.’¹¹⁴ The sectarian group believed that the prophecies that were revealed to the prophets in the past were now to be fulfilled in their own time. They held the view that the prophetic revelation is a continuous process, believing that what God revealed to the prophets, including Isaiah the prophet, centuries previous would happen in this final generation to which they belonged. In addition, there are many references to Isaiah in the Jewish writings of late Second Temple period that rely on the forward-looking and eschatological fulfilment nature of the prophecies.¹¹⁵ The

¹¹⁰ This is indicated in some of the NT writings such as the gospel of Luke. It is clear that the Law and the Prophets are emerged as a category of the Scripture when the gospel was composed. Cf. Lk. 24:27. For more discussion, see Craig A. Evans, ‘The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Canon of Scripture in the Time of Jesus,’ in *The Bible at Qumran: Text, Shape, and Interpretation*, ed., Peter W. Flint (Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature; Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2001) 67-79.

¹¹¹ For example, in 1QS 8.14-16, there is a well-known interpretation of Isa. 43:3 reflecting the fact that the Qumran community understood the preparation of the way of the Lord in the wilderness and the levelling of a highway in the desert for God as studying Torah. For more discussion, see Timothy H. Lim, ‘Midrash Peshar in the Pauline Letters,’ in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After*, eds. S. E. Porter and C. A. Evans (JSPSS 26; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997) 285-86. I borrow the phrase from W. D. Davies, ‘Canon and Christology in Paul,’ in *Paul and the Scriptures of Israel*, eds. C. A. Evans and J. A. Sanders (JSNTSS 83/SSEJC 1; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993) 20.

¹¹² Wilfred Cantwell Smith, *What is Scripture? A Comparative Approach* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993) 56.

¹¹³ For more discussion on this, see C. C. Broyles and C. A. Evans eds., *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition* (VTSup 70.2; Leiden: Brill, 1997); C. M. McGinnis and P. K. Tull eds., *‘As Those Who Are Taught’: The Interpretation of Isaiah from the LXX to the SBL* (SBL Symposium Series 27; Atlanta: SBL, 2006).

¹¹⁴ T. Lim has given this subject an excellent treatment in *Pesharim* (Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 3; London/New York: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), esp. 24-53. See also J. G. Campbell, *The Exegetical Texts* (London: T&T Clark, 2004) 13-65.

¹¹⁵ One of the typical examples is the comment about Isaiah the prophet in Sir 48.22-25. It speaks of Isaiah’s vision as about the ‘end-times, and these words are about ‘what will be and what is hidden

many oracles of judgment and the hope of restoration of Israel, which form the dominant message in Isaiah, have been appropriated by these various religious groups.¹¹⁶ The recurrence of the Isaianic themes such as Yahweh's imminent salvation of his chosen people, the expectations of the Messiah, the subjugation of Israel's enemies throughout these writings indicates something of a shared core of hopes and beliefs.¹¹⁷ A similar view has also advanced by Martin Hengel and Daniel P. Bailey who contended that the book of Isaiah was interpreted eschatologically and as a unified body of literature since the beginning of the early Hellenistic period, i.e. around the second century B.C.E. Hengel cites Ben Sira and Qumran community as examples to illustrate his points. Hengel pointed out that Ben Sira interpreted Isa. 41:22, 46:10 and 47:7 as referring to 'the last things' that will happen in end-time (Sir. 48:24) and the author of 4Q161-165 applied the prophetic word of Isaiah eschatologically as reference to the 'last days' in which the community found themselves.¹¹⁸

The NT authors also read the book of Isaiah prophetically, as predictive of the events leading up to the age to come. For instance, Luke reads Isa. 40:5 and 52:10 as the fulfilment of God's promise that his saving act for Israel will be seen by all peoples (Lk. 2:30), a hope of salvation for the nations to be fulfilled through the mission of the Isaianic Servant. In addition, Luke also interprets the prophecy of Isaiah 61:1 as

before they come to pass'. It is clear that according to Ben Sira, the visions and prophecies in Isaiah are forward-looking and should be read in the light of eschatological fulfilment.

¹¹⁶ N.T. Wright has provided a detailed discussion on this. *The New Testament and the People of God* (London: SPCK, 1992), esp. chapter 10.

¹¹⁷ Indeed, there is a diversity of perspectives on each of these subjects across these sectarian groups. This generalized observation does not intend to ignore or undermine the differences among these writings, but seeks to point out that the interpretation of Isaiah in the late Second Temple period emerged from these kinds of eschatological expectations that characterized the zeitgeist of Paul's time. For further discussions, see John J. Collins, 'The Nature of Messianism in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls,' in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context*, ed., Timothy L. Lim (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000) 199-217; idem, 'The Expectation of the End in the Dead Sea Scrolls,' in *Eschatology, Messianism and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, eds., C. A. Evans and Peter W. Flint (Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Related Literature Series vol. 1; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997) 74-90; Bernhard W. Anderson, 'The Apocalyptic Rendering of the Isaiah Tradition,' in *The Social World of Formative Christianity and Judaism*, eds., Jacob Neusner et al. (Mineapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1988) 17-38.

¹¹⁸ Martin Hengel and Daniel P. Bailey, 'The Effective History of Isaiah 53 in the Pre-Christian Period.' In *The Suffering Servant: Isaiah 53 in Jewish and Christian Sources* ed. Bernd Janowski and Peter Stuhlmacher (Trans., Daniel P. Bailey; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004) 75-146.

telling forth of Jesus' mission (Lk. 4:17-21).¹¹⁹ Matthew in a similar way employs the prophetic words of Isaiah in portraying Jesus as the fulfilment of the Isaianic Servant (Mt. 12:17-21//Isa. 42:1-4).¹²⁰ In the following chapters we will seek to explore in what way Paul reads the book of Isaiah, and to what extent he reads it as prophecies that speak about the future events to be fulfilled.

Another pertinent question regarding Paul's access to the Scripture is as to what form of the texts he encountered. It is well attested that the sacred texts in the early first century were circulated primarily in the form of scrolls. It is difficult to imagine a travelling missionary such as Paul whose apostolic vocation is to preach the good news 'to the nations,' travelling on foot and by ship thousands of miles, constantly risking life both on land and at sea,¹²¹ carrying the full scroll of Isaiah along with him.¹²² Even if Paul was able to access the Isaiah scroll, the sheer size and weight of the scroll may well have made looking up and comparing passages inconvenient and difficult.¹²³

In the light of the above practical difficulties involved in using the full scroll of Isaiah, it seems more reasonable to postulate that Paul may well have utilized some

¹¹⁹ For a detailed discussion on Luke's use of Isaiah, see David W Pao, *Acts and the Isaianic New Exodus* (WUNT 2. 130; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck: 2000); Max M. Turner, *Power from on High: The Spirit in Israel's Restoration and Witness in Luke-Acts* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996).

¹²⁰ For more discussion, see John M. Court, 'The Birth of Jesus Christ According to Matthew and Luke,' in *New Testament Writers and the Old Testament: An Introduction*, ed., John M. Court (London: SPCK, 2002) 13-25.

¹²¹ Gorman has rightly noted that 'the topography of Anatolia and Greece would have been a challenge to the ancient traveller.' For more discussion, see Michael J. Gorman, *Apostle of the Crucified Lord: A Theological Introduction to Paul and His Letters* (Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2004), particularly chapters 1 and 2. This is also reflected in both the Pauline letters (e.g. 2 Cor. 11:25-26) and Acts (e.g. 27:3-28:14).

¹²² As for the parchment mentioned in 2 Tim 4:13, there are a number of controversial interpretations. First, the authenticity of Pauline authorship of 2 Timothy is disputed, and it is generally considered that the letter was written more likely ca. 100 than ca. 65. Second, McCormick has argued cogently that the term *μεμβράνα* (parchment) refers to 'literary texts in codex form.' For more discussion, see Michael McCormick, 'The Birth of the Codex and the Apostolic Life-Style,' *Scriptorium* 39 (1985) 150-58, the cited phrase is from p.155.

¹²³ For example, 1QIsa^a the so-called 'large' Isaiah scroll now measures over 24 feet; it is believed that originally its length may have been more than 24 1/2 feet. See J.C. Trever, 'The Isaiah Scroll,' in *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery, vol. I, The Isaiah Manuscript and the Habakkuk Commentary* ed. M. Burrows (New Haven: ASOR, 1950) xiv.

other forms of written scriptural texts, if indeed written texts were used. One possibility was that Paul used a codex form of Isaiah. Michael McCormick suggests that one of the main reasons that led to the early adoption of the codex form in Christian communities was the practical necessity arising from the early Christian missionaries such as Paul who needed to carry scriptural texts when they travelled.¹²⁴ Another possible form of the written text of the scriptures that Paul utilized could have been some kind of scriptural excerpts resembling what the Harris' Testimony-book hypothesis has suggested.¹²⁵ This is also the view contended by Stanley who argues that the citations of Paul are made from written sources. He suggested that Paul had compiled a 'biblical anthology' containing excerpts of the Scriptures. Stanley contends that Paul might probably have copied the passages from the written sources that he came across and found them potentially useful to his ministry. He could have copied them down onto some wax tablets, or perhaps even onto a loose sheet of parchment for further meditation and study.¹²⁶

Stanley argues against the possibility that Paul quotes the scriptures from memory. But in view of the fact that memorization was a fundamental component of education in antiquity,¹²⁷ and particularly that Paul was educated as a Pharisee, and that the

¹²⁴ McCormick rightly points out that the early Christian apostles needed to travel from town to town, spreading the good news, and even resolving the conflicts of the new faith and its followers. One of the chief sources serving the purposes of teaching and preaching is the voluminous OT scriptures. Therefore, it is very likely that the life-style of the early Christian evangelizers, who were involved in frequent movement, encouraged them to adopt the codex form of the book. For more discussion, see McCormick, 'The Birth of the Codex,' 150-58.

¹²⁵ In the light of the several striking examples of collections of scriptural excerpts discovered among the Dead Sea Scrolls, the interest in the testimony-book hypothesis has revived. Wagner notes that the discovery of catena texts at Qumran has provided a roughly contemporaneous parallel to the putative early Christian anthologies. Amongst those texts, 4QMdrEschat^{a,b} (=4Q174+4Q177), 4QTest (4Q175), and 4QTanh (4Q176) are of particular significance. See Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News* 21, n.76. A survey of the evidence for the use of anthologies in the ancient world is conducted by Robert Hodgson, 'The Testimony Hypothesis,' *JBL* 98 (1979) 361-78.

¹²⁶ The evidence Stanley cited for the common practice of compiling excerpts from written texts for later use includes Greek literature – Xenophon's *Memorabilia* (1.6.14), Aristotle (*Topics* 1.14), Plutarch (*Peri Euthumias* 464F); Latin literature Cicero (*De Inventione* 2.4) and Pliny the Younger (*Epistles* 3.5, 6.20.5); Jewish literature like *4QTestimonia*. For more detailed discussion, see Christopher D. Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture* 73-9.

¹²⁷ Gerhardsson has argued for the significant role played by recitation in antiquity, both in cultic and non-cultic contexts during the Greco-Roman period. He states that 'Literary teaching in Hellenistic "primary" and "secondary" schools was intended first and foremost to cultivate beautiful and accurate recitation of the classical works.' Memorizing also played a basic educational role in Jewish school. For more discussion on the teaching and learning in antiquity, see B. Gerhardsson, *Memory and*

memorization of large portions of scripture was probably the norm, there is, of course, good reason for us to consider that Paul memorized the scriptures and that whenever a need arose, he quoted the scriptural texts from memory.¹²⁸ However, the divergence of the text and the citations not supported by any of the extant manuscripts cannot be simply explained away by the author's 'memory lapse'.¹²⁹ In fact, in view of the complexity and fluidity of the scriptural texts in early first century, variants of text could arise from memory lapse as well as divergence in the source text. The differences between Paul's citations and their source texts should be evaluated on a case-by-case basis.

While it is reasonable to postulate that Paul learnt many of the passages by heart, this does not necessarily exclude the possibility that he may well have kept a written form of scriptural excerpts. We will take a more moderate position as suggested by Wagner. He points out that rather than posing the question in terms of mutually exclusive alternatives of either memorization or use of written texts and anthologies of excerpts, we should imagine Paul interacting with Scripture in a variety of modes, including meditation on memorized passages, hearing of spoken texts, personal reading of written texts, and the collection of and reflection on excerpts from larger texts. 'Such a multi-faceted approach, ... is absolutely necessary to capture the complex reality of books and readers in the first century.'¹³⁰

Manuscript (ASNU 22; Uppsala: Almqvist Wiksells, 1961), particularly, 61-64. The cited phrase is from p.61. For more discussion on the importance of memory in education, see Dor Zlotnick, 'Memory and the Integrity of the Oral Tradition,' *JANES* 16-17 (1984-84) 229-41. For more discussion on the importance of memorization in education of the ancient times, see S. Safrai, 'Education and the Study of Torah,' in *The Jewish People in the First Century*, ed., S. Safrai and M. Stern (2 vols.; CRINT I; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1976) II: 945-71. Although Gerhardsson's proposal has been criticized when it was first published, the validity of his argument has been upheld over the decades. Due to the influence of his former lecture, Morton Smith, Jacob Neusner has been one of the critics who levelled severe criticisms on Gerhardsson. But recently he reaffirms Gerhardsson's view and admitted that the criticism he made three decades before was based on his miscomprehension and misrepresentation of Gerhardsson's work. See his 'Gerhardsson's *Memory and Manuscript* Revisited: Introduction to a New Edition,' in *Approaches to Ancient Judaism New Series vol. 12* (South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism 158; Atlanta: University of South Florida, 1997) 171-90.

¹²⁸ In fact, Stanley admits that Paul 'engaged in a regular and persistent study of Scripture throughout his missionary travels.' See Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture* 71-2.

¹²⁹ Following Koch, Stanley argued with the list of six reasons against the idea that Paul cited the texts from merely memory. In addition, he also rejected the notion that Paul was citing from a pre-Christian source, but failed to provide any evidence. Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture* 73.

¹³⁰ Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News*, 25-26

A final note on the possibility of Paul might have known the wider literary context of Isaiah is in order. In this study, it is postulated that Paul would have read the Isaianic texts within its broader literary context. Instead of reading the scriptural texts as atomistic texts in isolation from their original context, we suggest that Paul would have been familiar with larger portions of Isaiah, or even the prophecy in its entirety. There are several evidences that may support this postulation. First, from the many instances of Isaiah that he appropriated, quite a few of which are located within close proximity in its original literary context (e.g. Isa. 28-29, 45-49; 52-53, 65-66 etc), we may deduce that he knows the larger portion of the scripture around the individual texts to which he cites or alludes. Second, there are repeated themes and motifs from Isaiah that are employed by Paul in his letters. Third, on the basis of the traces of Paul's background that can be discerned in his letters, we can deduce that his Pharisaic background (Gal. 1:9; Php. 3:5) seems to provide evidence of his good knowledge of the scripture. There is evidence that in rabbinic tradition devotion to study emerges as one of the fundamental characteristics of a Pharisee.¹³¹ In particular significance is Paul's possible association with the synagogue, which might have provided him with Torah education during the formative period of his life.¹³² These initial observations remain to be investigated in more detail, but based on the frequency of his appropriation of Isaianic texts, the accuracy of his representation of the texts, and the wide spread nature of the texts across Isaiah from which he extracts, it appears that a good case can be made for the plausibility of Paul's knowledge of the wider context of Isaiah.

As for the terminology of reference to the sacred text used by Paul, the present study will use 'the Scriptures' as a short hand for the sacred texts to which Paul was referring. To begin with, it would be anachronistic to call it 'the Old Testament' because the 'New Testament' has yet to come into existence in the first century. Likewise, it would be misleading to call the Scriptural text as the 'Hebrew Bible' because we cannot know for sure that Paul's citations are actually taken from texts

¹³¹ For a summary of the tradition, see B. T. Viviano *Study as Worship: Aboth and the New Testament* (SJLA 26; Leiden: Brill, 1987) 111-57. A further piece of evidence is found in Acts, where it mentions that the pre-Christian Paul was brought up in Jerusalem at the feet of Gamaliel (22:3, 26:4).

¹³² See Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul: A Critical Life* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2008) 46-51.

written in the Hebrew language. Furthermore, although in many cases Paul's lemma does agree closely with the LXX or Old Greek, but it would be misleading to say that Paul's citation is 'septuagintal' without further clarifications. Lim has rightly cautioned that the term 'septuagintal' should be employed only 'in the more limited sense' when a lemma is attested exclusively by the LXX which is 'textually distinctive from the MT.'¹³³ In other words, when a cited text in the Pauline epistle does agree verbally with the LXX, it may indicate that Paul might have quoted from a manuscript of the 'Septuagint'. But if the MT also textually agrees with Paul's citation, indicating that there is no difference in substance between the LXX and the MT, then the lemma is not 'septuagintal' in the sense that it is not 'textually distinctive from the MT.' A lemma is 'septuagintal' only when Paul's citation agrees with the LXX which is distinctive from all the extant Hebrew text, including the evidence from Qumran manuscripts.¹³⁴

Furthermore, in an excellent study of the use of the Septuagint in New Testament research, McLay also pointed out the problems of using the terminology of the 'LXX' in reference to the Greek translation of Israel's Scripture without any further clarifications.¹³⁵ He clarified that the term LXX refers to the translation that is dated from the second or third century BCE and is believed to have been in common use in the Hellenistic synagogues before and during Paul's time. The term may be used to refer to 'the reading in the Greek Jewish Scriptures that has been judged by the editor of a critical text to be most likely the original reading,' or 'any reading that is found in any Greek manuscript of the Jewish Scriptures, which is not necessarily the original or even a very early reading.'¹³⁶ He also distinguishes the term Old Greek (OG), which is reserved by most specialists to designate specifically what is believed to be the oldest recoverable form of the original translation of a particular book, and the LXX, which refers to the critical editions for many books of the Septuagint now

¹³³ Lim, *Holy Scripture* 142.

¹³⁴ For a succinct discussion on the complexity of textual problems regarding Paul's use of the scriptural text, see M. Silva, 'Old Testament in Paul,' *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters* eds., Gerald F. Hawthorne and Ralph P. Martin (Downers Grove/Leicester: IVP, 1993) 630-42.

¹³⁵ R. Timothy McLay, *The Use of the Septuagint in New Testament Research* (Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2003).

¹³⁶ McLay, *Use of the Septuagint*, 5.

available and which continue to be published in the *Septuaginta* series. Quotations from the LXX in this study follow the Greek text of Ziegler's *Isaias*.¹³⁷ Translations of passages from the LXX are my own. Likewise, except where otherwise indicated, translations of the New Testament passages cited are my own, though I have generally not departed from the Revised Standard Version (RSV) unless there were particular reasons to do so.

In view of the fact that Paul's reading of Isaiah tended to transcend the clear divisions once found between the various 'volumes' of Isaiah in modern biblical scholarship,¹³⁸ the present study presupposes the literary unity of the book of Isaiah in general and chapters 40-55 in particular, which is well argued by many scholars.¹³⁹ From the evidence of Paul and early Jewish and Christian writings, it is clear that the entirety of the book of Isaiah bears authority over the community of faith.¹⁴⁰ More

¹³⁷ Joseph Ziegler, *Isaias* (Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Societatis Litterarum Göttingensis editum XIV; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1939).

¹³⁸ The more unity-oriented scholars concern themselves primarily with the composition history of the book, and not exclusively with an attempt to read the book canonically. For a survey of the current state of scholarship, see David Carr, 'What Can We do about the Tradition History of Isaiah? A Response to Christopher Seitz's *Zion's Final Destiny*,' *SBLSP* 31 (1992), 583-97; idem, 'Reaching for Unity in Isaiah,' *JSOT* 57 (1993) 77-80; Gerald T. Sheppard, 'The Book of Isaiah: Competing Structures according to a Late Modern Description of its Shape and Scope,' *SBLSP* 31 (1992), 549-84; idem, 'Isaiah as a Scroll or Codex Within Jewish and Christian Scripture,' *SBLSP* 35 (1996), 204-24. Cf. also the detailed discussion in Hugh G. M. Williamson, *The Book Called Isaiah: Deutero-Isaiah's Role in Composition and Redaction* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994); R. E. Clements, 'Beyond Tradition History: Deutero-Isaianic Development of First Isaiah's Themes,' *JSOT* 31 (1985), especially 97-98; Rolf Rendtorff, 'The Book of Isaiah: A Complex Unity. Synchronic and Diachronic Reading,' *SBLSP* 30 (1991) 8-20.

¹³⁹ Proponents of literary unity of *Isaiah* include W. A. M. Beuken, 'Servant and Herald of Good Tidings: Isaiah 61 as an Interpretation of Isaiah 40-55,' in *The Book of Isaiah: les Oracles et Leurs Relectures Unité et Complexité de L'ouvrage*, edited by Jacques Vermeylen (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1989) 422-42; R. E. Clements, 'A Light to the Nations: A Central Theme of the book of Isaiah,' in James W. Watts and Paul R. House eds., *Forming Prophetic Literature: Essays on Isaiah and the Twelve in Honour of John D. W. Watts* (JSOTSS 235; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996) 57-69.

¹⁴⁰ In fact, there is an increasing number of recent critical studies which argue that the book of Isaiah cannot really be divided into the two or three parts described by earlier critical scholars. Discussions leading by Beuken, Childs, Christopher Seitz, to name but a few, on the redactional, thematic, and structural unity of the Isaianic writings have demonstrated the possibility that the relationship between the various sections within Isaiah is much more complex than has previously been assumed. For example, see Benjamin D. Sommer, 'The Scroll of Isaiah as Jewish Scripture, Or, Why Jews Don't Read Books,' *SBLSP* 35 (1996) 225-42. For more discussion on the servant passages and the formation of Isaiah, see Joseph Blenkinsopp, 'The Servant and the Servants in Isaiah,' in *Writing & Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition*, ed., C. C. Broyles and C. A. Evans (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1997) 1:155-75;

importantly, the modern designations of First-, Second-, and Third-Isaiah would seem to be inapplicable to Paul or his contemporary authors. Therefore, such modern designations will be not adopted as technical terms to designate each portion of Isaiah as if they were isolated sections of the prophetic book under the name of Isaiah. However, the terms might be employed where a shorthand designation for the particular section of Isaiah that is under discussion is necessary. While this study focuses primarily on Isaiah 40-66, it does not prevent us from reading other parts of Isaiah as they appeared in Pauline writings, for as we shall see in the following discussion, the citations and allusions that Paul appropriated are taken from the whole book of Isaiah.

Outline of the Study

In the present study, we will argue that Paul's use of the larger section of Isaiah indicates that his conception of Gentile mission is in many aspects shaped and informed by his reading of Isaiah. Three interrelated questions related to Paul's Gentile mission are to be explored: First, how does Paul understand his own missionary call to bring the good news to the Gentiles in the light of the mission of the Servant figure in Isaiah? Second, how does Paul understand the status and role of Gentile Christians and Jews in the light of Isaiah? Third, how does he understand Jesus Christ and His role in the divine salvation plan in the light of the eschatological salvation envisaged in Isaiah? In addition, the study will look into the implications of the proximate parallel characteristics of the experiences of Paul and the Servant figure in Isaiah. The method utilized in this study requires a high level of integrative 'narrative' approach, instead of the mere atomistic analysis of multiple passages taken in isolation. Apart from comparing the linguistic similarities between Paul's citations and allusions, we will also pay attention to the original literary context of the Isaianic texts that Paul appropriates and the new literary context in which the citations and allusions operate. It is hoped that by putting together the pieces of evidence from various places in the Pauline letters we may form a clearer picture of the way in which the story of the Isaianic Servant shapes Paul's understanding of his gospel and his mission.

It has long been debated whether these quotations and allusions should be treated as isolated proof-texts or as part and parcel of the divine redemptive drama exhibited in the wider Isaianic texts surrounding the Servant of Yahweh.¹⁴¹ The latter view presupposes knowledge of the wider context of the book of Isaiah, in particular chapters 40-66, to which Paul most frequently cites and alludes. This study presupposes that the question whether the importance of a certain scriptural text is limited to the cited text should be accessed on a case-by-case basis. The argument of this study is cumulative. In other words, in any given instance it may be difficult to accept the conclusions suggested by the application of the methods of study outlined in this chapter. But the probability is increased by the fact that these methods can be used so fruitfully and so frequently, and by the coherence and consistency of the picture that is built up. It will be argued that Paul's use of Isaiah is more significant and extensive than has been previously recognized,¹⁴² and such interaction will affect the interpretation of both the scriptural story and the one that Paul tries to construct.

Using the definition of citations and the criteria of allusions set out in the earlier section of this chapter, the study will focus on examining a sample of scriptural citations and allusions that are chosen based on the following reasons:

- (1) They occur in passages related to Paul's self-description of his Gentile mission.
- (2) They are taken from various parts of the book of *Isaiah*, throughout the so-called First, Second, and Third Isaiah.
- (3) They represent occurrences of some scriptural texts that exhibit close literary affinity both in terms of verbal resemblance and conceptual overlap.

¹⁴¹ This term in the study refers to the major themes and images concerning in particular the good news of Yahweh's new act of salvation and creation as portrayed in Deutero-Isaiah. For more detailed discussion on the major themes in Isaiah, refer to chapter 2 of the study.

¹⁴² The significance of Isaiah for Paul has not been taken seriously amongst Pauline scholars until the last decade when several monographs on the subject have been published. This neglect of the subject can be seen by the fact that no serious discussion on Paul's interaction with Isaiah is found in some of the major works on Paul, e.g. James D. G. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (London/New York: T&T Clark, 1998); J. Christiaan Beker, *Paul the Apostle: The Triumph of God in Life and Thought* (Philadelphia, Fortress Press, 1980).

Although there might be relevant material available in the so-called Deutero-Pauline letters (Ephesians, Colossians and the Pastoral Epistles) and the book of Acts, the present study will not examine these materials because our purpose is to understand how Paul himself understands his apostleship. Therefore, our analysis will base on the relevant passages of undisputedly authentic letters of Paul, among which Galatians, Romans, and 1 and 2 Corinthians have shown explicit citations of and clear allusions to Isaiah. As for 1 Thessalonians, Philippians and Philemon, there is not any incidence of explicit citation of Isaiah that can be detected.¹⁴³ They will not be analysed, but will be inspanned for the purpose of comparisons or to further substantiate the argument when necessary.¹⁴⁴ In addition, not every single occurrence of the possible allusion to the Isaianic vocabulary and theme will be examined. Rather, only those texts that demonstrate strong verbal or thematic parallels to Isaiah and show significant relevancy to Paul's conception of his apostleship and his Gentile mission will be analyzed in detail.

In addition, considering that each of the Pauline epistles was composed as occasional letter, with each dealing with the specific issues arising from its specific missionary context, the study will investigate the citations and allusions within their original literary context of each of the letters. Similarly, selected instances of citation and allusion to be discussed are ordered according to their places in the original literary context of each of the letters. The main advantage of this order of examination helps to take each passage in its own terms, instead of prematurely putting them into convenient categories. Only at the end of the chapter an integrated analysis will be provided. Finally, the study will discuss the possible reasons why these passages are appropriated as well as the significance of Isaianic passage for Paul's self-understanding as an apostle to the Gentiles.

¹⁴³ The similarity in wording of Php. 2:10-11 to Isa. 45:23 LXX presents itself a strong case of allusion, which will be discussed in due course.

¹⁴⁴ As far as the limitation of space of this thesis is concerned, as well as the controversial nature of the Deutero-Pauline writings and the witness of Paul's life recorded in Acts, those materials will not be examined in detail. However, relevant passages will be mentioned in the course of discussion when necessary.

The investigation will proceed as follows. In chapter 2, we examine the connection of Paul's own account of his vocation and mission in Galatians 1:16-17 with Isaiah 49 in general and the mission of the Servant figure in particular. In addition, by examining Paul's appropriation of Isaiah 54 in Galatians, we will also explore how Paul characterizes the faith community in Christ as heirs of the New Jerusalem and the new creation. We attempt to demonstrate that the way in which Paul appropriates the Isaianic texts suggests that he has the original context of the appropriated texts in view.

In chapter 3 and 4, the study will explore how Paul uses Isaiah in the Epistle to the Romans in order to find out how he understands his mission to the Gentiles against the backdrop of the prophetic words of Isaiah. As the quotations and allusions to Isaiah are particularly concentrated in chapters 9-11 and 14-15 of this epistle, special attention will be paid to the instances occurring in these chapters, while relevant evidence from other chapters of the Epistle will also be discussed when necessary. In addition, these chapters are also full of citations of and allusions to other passages of Israel's Scripture, but without denying the importance of other influences, our discussion will remain focused on Isaiah. Other influences will only be discussed when they are related to the central concern. Questions such as how Paul interprets Isaiah to make sense of his Gentile mission, the unique position of historical Israel and the salvific work of Christ Jesus will be explored.

How Paul uses Isaiah in 1 and 2 Corinthians will be the focus of discussion in chapter 5. Paul's self-understanding of his apostleship and suffering is expressed most clearly and intensively in these two letters. Therefore, a detailed analysis of significant passages of citations of and allusions to Isaiah will be conducted with special attention to the way Paul expresses his suffering in ministry. The chapter will compare the depiction of the suffering of the Servant expressed in Isaiah and Paul's conception of his own suffering in his missionary activities. In addition, the appropriation of the 'servant' passage in other first century Christian and Jewish literatures will be explored for the purpose of comparison. In particular passages concerning the Isaianic Servant appropriated and interpreted in the gospels and the

Isaiah Targum¹⁴⁵ will be examined. This helps us to set Paul's interpretation of Isaiah against a wider historical and cultural background.

In chapter 6, the study will summarize and integrate all that has come to light from the discussions of Paul's use of the Isaianic passages in the preceding chapters. The various references to Isaiah in the writings of Paul as analyzed in previous chapters are now grouped thematically under four discrete headings, namely: (a) The Suffering Servant, Jesus and Paul; (b) The salvation of Israel; (c) The gospel and the anti-idolatry polemics; and (d) The inclusion of the Gentiles into God's people.

Finally in the concluding chapter, we will seek to understand in what way the reading of Isaiah informs Paul's understanding of his Gentile mission, and why the book of Isaiah is so important to Paul.

In summary, this inductive investigation will proceed both diachronically and synchronically. That means it will consider the meaning of the pre-text, i.e. Isaiah, in its original context and its history of interpretation, and at the same time will take the function and meaning of the pre-text in its new context into account. We will ask what the place and function of the citation and allusion are both in their original and in the new literary context, whether there is coherence of the various references to Isaiah in Paul's writings, and whether these serve a wider purpose apart from the individual citation. In addition, the study will focus on Paul as a reader of Israel's Scripture rather than merely an exegete, though the two are not easily separated from one another. What the study seeks to understand is the interaction between Paul's reading of Isaianic texts and the issues arising from his missionary and pastoral contexts. The approach that will be adopted can be termed as 'dialogical

¹⁴⁵ The Isaiah Targum is believed to be widely used in synagogue worship and thus may provide insights into how those who attend synagogues may have understood the writings of Isaiah. As an Aramaic paraphrase of the Hebrew text, the Isaiah Targum comprises interpretations that were gathered over a lengthy period. Chilton maintains that the earliest strand dates from the Tannaitic period following the destruction of the Temple in 70CE. B. D. Chilton, *The Isaiah Targum: Introduction, Translation, Apparatus and Notes* (Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1987) xv-vi. The English texts from the Targum quoted in this study are taken from J. F. Stenning, *The Targum of Isaiah* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953 [1949c]).

intertextuality.’¹⁴⁶ We will explore how Paul’s interpretation of the scriptural text is on the one hand ‘constrained’ by the scriptural text, and thereby allowing the scriptural text a voice of its own; and on the other hand, Paul’s interaction with the scriptural text that allows him to make sense of the historical world in which his mission operates. The meaning of the hermeneutical task that he seeks to accomplish is not so much simply to ‘reconstruct’ the ‘original meaning’ of a text *per se*, but rather to understand the world in which he believes God is working his purposes out and in which Paul is carrying out his mission. It is hoped that this will help us understand why Paul favours this prophetic book and why he interacts so extensively with Isaiah.

¹⁴⁶ The term is discussed in Steve Moyise, ‘Intertextuality and the Study of the Old Testament in the New Testament,’ in *The Old Testament in the New Testament*, ed., S. Moyise (JSNTSup 189; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000) 14-41, esp. 25-32. He argues that the relocation of prior texts into a new context will set up a dynamic interpretation of the two texts. Interpretation is shaped by the continuing dialogue between the ‘original’ text within its former context and the new context in which it is placed.

Chapter 2

Paul's self-conception of his mission in Galatians

Although Paul's description of his call in Gal. 1:15-16 has been regarded as one of the most significant passages expressing his self-understanding of his apostleship, there is considerable diversity of opinion as to what that 'significance' is. In addition, there is increasing awareness of the possible allusion to Isa. 49:1-6 in Paul's self-description of his missionary calling, but as to how this Isaianic connection might have impacted his understanding of gospel and mission has nevertheless been largely unexplored.¹ In fact, when Paul wrestles with the issue of his own mission and that of Jesus, the gospel that he is called to preach, and the true nature of Christian community, he not only cites Isa. 54:1 in the course of his argument (Gal. 4:27), but also repeatedly appeals to the language and concept of the new creation envisaged in Isaiah 40-66 (Gal. 1:15-16; 6:15-16). These strings of verbal and thematic parallels seem to form a web of intertextual links to Isaiah that provides an interpretive lens through which Paul's understanding of his mission and his gospel might be discerned.

Section 1: The literary context of Paul's description of his Gentile mission

We will first seek to explore how Paul's depiction of his missionary calling, his gospel and his understanding of the Gentile mission underscore significant Isaianic influence. More specifically, it will demonstrate that his allusion to Isa. 49:1-6 is neither simply linguistic borrowing nor a mere linking up of himself to prophetic tradition in a general sense. It is, rather, an indicator that Paul has the larger story and the mission of the Isaianic Servant in view.

¹ Some recent significant research that notices Paul's possible association with the Isaianic Servant and his Gentile mission include: Terrance L. Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles: Remapping the Apostle's Convictional World*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997. Francis Watson, *Paul, Judaism and the Gentiles: A Sociological Approach* (SNTSS 56; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); James D. G. Dunn, "'A Light to the Gentiles': The Significance of the Damascus Road Christophany for Paul," in *The Glory of Christ in the New Testament*, eds. L. D. Hurst and N. T. Wright (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987) 251-66. However, the reference of the Isaianic texts in Paul's letters are only mentioned in passing, the unique contribution of Isaiah to Paul's Gentile mission has not been thoroughly explored.

Like most of the undisputed authentic Pauline letters, the Epistle to the Galatians is an occasional letter written to a specific Christian community in Galatia addressing specific issues that the community was facing. Therefore, in order to determine the exact nature of the questions concerning Gentile mission that Paul is dealing with, it is necessary to pinpoint the major issues with which Paul was engaged in this letter. Most commentators agree that the problems of the Galatian churches were largely caused by a certain group of intruders who attempted to persuade the Galatian believers to adopt a version of ‘gospel’ that was radically different from that of Paul (Gal. 1:6). These intruders, referred by Paul as τινές (‘some people’, Gal. 1:7), τοὺς ψευδαδελφούς (‘the false brothers’, 2:4), αὐτοὺς (‘them’, Gal. 4:17; 6:13), οἱ ἀναστατοῦντες ὑμᾶς (‘those who agitate you’, Gal. 5:12), and οἱ περιτεμνόμενοι (‘those who are circumcised’, Gal. 6:13), presumably are Christians of Jewish origin.² Based on the information provided by Paul’s response in the letter, we may deduce that this group of people had opted for a version of ‘gospel’ that Paul could not accept. Crucial to their contention, among other things, is the demand to circumcise the male Gentile converts (2:5, 14; 5:2-6, 12; 6:12-15) and the adherence to certain Jewish Law, in particular to holy days (4:10), as a requirement for obtaining full membership of God’s people. Paul defends his ‘version’ of the gospel as the only true gospel to the extent that these other forms are considered ‘no gospel’ at all and that those who promote them should be cursed (Gal. 1:6-9). The second aspect of contention, which is closely related to the previous one, is about his authority as an apostle to the Gentiles.

² The origin of these intruders has aroused numerous interesting speculations by scholars. Some believe that these intruders come from Jerusalem, while they caution that these must be distinguished from the Twelve, the authorities of the church in Jerusalem. This is supported by the fact that Paul did not deny his association with the leaders of Jerusalem church, including Peter and James, though he stresses that his authority was not originated from them. In addition, Paul also emphasizes that the Jerusalem church leaders have given ‘the right hand of fellowship’ at the outset of his ministry with Barnabas (Gal. 2:9). This point will be further explored in the later part of this section. There are other scholars contending that the intruders are more likely of Antioch origin. See J. Murphy-O’Connor, *Paul, A Critical Life* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996) 193-94; James D. G. Dunn, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians* (BNTC; London: A&C Black, 1993) 14-17. In any event, the intruders’ view on the gospel is more relevant than the question of their origin for the purpose of the present study, so our discussion in the following will be limited to Paul’s response to their interpretation of the gospel instead of probing into the debates concerning their origins. For a detailed survey on this topic, see Richard N. Longenecker, *Galatians* (WBC 41; Dallas: Word Book, 1990) lxxxviii-xciv.

Though it is almost impossible to reconstruct a detailed conversation between Paul and his opponents from what we have found in Galatians, it is, however, not improbable to detect from the main line of argument presented in the letter the problems that had developed among the Christians of Galatia. Murphy-O'Connor has offered a possible reconstruction of the situation in which Paul was involved.³ He postulates that Paul's break with the Antioch church was probably due to his conflict with Peter and Barnabas (Gal. 2: 11-14), which might have given these agitators opportunity to extend their influence to the Galatia churches. When Paul founded the churches in Galatia, he was acting as an agent of Antioch. Thus, his break with the Antiochean community inevitably led the representatives of Antioch to believe that Paul had lost his rights in the churches of Galatia. This eventually provided an opportunity for the agitators to extend the new practice of observance of the law and circumcision to the local communities, including the churches in Galatia. In order to convince the churches in Galatia that they had the official link with the authentic roots of Christianity and had the best interests of the Gentile Christians, the agitators discredited Paul and undermined his authority on the one hand and while proposing a seemingly more 'viable' version of the gospel to the churches in Galatia on the other. Along with Louis Martyn⁴ and others, Murphy-O'Connor conjectures that the intruders might have cited scriptural texts to legitimate their version of the gospel. That explains, at least in part, why Paul also employs scriptural texts to argue for another interpretation of the same story.

Murphy-O'Connor's reconstruction is helpful to understand Paul's line of thought in Galatians in two ways. First, it shows the reason why the origin of Paul's authority as an apostle as well as his gospel are of central importance to Paul's argument (1:7, 10; 5:10-12). In turn, it explains how Paul's insistence on the authenticity of his apostleship is relevant to the charges of his opponents, whose accusation is that Paul violates the authentic gospel handed down from the Jerusalem leaders in order to make it more palatable to the Gentiles. Second, and more importantly, the reconstruction helps to explain why Paul employs Israel's scriptural texts to buttress

³ Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul* 185-210.

⁴ Martyn, *Theological Issues in the Letter of Paul*, eds., John Barclay, Joel Marcus, and John Riches (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1997).

his arguments. Instead of mechanically following his opponents' agenda, Paul creatively brings in the prophetic voice of Isaianic text to present his version of the gospel. This provides the framework within which Paul's discourse on Law observance and circumcision with his contemporary Jewish counterparts operates.

Even if not all of the details of Murphy-O'Connor's reconstruction are accepted in their entirety, the result of the present study will not be much affected, as our analysis in the following will primarily be based on the evidence presented in the text itself. In other words, although we cannot give a definitive answer to who the agitators were, we do have some rather clear indications in Galatians as to what the 'ideas' were that they promoted and the fact of their persecuting Christians (Gal. 6:12). Central to the matter of contention is the authenticity of Paul's apostleship, his gospel, and consequently, his Gentile mission.

I. An overview of the Isaianic themes in Galatians

There is a recurrence of Isaianic themes and concepts at several strategic passages in the letter. First, in Paul's autobiographical description of his call/conversion, he draws on the language of Isa. 49:1-6. The significance of the call will be discussed in fuller detail as the chapter unfolds, here it will suffice to note two points:

- (1) The missionary call is presented as God's creative act which has an impact on Paul's entire existence. He sandwiches the depiction of his missionary calling in between two accounts of his former life in Judaism (1:13-14; 1:23), indicating his intention to stress the change in his life. He draws a 'former life-present life' antithesis, demonstrating how his Jewish past has been characterized by an intense persecution of the church (1:13, 22), and an extreme zeal for the tradition of his ancestors (1:14), and how his present life in Christ and in the Spirit characterized by death to the Law and total identification with Christ crucified (1:19-21). Paul states that this changed form of life is linked with the direct result of the divine 'calling' (Gal. 1:15-16) and the concept of the new creation (Gal. 6:14-16).
- (2) Paul makes reference to his life testimony both at the beginning and the end of the letter (Gal. 1:11-2:21; 6:11-18), indicating that Paul sees his 'call' not merely as a vocation to an evangelising ministry but as a creative act of God to

give him a new life that results in a decisive break with his past, and a new form of existence expressed by complete identification with the Christ crucified.

Second, Paul presents his mission to the Gentiles in terms of God's new creation, a significant motif that is found in Isaiah.⁵ In the course of explaining the origin of his Gentile mission, Paul makes reference to the concept of God's call (1:6) and the new creation (Gal. 6:15-16), and explicitly cites Isa. 54:1 in his delineation of the nature of the Christian community that was brought into existence through the gospel (Gal. 4:27). Isa. 54 is a significant passage that envisages God's acceptance of his people Israel. The restoration of Jerusalem is part and parcel of the new creation that Isaiah envisages. The passage has been interpreted eschatologically in both Christian and Jewish literature in the Second Temple period.⁶ As Paul presents his relationship with the Jerusalem church leaders, he argues vehemently that his Gentile mission was entirely born out of divine initiative, and denies any ties with human instruction (Gal. 1:11-12, 17; 2:1ff). He stresses, though with a polemic tone, that it was not in fact the Jerusalem leaders who gave him the mission, but rather God himself who created it and they only confirmed an existing state of affairs (2:1-10). In other words, in Paul's view, the inception of his Gentile mission was a creative work of God at the revelation of Christ to him (Gal. 1:15-16), and the existence of this ministry was a strong indication that God intends to create a community through the preaching of the gospel of Christ to the Gentiles (Gal. 1:13-24).⁷

⁵ Although the motif of the new creation may find its traces also in other prophetic books such as Ezekiel 36: 26-27 (a new heart and a new spirit) and Jeremiah 31:31-34 (a new covenant), it is most extensively developed and is the dominant theme in Isaiah 40-66.

⁶ There is a rich Jewish tradition behind the concept of the new Jerusalem, which is found in Jewish wisdom literature (e.g. Sir. 36:13ff; Tob.13 etc.) and in the apocalyptic writings of Second Temple Judaism (e.g. *1 Enoch* 53:6; 90:28-29; *2 Enoch* 55:2; *Pss. Sol.* 17:33; *4 Ezra* 7:26; 8:52; 10:25-28; *2 Apoc. Bar.* 4:2-6; 32:2; 59:4). In addition, in 4Q164 [4QpIsd], there is a fragment containing the pesher of Isa. 54:11-12.

⁷ This point is suggested, though not developed, by D. J. Versepunt in his article, 'Paul's Gentile Mission and the Jewish Christian Community: A Study of the Narrative in Galatians 1 and 2,' *NTS* 39 (1993) 36-58. He attempts to resolve the dilemma of Paul on the one hand arguing that his Gentile mission is an 'independent work of God' while on the other emphasizing the approval of Jerusalem's leaders. The focus of Versepunt's argument is on how Paul's argument in Gal. 1-2 contributes to the legitimacy of a law-free gospel. I do not agree with him at two points: (1) he argues that Paul understands his missionary work is an independent work of God 'outside Torah covenant' (39). But Paul nowhere in Galatians, or in fact in other letters denies the covenantal continuity of the Christian community. (2) Versepunt contends that since God had worked 'in raising up a missionary to the

Furthermore, Paul seeks to link the existence of the Gentile Christian community to the concept of the new creation by deliberately drawing a contrast between their past life in paganism and their present life in Christ (Gal. 3:26-4:11). In essence, Paul describes them like this: formerly they did not know God and lived under the slavery of idols ‘that by nature are no gods’ (τοῖς φύσει μὴ οὖσιν θεοῖς; Gal. 4:8), but now they are living a new life in Christ and in the Holy Spirit (Gal. 3:26-29; 4:5-6). In Paul’s presentation, the existence of Galatian churches and the changed life of individuals within the community are the result of God’s creative ‘call’ (1:6). Martyn has noticed the significant ‘new creation’ motif running across Paul’s characterization of the Galatian churches, and rightly remarked that when Paul rebukes the Galatians who shift their allegiance away from him, he was in fact saying that they are ‘deviating from God who called them into existence as part of his *new creation*, the church.’⁸

Third, it is crucial to note that as Paul’s argument moves towards the end, he explicitly applies the language and concept of the new creation to the Christian community. The conclusion of Galatians (6:11-18) is crafted in a way to match its beginning. Martyn has rightly pointed out that the reason for Paul’s driving a wedge between his own life and that of the false teachers is not merely for its own sake, but rather ‘to prepare the way for his descriptive reference to the *cosmic* event of the gospel.’⁹ Paul not only stresses again that his own life and missionary activity are entirely characterized by the cruciform (6:14-17), but he also alludes to the larger context of Isa. 54 and the idea of the new creation in explication of the nature of the Gentile churches.¹⁰ There are several thematic and linguistic parallels in Galatians 6 to Isaiah 54, including the occurrence of significant parallel concepts and

Gentiles independent of, and with no particular ties to, the Jewish church in the Land would be a powerful argument for the divine acceptance of Gentiles *as Gentiles*’ (39). But this view is doubtful. The divine origin of Paul’s Gentile mission does not seem to be able to prove what he contends. Rather, it appears that it can only prove that Paul’s Gentile mission is the result of God’s creative work rather than merely human activity.

⁸ Martyn, *Galatians* 117.

⁹ Martyn, *Galatians* 560.

¹⁰ Martyn, *Galatians* 559.

vocabularies of the new creation, God's 'peace and mercy' remaining with his people, and the 'Abrahamic inheritance' of the Israel of God. It seems that the explicit citation of Isa. 54:1 in Gal. 4:27 is merely the tip of an iceberg that reveals Paul's idea of the nature of Christian community founded through his preaching of the gospel, which is expressed in the light of prophecy of Isaiah. One may wonder if the prominence of this hope for the eschatological new creation in Galatians 6 is inextricably linked with the whole presentation of Paul's missionary ambition.

The above brief observation demonstrates that at several key points in Paul's argument, including the beginning (Gal. 1:6, 15-16), the middle (Gal. 4:27) and the end of the Epistle (Gal. 6:15-16), Paul appears to provide an interpretative framework for the intended reader in order to aid understanding of the nature of the gospel in relation to God's larger purposes of salvation as envisaged in Isaiah. In the course of Paul's presentation, scripture plays a significant role within this framework with reference to Genesis (the promises to Abraham), Deuteronomy and Leviticus (the curse of the Law and the promise of faith), Habakkuk (the role of faith) and Isaiah (God's creative calling, the new Jerusalem and the new creation). Among these scriptural voices, Isaiah plays a sustaining role in particular at the beginning, the middle and the end of the epistle.

If the above observation is correct, then it is reasonable to accept that the explicit citation of Isa. 54:1, the allusion to Isa. 49:1-6 and the rich and evocative use of Isaianic vocabulary in Gal. 6 should be evaluated not in isolation from the larger context, but should rather be read in the light of the whole intertextual web. In the following, we will examine each of these allusions and citations on its own merit. Only at the end of the chapter will an integrated analysis of the interrelationship between Paul's conception of his Gentile mission and gospel and the eschatological salvation envisaged in Isaiah be provided.

II. Paul's description of his commissioning call

Paul places the description of his missionary call in a strategic place at the beginning of the letter. It is located within the first subsection (1:6-2:14) of the letter in which Paul lays out the main themes of his whole argument.¹¹ Commentators recognise that this section plays a significant role in Galatians, in which Paul sets the themes with which his deliberate rhetoric is concerned. Ben Witherington III has pointed out that it is part and parcel of the overall objective of all the arguments in Galatians, which is 'to convince the Galatians not to submit to circumcision and the Mosaic Law and instead to continue to walk in the way of freedom in the Spirit which Paul had taught them when he first delivered the Gospel to them.'¹² He argues that with this overarching rhetorical objective in the background, the purpose of Paul's narrative material in the section Gal. 1-2 is to provide examples to the audience of what sort of behaviour to adopt or shun'.¹³ The life examples of Jesus and Paul himself expressed in this section is intended to communicate the true gospel that Paul preaches. The soteriological implications that this gospel has brought about are explained in the course of his argument in the entire letter. Along the same line of thought, J. H. Schütz argues that Paul's main purpose in Gal. 1-2 is not to defend his apostolic office *per se* but rather to explicate the fact that *there is only one true gospel*, which is in direct confrontation with the claims promoted by his Jewish opponents.¹⁴

In Paul's description, he stresses that his gospel is directly derived from God's revelation that came at the time when he received his missionary call. Paul recounts how he became an apostle to the Gentiles by claiming that:

¹¹ This demarcation of the section follows that of most of the major commentaries. Although different scholars have a slightly different subdivision and place a different emphasis on the sub-heading for each of the division, they generally agree that the beginning section lays out the theme of the Epistle and gives a forecast of the whole. J. Louis Martyn, *Galatians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB33 A; New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1997) 107; Ben Witherington III, *Grace in Galatia: A Commentary on St. Paul's Letter to the Galatians* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998) 36-40; 89-167; F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Galatians: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Exeter: Paternoster, 1982) 87-134; Moisés Silva, 'Galatians,' in *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament*; eds., G. K. Beale and D. A. Carson (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2007) 785-87.

¹² Ben Witherington, *Grace*, 27.

¹³ Ben Witherington, *Grace*, 29.

¹⁴ J. H. Schütz, *Paul and Apostolic Authority* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975) 128ff.

Ὅτε δὲ εὐδόκησεν [ὁ θεὸς] ὁ ἀφορίσας με ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου καὶ καλέσας διὰ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ ἀποκαλύψαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐμοί, ἵνα εὐαγγελίζωμαι αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν (Gal. 1:15-16)

Many have seen this compressed statement as particularly important for Paul's presentation of his understanding of Gentile mission, but in different ways. One of the most heated issues is on the nature of this event. For several decades since the publication of the article entitled 'The Apostle Paul and the Introspective Conscience of the West' by Stendahl,¹⁵ the interpretation of this material has been a battlefield for debates over the question whether Paul's experience should be interpreted as a religious conversion or a missionary call. Stendahl contends that the word 'conversion' is entirely inappropriate to describe Paul's Damascus road experience, since Paul did not change his religion, and, from his own biographical references in his letters, Paul was neither depicted as guilt-ridden because of his sins, nor did he experience an inner conflict from which he needed to be delivered. He concludes that what is expressed in Galatians 1:11-17 is Paul's commission to the Gentiles instead of his experience of conversion. Alan Segal, however, argues strongly that Paul's experience is to be understood as conversion. Though Segal admitted that Paul himself rarely uses the concept of conversion,¹⁶ he vehemently contends that a radical change has taken place in Paul when he was called to his task, and this 'wrenching and decisive change' constitutes the notion of conversion, a word that denotes 'moving from one sect or denomination to another within the same religion' in modern usage and social science.¹⁷

¹⁵ K. Stendahl, 'The Apostle Paul and the Introspective Conscience of the West,' first published in 1963, later reprinted in *Paul Among Jews and Gentiles* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977), 78-96. An article of J. D. G. Dunn, 'The Justice of God: A Renewed Perspective on Justification by Faith,' *JTS* 43 (1992) 1-22, also argues along similar lines.

¹⁶ Alan F. Segal, 'Conversion and Universalism: Opposites that Attract,' in Bradley H McLean ed., *Origins and Method: Towards a New Understanding of Judaism and Christianity. Essays in Honour of John C. Hurd* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993) 165.

¹⁷ Alan F. Segal, *Paul the Convert: The Apostolate and Apostasy of Saul the Pharisee* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1990) 6.

Although the question itself, i.e. which of the two categories, namely, conversion or commission call, is more appropriate to describe Paul's experience, is neither directly related to nor immediately relevant to the present study; however, the discussion on Paul's evaluation of the past in the light of the 'revelation' of Jesus Christ is necessary because it reveals to us how Paul himself conceives the significance of the event. Paul's own description gives us information about how the pre-Christian Paul perceives Jesus, the Law and Christian community. And the implication of such a changed perspective concerning Jesus, the Jewish Law and Gentiles has indeed a significant bearing on his conception of Gentile mission.¹⁸

From the evidence of Galatians, it is true that Paul's evaluation of the past is a negative one. This seems to be somewhat different from his evaluation expressed in Phil. 3:4-6, where he listed out the qualifications 'in the flesh' in which he could have put confidence.¹⁹ But the difference is only superficial. In all cases, when Paul recalls his acts of persecution of God's church in Gal. 1:13, Php. 3:4-6 and 1 Cor. 15:9, his emphasis is the same: he stresses how his blind, excessive zeal for the Mosaic Law led him astray and destroyed God's work. In Romans, Paul also makes a strong statement that a blind and zealous pursuit of the Law led his Jewish people to reject Christ, the righteousness of God (10:2-3).²⁰ Therefore, though each of Paul's references to his former life serves different rhetorical purposes in three different letters, the common line of thought that runs across the three texts is clear: that a radical and dramatic change occurred in his whole outlook, especially in terms of his

¹⁸ For more discussion, see P. H. Menoud, 'Revelation and Tradition: The Influence of Paul's Conversion on his Theology,' *Int* 7 (1953) 131-41.

¹⁹ In Philippians, Paul's evaluation of his past is of a mixed nature, with both positive and negative elements when he reviews them in the light of his knowledge of Christ. But here in Galatians, Paul stressed that he persecuted the church of God 'exceedingly' (καθ' ὑπερβολήν) because he was advancing in Judaism and Jewish Law to the degree that he even acted 'beyond many contemporaries among my people' (ὑπὲρ πολλοὺς συνηλικιώτας ἐν τῷ γένει μου), and being 'extremely zealous' (περισσοτέρως) for the traditions of his forefathers.

²⁰ In Php. 3:6, Paul connects his persecution of the church to his zeal for the Law and advancing Judaism, and thereby implies that the Law is not only unable to save, but also inevitably leads one to do evil as he understands in retrospect. The mention of his persecution of God's church serves different purposes in these three passages. In 1 Cor. 15:9 and Gal. 1:13, though both texts mention God's grace, the former text is focused on the contrast between his lack of qualifications and the magnitude of God's grace, and the latter is on how God's unexpected commission has brought about his radical change of attitude towards the church and the gospel. In Php. 3:2-11, Paul makes it clear that before he knew Christ, he thought the highest form of zeal for God's righteousness was Law observance which led him to the extremely radical action to persecute the church.

conviction about Jesus and the Law. This indicates that he deliberately aligns the Law and his former way of life in Judaism with a merely ‘fleshly’ (σάρξ) perspective, a life that belongs to the old, evil aeon, from which those who believe in Christ have been delivered (Gal. 1:4).

There is no doubt that Paul did not use the term ‘conversion’ here in his account,²¹ but the sense ‘the turning of the direction of one’s life’, which underlies the term ‘conversion’, is unquestionably clear from the context. In his presentation of what he has done in the past, Paul reveals that he regards his earlier achievements and credentials as rubbish now because he recognizes that Jesus is the Son of God (Cf. Php. 3:7-10). He is ‘performing the ultimate devaluation of his previous religious status and accomplishments.’²² From this point of view, the encounter with the risen Christ for Paul is indeed not very different from what is now commonly understood as ‘conversion’. Beker’s remark is helpful: he asks, ‘Is not, after all, Paul’s conversion experience the secret centre behind his theological thinking, thus making his thought rooted in his conversion experience and inexplicable apart from it? Is not religious language to a great extent a product of personal experience, and does not the passionate character of Paul’s theological language point to its origin and source in his dramatic conversion experience?’²³

If we take the evidence from Gal. 1:15-16 and other relevant passages from the Pauline epistles, then it seems to be unnecessary to decide whether to designate Paul’s experience as a ‘call’ or as a ‘conversion.’ Or, to put it more specifically, it is not an either-or, but rather it can be a ‘both-and’, depending on the perspective from which one looks at the question. Ashton’s conclusion is helpful and worth quoting in full,

²¹ Other inferences of Paul’s encounter with the risen Christ also meant to prove the authenticity of Paul’s apostleship instead of speaking of his conversion. See 1 Cor. 9:1-2; and 15:8.

²² Sigurd Grindheim, ‘Apostate Turned Prophet: Paul’s Prophetic Self-Understanding and Prophetic Hermeneutic with Special Reference to Galatians 3:10-12,’ *NTS* 53 (2007) 553.

²³ J. Christiaan Beker, *Paul the Apostle: The Triumph of God in Life and Thought* (Philadelphia, Fortress Press, 1980) 7.

‘this is one of those questions that can legitimately be answered by a cliché: it all depends on what you mean by.... If, in saying Paul was a convert you simply mean that his life was radically changed, the answer is yes; but if you mean that from being a Jew he immediately became a Christian (surely the way most people would take it), then the answer is no. Whenever I myself allude to Paul’s conversion in this book it will always be simply in the sense of radical change.’²⁴

For Paul, therefore, the encounter experience is one and at the same time a personal ‘conversion’ and the receiving of a commission.²⁵ And more importantly, Paul makes it clear in his account of the event in Gal. 1:12-16 that three things are born directly as the result of God’s call: (1) his new existence in Christ, (2) the content of his gospel as Jesus is the Son of God, the Christ, and (3) his apostolic commission for the Gentile mission. Paul appears to present these three elements as an inextricably intertwined unified whole that prevents treating one element in isolation from the others. The stark contrast in his attitude towards the Christian community is presented as evidence that his involvement in the Gentile mission is entirely ‘born’

²⁴ John Ashton, *The Religion of Paul the Apostle* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2000) 77.

²⁵ Contra Francis Watson who rejects Gal 1-2 to be used as evidence for Paul’s self-understanding at the time of his conversion. Watson argues that the material in Galatians does not represent a historical account of the event, but rather Paul’s reflection of the event in retrospect. He holds the view that Paul’s Gentile mission ‘does not follow directly from Paul’s experience on the Damascus road, but represents a *reaction* to the realities of the early Christian mission.’ In Watson’s opinion, ‘Paul and his co-workers would not have developed the complex and far-reaching theological legitimations for Gentile non-circumcision that occurs later in Galatians and Romans.’ See his discussion in *Paul, Judaism, and the Gentiles: Beyond the New Perspective* (Revised and Expanded Edition; Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2007) 70-82, quotes from p. 79. However, Watson’s judgment on the use of Gal. 1-2 for studying Paul seems to be unconvincing. Watson does seem to agree that Gal. 1-2 represents Paul’s account of the event, but rejects it on account of its ‘retrospective’ nature. But the primary source is of particular importance when it comes to the issue of ‘Paul’s self-understanding’ of his mission. Whether the material in Galatians 1-2 represents an objective historical account of the event or Paul’s reflection in retrospect, the account itself does reflect how Paul himself understands the matter. Therefore, it seems more appropriate to take the view that Paul does understand his missionary calling as part and parcel of his Damascus experience. In this sense, the *ἐν*-clause in Gal. 1:15-16 should be taken as logical.

For those who support the view that the missionary calling was integral to Paul’s conversion experience, see S. Kim, *The Origin of Paul’s Gospel* (WUNT 2.4. Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1981); M. Hengel, ‘Die Ursprünge der christlichen Mission,’ *NTS* 18 (1971-72) 22-25; F. Hahn, *Mission in the New Testament* (SBT 47; London: SCM, 1965) 97; G. Lüdemann, *Paul, Apostle to the Gentiles: Studies in Chronology* (London: SCM, 1984) 32-33.

out of the same event and by the same grace (Gal. 1:13-14; 2:18; Cf. Ro. 1:5). The radical change is in fact an entirely new creation brought about by God's revelation of his Son. The new creation is manifested through his changed life and his apostolic mission to the Gentiles. Beker has rightly captured this and remarked, 'What needs to be explored about the conversion is not primarily the depths of Paul's psyche but *the function* of the experience in Paul's life, that is, *the radical consequences* that Paul drew from the Christophany.'²⁶

If the divine call led Paul to a revolutionary understanding of who Jesus is: namely, he is the Son of God and Christ, and this knowledge is intimately linked with Paul's preaching the good news to the Gentiles, then Paul's gospel and his apostleship are inseparably bound together by the revelation of Christ. The revealed Son of God is both the revelation of God himself and the content of the gospel that Paul is called to preach among the Gentiles. In this sense, Paul's Christology and his Gentile mission are inseparable. Therefore, one cannot understand Paul's Gentile mission in isolation from his Christology. This is because the revelation of the gospel at the Christophany is for the purpose of commissioning him for the Gentile mission.²⁷ More importantly, the economy of God's salvation thus brought to light, as Paul saw with particular clarity, was radically a revelation. This encounter has been integrally a revelation and a mandate.

Having the nature of Paul's missionary call delineated, we will now turn to the three most significant elements in Paul's description of his calling that exhibit linguistic and thematic links with Isaiah, namely, his missionary calling, his preaching of the gospel, and the Gentile church formed through his missionary activity.

²⁶ Beker, *Paul the Apostle* 183, emphasis is mine.

²⁷ This is also one of the significant theses argued and defended by Kim. *The Origin of Paul's Gospel*; also his *Paul and the New Perspective: Second Thoughts on the Origin of Paul's Gospel* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002).

III. The linguistic link of Gal. 1:15-16 and Isa. 49:1-6

In Gal. 1:15-16, there are three main peculiar expressions in Paul's account of the origin of his mission to the Gentiles worth noting. First, he was being 'separated' (ἀφορίζω) and called (καλέω) by God himself for the special ministry. Second, Paul sees himself as being chosen and called by God even 'before he was born' – literally, 'out of my mother's womb' (ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου) (Gal. 1:15). Third, the purpose of God's revelation and calling for Paul is 'to proclaim the good news of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles' (εὐαγγελίζωμαι αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν). While words like 'to call' is not uncommon in the scriptural text, the occurrence of a combination of the phrases 'from my mother's womb' (ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου), 'to set apart' (ἀφορίζω), and 'to call' (καλέω) (the latter two occur also in Rom 1:1) and in association with a ministry to the nations/Gentiles (ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν) as a cluster in close proximity in a literary unit is very rare. The similar expression is found most explicitly only in Isa. 49:1-6 and Jer. 1:5 in the entire Scriptures. Due to the similarities between these two scriptural texts to Gal. 1:15-16, there have been discussions as to which scriptural text lies behind Paul's description. Earlier scholarship regarded the whole expression in the Galatians passage as deriving primarily from Jeremiah,²⁸ but recent scholars propose that it is at best one of the plausible sources of the allusion.²⁹ It will be argued that Isa. 49:1-6 is most likely the scriptural text that lies behind Paul's description of his call.

Based on verbal parallels, the three texts seem to share two intriguing resonances that are hard to be denied. First, all three texts have the term ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου (Gal. 1:15), ἐν κοιλίᾳ and ἐκ μήτρας (Jer. 1:5), and ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου and ἐκ

²⁸ Raymond T. Stamm, *The Interpreter's Bible* (12 vols.; New York, Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1953) 10: 458. Rengstorff, 'ἀπόστέλλω (πέμπω), ἐξαποστέλλω, ἀπόστολος', *TDNT* I:439. Rengstorff further observes that the work of Jeremiah is 'to proclaim the divine will, which does not have to be revealed to him from case to case but is continually present in his union with God.' The divine calling of Jeremiah has brought about two consequences. The first was that the prophetic calling embraces the whole life of Jeremiah and, the second was that since the people reject God and the prophet is faithful to him, his whole life was consequently marked by suffering (e.g. Jer. 20:1ff.; 26:1ff; 37:1ff; 38:1ff.) Rengstorff, I:440. Louis Martyn, *Galatians* 156.

²⁹ For instance, B. Malina and J. Neyrey suggest that the way Paul speaks of his call is similar to that of Jer. 1:5-6; Isa. 49:1, 6; Isa. 6; and Ezk. 1. *Portraits of Paul: An Archaeology of Ancient Personality* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1996) 40ff.

κοιλίας δοῦλον in Isa. 49:1, 5 respectively.³⁰ The phrase refers to a divine calling and consecration of the person for ministry that begins early in their life, even well before they are born. Paul shares the experience of pre-natal call to a ministry by God as did Jeremiah and the Servant in Isaiah 49. Second, all three texts contain the idea that the scope of the ministry covers and extends to ‘the nations’ (ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, Gal. 1:15; εἰς ἔθνη, Jer. 1:5; εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν; Isa. 49:6). However, only Isa. 49:1 and Gal. 1:15 contain the verb ‘to call’ (καλέω), which is absent in the Jeremiah text. The divergence of Jer. 1:5 from the Pauline text severely undermines the possibility of its connection with Gal. 1:15-16 due to the significance of the missionary calling in the argument of Paul in the present context.

The comparison of the three passages is demonstrated as follows.

Gal 1:15-16	Isa 49:1, 5, 6	Jer. 1:5
1:15 Ὅτε δὲ εὐδόκησεν [ὁ θεός] ὁ ἀφορίσας με ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου καὶ καλέσας διὰ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ	49:1 διὰ χρόνου πολλοῦ στήσεται λέγει κύριος ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου ἐκάλεσεν τὸ ὄνομά μου	πρὸ τοῦ με πλάσαι σε ἐν κοιλίᾳ ἐπίσταμαί σε καὶ πρὸ τοῦ σε ἐξελεῖν ἐκ μήτρας
	49:5 καὶ νῦν οὕτως λέγει κύριος ὁ πλάσας με ἐκ κοιλίας δοῦλον ἑαυτῷ	
1:16 ἀποκαλύψαι τὸν υἱὸν	49:6 ἰδοὺ τέθεικά σε εἰς διαθήκην γένους εἰς	ἡγίακά σε προφήτην εἰς

³⁰ In fact, the term ‘from his mother’s womb’ can be interpreted in several ways. Literally, κοιλία is referring to the stomach or belly where the food is digested (Mk. 7:19); or to the womb where reproduction takes place (Lk. 1:15). Figuratively, the word means the inner self, ‘the seat of inward life, of feelings and desires’ (BDAG, ‘κοιλία’, II: 429) which denotes the hidden, innermost inner most being, equivalent to the heart (Jn. 7:38) (Friberg lexicon, ‘κοιλία’ 433). The phrase, ἐκ κοιλίας in this context means ‘from birth’ or ‘from earliest youth’. It is also used in Mt. 19:12; Lk. 1:15; Ac. 3:2; 14:8. In Jdg. 16:17, the phrase is used to describe Samson’s being a Nazarite ‘from the very early stage of his life’. A similar train of thought expressing a close relationship and connection with God starts before the person was born is also explicit in Ps. 21:10(11) and 70:6. In Job 1:21, it functions as part of the idiomatic expression of ‘was born’. It occurs above all in a few passages in Isa. 44:2, 24; 46:3 and 49:15, but not in conjunction with ‘to call’ in the context of calling someone into mission.

αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐμοί, ἵνα εὐαγγελίζωμαι αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν	φῶς ἐθνῶν τοῦ εἶναί σε εἰς σωτηρίαν ἕως ἑσχάτου τῆς γῆς	ἔθνη τέθεικά σε
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In addition, there are some marked differences between Paul and Jeremiah that further undermine the possibility of their intertextual connections. Linguistically speaking, the distinctive vocabulary in Jer. 1:5 is the verb ἁγιάζω which is used to describe a person who is dedicated to the service of deity.³¹ Paul, however, uses another Greek word ἀφορίζω to articulate his experience of setting apart by God. The verb means ‘to select one person out of a group for a purpose,’³² i.e. to set apart, or to appoint. The word has a connotation of being ‘marked off by boundaries’, ‘to distinguish’³³ and ‘to exclude or remove someone from an association – ‘to exclude, to separate, to get rid of.’³⁴ Some scholars maintain that the semantic domain of ἁγιάζω and ἀφορίζω is closely connected, both of them are referring to the sense of being consecrated by God. However, there are still different emphases in these two verbs. The verb ἀφορίζω is a translation of its Hebrew equivalent בָּדַל (e.g. Lev. 20:26) but the verb ἁγιάζω (Jer. 1:5) is a rendering of the Hebrew קָדַשׁ.³⁵ Each of them has its distinctive correspondent rendering in the LXX. Paul’s use of the expression indicates that he views his calling as a divine election, i.e. God singles him out and separates him from others of the group rather than ceremonial consecration as the verb ἁγιάζω denotes. In addition, the difference between the ministry of Jeremiah and that of Paul is greater than the similarities. Paul is called to preach the good news of salvation whilst the message of Jeremiah is primarily concerning the impending judgment of God on Judah. Furthermore, Paul is called to go to the Gentile nations, a motif that is emphatically expressed in Galatians (1:16; 2:2, 8, 9; cf. Ro.1:5, 13; 11:13; 15:16, 18; 1Th. 2:16), whilst Jeremiah was primarily

³¹ Louw- Nida Lexicon 53.44 ἁγιάζω.

³² BDAG lexicon 1340, ἀφορίζω.

³³ Liddell-Scott Lexicon, 7023 ἀφορίζω.

³⁴ Louw- Nida Lexicon 37.97 ἀφορίζω. Cf. Acts 13:2.

³⁵ The Hebrew word קָדַשׁ is largely consistently rendered as ἁγιάζω in Greek (including the adjectival form of קָדַשׁ in ἅγιος) throughout LXX, e.g. Gen. 2:3, Ex. 12:16; 13:2; 15:11, 13; 19:14, 22, 23; 20:8, 11; 26:34; Lev. 2:3, 10; 4:6; Nu. 17:2,3; Dt. 15:9; Isa. 8:13; 13:3; 23:18; 29:23; In some cases, it is also rendered as ἁγνίζω (to purify; Ex.19:10; Isa. 66:17). For an explanation of the semantic domain of the word, see, Louw- Nida Lexicon 53.44 ἁγιάζω.

called to speak to his own people. Finally, other than some instances of possible allusions to Jeremiah,³⁶ there are no explicit citations from Jeremiah throughout the Pauline corpus.³⁷ This undermines the claim that Paul was patterning himself with the prophet Jeremiah when he relates his calling into the ministry. Therefore, although certain verbal parallels between Paul's account of his call in Gal. 1:15-16 and Jer. 1:5 can be detected, the degree of divergence is so high that makes it hard to confirm that Paul is comparing himself to Jeremiah.

IV. The thematic link between Paul's description of his mission and the Isaianic Servant

That Paul's description of his call is more likely to be connected with the calling of the Servant in Isa. 49:1-6 can be supported by several reasons. Apart from the above-mentioned verbal parallels, there are some strong thematic overlaps that help to establish the connection between these two texts. Of particular importance is the Servant's mission to bring the light to the Gentiles (Isa. 49:6), which in Paul's understanding is referring to preaching Christ amongst the Gentiles (Gal. 1:16).

The oracle of Isa. 49:1-6 belongs to one of the four so-called Servant songs of Isaiah.³⁸ In the oracle, a servant figure, whose identity is unknown,³⁹ is described as

³⁶ There might be instances suggesting allusions to Jeremiah, e.g. the term 'new covenant' found in 1 Cor. 11:25 might allude to Jer. 31:31-32, but there is no explicit citations, in contrary to Paul's use of Isaiah. In addition, the terminology of 'new covenant' may not have originated from Paul himself. In actual fact, it probably comes from an earlier tradition and was passed on to Paul.

³⁷ The most plausible citation suggested in Paul's letter is Jer. 9:22-23 in 1 Cor. 1:31 and 2 Cor. 10:17, where some sort of verbal similarity is found between the texts. However, though an explicit citation formula is employed in 1 Cor. 1:31, no specific source of the phrase is mentioned. In addition, similar verbal parallels can also be found in the LXX version of 1 Sam. 2:10 and Ode. 3:10. In 1 Sam. 2:10, there are similar phrases like these: μή καυχάσθω ὁ φρόνιμος ἐν τῇ φρονήσει αὐτοῦ καὶ μή καυχάσθω ὁ δυνατὸς ἐν τῇ δυνάμει αὐτοῦ καὶ μή καυχάσθω ὁ πλούσιος ἐν τῷ πλούτῳ αὐτοῦ ἀλλ' ἢ ἐν τούτῳ καυχάσθω ὁ καυχώμενος συνίειν καὶ γινώσκειν τὸν κύριον καὶ ποιεῖν κρίμα καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς. Also in Ode. 3:10, the text runs like this: μή καυχάσθω ὁ σοφὸς ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ αὐτοῦ καὶ μή καυχάσθω ὁ δυνατὸς ἐν τῇ δυνάμει αὐτοῦ καὶ μή καυχάσθω ὁ πλούσιος ἐν τῷ πλούτῳ αὐτοῦ ἀλλ' ἢ ἐν τούτῳ καυχάσθω ὁ καυχώμενος συνίειν καὶ γινώσκειν τὸν κύριον καὶ ποιεῖν κρίμα καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς. These texts are very similar to that of Jer. 9:22-23. Therefore, the evidence is not enough to support the claim with certainty that the citation in these two Pauline letters is drawn from Jeremiah.

³⁸ Since Bernhard Duhm in his commentary, *Das Buch Jesaja* (Göttingen: 1892) identified four major sections constituting the so-called 'Servant Songs' in Second Isaiah, i.e. 42:1ff; 49:1ff; 50:4ff; 52:13-53:12, traditional form-critical scholars tend to hold the view that these oracles were not composed by 'Deutero-Isaiah' and interpret these texts isolated from their immediate literary contexts. In recent

one being called and representing Israel to carry out the mission of bringing salvation that extends beyond its ethnic borders to reach out to the nations of the earth. The Servant of Isaiah 49 testifies that Yahweh called him and prepared him for the ministry to which he was commissioned.⁴⁰ It is declared that Yahweh will to be glorified through the Servant. The Servant admits that he has experienced frustration and weariness in having laboured ‘in vain’ (v.4a),⁴¹ but he also expresses continued confident trust in Yahweh’s sovereignty and justice (v.4b). As indicated by God’s preparation of ‘his mouth’ (49:2) in the text, it is very likely that the task for which the Servant is called should be something related to the announcement of the message from God.⁴² The servant is called to be ‘the light to the *nations*’ (εἰς φῶς ἔθνων)⁴³ and enacts God’s *salvation* (εἰς σωτηρίαν) to the ends of the earth.

decades, more scholars such as Orlinsky, have argued in favour of reading these texts within their literary context; see Harry M. Orlinsky, *Studies on the Second Part of the Book of Isaiah: The So-called ‘Servant of the Lord’ and ‘Suffering Servant in Second Isaiah* (SVT 14; Leiden: Brill, 1967). However, as the purpose of the present study is focused on how Paul might have been reading the Isaianic text, the debate of modern scholarship on what is the best way to interpret the Servant Songs, though of significance in its own terms, does not seem directly relevant to the question of the present study and thus the various from-critical suggestions and history of interpretation of the Servant Songs will not be rehearsed and discussed in the course of argument.

³⁹ As commentators have noticed, there is an apparent tension in the passage itself. For in Isa. 49:3 the Servant is called Israel, yet in 49:5, 6 the Servant has a particular role toward Israel. Therefore, the interpreters are left with the puzzle of how to resolve the tension regarding the narrative identity of the Servant. Though the narrative identity remains obscure throughout the oracle, his identification with Israel is unmistakably clear. This is indicated by the use of similar sets of vocabularies to describe the Servant and Israel. For instance, they are both ‘called’, ‘chosen’ and ‘set apart’ by God. They are commissioned to make known and manifest God’s salvation. For more discussion on the relation of Israel and the Servant, see C. Seitz, ‘How is the Prophet Isaiah Present in the Latter Half of the Book? The logic of Chapters 40-66 within the Book of Isaiah’, in *Word Without End* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998) 168-93.

⁴⁰ The expression מִבְּטֵן קְרָאֲנִי is omitted in the LXX translation, indicating that the author wants to focus attention on the mission of the Servant that follows. Ekblad suggests the omission is due to a *homoioarcton*, where a scribe probably missed מִבְּטֵן, skipping מִבְּטֵן קְרָאֲנִי directly to מִמֵּעִי. For more discussion, see E. R. Ekblad Jr., *Isaiah’s Servant Poems According to the Septuagint: An Exegetical and Theological Study* (Leuven: Peeters, 1999) 91.

⁴¹ The Servant indicates his frustration and weariness in his ministry that ‘in vain I have laboured’ (κενῶς ἐκοπίασα) and ‘to emptiness and to nothingness I gave my strength’ (εἰς μάταιον καὶ εἰς οὐδὲν ἔδωκα τὴν ἰσχὺν μου).

⁴² This is further confirmed by the fact that Isaiah chapters 49 and 42 are closely related concerning the delineation of the ministry of the Servant of Yahweh. For more discussion on this question, see Kim, *Paul and the New Perspective* 101-27. If the connection between the two texts is rightly identified, then it is reasonable to conclude that the Servant will accomplish God’s will by a revelation of God’s word that draws the attention of all the nations. See also John N. Oswalt, *The book of Isaiah: Chapters 40-66* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998) 290.

⁴³ The imagery of light is employed throughout the book of Isaiah as a metaphor of salvation (e.g. Isa. 9:2 LXX [MT 9:1]). The light will serve to remove Israel’s blindness (6:1-13; 8:22) and the release

The similarities between Paul's ministry and that of the Servant are evident. Paul understands that the gospel is the means through which God's salvation (σωτηρίαν) is mediated (e.g. Ro. 1:16; 10:10; 2 Cor. 1:16). The fact that the concept of 'gospel' plays so prominently a role in both Paul's entire argument in Galatians and Isa. 40-55 gives weight to the argument that the larger context of the Isaianic passage is in view here. Although the term 'gospel' does not occur in Isa. 49:1-6, the commission to the Servant to bring the 'light' of salvation to the nations implies the proclamation of God's salvation (Isa. 49:6, 8). Paul's use of the technical term εὐαγγέλιον to denote his message underscores the link between the εὐαγγέλιον of Galatians and the Isaianic allusion, where εὐαγγέλιον is a main theme throughout Deutero-Isaiah and especially in passages related to the Isaianic Servant. This view has been cogently defended by Wright with three observations.⁴⁴ First, linguistically, the LXX occurrences of the root of the 'good news' are found in Isa. 40:9 and 52:7 where the good news of God's reign and salvation is proclaimed. Second, the content of the good news is very specific to the plight of Israel. It is about Yahweh's reign and his liberation of his people from tyranny and exile. Third, the Isaianic promises of release from captivity and the manifestation of Yahweh's sovereignty over all nations are also the hopes of many Jewish groups in the Second Temple period.⁴⁵ That means this hope is not unfamiliar to the Jewish circle to which Paul's counterparts might belong. Although in Isa. 49:1-6 there is no mention of the term 'gospel' or 'preaching the gospel', the notion of bringing 'salvation' and the 'light to the nations' does entail a connotation of preaching Christ to the Gentiles, as Paul

the prisoners from their prison (42:7). The image of 'light' is one of the significant notions that are related to the description of the Servant's mission. It occurs also in 42:6 where the Servant is commissioned to be 'a light to the nations'. The rich connotations of the 'light' in these two Servant Songs can be summarized as a reference to salvation, the teaching of the Servant and righteousness that is to reach to the end of the earth. As for the question in what manner the 'light' extends to the nations, whether by active missionary activity to reach out to Gentile nations or through a more passive and subtle role, i.e. by testimony and witnessing Israel draws nations to seek Yahweh and to acknowledge him as the only true God, there have been numerous debates amongst scholars over the past century and no consensus has been reached yet. For further discussion, see Ronald E. Clements, 'A Light to the Nations: A Central Theme of the Book of Isaiah,' in *Forming Prophetic Literature: Essays on Isaiah and the Twelve in Honor of John D. W. Watts*, eds., James W. Watts and Paul R. House (JSOTSS 235; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996) 57-69.

⁴⁴ N. T. Wright, 'Gospel and Theology in Galatians,' in *Gospel in Paul: Studies on Corinthians, Galatians, and Romans for Richard N. Longenecker*, eds., L. Ann Jervis and Peter Richardson (JSNTSS 108; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994) 222-39. .

⁴⁵ He cites 1QH 18.14-15 and 11QMelch as examples.

would understand it. There are instances where Paul explicitly denotes Christ as light shining in the darkness of human heart (2 Cor. 4:6). In addition, the fact that Paul appropriates Isa. 52:7 in Ro. 10:15 further suggests that Paul is familiar with the announcement of the ‘good news’ that is embedded in the wider context of the Isaianic Servant passages.

The possibility of Paul’s allusion to Isaiah 49 in his understanding of his mission is heightened further by the evidence that Paul explicitly quoted Isa. 49:8 in 2 Cor. 6:2, a text where Paul explains the ministry of reconciliation among the Gentiles. In that passage, Paul sees himself as an ambassador of Christ, commissioned by God to the message of reconciliation (2 Cor. 5:16-21). More detailed discussions on the implication of the citation of Isaiah 49:8 will be given in chapter five of the present study. For the moment it should suffice to point out some of the thematic parallels between these two texts (Gal. 1:15-16; 2 Cor. 2:12-6:2), which provide us with a wider framework within which Paul’s appropriation of Isaianic texts are found.

- (1) The context of both passages is related to the question of Paul’s authenticity of apostleship being under attack (Gal. 2; 2 Cor. 3:1ff).
- (2) In both passages Paul appeals to divine affirmation of his ministry, i.e. it originates from and is approved and empowered by God (Gal. 1-2; 2 Cor. 3:4ff.).
- (3) A number of common motifs and vocabularies related to the apostle’s ministry are exhibited in the two texts, for instance, ‘covenant’, ‘gospel’, ‘to please Christ and not men’ (Gal. 1:10; 2 Cor. 5:9-10).
- (4) The concept of salvation is presented in terms of ‘deliverance’, setting free from the power of slavery to sins and death, which drive home the parallel motifs of salvation in Isaiah. The gospel of Christ that Paul preaches is endowed with divine power to enlighten the hearts and minds of believers so that they may be able to turn away from idolatry and understand the truth (Gal. 4:8; 2 Cor. 4:4).

Therefore, if one accepts the connections between Gal. 1:15-16 and 2 Cor. 6:2, and the possibility that Paul has knowledge of Isaiah 49:8, one should also acknowledge the likelihood that the scriptural reference behind Gal. 15-16 is Isa. 49:1-6. Although Paul did not explicitly cite Isa. 49:6 with a citation formula in his letters, the many

thematic and linguistic parallels give weighty support to the suggestion of allusion to the Isaianic text.

V. Other allusions and quotations from Isa 49 in the Pauline epistles

The parallels between Isa. 49:1-6 and Gal. 1:15-16 are not limited to verbal similarities. Paul's account of his missionary call is framed in the context of his struggle to establish his own status as an apostle to the Gentiles (Gal. 1-2) and the identity of the early Christian church in the midst of competitive claims (Gal. 3-4) in Galatians. Some other allusions to Isaiah 49 lend further support to the contention that Isaianic language and motifs have exerted their influence on Paul's conception of his apostleship and his Gentile mission. The first instance is found in Gal 1:24 when Paul says the churches of Christ in Judea 'glorified God because of me' (ἐδόξαζον ἐν ἐμοὶ τὸν θεόν). These words are reminiscent of Isa 49:3 when Yahweh speaks of the Servant he called: 'in you I will be glorified' (ἐν σοὶ δοξασθήσομαι). Paul regarded his call to the service of God as comparable with the Servant commissioned by Yahweh in Isaiah, through whose work Yahweh was to be 'glorified'. It caused him to turn away from his previous deeds of persecuting the church, as a testimony to the people of the church so that they also would 'glorify' God.

Second, a number of passages centring on the motif of 'in vain' occur recurrently in different Pauline epistles. It is used sometimes in the context of expressing Paul's anxiety over his labour in his missionary activity. In Gal. 2:2, when Paul speaks of his purpose of going up to Jerusalem to meet with leaders there concerning his Gentile mission because of fear that he was running or had run 'in vain' (μή πως εἰς κενὸν τρέχω ἢ ἔδραμον), his wording resonates with Isa. 49:4, where the Servant called by Yahweh expresses his disappointment that 'I have laboured in vain' (κενῶς ἐκοπίασα) but he is confident that God promises his mission will succeed (Isa. 49:5-7).⁴⁶ In the context of Galatians, the fear of running in vain for Paul is nothing more than there being a cleavage between his Gentile mission and the Jerusalem church.

⁴⁶ In Gal. 4:11 Paul uses a different Greek word, εἰκῆ, to denote the same kind of anxiety over the 'turning away' of Galatian believers who are persuaded by the intruders and thus willing to submit to the obedience of the Mosaic Law. In view of the crisis of the Galatians, Paul expresses that he was afraid that he has laboured among them 'in vain' (εἰκῆ κεκοπίωκα).

Although Paul is entirely confident that his mission is validated by its divine origin, he does not belittle the importance of the fellowship and acceptance of the Jerusalem church. F. F. Bruce has rightly put it, 'His commission was not derived from Jerusalem, but it could not be executed effectively except in fellowship with Jerusalem. A cleavage between his Gentile mission and the mother-church would be disastrous: Christ would be divided, and all the energy which Paul had devoted, and hoped to devote, to the evangelizing of the Gentile world would be frustrated.'⁴⁷

Apart from Galatians, further echoes of the 'in vain' motif are found in 1 Thessalonians. In 1 Thess. 2:1, Paul expresses that because of seeing the fruits of faith, love and hope in the life the Thessalonians, he knows that his ministry among them 'was not in vain' (οὐ κενὴ γέγονεν). Later on, Paul expresses that he has been worried about whether the Thessalonians will be able to stand against their afflictions. He does not conceal his anxiety over the Thessalonians as to whether the severe trial will end up turning the ministry of Paul and his co-workers 'in vain': 'our labour will be in vain' (εἰς κενὸν γένηται ὁ κόπος ἡμῶν) (1 Thess 3:5). Likewise, in Php. 2:16, Paul exhorts the Philippians to hold on to the truth of the gospel that he preached to them and not to be threatened by their opponents. If the believers can hold fast to the words of life and work out their salvation with fear and trembling, then Paul will be able to prove on the final day of the Lord that he 'did not run in vain or labour in vain' (οὐκ εἰς κενὸν ἔδραμον οὐδὲ εἰς κενὸν ἐκοπίασα). In all of the cases, the motif of 'in vain' occurs in the context of Paul's expression of his concern over the fruits of his labour among the Gentile Christians.

At other times, the motif of 'in vain' occurs in the context of Paul's exhortation to his audience, assuring them that their labour in the Lord will not be in vain. In Cor. 15, for instance, Paul recounts his calling into the ministry by God's grace (15:9-10) and how this calling made him work even harder than anyone else. After a detailed explanation of the abolition of death and sin in Christ, Paul concludes this section of argument by encouraging his fellow believers in the Corinthian church to have hope in the service of God. It is the final victory of Christ that secures that 'your labour in

⁴⁷ F. F. Bruce, *Galatians* 111.

the Lord is not in vain' (ὁ κόπος ὑμῶν οὐκ ἔστιν κενὸς ἐν κυρίῳ) (1 Cor. 15:58). Paul's confidence that his labour in the Lord will not be 'in vain' is rooted firmly in his conviction that the divine promise of salvation is sure. Such confidence is reminiscent to that of the Servant in Isa. 49:4. More significantly, Paul explicitly cites Isa 49:8 in 2 Cor. 6:2 to elucidate to the Corinthian Christians that the present time is the fulfilment of salvation that God promised to his Servant in Isaiah 49, and thus he exhorts the church not to receive the grace of God 'in vain.'⁴⁸ It indicates that Paul's discourse on fruition or futility of ministry labour in the Lord is set in the wider context of eschatological fulfilment envisaged predominantly in Isaiah. Taking all these incidences together, it is reasonable to conclude that Paul's allusion to Isaiah 49 in Galatians 1-2 and beyond, rich though subtle, suggests that the whole passage was intended to refer to, not simply to the actual phrase or vocabulary that was invoked.

Although Paul does not explicitly cite Isaiah in Galatians with reference to his calling, this accumulative evidence should provide us with enough assurance to believe that Paul is familiar with large portions of Isa 49, and that he would probably have the calling of the Servant passage of Isa 49 in mind as he communicates his own calling by God as the apostle to the Gentiles. Some scholars argue that Paul sees himself as the eschatological fulfillment of the Isaianic Servant,⁴⁹ while others contend that he sees himself patterning after the Servant.⁵⁰ However, the evidence in the present context does not give us enough information to determine whether he sees his own mission as prefigured in the prophetic writing. Therefore, it is unclear at this point as to which mode Paul interprets and applies the Isaianic Servant to his own calling and ministry. But what is clear from the above survey is that Paul is not reading this passage christologically, but rather consistently applying this passage to his own missionary calling and ministry.

⁴⁸ More detailed analysis of the use of Isa. 49:6 in 2 Cor. 6:2 will be provided in chapter 4 of the study.

⁴⁹ Florian Wilk is one of the representative voices that hold this view. *Die Bedeutung des Jesajabuches für Paulus*. Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998) 290-98.

⁵⁰ For instance, David M. Stanley, 'The Theme of the Servant of Yahweh in Primitive Christian Soteriology, and Its Transposition by St. Paul,' *CBQ* 16 (1954) 385-425

VI. Further exploration

The preceding examination in the chapter seems to suggest that Paul has the knowledge of the wider literary context from which the cited texts are taken. Furthermore, it reveals that Paul does not seem to appropriate the Isaianic texts merely as atomistic proof text. Rather, the instances of allusion and citation seem to suggest that the larger story surrounding the Isaianic texts is in the back of Paul's mind when he cites and alludes to these scriptural texts. After examining the lexical affinity between the descriptions of Paul's call in Gal 1:15-16 and Isa 49:1-6, a working hypothesis can be drawn up that the language of Paul's account of his own calling is patterned after that of the Servant figure in Isa. 49:1-6. The many instances of allusions lead to the next question: does Gal 1:15-16 witness as an isolated incidence only as to Paul's acquaintance with traditional biblical language, or does the vocabulary and themes, which point to the wider story of Isaiah, referring to a conscious part of his self-conception of his mission? In addition, Isa. 49:1-6 belongs to one of the four so-called 'Servant Songs' of Isaiah, a further question to be explored is whether other passages surrounding the Isaianic Servant are also evocative in other Pauline epistles.

Section 2: Citation of Isaiah in Galatians 4-6

In the previous section, we observed how Paul connects himself to the story of the Isaianic Servant through his appropriation of Isaiah 49 in his discourse of his Gentile ministry in Galatians 1-2. In this section, we will examine more evidence of Paul's use of Isaiah in Galatians. In order to build up the case and to avoid the pitfall of being subjective, we will utilize the criteria of detecting quotations and allusions as listed in chapter one. Three of the criteria are of special relevance: availability, recurrence and volume. The case of allusions is built on the basis of the degree of verbal or thematic overlap between the relevant texts and the distinctiveness of the concepts or vocabularies that overlap in both texts. In assessing the evidence presented in this section, the presence or absence of a particular Isaianic allusion may be contested, but it is their cumulative effect that affirms the plausibility of the overall argument.

In the following, we will start by looking at the explicit citation of Isa. 54:1 in Gal. 4:27, where Paul's deliberate interaction with the Isaianic text is most certainly identified. Then we will follow on by investigating instances of allusion to Isaiah 54 in Galatians. It will be argued that the Isaianic influence on Paul's understanding of the Christian community is not limited to the explicit citation. The instances of the citation of and allusions to this particular passage resonate strongly with the theme of the New Jerusalem envisaged in Isa. 54.

I. Gal. 4:27 and Isa. 54:1

Paul cites the scriptural words introduced simply by γέγραπται γάρ, without clearly specifying the origin of the scriptural texts. Despite this, there is no difficulty tracking down their origin as Isa. 54:1, due to the verbal congruence of the two texts and there are no other scriptural texts that are close parallels. The quotation in Galatians and the Isaianic text appear as follows respectively:

Galatians 4:27	Isaiah 54:1 LXX
<p>γέγραπται γάρ· εὐφράνθητι, στείρα ἢ οὐ τίκτουςα, ῥῆξον καὶ βόησον, ἢ οὐκ ὠδίνουσα· ὅτι πολλὰ τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐρήμου μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἐχούσης τὸν ἄνδρα</p>	<p>Εὐφράνθητι στείρα ἢ οὐ τίκτουςα ῥῆξον καὶ βόησον ἢ οὐκ ὠδίνουσα ὅτι πολλὰ τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐρήμου μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἐχούσης τὸν ἄνδρα εἶπεν γὰρ κύριος</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">Isa 54:1 MT</p> <p style="text-align: center;">רני עקרה לא ילדה פצחי רנה וצהלי לא-חלה כִּי־רבים בְּנֵי־שׁוֹמֵמָה מִבְּנֵי בְעוּלָה</p> <p style="text-align: right;">אמר יהוה:</p>	

The meaning of the MT and the Greek texts of Isa. 54:1 do not have any significant divergence.⁵¹ The text of Paul's citation follows almost verbatim the Greek text while differing from the MT at the following points: (1) there is no mention of the verb וצהלי (and exult) or of the second בני (children); (2) the final phrase εἶπεν γὰρ κύριος is omitted. The omission can be easily explained by the fact that it does not fit well in the literary context of Paul's statement. In particular, having employed the citation formula at the beginning of the sentence, Paul omits the final phrase in order to avoid redundancy.

Gal. 4:27 begins with a conjunction γάρ, indicating that the scriptural citation is intended to substantiate the statement in the preceding verse, 'but the Jerusalem that is above is the free woman, she is our mother.' The significance of Isa. 54:1 to Paul's argument is indicated by its central location in the midst of two sections of the Genesis story (4:22-24a; 29-30). The cited text of Isa. 54:1 occupies a pivotal position in Paul's argument in Gal. 4:21-5:1.⁵² In the first part of his allegorical exposition on the Genesis story, he sets forth the contrast between the two kinds of children, namely, one that was born according to promise entailing freedom, and the other that was born according to the flesh entailing slavery. In the second part of his use of Genesis story, he mentions that the Scripture declares that the slave woman and her son are to be cast out from the household and will not be able to obtain the inheritance with Abraham's true son, Isaac. Sandwiched between the two sections of Abraham's story, the Isaianic quotation provides an eschatological dimension to the allegory of the Genesis story, and it forms the theological centre of the argument.

⁵¹ The word רנה ('singing') of the second line is omitted by the LXX probably due to its apparent redundancy. But 1QIsa^a and other manuscripts support the MT.

⁵² The demarcation of the text is different among scholars. Some commentators delimit the passage by ending the passage at 4:31; i.e. the section is demarcated as 4:21-31. E.g. Dunn, *Galatians* 242; Longenecker, *Galatians*, 198; This, in effect, has left out Paul's exhortation at 5:1 from the flow of his argument, and thereby leaving the passage in view with loosing ends hanging in the air. As will be argued in the following, this is partly due to the misplaced emphasis resulted from undermining the import of Isa. 54:1. The present demarcation follows Donald Y. K. Fung, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988) 204; M. C. de Boer, 'Paul's Quotation of Isaiah 54.1 in Galatians 4.27,' *NTS* 50 (2004) 371-72; François Vouga, *An Die Galater* (HNT 10; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998) 113, for the following reason: It is clear that the major issue with which Paul deals in the unit 4:21-5:1 is Christian freedom in Christ. After appealing to Scriptures to justify his views on what it means to be free, Paul concludes the unit by exhorting the Galatians to stand firm in the present freedom. Therefore 5:1 is a natural conclusion flowing from his argument throughout 4:21-31, and thus should belong with the unit.

Reading from this perspective, it is clear that although the story of Abraham and his wives provides the framework of the analogy, it is the interpretation through the lens of Isaiah that determines its function in Paul's overall argument.

Galatians 4:21-5:1 in its larger literary context

In this literary unit, Paul seeks to argue that Christians are in continuity with the line of true heirs of Abraham in the salvation history of Israel. Paul's argument can be subdivided into three units. The first unit (Gal. 4:22-23) tells the story with a broad brush, focusing on the identity of the 'two sons'. Paul attempts to make in this unit two main points. (1) The status of a mother will affect the status of her children. Paul's logic is this: a slave mother begets slave children, and only a freeborn woman can beget freeborn children. (2) The manner in which the son of Hagar and the son of Sarah are born is different, the former was conceived 'according to flesh', whilst the latter by God's promise. In other words, behind the birth of the respective 'two sons' stands two different powers: one is born as a result of God's faithfulness and miraculous work, the other merely on the basis of human works.

It should be noted that in the middle of the unit there is a shift of reference to the term 'free woman'. In Gal. 4:22-23, the 'free woman' refers to Sarah, though unnamed in the text but implied in the context. But in 4:26, Paul designates the 'free woman' as 'Jerusalem above'. This shift is significant because it marks the shift of Paul's emphasis. In the Genesis story, Paul draws on the significance of Sarah's status; she is a free woman so that her children are born into freedom. However, as Paul shifts the referent of 'free woman' in Gal. 4:26 to 'Jerusalem above', he intends to provide a hermeneutical context to understand his notion of Christian freedom and the other covenant. In addition, by way of employing Isa. 54:1 Paul links the Sarah story to the eschatological redemption of Zion and identifies the 'Jerusalem above' with the destiny of God's children. As a result, the flow of Paul's argument seems to shift its focus from Sarah's story to the heavenly Jerusalem portrayed in Isaiah 54.

In the third unit (Gal. 4:28-5:1), Paul recaptures the Hagar/Sarah story but moves forward to draw the implication of the story in the perspective of the eschatological salvation of Isaiah 54. In view of the present situation in which the Galatians find

themselves: ‘the natural-born son persecuted the spiritual son’ (Gal. 4:29), Paul employs the words of Gen. 21:10 to warn them of the dire consequences of yielding themselves to slavery (Gal. 4:30). These words have long been a puzzle to many commentators as to how they should be interpreted. Traditionally it was interpreted either as an exclusionary command, announcing the exclusion of the Jews from salvation,⁵³ or as a command telling the Galatians to cast out the circumcising missionaries and their followers.⁵⁴ How does the use of Isa. 54:1 contribute to Paul’s argument? What might Paul’s intended implication be for saying to the Galatians that they have the ‘Jerusalem that is above’ as ‘our mother’ and to listen to the scriptural voice of Genesis 21:10 which speak of casting out the slave and her son?

The interpretation of the ‘the Jerusalem above’

Central to Paul’s citation of Isa. 54:1 is the image of ‘the Jerusalem above’, which is understood as the mother of God’s children. The question as to how this ‘Jerusalem above’ be interpreted in the flow of Paul’s argument has not been fully discussed.⁵⁵ Traditionally, the two women in Paul’s allegorical reading of the Genesis story are understood as representing two missionaries.⁵⁶ According to this view, Paul is distinguishing Hagar, her son, Mount Sinai and the present Jerusalem from Sarah, the free woman and the Jerusalem above. Under this broad-brushed category, the former

⁵³ E.g. J. B. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul’s Epistle to the Galatians* (London: MacMillan, 1905) 184; H. D. Betz, *Galatians: A Commentary on Paul’s Letter to the Churches in Galatia* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979) 251; E. D. Burton, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988 [1921]) 262, 267-68; S. Briggs, ‘Galatians,’ in *Searching the Scriptures II*, E. Schüssler Fiorenza ed., (New York: Crossroad, 1994) 218-36. This view has also been summarized by J. Louis Martyn, ‘The Covenants of Hagar and Sarah,’ in *Faith and History: Essays in Honor of Paul W. Meyer J. T. Carroll et al* eds., (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990) 160-92, esp. 168-69.

⁵⁴ B. Witherington, *Grace in Galatia* 325-39; R. Longenecker, *Galatians* 211-17; R. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture* 112-16; *idem*, *Galatians* (NIB 11; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2000) 183-348.

⁵⁵ Though important to the understanding of Paul’s argument, the citation of Isa. 54:1 however has unfortunately been ignored by most commentators who either merely mentioned it by passing or failed to address how the citation of Isaiah text function in the flow of Paul’s argument. E.g. Vouga, *An Die Galater* 118. Some commentators focused only on the story of Abraham in Genesis and thus misplaced the emphasis of Paul’s use of the citation. Some significant studies on this topic appeared only recently. For example: C. H. Cosgrove, ‘The Law Has Given Sarah no Children (Galatians 4:21-30),’ *NT* 29 (1987) 219-35; K. H. Jobes, ‘Jerusalem, Our Mother: Metalepsis and Intertextuality in Galatians 4:21-31,’ *WTJ* 55 (1993) 299-320; M. C. de Boer, ‘Paul’s quotation,’ *NTS* 50 (2004) 370-89; Joel Willitts, ‘Isa 54,1 in Gal 4,24b-27: Reading Genesis in Light of Isaiah,’ *ZNW* 96 (2005) 188-210.

⁵⁶ J. Louis Martyn, ‘The Covenants of Hagar and Sarah 191-227. Ben Witherington, *Grace in Galatia* 339.

group belong to the old age of Law, symbolically representing the mission promoted by the intruders. In contrast, the latter group represents Paul's law-free Gentile mission. The main problem with identifying the 'Jerusalem above' as Paul's law-free Gentile mission is that when Paul speaks of the 'Jerusalem above', he asserts that she is '*our* mother', indicating that Paul includes himself as a child of the 'Jerusalem above.' If we follow this reading, then it will result in a strange meaning, namely, Paul is a child of his own Gentile mission.⁵⁷

It seems that we should differentiate the two respective 'mother' in Paul's argument, each of which carrying a different symbolic meaning. The 'mother' in Hagar-Sarah story illustrates Paul's point of argument that only a free mother begets free children. The mother in Isa. 54:1, however, represents the restored New Jerusalem. In the wider context of Isaiah 54, this woman is a symbol of the restored Jerusalem to whom the scattered children from all over the earth will be drawn.

The first verse of Isaiah 54, from which Paul's text is taken, announces the jubilant comforting news about the restoration of Israel. In the wider literary context, the dramatic change of the state of the barren woman is expressed in terms of her regained favour of Yahweh who redeemed her from her previous plight. In addition, her changed state is expressed by the increased number of her children. The relationship between Jerusalem's redemption and her possibility of becoming a fruitful mother is intimately intertwined. If the previous barrenness indicates Yahweh's rejection of her because of her unfaithfulness, then the present fruitfulness will be the evidence that her sins are forgiven and the broken relationship with Yahweh is restored. Yahweh's full acceptance of Israel is expressed in terms of her new standing as a fruitful mother.

But in what manner can the woman have the children? How would this come about? While the text does not give much detail explicitly, what it does mention can be

⁵⁷ Although Susan Eastman's discussion is not primarily focused on Paul's use of Isa. 54:1, some of her observations and critiques on Martyn's two missionaries theory coincidentally similar to the present study. See "'Cast Out the Slave Woman and her Son": The Dynamics of Exclusion and Inclusion in Galatians 4.30,' *JSNT* 28 (2006) 309-36.

summarized by two features. First, the children that she receives are not the result of her travail of giving birth (54:1). Second, the many children of hers are somehow brought to the once-desolate tent of the barren woman (54:2). That's why the barren woman is challenged to expand on all sides of her tent so as to make room for her enlarged family. It is described that the number of children will continue to grow to such an extent that even Jerusalem's villages and towns will be filled up (54:3). Therefore, the picture focuses on the expanding and enlargement of the family. As a barren mother, the redeemed Jerusalem is now exhorted to prepare more room because many children are expected to come into this family. The ingathering of the children to the New Jerusalem is central to this depiction.

The intertextuality between Isaiah 54 and 49

A number of references to the manner in which the redeemed Jerusalem/Zion is to be full of God's people are found also in Isaiah 49, a text from which Paul has tapped heavily for his delineation of his Gentile mission, as we discussed in the previous section. In Isaiah 49:14ff, one of the dispute discourses between the desolate Zion and Yahweh, Yahweh gives his promise to the desolate Zion by these words, 'Your builders outstrip your destroyers, and those who laid you waste go forth from you' (49:17). As a result, Zion will find her place too small (49:19) because 'they [your children] all gather, they come to you' (49:18). This ingathering of children is not the result of the effort of Zion herself, as the text makes it clear, but rather the miraculous and powerful working of Yahweh, who announces that 'I will lift up my hand to the nations.... they shall bring your sons in their bosom and your daughters will be carried on their shoulders' (49:22). Central to the redeemed Zion is that many children will be brought into the once desolated ruined city.

In fact, there are several other verbal and thematic parallels between Isaiah 49 and 54, which are too striking to be accidental. To begin with, both texts depict Jerusalem/Zion as a bereaved mother and desolate land⁵⁸ and Yahweh as her loving husband who is going to change her humble situation (49:18-21; 54:5-6).⁵⁹ Second,

⁵⁸ See the occurrence of 'barren' (49:21; 54:1), 'desolate' (49:19; 54), 'laid waste' (49:19)

⁵⁹ Zion is describe as a 'bride' (49:18) and Yahweh will decorate her with 'ornaments' (49:18; 54:11-12)

both texts speak of the ingathering of children to Zion, which will result in Zion's finding herself too crowded because of a great many children (49:19; 54:1-3). Third, both texts reveal that the changed state of Jerusalem is brought about by Yahweh's redemptive act (49:18, 22, 25; 54:4-6). Furthermore, both texts are set within the larger context of the ministry of Yahweh's Servant (49:1-13; 52:13-13:12). In addition, both texts mention that Yahweh reveals his sovereignty over all the earth through the redemption of Jerusalem (49:26; 54:5). Finally, in both texts Yahweh announces the removal of enemies from Jerusalem and the promise of security and righteousness of the city (49: 26; 54:14). Recognizing the fact that Paul uses Isaiah 49 and 54 both in the form of allusion, as discussed in previous section, and in the form of explicit citation, which will be discussed in chapter 5 of the present study, it is not hard to imagine that Paul would have known the content of this portion of Isaiah concerning the ingathering of the children of God in the redeemed Jerusalem.

In fact, the hope of the ingathering of God's people and the streaming to Zion at the eschatological salvation of Israel is prevalent in Isaiah.⁶⁰ The first mention of all nations streaming to Zion to worship Yahweh is found in Isaiah 2:1-4. It depicts the vision that 'all nations' and 'many peoples' will go to the house of Yahweh and learn of his ways. The motif of the ingathering of many nations to the redeemed Zion begins with Isaiah 2 and extends on through Isaiah 49, 54 and comes to a focus in the final chapter of Isaiah (66:7ff). The common themes running through these texts include: First, many nations and peoples stream to Zion, the city of God and see his glory (2:2-3a; 66:5, 19). Second, the Lord will teach his ways so that the people will obey him (2:3; 66:2). Third, the Lord will be judge over all nations and peoples and the wicked will be destroyed (2:4; 17, 21; 66:3, 6). Fourth, both texts speak of the day of the Lord, a time when the judgment of Yahweh will be executed and the glory of Yahweh will be fully revealed (2:6-11; 66:18ff). It is noteworthy that Zion is closely associated with the eschatological redemption in Isaiah. It is a symbol for Israel and pivotal in Yahweh's salvation plans.

⁶⁰ E.g. Isa. 56:7-8 says that all peoples are welcome to worship the Lord in the renewed Jerusalem. God is gathering more than just Israelites to Jerusalem.

The 'New Jerusalem' in the early Jewish literature

Paul is not alone in referring to 'Jerusalem above' as being 'our mother'. There is a rich Jewish tradition lying behind this. The term 'Jerusalem above' is also found in Jewish wisdom literature (e.g. Sir. 36:13ff; Tob. 13 etc.) and in the apocalyptic writings of Second Temple Judaism (e.g. *1 Enoch* 53:6; 90:28-29; *2 Enoch* 55:2; *Pss. Sol.* 17:33; *4 Ezra* 7:26; 8:52; 10:25-28; *2 Apoc. Bar.* 4:2-6; 32:2; 59:4).⁶¹ For example, in *4 Ezra* 10:7 Zion is called 'the mother of us all'. It is represented as a barren woman who becomes the heavenly Jerusalem and finally gives birth to a son (vv. 25-57). In addition, in the prayer of Tobit, the vision of the rebuilt Jerusalem shows striking similar characteristics of the New Jerusalem described in Isa. 54.⁶² In Christian literature, the book of Revelation is also full of images and vocabularies alluded to the New Jerusalem (e.g. Rev. 21:1-2; 10, 15-27 etc.)

The interpretation of Isa. 54 of the Qumran community exhibits both similarity to and difference from that of Paul's. In 4Q164 [4QpIsa^d] (line 1-7), there is a fragment containing the pesher of Isa. 54:11-12.⁶³ The bejewelled city Jerusalem was read symbolically as the council of the Community, the priests and the people. The assembly of their elect is likened to the sapphire stone, and the battlements of rubies represents the twelve chiefs of the priests and the gates of glittering stones represents 'the chiefs of the tribes of Israel in the last days.'⁶⁴ In short, the Qumran community applied this portion of the texts to the elect ones under the leadership of their religious leaders.

⁶¹ Longenecker, *Galatians* 214.

⁶² The description can be found in Tobit 13:16-18, which runs like this:

for Jerusalem will be built with sapphires and emeralds, her walls with precious stones, and her towers and battlements with pure gold

The streets of Jerusalem will be paved with beryl and ruby and stones of Ophir

All her lanes will cry 'Hallelujah' and will give praise, saying, 'Blessed is God, who has exalted you for ever.'

⁶³ For a more detailed discussion, see Adela Yarbro Collins, 'The Dream of a New Jerusalem at Qumran,' in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scroll Vol. 3: The Scrolls and Christian Origins*, ed., James H. Charlesworth (The Second Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins; Waco: Baylor University Press, 2006) 238-40.

⁶⁴ Translation according to Florentino García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English* (Trans. Wilfred G. E. Watson; Leiden: Brill, 1994, 1992c) 190-1.

As a well-trained Pharisee and zealous member of Judaism,⁶⁵ Paul is very likely to share these traditional Jewish ideas of eschatological hope with his Jewish contemporaries. However, his view is not entirely the same as these writings. The most significant difference between Paul and other Jewish sectarian writings is this: for him the hope of salvation no longer lies in an uncertain future. He is convinced that God's salvation for his people is already inaugurated with the atoning death and resurrection of Christ.

On the basis of the foregoing discussion on Paul's quotation of Isa. 54:1 at Gal. 4:27, we can draw a number of tentative conclusions at this point. First, as have already mentioned, the citation sets Paul's view of the status of Christian community within the framework of eschatological salvation envisaged in Isaiah 54. The citation of Isa. 54:1 functions as a declaration that Paul's Gentile mission is part and parcel of the fulfilment of Israel's hope, in the sense that it is the fulfilment of the eschatological salvation when Israel's children will be streaming to the New Jerusalem. For Paul, to submit oneself to a Law-observance life-style is no less than to revert one's life to the old aeon of existence, and to subject oneself to the curse of the Law. The consequence of so doing will be nothing less than sharing the same fate of the slave woman and her son: exclusion from the eschatological hope of inheritance! Meanwhile, Paul is convinced that the church, comprising both Jewish and Gentile Christians, is the heir of Abraham's inheritance. In the light of the eschatological hope of New Jerusalem, Paul announces that Gentiles, who are also the children of Israel, belong to the members of the New Jerusalem. In so doing, Paul is defending that his ministry constitutes to the fulfilment of Israel's eschatological hope.

II. Allusions to the New Creation motif of Isaiah in Galatians

When Paul makes his concluding remarks by way of exhortation and benediction, he writes, 'For neither circumcision counts for anything, nor uncircumcision; but a new creation. Peace' (εἰρήνη) and mercy (ἔλεος) be upon all who walk by this rule, upon the Israel of God (ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ θεοῦ)' (Gal. 6:15-16). The connection

⁶⁵ Gal. 1:13-14; cf. Php. 3:5.

between the Isaianic text and Galatians is indicated by the use of vocabularies ‘peace’ and ‘mercy’ in the description of a ‘new creation’. This connection maybe less obvious at first sight, but is no less important. It will be argued in the following that the shared themes and vocabularies in Galatians may further heighten the connections between the two texts, and when Galatians 6 is read against the backdrop of the new creation envisaged in the Isaianic passage from which the alluded text is taken, a flood of new light will stream back onto Paul’s argument.

The words of benediction in Gal. 6:15-16 belong to the larger literary unit of the so-called subscriptions of the letter (Gal. 6:11-18).⁶⁶ In this unit, Paul not only sums up the contents of the body of the letter, but also provides important clues for understanding the issues previously discussed in the bodies of the letter.⁶⁷ Although this part of the letter has been treated in a rather cursory manner in the past, more and more commentators have begun to recognize the importance of the conclusion to the Galatians for the interpretation of Paul’s thought in the letter as a whole. Hans Dieter Betz, for instance, even regards it as ‘most important for the interpretation of Galatians,’⁶⁸ because ‘[i]t contains the interpretive clues to the understanding of Paul’s major concerns in the letter as a whole and should be employed as the hermeneutical key to the intentions of the Apostle.’⁶⁹

While loaded with interpretive significance, these two concluding verses of Galatians 6 are nevertheless fraught with interpretive difficulties. Two questions arising from the interpretation of Gal. 6:15-16 are in particular pertinent to the present study. More specifically, the use of ‘peace’ and ‘mercy’ in benediction is somewhat unusual in the Pauline letters. While Paul may have ‘grace’ in the benediction of all of his letters⁷⁰ and ‘peace’ in some of his letters,⁷¹ he never uses ‘mercy’ in these

⁶⁶ This unit comprises four sub-units, including (1) Paul’s autograph (6:11); (2) its implied exhortations (6:12-15, 17); (3) its peace and mercy benediction (6:16); and (4) its grace benediction (6:18). Cf. Longenecker, *Galatians* 288.

⁶⁷ Longenecker, *Galatians*, 286.

⁶⁸ Betz, *Galatians* 313.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ E.g. Ro. 16:20b; 1 Cor. 16:23; 2 Cor. 13:14; Gal. 6:18; Php. 4:23; 1 Thess. 5:28; Philem 25. Cf. also Eph. 6:24; Col. 4:18b; 2 Thess. 3:18; 1 Tim. 6:21b; 2 Tim. 4:22b; Tit 3:15b.

occasions.⁷² What is more peculiar is to have ‘peace’ and mercy’ in the same literary context within such close proximity.⁷³ Therefore, the first question is: why does Paul employ these two terms in the benediction of this letter? Even more difficult, however, is how to interpret the phrase καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ θεοῦ (‘and upon the Israel of God’), which has generated numerous scholarly debates.⁷⁴ The second question, then, is: how should this phrase be understood in the light of Paul’s overall argument in the letter? More specifically, would Paul’s eschatological vision of Christians as sons of the new Jerusalem and new creation help us to understand this phrase?

To the first question, Gregory Beale has attempted to find the answer by exploring the possible connection between Gal. 6:15-16 and Isa. 54.⁷⁵ Beale’s argument can be summarized as follows. First, regarding the origin of the benediction with the combination of ‘peace’ and ‘mercy’, Beale rejects the view that it is derived from an early Jewish benediction formula because no linguistic parallels are found.⁷⁶ In addition, he also observes that no reference of the combination ‘peace’ and ‘mercy’ can be found in the introductions or conclusions of Hellenistic epistolary literature of the earlier or contemporary period of the NT. Therefore, Beale concludes that its origin lies not in these literatures either. Second, after a brief survey of the

⁷¹ For his use of ‘peace’ in benediction, see Ro. 15:33; 16:20a; 2 Cor. 13:11b; Php. 4:9b; 1 Thess. 5:23. Cf. also Eph. 6:23; 2 Thess. 3:16.

⁷² The word ‘mercy’, however, occurs in a number of greetings in Deutero-Pauline epistles, e.g. 1 Tim. 1:2. 2 Tim. 1:2. In most cases, the greetings contain the combination of ‘grace and peace’. See Ro. 1:7; 1 Cor. 1:3; 2 Cor. 1:2; Gal. 1:3; Php. 1:2; and 1 Thess. 1:1. Cf. Eph. 1:2; Col. 1:2; 2 Thess. 1:2; Ti. 1:4.

⁷³ This phenomenon has also been noticed by G. K. Beale, ‘Peace and mercy upon the Israel of God: The Old Testament Background of Galatians 6,16b,’ *Biblica* 80 (1999) 220-21.

⁷⁴ For a detailed list of possible identifications of ‘the Israel of God’, see F. J. Matera, *Galatians* (Sacra Pagina 9; Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1992) 233. Some significant studies include, S. L. Johnson, ‘Paul and the “Israel of God”: An Exegetical and Eschatological Case Study,’ in *Essays in Honour of J. D. Pentecost*, ed., S. D. Toussaint and C. H. Dyer (Chicago: Moody Press, 1986) 181-96; G. J. Bahr, ‘The Subscription in the Pauline Letters,’ *JBL* 87 (1968) 27-41; N. A. Dahl, ‘Der Name Israel: Zur Auslegung von Gal. 6,16,’ *Judaica* 6 (1950) 161-70; W. D. Davies, ‘Paul and the People of Israel,’ *NTS* 24 (1977) 4-39; D. W. B. Robinson, ‘Distinction between Jewish and Gentile Believers in Galatians,’ *ABR* 13 (1965) 29-44; G. Schrenk, ‘Was bedeutet “Israel Gottes”?’ *Judaica* 5 (1949) 81-94; Andreas J. Köstenberger, ‘The Identity of the ἸΣΡΑΗΛ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ (Israel of God) in Galatians 6:16,’ *Faith and Mission* 19 (2001) 3-18. The interpretation of the phrase ‘the Israel of God’ will be treated in fuller detail in ensuing discussions.

⁷⁵ Beale, ‘Peace and mercy’ 204-23.

⁷⁶ Beale, ‘Peace and Mercy,’ 207-8. Contra: e.g. Peter Richardson, *Israel in Apostolic Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969) 79; Betz, *Galatians* 321-22.

occurrence of the combination of ‘peace’ and ‘mercy’ in Israel’s scriptural texts, Beale concludes, without denying the possibility of a collective influence of these texts on Paul, that Isa. 54:10 would probably have ‘uppermost’ significance.⁷⁷ There are three main reasons supporting his claim. First, Paul has already cited Isa. 54:1 in Gal. 4:27, and thus it is very likely that Paul had the larger context of Isaiah 54 in mind. Second, in both cases there is a shared semantically overlapped vocabulary, namely, *συστοιχέω* in Gal. 4:25 and *στοιχέω* in Gal. 6:15, preceding the reference to Isa. 54. This point is quite significant as to how Paul’s use of Isaiah 54 functions in both places of the Galatians, but unfortunately Beale does not further specify how the observation contributes to his argument. Therefore, more discussions on this point will be made in the later part of the study. Third, the phrase ‘peace and mercy’ forms part of a larger pattern of new creation prophecies in Isaiah 40-66, with its concrete expression in the conditions of the new creation at the time of Israel’s redemption detailed in Isa. 54:9-12. This fits well with Paul’s discourse in Galatians in defining the church as integral to the new Jerusalem and the new creation. Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that Galatians 6:15-16 alludes to the wider context of Isaiah 54 based on the shared motifs and vocabularies between the two texts.

In addition, Beale argues that similar Isaianic hope of the new creation and the eschatological salvation is also prevalent in Paul’s time. He observes that the allusions to the new creation prophecies are also found in other Second Temple Jewish and Christian literatures, including 1QH 13 in Qumran literatures, Jubilees 22 and Rev. 21, which all reflect the Isaianic background similar to that of Paul’s use in Galatians. The common themes shared by all these texts are telling. First, the end-time Jerusalem is portrayed as a woman and is associated with heaven. Second, the permanent peace of God’s people is promised. Third, the Gentiles will be included in the eschatological redemption of Israel. Considering the examples of references to these portions of Isaiah in other early Christian literatures, therefore, it should not surprise us if Paul intended such an allusion.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ He observes that outside of Isa 54:10, the word pair ‘mercy’ and ‘peace’ occurs in close combination in the LXX only in Ps 84:11 (=MT 85:11), Jer. 16:5, and Tobit 7:12 (while the latter occurs in only one version of the LXX in an insignificant context which refers to a personal wish of blessing bestowed on one person to another.) Beale, ‘Peace and Mercy,’ pp. 204-11, quotation is taken from p. 210.

⁷⁸ This point has also been pointed out by Longenecker. See *Galatians* 214-16.

In Gal. 6:15 Paul's use of 'peace' and 'mercy' creates a subtle resonance with the 'Jerusalem above' that he mentioned in 4:27. The reemerged resonance stirs up rippling echoes of the wider literary context of Isaiah 54. As we have noticed, Isa. 54:10 is a prophecy about the future of restored Israel, when 'peace' and 'mercy' will come upon her at her redemption and it will not be taken away.⁷⁹ In Paul's application, he announces the benediction of peace and mercy to them ὅσοι τῷ κανόνι τούτῳ στοιχήσουσιν ('all who walk by this rule').⁸⁰

What does Paul mean by the phrase 'all who walk by this rule'⁸¹? This must be understood in the light of his preceding argument. In Gal. 6:14, Paul sums up his standpoint over against the agitators who want to boast in the flesh by declaring that he boasts in nothing but the cross of Christ: 'But far be it from me to glory except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by which the world has been crucified to me, and I to the world.' With these words Paul announces that the cross of Christ has once and for all abolished the old order of existence and ushered in the new one. All those who are in Christ will no longer belong to the old world order. This is clearly illustrated in Gal. 6:14, in which Paul announces that the cross of Christ is the sole ground for his 'glory', though it is shame, utter horror and sheer disgust to his contemporaries.

This claim is also the logical conclusion to his argument in the earlier part of the letter, where he explains succinctly that the atoning death of Christ has opened up the way of justification, i.e. one is to be justified through faith in Christ apart from the

⁷⁹ The Hebrew term **חסד** is rendered ἔλεος; and **שלום** is rendered εἰρήνης in the LXX.

⁸⁰ How to punctuate the statement in 6:16 has been variously interpreted. In brief, there are two main suggestions: (1) There is a break between 'and mercy', thus separating the sentence into two halves. By so doing, it results in separating peace and mercy as being invoked respectively upon two different groups of people. It is translated like this: '...peace be upon them, and mercy upon the Israel of God.' (e.g. E. D. Burton) (2) The break is set before 'as also on the Israel of God'. This rendering allows the two elements in the benediction 'peace' and 'mercy' to stay together, thus both as being invoked upon those who follow the rule of v.15. The whole phrase is translated as '...peace be upon them and mercy, as also on the Israel of God.' (Dunn, Fung, Longenecker). It seems the second option more satisfactory both on linguistic and exegetical grounds. For a detailed discussion, see Fung, *Galatians* 310-12; Dunn, *Galatians*, 343-46; Longenecker, *Galatians* 296-99.

⁸¹ It can be also translated as 'whoever they are who take this principle for their guide', Fung, *Galatians* 309.

works of the Law. Paul's statement 'through which (the cross of Christ) the world has been crucified to me and I to the world' further elaborates the significance of the cross of the Christ. Fung's remarks on this statement are noteworthy, who writes, 'Paul is here thinking of the cross not merely subjectively in its significance for himself, but primarily in its objective and eschatological character as the decisive event in salvation history which effected a radical separation between two worlds, so that between them there can no longer be any communication whatever.'⁸² Since the cross of Christ has marked the line of demarcation between the old creation characterized by the flesh and the works of the Law and the new creation characterized by the Spirit, promise and faith, what matters now is no longer circumcision or uncircumcision, but the participation in the new creation in Christ.

With this in mind, we will find the phrase 'all who walk by this rule' begins to make more sense. Reading in the context, the 'rule' for Paul is nothing more than living a life in accordance with the new order of existence: 'neither circumcision counts for anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creation' (Gal. 6:15). In Paul's view, the 'new creation' is identified with the new community in Christ, as he makes it clear in the preceding verse. The cross of Christ demarcates the line between the world, i.e. the old creation, so to speak, and the new creation. As a result, the form of life in the new creation stands over against the life marked by the 'old creation' that is symbolized by Hagar and is associated with the present Jerusalem. By pronouncing 'peace' and 'mercy' upon the people who align themselves with this new form of life, Paul further elaborates what he has expressed in Gal. 4:24-27.

In conclusion, although Paul does not explicitly bring the term 'covenant of peace' of Isaiah 54:10 to the fore in his argument, the resonance, albeit nuanced and subtle, can hardly fail to be detected if one is attuned to the numerous thematic parallels of these two texts. Earlier on Paul argued that Christ is Abraham's singular seed that inherits all the blessings God promised to Abraham: that all nations will be blessed through Abraham. Then Paul demonstrates that believing Gentiles, as well as believing Jews, are incorporated into this singular seed as children of God through faith in Christ,

⁸² Fung, *Galatians* 307.

and the new creation is brought into existence in Christ. In this sense, Christ has brought Abrahamic promise to fulfilment, and at the same time has accomplished the mission of the Isaianic Servant who is called to be the light to the Gentiles. By pronouncing God's blessing of peace and mercy on the Christian community, those who follow the rule of the new creation, Paul further strengthens the connections between the Christian communities and the renewed Israel. In view of Paul's explicit citation of 54:1, and the close thematic and linguistic parallels observed above, it is reasonable to conclude that Paul's vision of the Christian community is strongly shaped by or largely conformed to the image of the new Jerusalem embedded and represented in Isaiah 54.

'The Israel of God' in Galatians

Finally, we come to the question of how the phrase 'the Israel of God' should be understood in the light of Paul's overall argument in the letter. The phrase 'the Israel of God' has long been a puzzle to many scholars. As to the question whether it refers to the national Israel, the whole Christian congregation, comprising both Jews and Gentiles, or it refers to merely the Gentile Christians, or merely the Jewish Christians, scholars are of different opinions. Moreover, are the pronoun 'them' following εἰρήνῃ ἐπ', and the phrase 'the Israel of God' following καὶ ἔλεος καὶ ἐπι referring to the same group of people? If yes, how can we explain that there are two prepositions, ἐπι, before them respectively? If no, then it is hard to explain how the conclusion fits into Paul's overall argument in the letter: that all distinctions on the basis of ethnic, social, gender and such things are no longer important to one's new life in Christ. If Paul contends that only in Christ and becoming a new creation matters, why does he separate Jewish and Gentile Christians as two different groups at the end of his letter?

Some scholars are of the opinion that Paul never uses the term 'Israel' in reference to the church. Peter Richardson, for example, even argues that the term 'Israel' is never specifically applied to the church until Justin equates the two in his *Dialogue with Trypho* when he writes that 'We are true spiritual Israel.' Richardson claims that 'In the New Testament, and the Apostolic Fathers, there are many, and growing, indications of the need for this identification, but is not made openly until c. A.D.

160.’⁸³ According to Richardson, during Jesus’ ministry on the earth, the community comprised by Jesus’ disciples did not have a strong community consciousness. The disciples thought of themselves only as part of Israel and were not meant to establish a separate and fixed community. After the ascension of Jesus, however, the early church carries on the mission of Jesus to call the Jews to repent. Only later on the mission was extended to the Gentiles, resulting in the incorporation of Gentiles into Israel. Until then Israel’s attributes and privileges were claimed by the church. Richardson further argues that as the separation of Christianity from Judaism was intensified by various political reasons, the community consciousness of Christianity began to emerge, and by the mid-second century Christianity had sharply separated from both the Jews and Gentiles. The church was then viewed as an organizational entity that appropriates the title ‘Israel’ for itself, thinking itself as a ‘third race’ apart from the Jews and the Gentiles. He writes, ‘As long as the Church was viewed as a community gathered from Gentiles and Jews, it could not readily call itself “Israel”. But when it was sharply separated from both, and when it had a theory that Judaism no longer stood in a continuity with Israel *ante Christum*, and when Gentiles not only could take over other titles but in some cases could claim exclusive rights to them, then the Church as an organizational entity could appropriate “Israel.”’⁸⁴

Richardson has made several insightful observations on the gradual separation of Christianity and the emergence of the new self-identification of the church as Israel. However, there are two weaknesses in his argument. First, Richardson seems to portray the separation between Christianity and Judaism as a unified and steady process, as if the whole Christianity in every locality was moving simultaneously away from Judaism in its entirety. Second, Richardson did not make it very clear what exactly the term ‘separation’ entails, whether it is theological, social or political. As a result, he fails to account for the complexity of the Jewish-Gentile relationship in the process of growing independence. This further leads him to undermine the church’s self-identification as a distinctive community in its earliest stages, both during the time of Jesus’ ministry and immediately after Jesus’ resurrection. He tends to date the identification of the church with Israel relatively

⁸³ Richardson, *Israel in Apostolic Church* ix.

⁸⁴ Richardson, *Israel in Apostolic Church* 204.

late. But the election of the Twelve seems to have been viewed as the restoration of Israel at least by the author of Luke and Acts.⁸⁵ Therefore, the reconstitution of the old Israel by a new community seems to be in existence at a much earlier stage than Richardson's theory allows.

In fact, Richardson specifically deals with Gal. 6:16 and maintains that this passage cannot be used as an evidence to prove that Paul meant to identify 'the Israel of God' with the church. He paraphrased the sentence as follows: 'May God give peace to all who will walk according to this criterion, and mercy also to his faithful people Israel.' That means Paul is speaking of two separate entities. Based on this, Richardson claims that Paul seeks to emphasize that he has not forgotten Israel, but expects all Israel to return and he therefore prays for mercy on it. But when we read the concluding remarks of Paul in the light of our discussion on the Isaianic background of the 'new Jerusalem', the ambiguous phrase 'the Israel of God' in Gal. 6:16 might take on a different meaning. We have argued that Paul's vision of Christian community is shaped by the notion of new creation envisaged in Isaiah. For Paul, the faith community in Christ is the eschatological fulfillment of the Isaianic vision of the New Jerusalem and the new creation. Paul's use of the word 'and' before 'the Israel of God' is intended to be an explicative, meaning 'that is to say.' In this way, Paul in effect identifies those who follow the rule/principle as 'the Israel of God.' For Paul, the new creation is marked by 'anthropological unity in Christ.'⁸⁶ The idea that Christians are in union with the crucified and resurrected Christ is also clearly expressed in other letters of Paul, in particular the Second Corinthians.⁸⁷ This notion is reinforced by his pronouncement of peace and mercy restrictedly to those who belong to the new creation.⁸⁸ In other words, Paul announces not only that Judaism is obsolete but also the world of all forms of religions.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ That reconstitution of Israel and God's people forms a significant part of Lukan theology is well argued by many scholars. David W. Pao is one of the prominent proponents in this regard. See his *Acts and the Isaianic New Exodus* (WUNT 2. Reihe 130; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck: 2000).

⁸⁶ Martyn, *Galatians* 571.

⁸⁷ For example, 2 Cor. 5:15; 13:3-4.

⁸⁸ Cf. 2 Cor. 13:11-13.

⁸⁹ Martyn, *Galatians* 565.

Although Paul often applies the term ‘Israel’ exclusively to the ethnic Israel in Romans, he uses the term here with an additional genitive description τοῦ θεοῦ. This suggests that he intends the reference to designate the faith community in Christ, which is an integral part of the restored Israel. This view is supported on several grounds. (1) The immediate literary context is Paul’s concluding remarks on the notion that ‘circumcision’ or ‘uncircumcision’ does not matter to Christians; it is the new creation that counts. In other words, Paul understands that the old distinction between Jew and Gentile is transcended in the ‘new creation’, the faith community in Christ.⁹⁰ It would seem at odds with what Paul has just vehemently argued in the letter if he at the end goes back to address Jew and Gentile as two different groups of people separately. (2) In the wider literary context of Galatians, one of the primary concerns throughout Paul’s argument is the significance of Christ event and its subsequent implication on his Gentile mission. In the light of Christ event, the fundamental anthropological distinction with respect to salvation is no longer between Jew and Gentile but that between those in Christ and those not.⁹¹ The new sphere of existence is the eschatological reality ‘in Christ.’ It is the identification with Christ that brings one into the family of God, and thus both Gentiles and Jews can share the blessings promised to Abraham on an equal footing (Gal. 3:7-8, 26-29; 4:26-31; 5:2-12). Therefore, the term the ‘Israel of God’ is justifiable to be understood as to refer to the faith community in this context.⁹² The tension between Gal. 6:15-16 and Romans 9-11, after all, is somewhat superficial when we take into account the different overarching issues that undergird the two epistles.⁹³

⁹⁰ This point has also succinctly argued by Köstenberger who concludes, ‘The “Israel of God” are all believers regardless of their ethnic provenance who follow Paul’s “new rule” of a Spirit-led life by faith in the crucified Christ.’ ‘The Identity,’ 4.

⁹¹ Donaldson, ‘The Gospel that I Proclaim among the Gentiles’ (Gal. 2:2): Universalistic or Israel-Centred?’ 175.

⁹² However, by affirming Paul’s application of the term ‘Israel of God’ to designate Christian community comprising both Jew and Gentile believers of Christ does not necessarily imply Paul claims that the church has replaced the ethnic Israel. For Paul, the ethnic Israel still has its unique status in terms of God’s salvific activity demonstrated in human history. This is particularly clear in his argument on the question of Israel in Romans 9-11. Bruce Longenecker’s article, ‘Different Answers to Different Issues: Israel, The Gentiles, and Salvation History in Romans 9-11,’ *JSNT* 11 (1989) 95-123 has provided a very helpful discussion on this topic. Therefore, it is not entirely accurate to say that Paul would tell his converts that in Christ they were no longer Gentiles, as Donaldson indicated. See ‘The Gospel that I Proclaim,’ 189.

⁹³ Again, Köstenberger’s comments are helpful at this point that should be quoted in full: ‘a Romans 9-11- style salvation-historical treatment of the relationship between Israel and the church is absent in Galatians. In Galatians, the issue is not the place of Israel and the church in salvation history, but the

III. Conclusion

The examination of Paul's explicit quotation of Isa. 54:1 demonstrates that some of the distinctive themes and vocabularies in this chapter of Isaiah are present in and relevant to Paul's overall argument in Gal. 4:21-5:1. Hence, it suggests that Paul is very likely aware of the larger context of Isa. 54 when he appropriates the Isaianic text. The full range of echoes also resonates beyond the verse explicitly cited. The oracle is full of images portraying the new circumstances of God's redeemed people that can find different degrees of correspondence throughout Gal. 4:21-5:1. For Paul the contrast between the Jerusalem "present" and "above" (4:25b-26a) is overshadowed by the contrasting covenants (4:24a). By joining the themes of Abraham's true heir (Genesis story) and the fulfilment of the redemption of God's people envisaged in Isaiah, Paul makes the theological assertion that the redeemed people of God is now embodied by the true heirs of Abraham, i.e. those who are in Christ, the only true seed of Abraham.

In conclusion, although the 'volume' of these echoes is not high, the availability and recurrence of the themes and vocabularies are strong enough to make the case. Paul's explicit citation of Isa. 54 and allusions to the passage and other portions of Isa. 49, combined with the recurrence of the 'new creation' motif in other Pauline letters, strengthen the case for reading these allusions as Paul's deliberate evocation of Isaianic passages. Some of the thematic allusions to Isaiah that have been developed in the previous parts of Galatians reappear at the end of the letter and are brought together to their full effect. By applying the 'new creation' terminology to the Christian community, Paul implies that Isaianic prophecy of the restoration of Israel have already found its fulfilment in the existence of the Christian community in Christ.

proper "rule of conduct" for believers. Judaism with its insistence on keeping circumcision and the Mosaic Law cannot—and must not—be used to limit Christian freedom. Faith in Christ and a life in the Spirit, not keeping of the Law, are to be the distinguishing characteristics of believers. Believing in Christ, therefore, transcends other distinctions of gender, race, or status (cf. Gal. 3:28).' 'The Identity,' 12.

Section 3: The Significance of Isaiah in Galatians

In the previous two sections, some of the most significant instances of Isaianic citation and allusion in Galatians have been analyzed. It has been demonstrated that these references to Isaianic texts are not simply atomistic proof-texts but rather intending to resonate with some of the major themes in Isaiah. In the following we will discuss and analyse what has been discovered up to this point.

I. Paul's preaching of the good news in the light of the Isaianic Servant

As mentioned earlier, the good news that the Isaianic Servant was commissioned to proclaim is related to the salvation of Yahweh expressed in terms of the coming of the light, seeing, hearing and understanding. The task of the Servant is unfolded in Isa. 49:6 that the Gentiles are to be encompassed in scope: the Servant is called 'to be the light to the nations.' These descriptions resonate with the Servant passage in 42:6, where the Servant is described as one 'to open the eyes that are blind, to bring out the prisoners from the dungeon, from the prison those who sit in darkness' (42:7).⁹⁴ In both texts images related to 'blindness', 'darkness', 'imprisonment' and 'light' are used in the description of the Servant's mission. The Servant in Isaiah is called to effect a transformation of the people who were blind and who could not see what God was doing (Isa. 35:5; 42:6-7, etc).

The motif of blindness and insight in relation to the good news is present in Paul's presentation of his ministry. This is expressed in two ways. First, in the autobiographical description of his former life, Paul makes it clear how his blind zeal leads him to persecute the church of God. It is only by the grace of God who reveals his Son to him that he finally sees and understands. He is changed from a persecutor to a preacher of the good news. Second, Paul notes that the Galatian Christians once did not know God and were slaves to idols (Gal. 4:8). But it is Christ that sets them free, enabling them to know God (4:9). With the help of the Holy Spirit, they are able to recognize the true God as their Father (Gal. 4:6). In Isaiah the anti-idol language is

⁹⁴ The significant parallels of these two texts have been demonstrated by S. Kim in *Paul and the New Perspective*: 101-27.

used to refute the false claim of deity. In Galatians, the true knowledge of Christ and God entails freedom from idolatry and slavery to the power of the world.

II. Paul as the servant of Christ

Paul identifies himself as a ‘servant/slave of Christ’ (Χριστοῦ δοῦλος; Gal.1:10). Paul translates his ministry to the Gentiles in terms of servanthood, which is in close affinity to that of the Servant figure who was chosen and assigned to bring the message of God’s salvation to the people of Israel and the Gentiles, not only with proclaimed words but also in demonstrating it with his very life and destiny. Paul’s total identification with Christ is best illustrated in his statement in Gal. 2:19-20, which says, ‘For I through the law died to the law, that I might live to God. I have been crucified with Christ; it is no longer I who live, but Christ who lives in me; and the life I now live in the flesh I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me.’ It is reasonable to say that the revelation of Jesus Christ as the Son of God has changed his understanding of God’s way of salvation and his self-understanding and self-designation. In this passage, Paul stresses that he has through the Law died to the Law. In other words, through complete identification with and participation in Christ’s death on the cross, Paul sees his life in Christ as a life free from the dominion of the Law. It is no longer that he lives but Christ that lives in him. In this sense, Christ may continue his earthly ministry through Paul, and Paul is carrying on the work of Christ in his own ministry.

Thus, by drawing on Isaianic Servant language, Paul is laying emphasis on his ministry as a continuance of that of the Servant. Just as the Servant has been called to proclaim the good news even to the Gentiles, and to enact this salvific plan in his own life, Paul sees himself as one ‘chosen by God’ (4:13-14; 5:2; 6:17) to continue the work of the Servant of Yahweh. The Servant’s ministry to proclaim the good news of God is not merely announcing a message of comfort in general, but rather an announcement of the divine promise of salvation to Israel being fulfilled in history. But, in what sense is Paul fulfilling the role of the Servant in these passages? This question will be answered more fully in the following chapters as our discussion unfolds. At the moment it will suffice to state briefly that he understands his mission to the Gentiles as a continuation of Christ’s mission, through whose sacrificial and

vicarious death on the cross has made the covenantal blessings of Abraham extending to the Gentiles.

III. The Mission of Christ and the Mission of Paul

Paul's presentation of his own ministry and that of Christ reflects that both Christ and himself are fulfilling different aspects of the Servant's role. His portrayal of Jesus, who 'gave himself for our sins' in order 'to deliver us from the present evil age' (Gal. 1:4), when read in the light of the Jewish apocalyptic worldview and the Isaianic Servant, demonstrates that Paul understand Christ as the fulfilment of the promise to Abraham, whose death and resurrection has ushered in the new age of salvation history envisaged in Isa. 54, i.e. the realization of the prophecy of Israel's restoration. The Jerusalem above is identified with the mother of the believing community, to whom all children of God find refuge. In other words, it is in Christ that the promise to Abraham and Israel has come into fulfilment.⁹⁵

Paul, on the other hand, sees himself in Galatians as the apostle sent to the Gentiles. His apostolic preaching of the gospel is the means through which he brings Gentiles into faith in Christ Jesus. Paul insists that uncircumcised Gentile believers can participate by faith along with Jewish believers as true children of Abraham and share the blessings promised to Abraham and his descendents, and thus the Israel of God. By using the term 'the Israel of God', Paul pronounced a blessing on the church as the Israel of God. The eschatological vision of Isaianic prophecy on the restoration of Israel is now fulfilled in Christ and in the believing community in Christ.

IV. Conclusion

The passages studied in this chapter show that Paul draws on Isaiah's vision of salvation at various points of his argument in the Epistle to the Galatians, including his account of his ministry as an apostle to the Gentiles, the ministry of Jesus Christ,

⁹⁵ One of the most significant aspects of the Servant's mission is to fulfil the covenantal promise that God made to Abraham: 'in you all the families of the earth shall be blessed' (Gen. 12:3). This point is also stressed by Michael F. Bird in his article, "'A Light to the Nations'" (Isaiah 42:6 and 49:6) Intertextuality and Mission Theology in the Early Church,' *RTR* 65 (2006) 122-31.

the constitution of the new people of God, the Gentile believers as participants of the Israel of God and the new creation. According to Richard Hays' criteria of availability and recurrence, we may conclude with some confidence that Paul is familiar with at least the portions of Isaiah that he cited and alluded to in the correspondence to Galatians.

Paul's identification of the church with the Israel of God has created much puzzle over the centuries. Would this mean that Paul promotes the view that the church has replaced the Jewish people as God's own? Martyn has rightly cautioned, 'It would be a great mistake to attribute to Paul the simplistic view that the church has replaced the Jewish people as God's own. When he penned Gal. 6:16, he was not thinking of the Jewish people. And he was certainly not intending to distinguish a true Israel from a false one, in the sense that the church has now supplanted the synagogue.'⁹⁶ Indeed, in his other epistles Paul was hesitant to separate the name 'Israel' from those who bore that name on religious and ethnic grounds.⁹⁷ But his focus in the Galatians falls primarily on establishing the identity of Gentile Christians as God's people over against the teachings of his opponents. He seems to draw such a close connection between the Christian community and the new Israel/Jerusalem that one might wonder whether he views the church as the representative of Israel in the messianic age. If this is the case, then what is the role of national Israel, the 'original' covenant people of God? This does not seem to be a burning question for Paul in Galatians, but it is of one of Paul's major concerns in the Epistle to the Romans.⁹⁸ In

⁹⁶ Martyn, *Galatians* 576.

⁹⁷ In Ro. 9:4-5, Paul refers to Jews as 'Israelites' (Ἰσραηλίται) who possess a range of scripturally attested privileges. The term occurs also in Ro. 11:1 and 2 Cor. 11:22 where Paul identifies himself as among the Israelites and Hebrews (Ἑβραῖοί). A related term 'Israel' (Ἰσραήλ) occurs in Ro. 9: 6, 27, 31; 10: 19, 21; 11:2, 7, 25, 26; 1 Cor. 10:18; 2 Cor. 3:7, 13; Gal. 6:16; Php. 3:5. Apart from the case in Gal. 6:16, in all instances the term seems to refer to the national Israel, the covenant people of God, as contrast over against other nations. When Paul uses the term Israel, he denotes a group of people who are elected by God in history, with whom God has made a covenantal relationship and through whom God intends to demonstrate his saving purpose. As for the term 'Jews' (Ἰουδαῖος), which occurs in Ro. 1:16; 2:9, 10, 7, 28, 29; 3: 1, 9, 29; 9:24; 10:12; 1 Cor. 1:22, 23, 24; 9:20; 10:32; 12:13; 2 Cor. 11:23; Gal. 1: 13, 14, 15; 3:28; 1 Thess. 2:14, Paul often uses it to denote the ethnic group of people as distinct from the Gentiles and peoples who come from other regions or countries than Judean. In other words, the term Ἰουδαῖος is primarily an ethnic and geographical identifier. For a similar view, see James D. G. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (London/New York: T&T Clark, 1998) 504-6.

⁹⁸ Martyn even postulates that Paul's section on the question of Israel in Romans 9-11 'may have been written in part as Paul's attempt to deal with the difficulties that had arisen between himself and the

Romans, one of the burning issues that Paul faces is the discrepancy between the present plight of Israel and the future hope of salvation of all Israel promised in the Scripture. How does Paul's reading of Scripture shape and inform his understanding of the question of Israel and God's faithfulness in Romans in particular chapters 9-11 and 14-15? What kind of role does Paul perceive himself is playing in the salvation history of Israel in the light of Isaiah? It is to this epistle we now turn.

Jerusalem church *as a result of* Gal. 6:16, read as a reference to the church *as* God's Israel.' (the emphasis is the author's) *Galatians* 567.

Chapter 3

Paul's Use of Isaiah in Romans 9-11

In the previous chapter, we made a tentative proposal concerning Paul's characteristic use of Isaiah, namely, when Paul cites from or alludes to a particular Isaianic text he is not merely using it as an isolated proof text, but rather he intends to evoke the whole passage surrounding the appropriated texts. In addition, we observed that Paul attempts to connect Gentiles mission to the mission of the Isaianic Servant. It is observed that both of them are involved in a mission to 'be a light to the Gentiles', though the exact mode of connection was yet to be further clarified. If these observations are basically correct, then one might expect that relevant findings will also be found in other Pauline epistles. This chapter will focus on investigating the various Isaianic texts as found in Romans. It seeks to explore in what way Paul appropriates and reads Isaiah, and to what extent his reading of Isaiah shapes and informs Paul of his self-conception of his Gentile mission.

For the purpose of the study, only selected examples from chapters 9-11¹ and 14-15² of Romans will be investigated. These chapters are selected because

- (1) citations of, and allusions to Isaiah are most readily detected in these portions of Romans, and thus Paul's interaction with Isaiah is most clearly expressed;

¹ Ro 9:1-5 and 11:33-36 clearly mark out these three chapters as an individual unit. This unit is carefully crafted and heavily loaded with scriptural citations and allusions in the course of its argumentation centring on a significant theme: the place or ultimate fate of Israel in God's salvific plan, and subsequently the role of Paul's mission in relation to God's overall salvation of all humanity. The 'self-contained' nature of this unit has led scholars to debate over its real function in the letter as a whole. Some suggest it is an irrelevant digression or an appendix to the letter, others find it fundamental to Paul's overall argumentation; still, others even treat it as 'the climax of Romans'. For more discussion on the function of this unit in the letter as a whole, see N. T. Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant*, 231-57; J. C. O'Neill, *Paul's Letter to the Romans* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1975) 145; C. H. Dodd, *The Epistle of Paul to the Romans* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1932) 148.

² Most of the significant Pauline scholars and commentators generally agree that these two chapters form an individual unit. The central issue concerning Paul is the tension between the strong and the weak in the Christian community.

- (2) Paul's thought about Israel in relation to God's salvation plan is intensively reflected on, which constitutes a significant aspect of Paul's understanding of his Gentile mission; and
- (3) Paul's missionary plan in the light of the eschatological salvation is explicitly presented.

The goal of the examination is two-fold. First, we seek to determine whether the surrounding context of the cited or alluded texts fits within its place in Paul's presentation, and how this additional context helps to illuminate Paul's argument as a whole. Second, with the integrated evidence cumulated through a case-by-case analysis, we seek to find out how these Isaianic texts help us to understand Paul's self-conception of his Gentile mission as a whole.

Section 1: Overview

I. The missionary intentions of Paul in Romans

Romans chapters 9-11 belong to one of the major sections in which Paul delineates his conception of the divine salvation plan for humanity, with particular reference to the Jewish rejection to the gospel and its implications to his Gentile mission. In order to evaluate more accurately how Paul interacts with Isaianic material in these three chapters, it is helpful first to have an overview of the purpose(s) for which Paul intended when he composed the Epistle, and then look at some of the major issues that Paul was dealing with in these chapters.

There is, of course, more than one purpose lying behind Romans. Since the time of Philipp Melanchthon this letter has been regarded as a compendium of Christian doctrine because of its systematic character. It has been treated as a theological treatise or 'dogmatics in outline' that contains the essence of Pauline theological thoughts and the timeless truth of the gospel. However, in recent decades more and more Pauline scholars have begun to recognize how Paul's own missionary concern might constitute one of the primary purposes, if not in fact the only important one, of

Romans.³ This study will support the view that while Paul might have more than one purpose when he composed this letter,⁴ the missionary concerns seem to be the most significant one based on the following observations.

First of all, the literary structure of the letter strongly indicates that Paul's missionary concern lies behind the composition of the letter. At the outset of the letter, Paul states that he is the apostle called and set apart for the gospel of God (1:1), the gospel concerning Christ, which is the power of God for the salvation of every one who believes, to the Jews first and also the Greeks (1:16). With this overarching concern in view, Paul twice expresses his intention to visit Rome in regard to the fulfilment of his Gentile mission, one at the opening section (1:8-16a) and the other near the end of the letter (15:14-33). As he indicated clearly, his visit to Rome is inseparable from his pursuit of his mission to the Gentiles. Although Paul was not the founder of the churches in Rome, he still viewed this community that comprised largely of Gentile believers from his missiological perspective. Paul's visit not only aims to impart spiritual gifts to them so as to strengthen them (1:11), but also to preach the gospel in Rome (1:15) and to harvest some fruits among them as he did in other

³ Luke Timothy Johnson, for instance, argued that Romans was written primarily out of Paul's own missionary concern, particularly his desire to gain financial support for his mission to Spain and beyond. In Johnson's view, this reading of the letter can better explain the long list of names and his commending Phoebe in Romans 16, since by so doing Paul provides both a network of witnesses and the credibility of his business representative who organizes the financial support for him. In addition, Johnson contended that the main body of the letter that focuses on delineating Paul's gospel served the function of establishing the credibility of Paul by affirming the trustworthiness of his gospel message. For a fuller discussion, see *Reading Romans: A Literary and Theological Commentary* (New York: Crossroad, 1997) 6-7. Also, see his review article on Jewett's Romans Commentary, 'Reading Romans,' *Christian Century* 125 (2008) 32-36.

⁴ For example, G. Bornkamm argues that the letter summarizes the most important themes and thoughts of Paul's message and theology, and thus it is to be viewed as the last will and testament of Paul. See 'The Letter to the Romans as Paul's Last Will and Testament,' 16-28; Along a similar line of thought, G. Klein contends that the epistle is meant to be read as a 'theological treatise'. It is because Paul sees that 'Christianity in Rome still needed an apostolic foundation' and this 'calls for the normative message of the apostle and demands that his theological reflections be raised to a new level of general validity.' See 'Paul's Purpose in Writing Romans,' 29-43, quotes on p.43. Jacob Jervell even proposed that it is Paul's letter of defence to be rehearsed in Jerusalem. 'The Letter to Jerusalem,' 53-64. However, more recent studies have paid more attention to the literary and structural features of the letter, and discovered that the situation of Christianity in Rome and of Paul himself could both be the factors inspiring Paul to compose this significant letter. See discussions in R. J. Karris, 'Romans 14:1-15:13 and the Occasion of Romans,' 65-84; F. Watson, 'The Two Roman Congregations,' 203-215; quotation is taken from 215; in which he speculates that Paul's lecture was meant to 'persuade the Roman Jewish Christians to accept the Paulinists, in preparation for Paul's longer-term plans', which is his mission to the Gentiles beyond the west of Rome. All the articles are collected in *Romans Debate*, edited by Karl. P. Donfried (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1977, 1991).

Gentile nations (1:12). And last but not least, Paul intends to make Rome a base for his future Gentile mission in Spain (15:24). As such, the description of Paul's missiological intention to travel to Rome forms an *inclusio*, enveloping the entire Epistle. It points to the fact that Paul's missionary concern is one of the most significant driving forces that move him to compose Romans and to visit Rome at this stage of his missionary career.

Secondly, Paul's missiological concern can be detected throughout the three major parts of the letter, namely: chapters 1-8, 9-11, and 12-15.⁵ In broad terms, it can be said that chapters 1-8 delineate the theological foundation of Gentile mission, which also serve for apologetic purposes.⁶ Chapters 9-11 and 12-15 deal with the theological and pastoral issues concerning the outworking of salvation for historical Israel and the Gentiles. The missionary intentions in Romans can be summarized as follows:

- (1) In chapters 1-8, Paul first of all pronounces on human predicaments, including those of the Gentiles and the Jews,⁷ and then argues that Christ is the only way to salvation for all humanity. Paul states at the outset of Romans that the gospel which he was called to preach is about Jesus Christ who is both the son of

⁵ The author of the present study considers Romans 16 part of the original content of the letter, but maintains that it is an appendix and functions primarily as the final greetings of Paul to the Roman churches. This view is based on the fact that the content of chapter 16 is somewhat independent from the main sections of the letter. This position is further enhanced by the textual problem of chapter 16 and the place of the doxology, Ro. 16:25-27, which seems to suggest that the Epistle to the Romans existed in several versions. In some manuscripts the doxology occurs after Ro. 14:23; in P⁴⁵, after 15:33; and in most manuscripts, after 16:23. For an extensive discussion, see Harry Gamble, *The Textual History of the Letter to the Romans: A Study in Textual and Literary Criticism* (Studies and Documents 42; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977).

⁶ This view has been advanced and well defended by Hurtado. L. H. Hurtado has made a strong case that Paul's argument in Romans 1-8 on Jesus' divine sonship is intimately linked to his Gentile mission. He has rightly drawn the connection between Paul's purpose 'to show that God's aim involves the adoption into divine sonship of all those who put their trust in the gospel message that concerns Jesus Christ, God's paradigmatic and unique Son' and the incorporation of 'Gentiles into the community of the redeemed on the basis of Jesus Christ.' For more discussions, see 'Jesus' Divine Sonship in Paul's Epistle to the Romans,' in *Romans and the People of God: Essays in Honor of Gordon D. Fee on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed., Sven K. Soderlund and N. T. Wright (Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1999) 234-253.

⁷ John Stott, following Dodd, argues that in Ro. 2:1-11 Paul announces that no moralists can have any claim to righteousness before God. Their act of judging others does not prove they are justified because they are doing exactly what they are condemning. *Romans* 80-89. The majority of commentators, however, argued that Paul was addressing the Jewish interlocutor in this section. See for instance, Moo, *Romans* 125-45; Schreiner, *Romans* 105-15.

David and the Son of God (Ro. 1:3-4), who has fulfilled the promises to Abraham that all nations will be blessed. The statement is not a manifesto of the gospel in a general sense, but rather highlights the significance of the divine sonship of Jesus. In so doing Paul demonstrates that Jews and Gentiles are equal in their sinfulness (1:18-3:20), and are justified on the same basis, namely, by faith in Christ alone. It is in Christ who is the Son of God that a new humanity is born (3:21-4:25), and thereby all humanity become God's people on the grounds of the work of the Holy Spirit (5:1-8:39).⁸ Therefore, Paul's Gentile mission is established on the basis of his christology along with the soteriological and eschatological hope it entails.

- (2) Chapters 9-11 reflects Paul's vision of the salvation of both Jew and Gentile within the context of salvation history culminating in the coming in of the full number of the Gentiles, the *parousia* of the Messiah, and the salvation of all Israel (Ro. 11:25). The hope of salvation of 'all Israel' is articulated and expressed by a catena of scriptural citations including Isa. 59:20-21 and 27:9 (Ro. 11:26). This vision has become the driving force of Paul's ministry (11:25-26; cf. 11:13-14).
- (3) In chapters 12:1-15:13, Paul tackles some of the pastoral issues arising from Jewish-Gentile relationships and the church community life within its wider social context. The exhortations in these chapters, however, are not irrelevant to the theological arguments in the previous chapters. On the contrary, they are an integral part of the wider missionary programme that Paul has explained. It is because church planting for Paul is not only a matter of geographical expansion, but also of establishing a community of God's people that transcends ethnic boundaries in one faith and under the one lordship of Christ. Paul envisages a Christian community comprising both Jew and Gentile living in unity and joining in praise to the glory of God. Again, this hope is expressed

⁸ The study of Daniel J. S. Chae has also demonstrated convincingly that Paul's apostolic self-awareness is to be understood as an interpretive key to Paul's argument in Romans. The argument established in the first eight chapters of Romans by Paul, as Chae shows, is that both Jews and Gentiles have no difference in terms of sinfulness, and Christ is the righteousness of God that forms the theological foundation for Paul's Gentile mission. *Paul as Apostle to the Gentiles: His Apostolic Self-Awareness and its Influence on the Soteriological Argument in Romans* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 1997).

in a catena of scriptural citations, which is concluded by a quotation from Isa. 11:10 (Ro. 15:12).

Taking all the evidence together, it is reasonable to conclude that in the background of all Paul's argument lies that one overarching missionary concern. When Paul composed the letter, he has reached another turning point in his career. More specifically, Paul has finished his collection project and was going up to Jerusalem. The trip to Jerusalem involved a lot of uncertainties since Paul did not know for sure what would befall him there. However, the trip represented a significant step in Paul's ministry because the offering of the Gentiles he attempted to bring to Jerusalem was not only aimed to help the poor Jewish Christians but also to foster the unity of the Jewish-Gentile fellowship. Meanwhile, he was expecting to visit Rome, the great central city of the known world in Paul's time. Paul imagined that with the support of the Roman churches, he might continue to reach the Gentiles with the good news of Christ to further places where Christ's name has not yet been known. Reading in this light, all the religious activities of Paul as stated in Romans gravitated towards the one goal: to bring about the obedience of faith through the preaching of the gospel in order to bring glory to God.

It must be admitted that in addition to his missionary purposes, Paul also had other intentions, including apologetic (explanation of the gospel) and pastoral purposes (to settle conflict arising from Jew and Gentile relationships within the church) when he composed Romans, as Dunn rightly proposes.⁹ These different purposes are interrelated and complement one another, but the missionary impulse seems to be the thread that holds everything together. Moo's comment is helpful in summarizing the point here,

'Romans has several purposes. But the various purposes share a common denominator: Paul's missionary situation. The past battles in Galatia and Corinth; the coming crisis in Jerusalem; the desire to secure a missionary base for his work in Spain; the need to unify the Romans around "his" gospel to support his work in Spain – all

⁹ Dunn, *Romans* I: liv-lviii.

these forced Paul to write a letter in which he carefully rehearsed his understanding of the gospel, especially as it related to the salvation-historical questions of Jew and Gentile and the continuity of the plan of salvation.’¹⁰

One more observation is in order before we move on to the actual examination of Paul’s use of Isaiah in the letter. A brief survey of Romans indicates that the book of Isaiah has been one of the most significant sources to which Paul turned again and again in the course of his argument. At the outset of Romans, Paul interacted with Isaiah in the delineation of the predicament of Jews (Ro. 2:24//Isa. 52:5) and the nature of salvation achieved by the death of Jesus (Ro. 4:25//Isa. 52:6, 11; Ro. 5:6, 8//Isa. 53:8). In the middle section, chapters 9-11, Paul dialogued intensively with Isaiah throughout his argument. Significant passages surrounding the Isaianic Servant have been employed, as will be demonstrated in the following investigation. Furthermore, towards the end of the Epistle, Paul did not hesitate to announce the completion of his mission in the east and his intention to reach the farthest part of the then known Gentile world with his gospel (15:16-22). At this point, Paul again employed a text from Isaiah, namely, Isa. 52:15, as he presented to his intended audience the reason why he planned to go to Spain and beyond.

There seems no doubt that the Scriptures both inform and shape Paul’s conception and presentation of the salvific plan of God as well as his own roles within it. But as to questions such as in what way Paul’s interpretation and appropriation of the Isaianic text informs us of his self-understanding of his mission, or how the Isaianic texts with which Paul interacted contribute to his self-conception of his apostolic ministry. In the following, we will examine some of the significant passages in order to answer these questions.

¹⁰ Douglas J. Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996) 20

II. The Shape of Paul's Argument in Romans 9-11

The issues pertaining to Paul's Gentile mission in Romans 9-11 are God's faithfulness to his chosen people and the outworking of God's salvation plan in history, despite the apparent rejection of the gospel by the majority of Jewish people in Paul's time. The three chapters undoubtedly constitute one of the most significant sections in the Romans, in which the Scriptures, especially the Isaianic material, underline the apostle's thinking and arguments. Five times Paul mentioned the name of Isaiah in his citations to highlight the authority of this particular prophet in the flow of his argument.¹¹ The present analysis will focus mainly on Paul's reading of the Isaianic texts in relation to the salvation-historical questions pertinent to Paul's mission.

Romans 9-11 is structured by a series of three rhetorical questions, each of which is followed by further questions that develop the theme or address potential objections. Traditionally, these chapters have been interpreted as Paul's theological argumentation of the apparent failure of Israel's response to the gospel of Christ.¹² According to this view, the questions asked in 9:6, 9:30 and 11:1 are basically addressing the single problem of Jewish unbelief, that each is a different way of asking why Israel refuses the gospel of Christ that Paul preaches. The basic structure of the argument in Romans 9-11 can be summarized as the following:

- (1) In Ro. 9:1-29, Paul asks whether or not God's word of election of Israel has been annulled, and answers that it has not, because God has the sovereign freedom to define or redefine the boundaries of God's people, i.e. determine to whom He shows mercy and to whom He hardens the heart or rejects.
- (2) In Ro. 9:30-10:21, Paul asks why Israel's election seems to have been revoked in the present, and answers that it is Israel's stubborn rejection to

¹¹ Paul's emphasizing on the person of Isaiah is also found in Ro. 9:29, 10:16, 10:20, and 15:12. Other occurrences of the prophet Isaiah as 'speaking' the words of scripture can be found in the gospels: Matthew (3:3; 4:14; 8:17; 12:17; 13:14; 15:7); John (1:23; 12:38, 39, 41), Acts (28:25) and Dead Sea Scrolls (CD-A 4:13; 6:8; 11QMelch (11Q13) 2.15). In addition, the name of 'Isaiah' is sometimes employed to refer to the book in Mk. 1:2, 7:6; Lk. 3:4, 4:17; Ac. 8:28, 30; 4QFlor (4Q174) frgs. 1-2 1.15; (4Q176) frgs. 1-2 1.4; CD-A 7:10.

¹² For example, Fitzmyer, *Romans* 538ff; Barrett, *Romans* 175ff.

God's righteousness and insistence to establish her own righteousness through the observance of Mosaic Law.

- (3) In Ro. 11:1-27, Paul asks whether or not God might have rejected Israel permanently, and answers that the present rejection to Israel is only partial and temporarily, He will save all Israel at the end.

According to the above framework, as some scholars have pointed out, Paul seems to have offered two different and contradictory views on the definition of Israel.¹³ On the one hand, Paul in Ro. 9:6-13 clarifies that it is not the natural bloodline that determines the status of God's descendant, but rather it depends on God's call (καλέω; 9:12) and his election (ἐκλογή, Ro. 9:11) alone. By this definition, then, it follows that not all ethnic Israel is 'Israel'. Only a group within ethnic Israel are considered truly Israel. By so doing, Paul seems to exclude a part of ethnic 'Israel' who has biological linkage to the national Israel from 'Israel'. On the other hand, Paul at the conclusion of the section Romans 9-11 provides another answer by pointing forward to a time in which God will fulfil his promises and 'all Israel' will be saved (11:25-32). In other words, ethnic Israel seems to be in view. Then the questions naturally follow, 'Does ethnic Israel really matter to God?' If it does not, what might be the implications to Paul's Gentile mission? If it does, what kind of role that ethnic Israel is playing in the salvation history?

Various attempts and proposals have been put forward. While earlier scholars find the two arguments in these two passages somewhat contradictory,¹⁴ more recent interpreters attempt to contend for the compatibility of Paul's different 'answers' in Romans 9 and 11.¹⁵ E. Elizabeth Johnson represents one of most significant voices

¹³ E.g. Heikki Räisänen, 'Paul, God, and Israel: Romans 9-11 in Recent Research,' in *The Social World of Formative Christianity and Judaism: Essays in Tribute to Howard Clark Kee*, ed., Jacob Neusner et al. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988) 178-206; E. P. Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983) 199. Bruce Longenecker, for instance, has offered an insightful treatment on this particular issue. See 'Different Answers to Different Issues: Israel, The Gentiles, and Salvation History in Romans 9-11,' *JSNT* 11 (1989) 95-123.

¹⁴ E.g. C. H. Dodd, *The Epistle of Paul to the Romans* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1932) 188, 192; W. D. Davies, 'Paul and the People of Israel,' in *Jewish and Pauline Studies* (London, SPCK, 1984) 146-52; E. P. Sanders, *Paul, the Law* 192-98.

¹⁵ Cranfield, for instance, argues that God's mercy is the foundational principle underlying the two passages. He also maintains that Israel's negative role is God's design for the purpose of showing

challenging the traditional reading of Romans 9-11.¹⁶ She points out that the main problem of the traditional view is that it offers ‘three mutually exclusive answers to the same question’, which are: ‘part of ethnic Israel’s exclusion from the elect is a function of God’s sovereign freedom to redefine community boundaries (9:6-29); Israel is nevertheless responsible for its own fate because it refuses to convert to Christianity (9:30-10:21); but despite God’s elective freedom and Israel’s culpability, God will nevertheless save all Israel (11:1-32).’¹⁷

Johnson also points out the driving argument in Romans 9-11 is not to defend or explain the demographic shift in the Christian community, i.e. there is increasing number of Gentile Christians while the Jews remain a minority. Instead, it is to assert that God is faithful to his salvific promise to Israel and thereby to rebuke the arrogant boast of the Gentile Christians in the Roman churches.¹⁸ She argues that She contends that it is the non-Jewish Christians who might have thought the Jews have ‘stumbled so as to fall’ (Ro. 11:11). She supports her argument by showing how the Gentile Christians in Rome, being influenced by the arrogance of empire, boast over their ascendancy as believers in Christ.¹⁹ Seeing themselves as branches ‘grafted in’ and the Jews having ‘stumbled’, the Gentile congregations exhibit their arrogance over their Jewish counterparts.

Johnson holds the view that Paul’s central concern in Romans 9-11 is not to account theologically for ‘Jewish unbelief.’ More specifically, in Johnson’s view, Paul’s intention in 9:6-13 is to demonstrate the mercy of God in his election, in that God

mercy upon all humanity. *Romans* II: 458-592; N. T. Wright, on the other hand, maintains that Paul distinguishes two Israel is of paramount importance. It is the ‘new Israel’ which is composed of both believing Jew and Gentile that Paul was referring to when he says ‘all Israel’ will be saved. *Climax of the Covenant* 231-57.

¹⁶ E. Elizabeth Johnson, ‘Divine Initiative and Human Response,’ in *The Theological Interpretation of Scripture: Classic and Contemporary Readings*, ed., Stephen E. Fowl (BRMD; Cambridge Mass./Oxford: Blackwell, 1997) 356-89.

¹⁷ Johnson, ‘Divine Initiative and Human Response,’ 357.

¹⁸ E. Elizabeth Johnson, ‘Romans 9-11: The Faithfulness and Impartiality of God,’ in *Pauline Theology III: Romans*, eds., David M. Hay and E. Elizabeth Johnson (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993) 212-30.

¹⁹ Johnson, ‘Romans 9-11,’ 220.

insists to choose the unmerited candidates. Likewise, the point of Paul's contrasting 'vessels of mercy' and 'vessels of wrath' is not the contrasting fates, but God's freedom in 'enduring with much patience' the vessels of wrath rather than condemning them (9:22). Similarly, when Paul addresses the issue of God's preservation of a remnant, his emphasis is to declare God's freedom in constantly acting to preserve a remnant (11:1-5). In a nutshell, according to Johnson, Paul's purpose in Romans 9-11 is not to establish a division between a 'true Israel' and a 'false Israel' but rather to demonstrate God's sovereignty and freedom. Paul's argument is directed to his non-Jewish audience to correct their misunderstanding of historical circumstances.

Johnson's view has helpfully identified the historical context within which Paul's discourse concerning Jewish unbelief is conducted. But her view is not without problems. First, while it is true that Paul has the pastoral concern of the arrogance of the Gentile Christians in view, it does not follow that Paul himself is not wrestling with the issue of Jewish unbelief (Ro. 9:1-3, 10:1). Second, Johnson seems to drive an unnecessary wedge between Jewish unbelief and theodicy concerning the issues in Romans 9-11. It does not appear to be an either-or, it can be a both-and option. It is the two sides of the same coin, and both having relevancy to Paul's Gentile mission. Third, to uphold the view that Jewish unbelief is one of the driving arguments in these three chapters does not necessarily lead to 'incoherent' and 'mutually exclusive answers' to the same question as she maintains.

Indeed, the main thrust of the argument in these three chapters centres upon the issue of Israel's failure to accept the gospel. But the historical circumstance that prompts Paul's response may well involve certain kind of tension between Jewish and Gentile audience in Rome. If the issue at stake centres upon the misunderstanding of Jewish unbelief, then the question we should ask is, to whom the issue is significant? It seems that it is first and foremost important to Paul because his Gentile mission is closely linked with, and entirely dependent on, God's faithfulness to Israel. This view is put forward by Munck and defended by James Dunn.²⁰ Munck writes, 'The

²⁰ Dunn shares a similar view and argues that the issue of God's faithfulness to Israel is vital for him, because for him God's righteousness and his faithfulness to Israel are closely linked with the continual

unbelief of the Jews is not merely a missionary problem that concerned the earliest mission to the Jews, but a fundamental problem for all Christian thought in the earliest church. Israel's unbelief is a difficulty for all Christians, both Jewish and Gentile. If God has not fulfilled his promises made to Israel, then what basis has the Jewish-Gentile church for believing that the promises will be fulfilled for them.'²¹ In other words, if God abandons his chosen people because of their failure, what is the assurance for the final salvation of Gentiles and hence the Gentile mission he has been called to labour? In the words of Bassler, 'if God's word of promise to Israel has failed, what confidence can now be placed in these new promises?''²²

The logic of this view is not hard to understand. Earlier in the Romans Paul mentions several times that the gospel and the salvation are meant to be given to Jews first and also Greeks (1:16; 2:9, 10). Here in the beginning of Romans 9, he listed out the privileges in their relationship with God enjoyed by Israel, namely, they are God's chosen people 'Israelites' (Ἰσραηλῖται), bearing 'the sonship' (ἡ υἱοθεσία), 'the glory' (ἡ δόξα), the covenant (αἱ διαθηκαί), the receiving of the law (ἡ νομοθεσία), the temple worship (ἡ λατρεία) and the promises (αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι) (Ro. 9:1-5). In other words, Paul recognizes ethnic Israel's crucial and unique role in the salvation history.

Meanwhile, Paul is convinced that Christ is the seed of Abraham, and all the blessings of Abraham are now conferred to those who are justified by faith in Christ. Apart from Christ there is no salvation (Ro. 8). Therefore Paul admits with agony in his heart that Israel fails to attain her salvation because she does not succumb to God's righteousness in Christ (10:3) while insists to establish her own righteousness. The Jews have zeal for God, but without knowledge and thus fail to obtain the righteousness they seek, observes Paul. This inevitably leads to the question: Has God's purpose failed to hold its course? Has Israel's disobedience frustrated God's

effectiveness of Israel's special status before God. Dunn, *Romans* (WBC 38; Dallas: Word, 1988) II: 398.

²¹ Munck, *Christ and Israel* 35.

²² Jouette M. Bassler, *Navigating Paul: An Introduction to Key Theological Concepts* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2007) 79. Moo also holds a similar view, see *Romans* 550.

promise to Israel? Therefore, Paul finds Israel's perpetual unbelief in the message of the gospel to be a significant problem. Paul expresses that if Israel's status as God's chosen people is being threatened, or is no longer effective, then God's faithfulness and commitment to Israel, and most important of all, God's own righteousness, will be called into question (11:1-2,11).

Therefore, for Paul, God's faithfulness is fundamental to securing the salvation of humanity as well as the validity of his gospel. Paul believes that God's glory will be revealed in the glorification of those whom he has called and elected (Ro. 8:30) and the salvation of 'all' Israel (11:26).²³ As such, to uphold the unfailing promises of God to Israel, despite the apparent unfaithfulness of Israel as reflected in the predominant rejection of the gospel message in contrast to the receptive Gentiles, is of paramount significance to Paul's gospel and his Gentile mission.

While recognizing Israel's perpetual disobedience, Paul is convinced that God remains faithful to his covenant with Israel, and thus eventually 'all Israel' will be saved (11:26). Israel's disobedience has not failed God's promise; rather, surprisingly, it has mysteriously served God's salvific purpose for the whole of humanity (11:32). Paul believes that despite Israel's disobedience and unfaithfulness, God has not abandoned her. In the course of his argument and reflection, Paul repeatedly cites and alludes to Isaianic verses, sometimes even mentioning the prophet by name. What exactly is he intending by using Isaianic passages? How do his citations of and allusions to Isaiah help us understand his argument as a whole? This will be the task of the present chapter. It is hoped that through a focused exegetical exercise we may understand the more fundamental issues of Paul's theology undergirding his conception of his Gentile mission. Consequently, we will show that the seemingly 'contradiction' within Paul's answers will prove to be merely superficial. As we read Paul's argument in greater details, in particular with the help of his reading of Scripture, we will understand his argumentation in these chapters in fuller perspective. Since Munck is one of the most influential modern interpreters of Paul's self-conception of his Gentile mission and its relation to his

²³ The meaning of the phrase 'all Israel' will be discussed in the later part of the chapter.

understanding of the salvation of Israel,²⁴ we will therefore re-examine Munck's thesis after investigating Paul's overall argument in Romans 9-11.

Section 2: Analysis

I. Paul's Use of Isaiah in Romans 9

We have seen that if God's promises to save Israel have failed (Ro. 9:6; 11:29), then the God of Paul's gospel will be regarded as unrighteous (3:5; 9:14) and untruthful (3:3; 15:8). In response to these issues, Paul asserts that God's promises to Israel have not been annulled. By employing two examples from the Genesis story, Paul demonstrates that the heir of God's people is entirely dependent on divine election. History shows that God appears to choose the unlikely one to be the recipient of his blessing (9:6-13). In the first case he chooses Isaac instead of Ishmael; and in the second, he favours Jacob over Esau. The point Paul attempts to make is that God's sovereign election has been the sole foundation for the existence of God's people (Ro. 9:14-18).

a. Ro. 9:20-21 and Isa. 29:16 and 45:9

In Ro. 9:19ff, Paul imagines one might ask, 'if it is God who determines who belongs to Him and sets the boundaries of His people, "Why does He still find fault? For who can resist His will?"' In response to the charge, Paul asks two rhetorical questions in Ro. 9:20-21. These two questions have demonstrated striking linguistic and thematic resemblance with Isa. 29:16 and 45:9, even though there is no citation formula in the text. The comparison between the texts is shown in the table below.

Ro. 9:20-21	Isa 29:16
<p>20b μὴ ἔρει τὸ πλάσμα τῷ πλάσαντι· τί με ἐποίησας οὕτως;</p>	<p>οὐχ ὥς ὁ πηλὸς τοῦ κεραμέως λογισθήσεσθε; μὴ ἔρει τὸ πλάσμα τῷ πλάσαντι Οὐ σύ με ἔπλασας; ἢ τὸ ποίημα τῷ ποιήσαντι Οὐ συνετῶς με ἐποίησας;</p>

²⁴ Johannes Munck, *Christ and Israel: An Interpretation of Romans 9-11* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1967); *Paul and the Salvation of Mankind* (Trans., Frank Clarke: London: SCM Press, 1959).

<p>21 ἢ οὐκ ἔχει ἐξουσίαν ὁ κεραμεὺς τοῦ πηλοῦ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ φυράματος ποιῆσαι ὃ μὲν εἰς τιμὴν σκεῦος ὃ δὲ εἰς ἄτιμίαν;</p>	<p>45:9 ποῖον βέλτιον κατεσκεύασα ὡς πηλὸν κεραμέως; μὴ ὁ ἄροτριῶν ἄροτριάσει τὴν γῆν; μὴ ἔρει ὁ πηλὸς τῷ κεραμεῖ <i>τί ποιεῖς</i>, ὅτι οὐκ ἐργάζῃ οὐδὲ ἔχεις χεῖρας;</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">Isa. 29:16 MT</p> <p>הפככם אִם־כֹּחַמֵּר הַיֵּצֵר יִחְשֹׁב כִּי־יֹאמֵר מַעֲשֵׂה לַעֲשֹׂהוּ לֹא עָשִׂי וַיֵּצֵר אֱמֹר לֹוצְרוֹ לֹא הַבֵּין</p>	
<p style="text-align: right;">Isa. 45:9 MT</p> <p>הוּי רַב אֶת־יִצְרוֹ חֲרָשׁ אֶת־חֲרָשֵׁי אֲדָמָה הַיֹּאמֵר חֲמֹר לִיצְרוֹ מִה־תַּעֲשֵׂה וּפַעֲלָךְ אֵין־יָדִים לוֹ</p>	

Intertextuality: Ro. 9:20b-21 and Isa. 29:16 and 45:9

Indeed, the terminology and metaphor of πηλὸς and κεραμεύς ('potter-clay'), τὸ πλάσας and τὸ πλάσμα ('maker' and 'creature') is not uncommon in Israel's Scripture as well as other Second Temple Jewish literature.²⁵ This has led a variety of speculations on the possible source texts underlying Ro. 9:20-21.²⁶ However, on closer inspection, although the suggested sources show a certain degree of linguistic similarity one way or the other, the wider literary context of those texts are quite removed from Paul's line of thought in Romans 9. The many instances of the use of the 'potter-clay' metaphor can, however, demonstrate that this is a widespread tradition in the Second Temple Jewish literature. Paul's use of the metaphor may reflect his awareness of the traditions in which the metaphor was employed.

²⁵ The metaphor from the potter and the clay occurs in the Scriptures including Job 33:6, Isa. 29:16; 41:25, 45:9-11; 64:8, Jer. 18:6. It also occurs in Second Temple Jewish literature such as Sir. 33:7-13; T. Naph. 2.2, 4; 1QS 11.22 etc. Cf. T. R. Schreiner, *Romans* (BECNT; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1998) 516. Also M. Black suggests that Wis. 15:7 might be the source of allusion. See *Romans* (NCBC; 2nd edition; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989) 131.

²⁶ The second clause also seems to echo Wis. 12:12 and Job 9:12. F. Wilk, *Die Bedeutung des Jesajabuches*, 304-7. However, the literary context of these two texts does not share further similarities as the Isaianic text does. For supporters of the view that Isa. 45:9 is behind Paul's text, see Wagner, *Heralds*, 58-68; Cranfield, *Romans* II: 491; Hays, *Echoes* 65ff.

Before further examining the intertextual relationship between the Isaianic texts and Paul's citation and allusion, it is worth investigating these two Isaianic texts in their original literary context, thereby to discern the reason that prompts Paul to draw upon these two texts in his present argument.

First of all, we examine Isa. 29:16 within its wider literary context. The alluded text belongs to the larger section of Isaiah 28-29 that represents the prophet's most sustained attack on the nation's leaders.²⁷ In Isa. 28 the prophet announces the coming of judgment upon the proud and corrupt leaders of Ephraim by the hand of Assyrian army (28:1-4). The prophet warns the rulers of Jerusalem that their participation in a rebel coalition against Assyria will not relieve them from Jerusalem's crisis (28:14). Meanwhile, the prophet calls Israel to put her trust in Yahweh because He promised to establish 'a stone' in Zion (28:16) and he will accomplish his saving purpose, and will condemn the nation's 'wise ones' (28:9-14; 29:9-21) who pursue strategies that devastated the nation. In the light of this background, Isaiah 29 takes upon the theme of incomprehensibility of divine salvation plan and launches into a derisive indictment of human arrogance in this regard.

The allusion of Isa. 45:9 is taken from the larger section of Isa. 45:9-13 which constitutes one of the significant sections concerning Israel's dispute with Yahweh. It has been observed that the content of dispute centres on Yahweh's choice of Cyrus to be the anointed one, serving as God's agent for saving Israel (45:1-4, 13). However, this has been responded by Israel with contention and complaint (45:9). Although it is not clear in the text whether Israel's complaint is directed to the appropriateness of Yahweh's choice of a foreign king to execute His plan, or to the trustworthiness of the foreign king (whether he is capable to execute Yahweh's plan), there is no doubt that the content of the complaint is about the method/agent that Yahweh uses to execute His salvation plan. The rhetorical questions, when taken out of the context, seem to challenge Israel's right to question Yahweh. But when they are read within the literary context, the focus of the passage is not so much on Israel's right to

²⁷ Sweeny, *Isaiah* 56-58.

question Yahweh *per se*. Rather the issue at stake is the actual content of the questioning.²⁸ In Yahweh's answer to Israel's complaint, the Lord assured Israel that his transcendent wisdom and power is trustworthy upon which the nation's hope of salvation is built. Naidoff has nicely summarized it, 'because Yahweh is utterly transcendent and beyond human understanding, he is not to be questioned (vv. 9-11), yet this very same transcendence is used to substantiate Yahweh's total control of world history (vv. 11-13), and thus serves as a basis for hope in his imminent salvation of his people.'²⁹

The survey of Isa. 29:16 and 45:9 in their original literary context suggests that they are the most possible scriptural source underlying Ro. 9:20-21 on the following grounds. First of all, linguistically speaking, Paul's wordings are closer to these two texts. As demonstrated in the above table, Paul's cited text in Ro. 9:20b, especially the first part of the clause, follows verbatim the Isaianic text. Similarly, the text in Ro. 9:21 and Isa. 45:9 shows remarkably similar vocabularies occurring within such close proximity. Although verbal parallels between two texts alone cannot prove their literary affinity for certain, the presence of such linguistic similarity nevertheless can be a strong indication of their literary connection.

Apart from verbal parallels, there are striking thematic similarities shared by the wider literary context of the alluded Isaianic texts and Paul's argument in Romans 9. The discourse on God's sovereign power is set within the framework of elaborating God's creation and salvation, which shows remarkably close to that of Paul's argument.³⁰ The challenge to the Creator in the Isaianic texts represents not merely human mistrust of Yahweh's salvation plan, but also the divine authority as a whole. The overarching theme is expressed by three major interrelated motifs running through Isaiah 29 and 45. First, God's authority is challenged because His action in executing salvation seems incomprehensible and unacceptable to some of His people

²⁸ This point has also been pointed out by Bruce D. Naidoff, 'The Two-fold Structure of Isaiah XLV9-13,' *VT* 31 (1981) 180-85.

²⁹ Naidoff, 'Two-fold Structure,' 185.

³⁰ The double theme of creator and redeemer runs throughout Isa. 45. Yahweh is described as 'the one who does all these things' (ὁ ποιῶν ταῦτα πάντα), 'the one who creates' (ὁ κτίσας), the saviour (σωτήρ) (e.g. 44:24, 45:1-4, 11-13, 15-17, 18, 22-23).

(Isa. 29:14; 45:15). Second, the prophetic message of these two texts centres upon the divine rebuke of human arrogance shown by accusing Yahweh's salvation plan (Isa. 29:14b-15; 45:9-11, 16). Third, both of the Isaianic texts demonstrate that Yahweh's salvation is expressed through a reversal of fortune, that God will take the Israelites by surprise in the way He executes His salvation plan. In both cases, God's mercy is shown in an unexpected way to the people who appear to have the least chance of being the recipients (Isa. 29:22-24; 45:22-25).

All the above-mentioned themes are taken up in the course of Paul's argument in Ro. 9:6-23. First, Paul's diatribe questions are set in the context of dispute over God's absolute sovereignty in executing his salvation plan through electing His people according to His will (Ro. 9:7-21). Paul makes it clear that God has the right and freedom to decide to whom He may choose to reveal His mercy and glory and to whom He may choose to punish. More importantly, the emergence of a people that belong to God is entirely dependent on His creative initiation (Ro. 9:16). In other words, Paul is convinced that when it comes to the issue of salvation, the operating principle is God's sovereign election in mercy. Therefore, the text could hardly have been more appropriately chosen as support for Paul's point. Secondly, it is foolish to contend with God whose wisdom and power are completely above His creation. Thirdly, the allusion serves as a bridge linking Ro. 9:6-23 with Ro. 9:24ff. In the preceding section Paul's point of emphasis is God's sovereign election, but from 9:24 onwards, Paul moves on to explicate how God's mercy constitutes the continue existence of His people. Finally, the fact that Paul cites Isaiah 29 and 45 in his other epistles indicates not only that Paul is familiar with the wider literary context of this portion of Isaiah, but also that these passages have particular significance to his understanding of the antagonistic tensions between human wisdom and divine sovereign wisdom and power in relation to understanding God's saving purposes. For example, Paul cites a composite of scriptural texts in Ro. 11:8 which includes Isa. 29:10 in order to express his amazement at the incomprehensible depth of God's wisdom as unfolded in His salvific plan (Ro. 11:33-34). Similarly, Paul cites Isa. 29:14 in 1 Cor. 1:19 as he contends that God's wisdom and power is revealed in the cross of Christ in effecting salvation (1 Cor. 1:18-2:16).³¹ Paul's use of Isaiah 45 is

³¹ This will be discussed in fuller details in chapter 5 of the study.

found in Ro. 14:11 and Php. 2:11, where in both cases Isa. 45:23 is appropriated to delineate the lordship of Christ and God the Father.³²

Therefore, the lack of citation formula and the different order of wording in Ro. 9:20-21 does not undermine the possible connection of the Isaianic texts, 29:16 and 45:9, to Paul's argument. The thematic recurrence and strong verbal similarities strongly suggest that Paul has the wider literary context of Isaiah 29 and 45 in mind. If this observation is correct, then how does the larger story of these two Isaianic texts inform and shape Paul's understanding of the salvation of Israel at this point?

Some scholars merely treat the cited texts as proof-texts defending the supreme authority and freedom of God in a general sense.³³ But a closer attention to the context of both texts reveals that the issue at stake is the manner by which God's salvation is working out. The challenge is not merely a rebellion against God's sovereignty in general, but rather it is a rejection to the pathway to salvation ordained by God. Indeed, on the surface level, the function of this composite allusion from Isaiah serves the rhetorical purpose of affirming God's sovereign freedom as the Creator. God is righteous to do what He will because of who He is. As an extension of this, Paul may intend to expose the folly of those who challenge God's knowledge and the unfathomable wisdom of God's saving plan.³⁴ However, on a deeper level, the whole framework underlying these two Isaianic texts not only fits Paul's argument well in the present section, but also has laid down several hints pointing in the direction of his later argument, paving the way for Paul's argument for the unexpected pathway of God's salvation working out in history. Several themes emerge as Paul's discourse unfolds, which further resonate with the Isaianic texts to which are alluded. These themes include that Israel stumbled because of her pride (9:30-10:4), that the Gentiles obtained the righteousness because of their humble submission to God's righteousness (10:5-13), and that God may use any method and agent to achieve his saving purposes, so much so that he may save Israel by means of

³² A fuller treatment of the appropriation of Isa. 45:23 will be conducted in chapter 4 of the study.

³³ Schreiner's view is representative. See *Romans* 515-16.

³⁴ The idea of God's wisdom demonstrated in his salvation plan of all humanity occurs also in 1 Cor. 1:18-25.

showing mercy to the Gentiles (10:14-11:16), and save the Gentiles by means of hardening Israel (Ro. 11:11ff).

Paul's appropriation of the two Isaianic texts also shows discontinuity with the Isaianic text. The dissimilarity between Paul and the Isaianic context is found in the specific historical context in which Yahweh's salvific plan is working out. In the Isaianic context, Yahweh saves his people Israel by raising up a pagan king Cyrus (Isa. 45) and demonstrates his chastisement of Israel by the Assyrian army, whereas in Romans Paul employs these texts to demonstrate God's freedom to show mercy to the Gentiles who are considered as unlikely recipients of divine promises by Jews. In this sense, even if the point of emphasis of Paul's citations and the Isaianic texts is different, when they are read within their respective larger context, the shared ideas remain undeniable.

b. Ro. 9:24-29 and Isa. 10:22-23 and 1:9

Having demonstrated that God is righteous and sovereign, Paul moves on to show that God's saving act is based on His mercy, and His mercy is beyond human expectation. In Ro. 9:24-29 Paul picks up the theme of God's surprising pathway for salvation, a theme that first appears rather implicitly in Ro. 9:6-13,³⁵ and now is explained more explicitly in terms of how Gentiles and Jews become beneficiaries of God's mercy. Paul draws upon a catena of scripture (Hos. 2:23, 1:10;³⁶ Isa. 10:22-23 and 1:9)³⁷ in supporting two significant claims: First, God has now shown His mercy to the Gentiles by *calling* them to be His people (Hos. 2:23; 1:10); Second, God shows His mercy to the Jews by preserving a *remnant* of Israel despite her disobedience (Isa. 10:22-23; 1:9).³⁸ In both places, Paul explicitly indicates the

³⁵ Frank Thielman, 'Unexpected Mercy: Echoes of a Biblical Motif in Romans 9-11,' *SJT* 47 (1994) 169-81.

³⁶ Although the material from the Hosea section is a composite, it is introduced here as a single citation with some alterations that fit the context of Paul's argument. The following analysis is based on the theme exhibited in the quotation pertaining to the present study. A detailed examination of the textual problems of this text, however, is beyond the scope of this study.

³⁷ Isa. 10:22//Hos. 2:1 (MT); 1:10a (LXX) in Ro. 9:27; Isa. 10:22 in Ro. 9:28; Isa. 1:9 in Ro. 9:29.

³⁸ A certain connection between Ro. 9:28 and Isa. 28:22 has been observed by some scholars, based on their verbal similarities. The citation of Isa. 28:16 in Ro. 9:33 also enhances the possibility that

source from which his citations are drawn, and his emphasis on Isaiah is self-evident.³⁹

One may wonder whether the original context is really important as Paul conflates two scriptural texts in the same context of argument. One may suggest that Paul simply joins up bits of Hosea and Isaiah to make his point. This is possible but very unlikely. It is because Paul intentionally indicates his source, indicating that he is not simply citing a word from any scriptural text but the words of a specific prophecy. Nevertheless, we will briefly look at how Paul employs a prophetic text in Hosea whose original referent to Israel is transferred to the Gentiles.

Although the term ‘not-my-people’ in Hos. 2:23 and 1:10 in their original literary contexts referred to rebellious Israel, Paul skilfully knits them together and applies them to the Gentiles. The terms ‘my people’, ‘sons of the living God’, and ‘my beloved’ in the original literary contexts refer to the people of Israel. However, in Romans, Paul applies it to God’s calling of the Gentiles. The emphasis on God’s calling (καλέω) of his people not from Jews only but also from the Gentiles (9:24) is worth noting. Paul begins his argument by stating God’s *calling*, and not ethnic linkage to Israel, is fundamental and decisive for the membership of God’s people. The emphatic placement of the verb ‘to call’ (καλέω) at the beginning of the quotation of Hosea 2:25 creates two effects. First, it establishes a closer link to the divine calling of Jews and Gentiles in 9:24, and secondly, it provides a connection with the catchword ‘call’ in the initial citation of Gen 21:12 in Ro. 9:7.⁴⁰ Thus the themes of God’s faithfulness in keeping His promise to Abraham and His mercy to the Jews and the Gentiles are tightly linked together by the concept of the divine call. The fulfilment of the Abrahamic promise in relation to his Gentile mission is further

Paul has Isa. 28:22 in mind when composing Ro. 9:28. However, it is also arguable that the use of the construction ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς in the last part of the citation in 9:28 is a modified rendering of כל־הָאָרֶץ בְּקֶרֶב in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of 10:23.

³⁹ This is indicated by the different ways in which he introduces the cited texts. With the prophecy of Hosea Paul simply writes, ‘in Hosea he says’ (9:25), whereas the two citations from Isaiah Paul emphatically adds the phrases like ‘Isaiah cries out’ (9:27), and ‘Isaiah predicted’ (9:29). Paul presents the prophetic words of Isaiah in a way as if the prophet himself steps forward to testify the fate of Israel.

⁴⁰ See R. Jewett, *Romans* 600, n.138. Also, Aageson, ‘Scripture,’ 272.

developed in Paul's argument in the later part of his letter, as we shall discuss in the following section of the study.

If it is God's own call rather than any other biological or social lineage, or any physical or religious endeavour, that determines the identity of God's people, then both Jew and Gentile have an equal footing in terms of becoming God's people. This point is strengthened as Paul applies the passages from Hosea to the Gentiles, while in its original context it is about ethnic Israel. How then should such application of Israel's Scripture be understood? Does Paul misread or misapply the texts? On one level, it seems that Paul has creatively 'changed' the referent of the original text, namely, from ethnic Israel to the Gentiles of his time. On another level, however, Paul's creative use of the Scripture seems to be intentional in order to achieve certain rhetoric ends, if the larger literary context of the Hosea texts is taken into account. The contextual continuity between the two texts lies in the way in which the people's relation to God has been changed. Both are by God's merciful call, and indeed, merely on His own initiative. Both groups, the historical ethnic Israel and Gentiles alike, were once 'non-people' on the grounds of their rebellion. And now, through God's mercy, their separation from God is ended and the once broken relationship is again restored. Both groups are now put under the same category of 'vessels of mercy' (Ro. 9:23).⁴¹

Therefore, Paul's application of the Hosea text to the Gentiles is primarily theological in nature, and thus is not at odds with the sense that is embedded in the Hosea texts. The hermeneutical move further strengthens the point that Paul has made earlier in Ro. 9:6-23, i.e. the initiative of God is determinative to the identity of God's people. Now a new element is added upon this notion, that is, God treats both

⁴¹ This point is also expressed by his inclusion of the rather puzzling adverb ἐκεῖ in the quoted text, 'it will be *in the place* where it was said to them, 'You are not my people,' *there* they shall be called sons of the living God.' Many scholars find the 'geographical' reference rather perplexing in the present context. Moo, for instance, believes that Paul is not simply mechanically preserving the phrase as part of quoted text, *Romans* 614-15; Others speculate that the word ἐκεῖ refers to Jerusalem in which the Gentiles may come and gather in eschatological time; e.g. Munck, *Christ and Israel*, 72-73; Dahl, *Studies in Paul*, 146. For a critique of Munck's view, see Käsemann, *Romans* 274. Schreiner, *Romans*, 528, denies the possibility of any intentions that might lie behind this phrase. However, it is possible, as Moo rightly suggests, that Paul is using the adverb symbolically as a reference to the circumstances of exile, in which the people find themselves under divine punishment.

Jews and Gentiles in mercy: Israel once became ‘non-people’ because of her disobedience, and Yahweh promised to receive her back with grace and mercy; likewise, the Gentiles once were ‘non-people’ also because of their sinfulness, but God initiates to welcome them into His family out of His mercy and grace. This theme is further developed and given a twist in Romans (11:30-32).

If God has shown his mercy to the Gentiles by calling them to become his people, then what has happened to the Jews? Paul’s answer to the question is given in Ro. 9:27-29 by citing a number of scriptural texts. Admittedly many interpreters have noticed the existence of the citations, and attempted to explain their significance to Paul’s argument, but they differ as to exactly what import these texts might have brought to Paul’s argument. Cranfield, for instance, reads the citations as a ‘threatening word’ that is set over against Hosea’s ‘word of promise.’⁴² In addition, he opines that the second quotation from Isaiah (1:9) ‘is added in corroboration of the first.’⁴³ In other words, while he concedes that the existence of a remnant indeed is a sign of divine mercy and there is a hope attached to it, he tends to view these words more in terms of judgment than of comfort. On the other hand, Schreiner maintains that the citations seem to convey that ‘God’s mercy is cherished against the wider canvas of his wrath.’⁴⁴ So, what particular rhetorical purposes are intended by these scriptural texts? We will first determine the source from which the citations are taken. Then we will explore how these citations illuminate Paul’s line of thought in this section of his argument.

The intertextuality between Isa. 10:22-23 and Ro. 9:27-28

It is worth noting that Paul mentions Isaiah twice by name in the short span of only three verses (9:27-29), indicating the significance of this particular book of prophecy to his understanding of the present circumstances of Israel. Some scholars believe that Ro. 9:27-29 appear to be a conflation of Isa. 10:22-23 and Isa. 1:9.⁴⁵ A

⁴² Cranfield, *Romans* II: 501

⁴³ Cranfield, *Romans* II: 502.

⁴⁴ Schreiner, *Romans* 530.

⁴⁵ There is a general consensus amongst interpreters that Paul’s citations are taken from Isa. 10:22-23 and 1:9; e.g. Schreiner, *Romans* 528-30; Wagner, *Heralds* 92-117; Murray, *Romans* 40-41. Other

comparison of the texts concerned shows that Paul's citation remains at points close to and yet distinct from the MT and the Greek text of Isa.10:22-23, as can be observed in the following table.⁴⁶

Romans 9:27-28	Isaiah 10:22-23 LXX
9:27 Ἡσαΐας δὲ κράζει ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ· ἐὰν ᾗ ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ὡς ἡ ἄμμος τῆς θαλάσσης, τὸ ὑπόλειμμα σωθήσεται·	10:22 καὶ ἐὰν γένηται ὁ λαὸς Ἰσραὴλ ὡς ἡ ἄμμος τῆς θαλάσσης, τὸ κατάλειμμα σωθήσεται
<p style="text-align: right;">Isaiah 10:22 MT</p> <p style="text-align: right;">כי אסיהיה עמך ישראל כחול הים שאר ישוב בו כליון חרוץ שושן צדקה:</p>	
9:28 λόγον γὰρ συντελῶν καὶ συντέμνων	λόγον γὰρ συντελῶν καὶ συντέμνων ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ

possible sources such as Dt. 5:28, Hos. 2:1, Isa. 28:22 are also proposed by different scholars. E.g. Cranfield suggests there is a possible influence from Isa. 28:22 on this passage, see, *Romans* II: 502. However, there is no strong verbal affinity to support this view. For the purpose of the present study, only those texts whose connection to the present passage is more certain will be discussed.

⁴⁶ Apart from using ᾗ ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν υἱῶν instead of γένηται ὁ λαὸς, the first part of Paul's citation almost follows the first half of the Greek text of Isa. 10:22 verbatim. The phrase τῶν υἱῶν is distinct in Paul's version, because here the MT and 1QIsa^a (עמך) agree with the LXX (ὁ λαός). Omitting the second half of the verse, Paul's citation in Ro. 9:28 seems to be a shortened form of Isa. 10:23. Again, Paul's version of Isa. 10:23 contains the phrase ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, which is a faithful rendering of the phrase כַּל-הָאָרֶץ in the MT, which also agrees with 1QIsa^a and 4Q57^{f3}. There are some manuscripts that contain the words ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ ὅτι λόγον συντετεμμένον, which are absent from some earlier manuscripts such as P^{46vid}. Scholars have varied opinions of the differences between the two texts. Some attribute the difference to accidental mistakes made by scribes, while others attribute them to Paul's lapse of memory, still others regard them as Paul's deliberate modifications. Some also argue for the possibility that Paul is using a *Vorlage* different from any of the extant manuscripts. Anyhow, there is no significant difference in meaning caused by the textual variations. For more discussion, see B. M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 462; also D. Koch, *Schrift als Zeuge*, 168, who argues that Paul altered the wording to ᾗ ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν υἱῶν in order to avoid confusion of the meaning of the term λαός.

ποιήσῃ κύριος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.	10:23 ὅτι λόγον συντετεμημένον ποιήσῃ ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ὅλη
<p style="text-align: right;">Isa. 10:23 MT</p> <p style="text-align: center;">כִּי כָלָה וְנִחְרְצָה אֲדָנִי יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת עָשָׂה בִּקְרֹב כָּל־הָאָרֶץ</p>	

Isa. 10:22-23 in its original context speaks of the salvation of the remnant of Israel when Yahweh has executed his judgment on the whole earth (Isa. 10:23). Two things about the text are in order. First, it should be noted that in the Greek text of Isaiah and Paul's text, the word 'only', which appears in most English translations, does not actually exist.⁴⁷ Admittedly, a contrast between the original number of nation Israel and the limited number of survivors might be implied, but the point of emphasis of Isaiah does not seem to be on the contrast between the number of Israelites and the remnant, but rather on the notion that 'the survivors will be saved'.⁴⁸ The existence of the survivors/remnant, and indeed Israel as a nation, from start to finish is based on God's faithfulness. God is faithful to Israel both in the history of her initial conception and in the midst of her judgment.

Second, in its original literary context, the judgement in the immediate context refers to the judgment of Israel's enemies, which include the Assyrian Empire along with other nations (Isa. 10:1, 28-34). Israel's punishment was only inferred when the text mentioned that Assyria was Yahweh's 'rod' for disciplining His own people Israel because of her idolatry (Isa. 10:12). In contrast, the oracle pronounced in Isa. 10 is centring on a promise to defeat Israel's enemies, i.e. Yahweh Himself decrees the judgment of the proud and arrogant Assyrian Empire and other nations. Against this wider literary background, the phrase 'the survivors will be saved' is more of a

⁴⁷ Hays also notices that the additional 'only' in most English translations is unwarranted on the basis of the Greek text. See *Echoes of Scripture*, 68.

⁴⁸ This view is supported by the following evidence: (1) There is no mention of the number of survivors; (2) the use of the simple future tense instead of the subjunctive 'to save' indicates the certainty of future salvation. For more discussion, see Wayne A. Meeks, 'On Trusting an Unpredictable God: A Hermeneutical Meditation on Romans 9-11,' in *Faith and History* ed., J. T. Carroll et al. (Atlanta: Scholars: 1990) 113.

pledge of promise than a sign of judgment.⁴⁹ It is a pledge of promise because it reveals that Yahweh determines to bring back the remnants. Despite the dire situation in which Israel finds herself, a glimpse of hope has dawned on the horizon because the return of the remnant is promised in the divine oracle.

Reading in the light of this, Isaiah's prophecy cited in Ro. 9:27-28 seems to illustrate two points. First, the present dire circumstance of Israel does not prove that God has rejected the ethnic Israel. On the contrary, the existence of a remnant indicates that Yahweh is faithful to his people Israel. Second, it serves the rhetorical function as a rebuttal to the proud Gentiles that the present circumstances of Jews should give them any reason for boasting. Paul cautions the arrogant non-Jews, including the Christians of Roman churches, that they owe their own existence to God's mercy. More importantly, God will judge the proud and arrogant nations that are opposing Him. The subtext of Isa. 10 provides a word of caution to the proud, which is embedded in the prophetic message. Although it is not explicit and may not be immediately obvious at this point, it does not exclude the possibility that Paul has this idea in the back of his mind when he cites this text. Of course whether this observation is sustainable awaits further evidence as the discussion unfolds.

If Isa. 10:22-23 has already made the point clear that a remnant of Israel will be saved on the day when her enemies are defeated, why then does Paul cite another Isaianic passage, Isa. 1:9, in Ro. 9:28? What significance does Paul intend to draw from this verse? To sort out the answer, we must have a closer look at this verse. Paul's quotation follows the Greek translation verbatim, except omitting the initial *καί* in order to make the flow of reading smooth, as shown in the table below.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Childs, *Isaiah* 95.

⁵⁰ Paul's citation of Isa. 1:9 follows the wording of the Greek text but deviates from the MT at two points. First, instead of שְׁרִיד (survivor), which is mostly rendered by the cognates of the verbs λείπω (to leave), σώζω (to save), or φεύγω (to flee) in the LXX, it is translated as σπέρμα (seed). Second, the word כְּמֵעַט that follows שְׁרִיד is omitted in both Paul's version and the LXX. Therefore, the emphasis of Paul's version (as well as the LXX) seems to fall on the preservation of the 'seed' instead of merely leaving a small number of survivors. This point will be elaborated in the following.

Romans 9:29	Isaiah 1:9 LXX
εἰ μὴ κύριος σαβαὼθ ἐγκατέλιπεν ἡμῖν σπέρμα, ὥς Σόδομα ἃν ἐγενήθημεν καὶ ὥς Γόμορρα ἃν ὠμοιώθημεν.	καὶ εἰ μὴ κύριος σαβαὼθ ἐγκατέλιπεν ἡμῖν σπέρμα, ὥς Σοδομα ἃν ἐγενήθημεν καὶ ὥς Γομορρα ἃν ὠμοιώθημεν
<p style="text-align: right;">Isaiah 1:9 MT</p> <p style="text-align: center;">לולי יהוה צבאות הותיר לנו שריד כמעט כסדם היינו לעמרה דמינו:</p>	

Paul's cited text is taken from Isa. 1:9 which stands at the conclusion of Isa. 1:2-9. The immediate context of this verse is Isaiah's prophecy regarding the judgment of Judah. In this passage, there is a vivid description of a courtroom drama, in which Yahweh pronounced His charge against Judah for her rebellion against Him (1: 2-3), abandonment of Him and His discipline (1:4), and the subsequent disasters they have experienced (1: 5-8). The oracle ends with a statement on Judah's present situation: Yahweh has reserved a remnant out of His mercy and faithfulness to Israel (1:9). God's faithfulness to the people of Israel is confirmed and attested by the continuing existence of a group within Israel. In other words, the wider context of the first chapter of Isaiah reveals that the announcement of the preservation of 'seed' in Israel is set in the larger context of God's pronouncement of the unfaithfulness of Judah, and an oracle of divine judgment. It is in the midst of the bleak situation and severe rebuke that a gleam of hope is on the horizon. In the judgment of the sin of the nation Israel, the nation would have been utterly destroyed like Sodom and Gomorrah. The sparing of a seed in Israel, for the prophet, was the manifestation of God's mercy.

When we compare Paul's cited text with the LXX and the MT, we immediately notice that Paul's citation follows the Greek text that contains the word σπέρμα in reference to a 'remnant' instead of the Hebrew equivalent שריד. Paul cites this text of Isaiah that contains the word σπέρμα may be more than a mere coincidence.⁵¹ In the context of Paul's argument in Romans, σπέρμα is a term linked closely with the

⁵¹ It is because a more common translation for the Hebrew term שריד is ὑπόλειμμα or κατάλειμμα in the LXX, e.g. Nu. 21:35; Dt. 2:34; 3:3; Jos. 8:22; 2 Kg. 10:11; Lam. 2:2.

Abrahamic promise, namely, the σπέρμα of Abraham is God's promise (Ro. 4:13,16, 18; 9:7,8). Paul has pointed out earlier in Romans 9 that from the conception of the σπέρμα of Abraham through its continuation, the existence of God's people is entirely dependent on divine merciful initiatives. And Abraham, in Paul's argument, is characterized by his faith in God's promises, which made him the father of all nations (Ro. 4:11-22). Furthermore, Paul also refers to himself as a σπέρμα of Abraham and a member of Israel (Ro. 11:1).

In short, the citation from Isa. 1:9 is intended to serve a two-fold function. (1) Paul attempts to forge a tighter link between the preservation of the σπέρμα and the faithfulness of God. The Isaianic prophecy has demonstrated that in Israel's history God is faithful to his promises to Abraham even when he executes his judgment on his people. The existence of a remnant in Israel demonstrates how God intervened with rebellious Israel in order to prevent her from total destruction brought about by her sinfulness. (2) Paul subtly introduces the notion of hope that underlies Isaianic prophecy concerning the fate of Israel. By declaring that 'a remnant are preserved' was 'foretold' (προλέγω) by Isaiah, Paul is in fact paving the way for his argument that the existence of a remnant in the present moment is an anticipation of the certainty of Israel's final restoration (Ro. 11). Although some interpret the verb προλέγω in terms of prediction, suggesting that Paul reads this verse as a prediction by Isaiah of what would happen in his present day,⁵² the present study has sided with those who contend that it should be read as a word of promise of hope instead of a prediction.⁵³ This point will be further discussed in chapter 4, where Paul's conception of the function of scripture, as expressed in Ro. 15, is examined.

Furthermore, another piece of evidence illustrative to and pointing at this contention is the dual motif of the divine calling of the Gentiles and the divine preservation of a remnant of Israel. The dual motif introduced here underlies Paul's argument that the inclusion of the Gentiles into God's family does not entail that God has forsaken His

⁵² Contra. Moo, *Romans* 616, and n.28; Wagner, *Herald* 110.

⁵³ The distinction between prediction and promise is succinctly discussed by N. A. Dahl in 'Promise and Fulfilment,' in *Studies in Paul: Theology for the Early Christian Mission* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1977) 120-36.

first elected people. In fact, the presence of remnant is an evidence of divine mercy and commitment to the people, the historical Israel. The theme of God's faithfulness demonstrated by preserving a group of faithful remnant despite the unfaithfulness of Israel reemerges in Ro. 11:1-6, as we will examine in section 3 of the chapter.

In summary, these two citations are juxtaposed together by their thematic parallels, i.e. the preservation of remnants within Israel in the midst of divine judgment. The remnant language serves two purposes here: one is positive and the other negative. First, it is a word of judgment against Israel for her disobedience. Second, it is a word of hope based on God's faithfulness and mercy. The future salvation of Israel is guaranteed. The preservation of remnant against the gloomy backdrop of divine judgment is closely linked to the faithfulness of God in keeping his promises to Abraham and his mercy to Israel. The dual concern for keeping promises to Abraham and showing mercy to Israel appears again at the end of chapter 11 of Romans, to which our discussion shall turn in due course. For the present moment, it will suffice to conclude that Paul quotes Isa. 1:9 in Ro. 9:29 primarily to argue that God's preservation of the seed (σπέρμα) of Israel is (1) a demonstration of divine mercy; and (2) a sign of divine faithfulness in keeping his promises to Abraham.

A final note is in order before we move on to the discussion of another of Paul's citations of Isaiah. The two Isaianic passages we have just examined indicate that Paul seems to employ these two texts not only to support his preceding argument but also to pave the way for the ensuing discussion. There are some other elements already embedded in Paul's discourse awaiting further elaboration. One of the significant themes is the critique of rejection to divine offer of salvation over against trust in obedience. In the broader literary context of Isaiah 10, the remnants are referred to as the surviving Israelites, who are characterized by 'trust in', 'reliance on' (πίθω) God 'in truth' (τῇ ἀληθείᾳ) (Isa. 10:20-21). In stark contrast to those who turned to other military power or regime for salvation and hope, the remnants lean on the strength of the Holy One of Israel (τὸν ἅγιον τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ), the Almighty God (θεὸν ἰσχύοντα) for salvation.⁵⁴ And it is this trust in Yahweh that marks out the

⁵⁴ God of Israel in this passage is described as θεὸν ἰσχύοντα, a title that occurs also in Isa 9:5. Although there is no explicit use of the title in the texts, the image of a Mighty God is alluded to in Isa

‘remnant’ of Israel from the rest of Israelites. The antithesis of trust/faith and rejection undergirds the main theme of Paul’s argument in the following section: that Israel stumbled because she strove to achieve her own righteousness instead of putting her trust in God’s salvation (Ro. 9:30ff). This is illustrated in Ro. 9:33 as Paul appropriates Isa. 8:14 and 28:16 to make his case.

c. Ro. 9:33 and Isa. 8:14 and 28:16

After stating that the existence of remnant is a sign of God’s mercy and faithfulness to his people, the ethnic Israel, Paul moves on to explicate why the Gentiles are able to attain righteousness while the Israelites fail to do so. The reason, says Paul, is that the Gentiles attain it by faith whilst Jews attempt to attain it by their own way. The majority of the Jewish people refused to embrace the good news of salvation in faith and thus ‘stumbled over the stumbling stone’ (Ro. 9:32). Paul then employs the scriptural texts to buttress his points. He introduces the ‘stone’ passage with a citation formula in Ro. 9:33, quoting primarily from Isa. 28:16.⁵⁵ In so doing, Paul launches a prophetic critique on the arrogance and disobedience of Israel through the Isaianic material. Paul’s quotation of Isa. 28:16 evinces contact with both the MT and the LXX.⁵⁶

59:15b-20 and Isa. 52 when Yahweh is mentioned. Paul appropriates both of these texts in Romans, which will be discussed in more detail in due course.

⁵⁵ By comparing with Isa. 28:16 and 8:14, it is clear that Paul’s citation does not match any of the texts precisely. However, the intertextual link between Paul’s citation and the two Isaianic texts can be established on both linguistic and thematic grounds. The strongest evidence is that Paul’s cited text bears some distinctive Isaianic vocabularies from two passages. The combination of Σιών λίθον and ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ’ αὐτῷ is unique to Isa. 28:16, and λίθου προσκόμματι are unique to Isa. 8:14 in the LXX. For more discussion, see Stanley, *Paul and the Language* 119-25; Koch, *Die Schrift* 58-60.

⁵⁶ On the one hand, Paul’s version follows the LXX as both of Paul’s quotation and the LXX rendered the last part of the verse as ‘will not be put to shame’, whereas the MT has ‘will not be dismayed/hurry’ (לֹא יִחַשׁ). In addition, the phrase ἐπ’ αὐτῷ in the Greek version is also absent from the MT text. On the other hand, Paul’s version diverges from the known LXX when it translates the MT’s הִנְנִי יֹסֵד (lit. ‘behold, he laid’, in which there is a sudden change in person) with ἰδοὺ τίθημι, (behold, I am laying) while the LXX renders as ἐμβαλῶ (I will throw upon). 1QIsa^a has got a pi‘el participle (מִיֹּסֵד) while 1QIsa^b a qal participle (יֹסֵד), both of which attest to the first person of the verbs in the LXX and the Pauline quotation. It seems that both the LXX and Paul translate the Hebrew text in a divergent way. For more discussion, see Lim, *Holy Scripture* 148-49.

Romans 9:33	Isaiah 28:16 LXX
καθὼς γέγραπται ἰδοὺ τίθημι ἐν Σιών λίθον προσκόμματος καὶ πέτραν σκανδάλου, καὶ ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐ κατασυχυνθήσεται.	διὰ τοῦτο οὕτως λέγει κύριος Ἴδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐμβαλῶ εἰς τὰ θεμέλια Σιών λίθον πολυτελῆ ἐκλεκτὸν ἀκρογωνιαῖον ἔντιμον εἰς τὰ θεμέλια αὐτῆς, καὶ ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐ μὴ κατασυχυνθῇ
<p style="text-align: right;">Isaiah 28:16 MT</p> <p style="text-align: center;">הנני יסד בציון אבן אבן בחן פנת יקרת מוסד מוסד המאמין לא יחיש:</p>	

The difference between the first half of Paul's quotation and the Isaianic text is obvious and significant. In Isa. 28:16 the stone is emphatically described as a 'foundation' (τὰ θεμέλια) of Zion, which is repeated twice in the same sentence.⁵⁷ In addition, the stone is also presented as a 'chosen cornerstone' (ἐκλεκτὸν ἀκρογωνιαῖον) and 'costly/valuable' (ἐντιμον). The overall impression created by such a presentation is that the stone is of particular significance to Zion. The focus of the Isaianic text falls on the substantial importance attached to the stone. However, none of these descriptions of the stone appear in Paul's cited text. Instead, Paul's quotation describes the stone as a 'stone of offence/causing stumbling' (λίθον προσκόμματος) and a 'rock of scandal' (πέτραν σκανδάλου). The genitive is to be taken as a genitive of source or a genitive of cause, indicating that the stone is the source from which the offence is induced. Paul's presentation of the stone appears to focus more on the offensive nature of the stone than the Isaianic text. On this observation, the present author agrees with Davis.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ The Isaianic text speaks of a stone that Yahweh is going to 'cast' (ἐμβαλῶ) for the purpose of making it a foundation (τὰ θεμέλια) of Zion. The intention is expressed emphatically by using the purpose-clause: εἰς τὰ θεμέλια twice.

⁵⁸ Davis, following Meyer, also notices Paul's emphasis on the stumbling effect of the stone rather than the 'value' of the stone, as it is expressed in Isa. 28:16. Secondly, Davis also contends that Paul's citation that juxtaposes Isa. 28:16 with Isa. 8:14 has somehow shifted the emphasis of the description of the stone. The stone in Paul's characterisation is a stone that causes Israel to stumble (Ro. 9:32-33). However, he advances further that Paul's citation intends to demonstrate that Israel's stumbling is God induced, a view that is not entirely convincing. More critique on this point will be made as the argument unfolds. Davis, *The Antithesis of the Ages: Paul's Reconfiguration of Torah*, 127-42. Cf. P.

Although there is no explicit citation formula to indicate the possible connection between Isa. 8:14 and Ro. 9:32, the possibility of such a connection is established by the distinctive expression λίθου προσκόμματι and the closely related term πέτρας πτώματι shared in the two texts. Admittedly, the actual term πέτρας πτώματι does not occur in this verse, but a semantically similar term πέτραν σκανδάλου is used in Ro. 9:33 in conjunction with λίθον προσκόμματος. The occurrence of the two terms in such a close proximity within a literary unit is to be found nowhere in the Scriptures apart from Isa. 8:14. In addition to the verbal similarities, the thematic and conceptual affinity between the two texts should not be ignored. In the larger literary context, Isa. 8:14 belongs to the wider portion of Isaiah 8 in which the prophet is summoned to trust in Yahweh. The prophet is asked not to follow the ways of those Israelites who have rejected Yahweh and are thus awaiting judgment to come upon them soon (Isa. 8:6-7). This object of trust is God Himself (Isa. 8:13) who offers a promise of salvation, as expressed in terms of a promise of Immanuel as a sign of salvation.⁵⁹ The call for ‘trust’/‘believe’ (πιστεύω), the promise of Yahweh’s salvation and the warning of the consequence of mistrust in stumbling form a distinctive theme running through Isaiah 7-8.⁶⁰ This fits well with Paul’s present argument that Jews stumble because of their unbelief/mistrust in God and His promise of salvation.

The second half of Paul’s citation in Ro. 9:33 follows almost verbatim the Greek version of Isa. 28:16b, apart from two grammatical changes.⁶¹ First, the verb form of κατασχύνω is changed from the aorist passive subjunctive to the future passive indicative. Second, the change of tenses and mood has resulted in the corollary change of the particle of negation: the double negative οὐ μή in the Isaianic text is

Meyer, ‘Romans 10:4 and the “End” of the Law,’ in *The Divine Helmsman: Studies on God’s Control of Human Events* (NY: KTAV, 1980) 63.

⁵⁹ Note the two ‘Immanuel’ references in Isa. 8:8 and 8:10 serve as intertextual link with the preceding chapter (7:14). The key motif of Immanuel runs across these two chapters, driving home the issue of trust in God or reliance on human effort. Furthermore, the theme of ‘remnant’ also starts to emerge in these chapters. Cf. Isa 7:3; 10:20ff.

⁶⁰ The statement ‘if you do not stand firm in faith, you shall not stand at all’ (אם לא תאמינו כי לא תאמנו; ἐὰν μὴ πιστεύσητε οὐδὲ μὴ συνήτε) conveys the message of putting trust in God and his promise of salvation.

⁶¹ For a more detailed discussion on the original literary context of Isa. 28:16, see discussion in the earlier section of the study.

replaced by μή. Considering the close relationship between the aorist subjunctive and the future indicative, where no significant difference in meaning can be detected,⁶² we may safely suggest that the grammatical difference does not produce much difference to the rhetorical effect. However, it is noteworthy that in the Greek version of the text there is an additional phrase ἐπ' αὐτῷ after the participial 'those who believe/have faith', which is absent in the MT. There is no doubt that the additional phrase in the LXX has made the object of faith more explicit than in the MT. Obviously the dative pronoun αὐτῷ within its immediate literary context refers to the 'stone' that Yahweh has set up in Zion, and this stone calls for trust. The oracle announces a promise to those who trust in him/it that they will not be put to shame.

Taking together the observations above, we may conclude that Paul's cited text has highlighted the following points. First, Paul has transformed his cited text by conflating two 'stone' texts so as to emphasize the offensive nature of the stone. Second, he not only retains the promise of hope attached to the stone but also strengthens it. He highlights the fact that the stone is both offensive and is the object of faith.

The Isaianic texts in their literary context

In order to appreciate fully the force of Paul's use of the Isaianic texts, it is necessary to understand (1) how these texts are read in their own literary contexts; and (2) why the two Isaianic passages are merged in the present context. In the following we will answer these two questions in turn.

As we have already discussed Isa. 8:14 and its wider literary context above, in the following we will look at how Isa. 28:16 is to be understood within its literary context. This text belongs to the larger section of Isaiah's oracle of judgment on the pride of Israel (Isa. 28:1-4; 18-19), and the prophetic call of trusting the Lord. The Lord promised to place a stone in Zion, offering a firm foundation for trust (28:16).⁶³

⁶² For a discussion of the grammatical relationship between the two, see Moule, *An Idiom Book* 20-23.

⁶³ Although there are different interpretations concerning to what and to whom the 'stone' is referring, such as the stone=Zion, or the Davidic monarchy, or the Lord himself, the overall meaning of the text is clear. Put in Motyer's word, '(t)he heart of the matter remains the same: promises have been made

However, as the oracle reveals, the leaders of Israel rejected the message and were unwilling to rely on the stone that Yahweh had placed (28:9-12). As a result of choosing not to heed the prophetic word, the people ended up in captivity and entangled by snares (28:13). As such, the heart of the matter is that ‘promises have been made and the people are summoned to trust.’⁶⁴ The prophetic word has clearly laid out an antithesis of trust and self-reliance, and certainty of security obtained by means of trust is set over against the futility and ultimate worthlessness of human alternatives (28:16-17). In other words, the true security of Israel is found only in complete trust in God’s word, as the prophet makes it clear by showing the disastrous consequence suffered by the nation Israel as a result of their distrust in God’s word. The fate of Israel hanged on her trust in God’s way of salvation.

Why does Paul merge these two Isaianic texts together then?⁶⁵ It is very likely that the two Isaianic texts share a number of similar motifs and are coupled with their strong verbal links this encouraged Paul to put them together here. First, both texts

and the people are summoned to trust.’ J. Alec Motyer, *The Prophecy of Isaiah: An Introduction and Commentary* (Downers Grove: IVP, 1993) 233.

⁶⁴ Motyer, *Prophecy* 233.

⁶⁵ In fact, it has been debated whether Paul was the genitor who first conflates these two Isaianic texts, 8:14 and 28:16. A parallel composite citation of the Isaianic ‘stone-passage’ occurs also in 1 Pe. 2:6, and 8. The similarity between these two NT texts has made scholars suspect that the association of Christ with Isaianic ‘stone passages’ comes from some kind of early Christian tradition, known both by Paul and the author of 1 Peter. According to these scholars, Paul is simply taken the Christian tradition and applying this to his argument in Romans. E.g. Martin C. Albl confidently asserts that a collection of written ‘stone text’ must lie behind the unique agreement of Ro. 9:33 and 1 Pt. 2:6-8. *And Scripture Cannot be Broken: The Form and Function of the Early Christian Testimonia Collections* (NovTSupp 96; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 274. C. H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures* (London: Collins, 1952) 41-43; E. E. Ellis, *Paul’s Use of the Old Testament* 89; Cranfield, *Romans 9-16*, 512; Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, II: 584; D. Moo, *Romans*, 629; C.D. Stanley, *Language of Scripture*, 120-21; E. Käsemann, *Romans* 279. However, Shum has argued convincingly that this conflation is very likely from Paul’s hand for the following reasons. First, given Paul’s rich knowledge of Isaianic passages as demonstrated in his extensive use of Isaiah in many of his letters, we cannot rule out the possibility that Paul may well be familiar with the original Isaianic texts and their contexts. Second, he concedes that it is hard to diminish the possible influence of early Christian tradition on Paul, but it is equally arguable that no hard evidence of any pre-Pauline Christian tradition of a ‘stone passage’, written or oral, has been found. As a result, it is difficult to assert with certainty that the association of Jesus and the Isaianic stone passage is not of Paul’s ingenuity. Third, there are marked differences of Paul’s form and use of these texts from that of 1 Peter’s. Finally, most NT scholars will agree that 1 Peter is dated later than Paul’s Romans, so that it is very unlikely that Paul was borrowing this language from 1 Peter. In short, Shum contends that the earliest extant evidence of the lemma, in which the Isaianic ‘stone’ passages were applied to Christ, was found in Paul and this argues strongly that this idea is very likely of Paul’s ingenuity. Nevertheless, the thesis of the study still stands even if the present lemma is not formulated by Paul himself. Shum, *Paul’s Use*, 212-26.

refer to a 'stone' that is laid by Yahweh himself and that calls for trust. The people of Israel are summoned to put their trust in God and his promises. Otherwise they will suffer the consequences.⁶⁶ Second, apart from the shared 'stone' vocabulary, the larger literary contexts of both passages centre on the contrast between full trust in God and reliance on human effort in attaining salvation. In the original Isaianic contexts, both passages set trust in Yahweh over against human pride. Finally, both texts are set within the context of Yahweh's promised salvation intimately related to the 'stone'. The reign of Yahweh is promised and the salvation will be given to those who trust in him.

The Isaianic Stone and the Messiah

Reading from this perspective, what are the unique points that Paul has made in his interpretation of the stone? First, it is its offensive nature; and second, it functions as a test of trust. The referent of this 'offensive stone' in Isa. 28:16 in its immediate context is of course the 'stone' as laid for the foundation of Zion, which is God Himself. Paul understands the 'offensive stone' as Jesus Christ in Ro. 9:32-33 (Cf. 1 Cor. 10:4). Although Paul did not explicitly make such identification, the flow of his argument has nevertheless made it perfectly clear. This point will be further discussed in Paul's use of Isa. 28:16 in Ro. 10:11. For the moment it should suffice to state briefly that Paul reads the Isaianic passage in the light of Isaianic prophetic fulfilment. In Paul's view, Christ is the manifestation of God's righteousness apart from the Law (Ro. 3-5) and is the τέλος of the Law for righteousness to everyone that believes (Ro. 10:4). Paul likens God's way of salvation through Christ with the Isaianic 'stone' laid by God for the foundation of Zion. The 'stone' is a sign of salvation for those who trust in God; but a stumbling block for those who run their own way.

A prophetic critique of Israel's unbelief

Having Paul's use of the stone passage discussed, we are now in a better position to answer the question: what rhetorical purpose was intended by the citation of the

⁶⁶ Motyer argues that the city Zion in *Isaiah* 'embodies all the royal promises and therefore summons its inhabitants to faith', and the city as 'the centre of divine purposes' is also one of the major themes of the book. See *Isaiah*, 233.

Isaianic texts? It is readily apparent that Paul's critique of the non-believing Jewish people and their response to the good news of Jesus exhibits close parallels to the situation in Isaiah. The critique of Israel's observance of the Law constitutes one of the significant theses that Paul advances, namely, that Christ is the pathway to God's righteousness, a thesis that culminates in the summary statement that 'Christ is the τέλος of the Law.'

The parallels with the Isaiah context are significant. Paul's point of argument is much more clearer if the text is read in the wider context of Isaiah 28-29. First, in Isaiah the warning and promise is set within the context of Yahweh's divine kingship. In Paul, the overall context and his message is the proclamation of Yahweh's reign in terms of the Christ as the fulfilment of God's promise (Ro. 1:4) and the coming Messiah (Ro. 10:20-21). Second, just as Isaiah warns Israel of the severe consequences that may be brought about by distrust in God, so also Paul notes that the Jewish people are in danger of their salvation. He expresses his agony and pain over this fact. Finally, in the book of Isaiah, Israel's obduracy and rejection of Yahweh's words was the presupposition of the judicial blinding of Isaiah. Similarly in Paul, the Jews' rejection of the good news and their insistence on observance of the Law as requirements for obtaining membership of God's people provide the immediate context of Paul's use of the judicial blinding motif. In other words, Paul infers that the reason for the ignorance of the Jews of his time who fail to see God's salvation promised in Christ Jesus is due to their rejection to God's word. The intertextual link strongly suggests that Paul likens the Jews who attempt to attain salvation through their own way, by observation of the Law, to the Israelites of Isaiah's time, who trusted other means to obtain salvation instead of heeding God's words of promise announced through the prophet. In this sense, Paul's critique of non-believing Jews is not so much on observing the Law *per se*. Rather, the notion of 'by works' is referring to reliance on the Law, which is a symbol of national heritage,⁶⁷ as opposed to the trust in God himself.

⁶⁷ N. T. Wright has demonstrated cogently the national significance of Law observance to the Jewish people. In Wright's view, Torah not only functioned as an identity marking for the Jews, distinguishing them from their pagan neighbours, but it also took on 'divine qualities' since it 'had come to assume the status of the Temple.' Wright states, 'In the presence of Torah one was in the presence of the covenant god. Thus, what became true for all of Judaism after 70 and 135 was anticipated in the necessities of Diaspora life.' *The New Testament and the People of God* 227-30,

Of course, there are at least two points where Paul's appropriation move beyond the original context of the Isaianic texts. First, the offensive nature of the stone is not expressed as explicitly and strongly in Isaiah as it is in Paul. Second, in Paul's appropriation there is no mention of political coalition. By taking Isa. 28:16 as the base text for his argument, Paul merges it together with Isa. 8:14 to reinforce his point that the heart of the problem of his Jewish contemporaries lies in their unbelief and lack of trust in God/Jesus. This is particularly obvious in Ro. 9:32, where Paul employs a contrasting phrase-pair ἐκ πίστεως and ἐξ ἔργων to highlight the failure of the Jews in attaining salvation: they fail because they attempt to achieve it by works and not by trust in God as the believing Gentiles do.⁶⁸ Reading in the light of this Isaianic lemma, the failure of the Jews in attaining righteousness is not caused by the observation of the Law as such,⁶⁹ but rather their failure to submit to the means that God provides, i.e. to have faith in Jesus Christ. In short, the failure of the unbelieving Jews is a Christological one. The Jews stumbled by the 'tested stone' because they do not submit to God's righteousness revealed in Christ, who is the agent and the means of salvation established by God, so that salvation is now available only through putting trust/faith in Jesus Christ.

quoted words on 229. In addition, James D. G. Dunn has vehemently argued how 'works of the Law' in Paul's view represents an attitude that *'the law [was] understood and practised in such a way as to limit the grace of God, to prevent Gentiles as Gentiles enjoying it in full measure.'* (Emphasis is the author's). He continues to state that '(b)y implication such pride in the law was also an example of sin's abuse of the law ([Ro] 7.7ff,...)' *The Partings of the Ways: Between Christianity and Judaism and their Significance for the Character of Christianity* (2nd Edition; London: SCM Press, 2006) 181-82.

⁶⁸ There are some textual witnesses containing an addition of νόμου after ἐξ ἔργων. E.g. \aleph^c , D, K, P, Ψ 33, etc. Metzger argues that the addition probably is done by later scribes with an influence by Rom 3:20 and 3:28. Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 462-63.

⁶⁹ In fact, Paul writes positively about the Law in many occasions. He states that the Law was spiritual (Ro. 7:14) and holy (Ro. 7:12), and was a gift of God (Ro. 3:31). Stephan K. Davis's comment is illuminating: 'The antithesis of Christ and Torah involves the transference of Torah's cosmic attributes to Christ, based on the difference between this age and the age to come. Torah was God's exclusive historical revelation for Israel, whereas Christ was eschatological revelation for all the people of God, Jews and gentiles alike. The relationship between Christ and reconfigured Torah may be described as an antithesis in the same way that 'this age' and the 'age to come' are, since Paul understood the age of Torah to have ended with the coming of the superior, unmediated revelation through the Spirit of Christ.' *The Antithesis of the Ages: Paul's Reconfiguration of Torah* (CBQMS 33; Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 2002) 8.

The Isaianic prophecy and its fulfilment in Paul

In Paul's appropriation of the Isaianic stone texts he seems to have shifted the emphasis of the text. As Davis pointed out, Paul's selective and conflating form of Isa. 8:14 and 28:16 intends to achieve his theological goals by transforming the 'precious stone' in Isa. 28:16 into a stumbling block. Davis further induced that Paul's point of emphasis here is that Israel's stumbling over the stone is divinely induced.⁷⁰ In other words, the stone is put in the way of Israel with 'God's deliberate intent' since Israel's stumbling is both necessary and under God's control for the salvation of the Gentiles (Ro. 11:11-12).

Davis' observation is insightful, but his view is not without problems. First, the immediate context of Paul's argument is why Israel failed to attain the goal of righteousness whilst the Gentiles did. Their problem, as understood by Paul, is their failure to submit to and trust in God. The idea that links Paul's statement in Ro. 9:32 and his citation of Isa. 28:16 and 8:14 is the notion of 'faith/trust' or 'stumble by the rock'.⁷¹ Therefore, Paul's point here is not so much attributing Israel's stumbling to God's intention, as it is found in Ro. 11:7-10. Rather, Paul is exposing Israel's unbelief as the primary cause of their stumble. Secondly, the text does admittedly indicate that Yahweh laid the stone that will cause men to stumble and fall. But it is one thing to admit that the stone that may cause men to stumble is laid by God himself, and it is another thing to say that God puts a stone with the intention to trip up Israel. Third, Paul twice mentions the phrase in Isa. 28:16b that 'those who trust in him/it will not be ashamed'. It seems that in Paul's view the 'stone' is not so much meant to be a 'trick' to trip up Israel. Rather it stands on the way only as a 'test' of their faith. If these observations are correct, then even though Paul in Romans 11 argues for the positive effect served by the stumbling of Israel over the gospel, it does not necessarily follow that Paul is attenuating the responsibility of Israel for her stumble. In the present context, Paul makes it clear in 9:32 that it is precisely the lack

⁷⁰ For more of his discussion, see Davis, *The Antithesis of the Ages: Paul's Reconfiguration of Torah*, 127-42.

⁷¹ This is indicated by the repeated use of 'faith/trust' in these two verses, in the statement that Israel did not attain righteousness ἐκ πίστεως (via the path of trust/faith) and thus stumbled (9:32) and the promise of Isaianic prophecy that all ὁ πιστεύων (those who trust in) God will not be put to shame (9:33).

of faith/trust in God's way of salvation that causes Israel to stumble.⁷² But despite Israel's stumbling God's salvation purposes for the world are by no means hindered.

In conclusion, the intertextual link drives home the point Paul is trying to make: just as the ancient Israelites chose their own device to attain salvation (military alliance with Egypt in this case) instead of trusting God's promises of salvation, so also the present Jews zealously choose pursuing their own righteousness by observance of the Law. Both of them, in Paul's view, are no more than heading towards a dead end! This is why the Gentiles have attained a righteousness because of their faith (Ro. 9: 32) whilst the Jews have failed to do so; they even stumbled, because they attempted to achieve it by their own works (Ro. 9: 30-32). The affirmation of God's faithful commitment to Israel does not mean that Paul minimizes the seriousness of Israel's obduracy, unbelief and lack of response to the gospel. The significance of faith in relation to responding to the fulfilment of God's righteousness in the person and work of Jesus is brought into sharper focus in Romans 10. It is interesting that Isa. 28:16 is employed once again by Paul to buttress his argument in Ro. 10:11.

II. Paul's use of Isaiah in Romans 10

a. Ro. 10:11 and Isa. 28:16b

Although Paul introduces the cited text merely with a citation formula without specifying its source, the close verbal affinity of the text to Isa. 28:16 has made the connection between the two texts rather obvious and certain. This view is further strengthened by the fact that Paul has just cited the same text in Ro. 9:33. Instead of citing the whole text, however, this time Paul only employs the final part of Isa. 28:16. The comparison of the cited text and the source text is laid out in the table below.

Ro. 10:11	Isa. 28:16b LXX
λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή·	

⁷² In this verse Paul explicates what he intends to mean by saying that Jews are stumbled by the stone. He expresses it in terms of the way in which the Jewish people attain God's righteousness.

<p>πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐ καταισχυνθήσεται.</p>	<p>καὶ ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐ μὴ καταισχυνθῇ.</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">Isa. 28:16b MT</p> <p style="text-align: right;">הַמֵּאֲמִין לֹא יִחְשֶׁה</p>	

Paul's citation follows almost verbatim the Greek version of Isa. 28:16b, apart from two changes. First, as in the case of Ro. 9:33, the verb is changed from aorist passive subjunctive to the future passive indicative, only because of the emphatic negative οὐ μὴ. Secondly, and more importantly, an adjective πᾶς is inserted into Paul's version of the Isaianic text.⁷³ In so doing, the inclusive nature of the gospel message is highlighted. This emphatic declaration is expressed in the immediate context (Ro. 10:12), in which he states that 'there is no distinction between Jew and Greek; the same Lord is Lord of all people and bestows his riches upon all who call upon him.'⁷⁴

Before addressing the significance of this cited text, several introductory matters are in order. First, it is interesting that within the span of just a few verses, the same scriptural text from Isa. 28:16 is cited twice. Second, the rhetorical emphasis of Paul in 9:33 and here is somewhat different in that in Ro. 9:33 Paul focuses on the critique of Israel's rejection to God's way of salvation whereas here he is stressing on the promise of salvation and that it is intended for all believers. Third, in the light of his citation in Ro. 9:33, we can be certain that the quotation is intended to be read within its larger context. Fourth, it is noteworthy that in both citations Paul's text follows the LXX version which includes the phrase ἐπ' αὐτῷ which is absent in the MT. This may suggest that the object of faith is of particular importance to Paul's argument. Therefore, in regard to Paul's use of the Isaianic text, he both affirms and transforms the original text. He affirms the role of trust/faith in attaining God's salvation while

⁷³ The word πᾶς is not found in any extant Greek or Hebrew versions of the text.

⁷⁴ The phrase 'call upon the name of the LORD' in the Septuagint often denotes calling upon the name of the LORD in the context of an act of worship (e.g. Gen. 4:26; 13:4; 21:33; 26:25), or call for the LORD for deliverance (*T. Levi* 5:5; *Jos. Asen.* 26:8) or for salvation (*Ps.* 50:15; *Jos. Asen.* 11:9, 17, 18; *T. Dan.* 5:11; *T. Jud.*, 24:6).

at the same time he stresses that the promise is applicable to *all* who exercise such faith, regardless of their ethnic background.

What rhetorical purposes that Paul intends to achieve by reemploying the same Isaianic passage? At first glance, Paul's primary reason for including the citation is to validate his point made in vv. 9-10, that verbal confession and whole-hearted commitment that stem from faith are significant to salvation. However, it seems rather odd that Paul would include the second half line with its 'stone' motif, which has no immediate and obvious relationship to the confession or Law observance, if his intent is merely to validate the significance of confession or to criticise Israel's reliance on Law observance. Moreover, although the statement preceding to the citation is about verbal confession and whole-hearted trust, the focus of Paul's argument is not so much on the action per se as on what is represented by such action: an action of faith in the 'the stone'. It is this theological claim that forms the heart of Paul's argument. As Koch has argued cogently, the more Paul is eager to clarify his theological position, the more intensively he uses biblical texts.⁷⁵ In addition, Stanley has also adduced ample evidence that Paul may use a chain of scriptural citations in support of a single proposition, with the individual verses 'melded together into a tightly knit, coherent unit with its own internal logic and carefully balanced rhetorical structure.'⁷⁶

Paul's transformation of the Isaianic stone texts

What is the theological position that Paul intends to make then? The answer seems to be: the significance of recognizing the 'stone' in relation to salvation. Paul's equation of the 'stone' with Christ hints that it is not so much the act of confession as the *content* of profession that is the issue at stake. In the immediate context (Ro. 10:9) Paul states that faith is expressed in terms of professing that 'Jesus is Lord' (κύριον Ἰησοῦν) and 'God raised him from the dead' (ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν). In

⁷⁵ Koch, *Schrift*, 101. Koch has illustrated with ample examples how Paul draws a larger section of his argument to close by a series of scriptural texts, e.g. Ro. 3:10-18; 9:25-33; 10:18-21; 11:33-36; 1 Cor. 1:26-31; 5:1-13; 15:54-55; 2 Cor. 5:16-6:2. See *ibid*, 277-85.

⁷⁶ Stanley, *Paul* 258. The examples that Stanley lists include: Ro. 3:10-18; 9:25-26; 1 Cor. 15:54-55; 2 Cor. 6:16-18.

the larger context, the Christological designation that Jesus is Lord/Son of God and is the one raised from the dead forms the essence of Paul's gospel, which is first mentioned at the outset of Romans (1:4) and recurs throughout the Epistle (4:24; 6:9-13; 8:34; 14:9). This indicates that the recognition of Jesus as Christ the Lord lies at the core of Paul's gospel. Paul's citation underlines that he understands Christ is the divinely appointed means by which salvation is granted.

At the outset of Ro. 10, Paul reiterates his concern for Israel's salvation (ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εἰς σωτηρίαν). He believes that the salvation of Israel hinges on their full acknowledgement of and true submission to 'God's righteousness' (τοῦ θεοῦ δικαιοσύνην) which is Christ. Paul states that Christ is the τέλος of the Law 'for righteousness of everyone who believes' (εἰς δικαιοσύνην παντὶ τῷ πιστεύοντι; Ro. 10:4).⁷⁷ It is neither necessary nor possible to give a full account of the debate over the interpretation of this statement. For the purpose of the present study, it is sufficient to summarize that Paul sees Christ as both the termination and culmination of the Law. In other words, Christ is on the one hand the 'end' of the Law in the sense that he brings the old era of the Law to a close; on the other hand Christ is the 'goal' of the law because he is what the Law anticipated and pointed toward.⁷⁸ Christ opens up a way for people of all (παντί) nations to obtain the righteousness of God. The people of God are no longer marked by the observance of the Mosaic Laws but by submitting to the lordship of Christ.

Despite the diverse interpretations of the identity of the 'stone' in its original context,⁷⁹ one thing is certain: the 'stone' signifies the divinely appointed means by which or through which salvation is granted. Considering that Christ is the divinely appointed means of salvation, as explicated in Romans 1-8, we can easily induce that

⁷⁷ Whether the word τέλος should be taken as 'the end' or 'the ultimate goal' has been an issue of debate among scholars. For a history of interpretation, see Cranfield, *Romans* II: 516-18; for a helpful survey of the debate on this issue, see Schreiner, 'Paul's View of the Law in Romans 10:4-5,' *WTJ* 24 (1993) 113-24.

⁷⁸ See the succinct discussion made by Moo, *Romans* 641; also n. 44.

⁷⁹ Scholars of the Old Testament have different interpretations of the symbolic referent of the stone in Isa. 28:16. Some suggest that it refers to Yahweh (e.g. R.E. Clements, *Isaiah 1-39*, 231), others argue for that it refers to the 'Davidic monarchy' (Motyer, *Prophecy* 233).

Paul views the Isaianic stone as Jesus Christ. Paul employs this text messianically to define the content of faith, i.e. Jesus is the object of faith. Although Paul does not states explicitly that Jesus is the Isaianic ‘stone’, the meaning is assumed in the context without doubt.

There are evidence that Isa. 28:16 has been interpreted messianically in some Jewish circles. Apart from *Ben Sir. 1*, *2 Ezra* and *4 Ezra*, the *Targum of Isaiah* also interprets this Isaianic passage in messianic terms. It paraphrases the stone passage as a prophecy concerning the appointment of a messianic king, who is ‘a strong king, powerful and terrible.’⁸⁰ The prophecy issues a call for trust in the messianic king by saying, ‘the righteous who have believed in these things shall not be dismayed when distress cometh.’⁸¹ Although the messianic connotation is not clearly expressed in the present context, Paul later draws upon Isaianic texts to demonstrate that Jesus is indeed the Messiah, the Davidic redeemer (Ro. 11:26; 15:12), an issue that will be discussed in fuller detail in the later part of the study.

The above observation shows that on the one hand Paul’s citation affirms the Isaianic vision that faith in God’s ordained means of salvation is the pathway to righteousness. On the other hand, Paul also transforms the original text by highlighting the object of faith, as he twice employs the LXX version, which containing the additional phrase, namely, ‘in him’, indicates.

Another aspect that Paul intends to highlight is the inclusive nature of the promise. The sense that the promise is extended to all is not found in the original context of the quoted text. This concept is perhaps brought in to the text on account of Paul’s conviction that Christ is the Lord of all people, which he has argued so vehemently (Ro. 3:29-30; 9:24). Interesting enough, although the theme of inclusiveness is a prominent motif in Isaiah 40-66, Paul does not develop his argument on this issue in Isaianic terms up to this point. In the present context, Paul supports this point by appealing to a scriptural text taken from Joel 3:5 (LXX).

⁸⁰ Stenning, *Targum of Isaiah* 88.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

It must be noted that the phrase that everyone who believes ‘will not be put to shame’ should be understood in terms of eschatological salvation. This is because Paul considers the role of faith within soteriological categories, as the statement at the outset of Romans suggests, that ‘[the gospel of Christ] is the power of God for salvation to *every one* who believes’ (Ro. 1:16). Throughout his presentation of the gospel, Paul repeatedly emphasizes that the righteousness of God is obtained by means of faith, so he makes the ‘obedience in faith/believe’ (εἰς ὑπακοὴν πίστεως) the goal of his ministry (1:5; 15:18; 16:26; Cf. 4:24; 6:8). Paul’s emphasis on the significance of faith in obtaining salvation strongly resonates with the overarching message of the Isaianic texts of which he cites.

In conclusion, in Paul’s view, to believe/have faith in Christ is the appropriate response to the promise of the salvation of God. This echoes also with the concept of ‘faith/believe’ in Isaiah. The word πιστεύω occurs only four times in the Greek text of Isaiah (7:9, 28:16, 43:10, 53:1), two of which are cited explicitly in Romans, and all of which are associated with human response to God’s promise of salvation. It is clear that when Paul employs Isa. 28:16 in Ro. 9:33 and 10:11 his focus is centred on the theme of putting trust in God as the means through which salvation can be obtained. The crux of the Jews’ unbelief, therefore, as Paul understands it, is a deliberate reliance on a self-chosen way of salvation instead of submitting to God’s way on the basis of faith that is opened up in Christ.⁸² If the present analysis is correct, then Paul’s citation of the Isaianic text has relevance not merely to the act of confession (in this case scriptural support for the need of confession in faith), but, more importantly, to the broader depiction of the content of faith, indicating the identity of Jesus, who is the Isaianic ‘stone’.

⁸² Paul mentions several times in his epistle that to the Jew the message of a ‘Christ crucified’ was a stumbling block (Ro. 9:32-33; Cf. 1 Cor. 1:23). Although Jews did not crucify, they did hang those afterward who had been stoned, especially blasphemers and idolaters. They saw those who hung on a tree as under God’s curse (Dt. 21:23). This also explains why Paul himself before his encounter with the risen Christ so fiercely persecuted the Christians who preached a Christ crucified. For him, the preaching of a Messiah whom God had obviously cursed by having him hanged was utterly unbearable and blasphemous (Gal. 1:13-14; 3:13; 1 Cor. 1:22-24).

b. Ro. 10:14-17 and Isa. 52:7

Another cluster of scriptural citations to be examined is found in Rom 10:14-21, in which Paul spells out more clearly the problem of his contemporary Jews, and meanwhile speaks further of his apostleship as a significant agent of God to bring the gospel message to the Gentiles. Paul cites four passages from Isaiah, including Isa. 52:7 (Ro. 10:15), Isa. 53:1 (Ro. 10:16), Isa. 65:1 (Ro. 10:20) and Isa. 65:2 (Ro. 10:21). More significantly, one of the quoted texts falls on the so-called fourth Servant Song (Isa. 52:13-53:12).⁸³ By way of citing Isaianic texts, Paul illustrates on the one hand the decisive role of preaching and of hearing of the Word of Christ, and on the other hand the divided reactions his message has received amongst Jews and Gentiles. Having argued that the hearing of the Word of God is fundamental to salvation, Paul asks a series of rhetorical questions:

10:14 Πῶς οὖν ἐπικαλέσονται εἰς ὃν οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν; πῶς δὲ πιστεύσωσιν οὐδ' οὐκ ἤκουσαν; πῶς δὲ ἀκούσωσιν χωρὶς κηρύσσοντος; **10:15** πῶς δὲ κηρύξωσιν ἐὰν μὴ ἀποσταλῶσιν.

This rhetorical questions centre on the presence of saving faith in relation to hearing, preaching and the sending of preachers. Paul states that 'faith comes from what is heard, and what is heard comes by the word (διὰ ῥήματος) of Christ' (10:17). In other words, the role of faith is of paramount importance; but the faith of a person is elicited by hearing the Word of Christ. Paul further cites Isa. 52:7 to provide scriptural confirmation of the necessary role of proclamation by divinely appointed messengers.

Paul introduces his citation by the traditional formula for a biblical citation, καθὼς γέγραπται. By comparing Paul's citation to that of the MT and Greek texts, we will notice that Paul's citation of Isa. 52:7 is found divergent from both of the Greek and Hebrew texts. A comparison of the texts is shown in the following table.

⁸³ Paul's particular favour of this portion of Isaianic texts will be explored at the end of this section. Paul also employed Isa. 52:15 in Ro. 15:21 which will be discussed in more detail in due course.

Romans 10:15b	Isaiah 52:7 LXX
ὥς ὥραῖοι οἱ πόδες τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων [τὰ] ἀγαθά.	ὥς ὥρα ἐπὶ τῶν ὁρέων, ὥς πόδες εὐαγγελιζομένου ἀκοὴν εἰρήνης, ὥς εὐαγγελιζόμενος ἀγαθά
	Isa. 52:7 MT מה-נאווי על-ההרים רגלי מבשר משמיע שלום מבשר טוב

Text Form

The numerous variants in the Greek translations of the text reflect the difficulty presented by this passage in Hebrew,⁸⁴ and thus the translation found in Paul with its distinct text-type, linguistic variations and some lacunae comes as no surprise. Paul's text shows similarity with both the LXX and MT, and the excision of material from both of these sources is apparently in support of the presence of the preachers of the good news of Ro. 10:14-15. Consider Paul's first phrase ὥς ὥραῖοι οἱ πόδες, which is reasonably close to the MT in tone (with the ὥς as an expression of exclamation, מה) while to the Greek in meaning (with the adjective ὥραῖοι referring to a good timing).⁸⁵ There is no mention of season/time in the MT whilst the Greek uses the word ὥς as a marker of relationship comparing 'a season of beauty on the mountains' to 'the proclamation of salvation'.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ The significant differences raise the question as from which source Paul cites the text: whether he cites from the Greek, or from the Hebrew, or from both, or he simply quoted from memory. Koch argues that Paul's citation is taken from a Greek version of Isaiah which had been previously adapted to the Hebrew text. He suggests that the reconstructed text as follows: ὥς ὥραῖοι ἐπὶ τῶν ὁρέων [οἱ] πόδες εὐαγγελιζομένου ἀκοὴν εἰρήνης εὐαγγελιζομένου ἀγαθά. Koch, *Die Schrift* 81-82; also, 66-69, 113-114, 122. Also, Ziegler (*Isaias*) points out that some textual witnesses to the Lucianic recension (e.g. 22^c, 62, 86^c, 403, 613 and the commentary by Theodoret etc) present this verse in a form which stands close to the Hebrew text and yet at the same time is similar to the form of Ro. 10:15. This view is largely agreed by C. Stanley, *Language of Scripture* 134-41; and Jewett, *Romans* 639.

⁸⁵ One may wonder whether the word ὥρα in the LXX is a misreading of ὥραῖοι, as the forms of the two words are so close. It is possible but will be unlikely if the scribe copies the manuscript by hearing the words read aloud by someone else. Since we do not have enough information to decide one way or the other, we should leave it open at this point.

⁸⁶ For more discussion on the translation of ὥραῖοι, see Moo, *Romans* 664, n. 15.

Paul's version remains at points close to and yet distinct from the MT, the LXX and the early Greek versions.⁸⁷ It is uncertain to determine whether Paul used the Hebrew text or whether he simply had access to another non-septuagint version. The clear modifications with respect to the Greek version raise serious doubts whether the LXX was the base text, although agreement with the LXX against the MT at the mention of ὄρατοι may suggest familiarity with the LXX. The assertion that several of the adjustments to the citation betray Paul's own hand may only be made, it seems, if the peculiarities are reflected in the surrounding context. Thus, the function of the citation within its context must be considered a key factor when determining whether Paul simply drew upon an already existing Greek translation that was neither entirely close to the MT nor to the LXX.

The preaching of the good news in Paul and in Isaiah

Based on the observations of how Paul modifies his cited text, Wagner argues on the basis of three observations that Paul interprets this text 'as a prophecy of his own mission'.⁸⁸ First, he points out that 'the mountain' which is in the original context might refer to Zion or the area surrounding Jerusalem. Paul's omission of the specific reference to Zion brings about the effect of removing the idea that the gospel was to be proclaimed only to Zion, and thus allows him to apply the quotation to the broader

⁸⁷ There are some other major differences between Paul's version and the Greek text and the Hebrew versions observed. First, the phrase ἐπὶ τῶν ὁρέων, which occurs in both the MT and the Greek text, is omitted in Paul's text. Second, although Paul follows both the Hebrew and Greek for the form for πόδες, which is in the plural, an article οἱ is added in front of the noun in Paul's version, where the definite article is absent from both the source texts. This variant is without support in the Hebrew, Greek translations or in the Targum, Peshitta or Vulgate, and therefore is very likely from Paul's hand. Third, both the LXX and MT uses only the singular form of the participle when the text speaks of one who announces the good tidings (מְבַשֵּׂר), one who let [peace] be heard (מְשַׁמֵּיעַ), one who reports/announces (מְבַשֵּׂר), one who lets...be heard (מְשַׁמֵּיעַ). Baltzer suggests that each of the participles may refer to a different messenger. *Deutero-Isaiah* 379. If that is the case, then Paul's use of the plural form to denote multiple numbers of preachers is probably intended to make the sense of the original text more explicit. Fourth and finally, the phrase 'the one preaching the message of peace' (εὐαγγελιζομένου ἀκοῇν εἰρήνης), which is found in both the LXX and the MT versions, appears not in the Pauline quotation. There are some later manuscripts containing the words τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων εἰρήνην (e.g. ⁸ D G K P 33 88 614 1241 *Byz Lect* it^{d,g} vg syr^{p,h} goth al). However, it was generally agreed amongst most commentators that the shorter reading is the original. For a discussion on the textual variance among manuscripts, see Metzger *Textual Commentary* 463; Koch, *Die Schrift* 66-69.

⁸⁸ Wagner, *Heralds* 173.

geographical scope of the mission activity in which he is involved. Second, Wagner contends that by omitting the phrase ‘of one announcing a message of peace’, Paul strengthens the link between the identification of the ‘message’ with the ‘word of Christ’.⁸⁹ This point is more tenable compared to some other views.⁹⁰ Third and finally, Wagner argues that together with the use of the plural form τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων, Paul’s version transforms the singular herald πόδες εὐαγγελιζομένου in Isaiah into a plural, thus making explicit his identification of the heralds of Isaiah 52:7 with the Christian preachers mentioned in Romans 10:8 and 10:14-15.⁹¹

Wagner’s observations are astute and yet his conclusions are not without problems. The most obvious problem is that on the one hand he states that ‘Paul sees his own ministry of proclamation prefigured in Isaiah 52:7,’⁹² but on the other hand he does not explain why he has transformed the lone herald of the LXX into multiple preachers of the good news. If the focus of Paul, as Wagner argues, were about his own ministry, then it seems more reasonable that Paul would have either retained the singular form of the herald of the good news as it was in both the LXX and the MT, or if he had a *Vorlage* with the plural form of τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων he would have changed it to singular. Contrary to Wagner’s view, it seems that Paul’s use of the plural form τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων indicates that he intends to make the text applicable to all Christian preachers and not merely himself alone.⁹³ Secondly, it is to

⁸⁹ Wagner points out that, Paul’s attempt to make the connection of his own proclamation of the good news with ‘those who preach the good news’ in the Isaianic text is clear. In Rom 10:16 Paul refers to the good news he preached as τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, but in other places of Rom 10 Paul refers to his message as the ‘word of faith’, and ‘the word of Christ’ (10:8, 17). The fact that Paul chooses the word ‘the gospel’ in this particular context strongly suggests this intention. Wagner *Heralds* 173.

⁹⁰ Other commentators have also speculated on the reasons for Paul’s omission of the phrase. Jewett, for example, contends that the omission is probably due to the concept ‘peace’ in both its original Isaianic context and the *Pax Romana* which denotes ‘subordination of all potential enemies under imperial capitol in Jerusalem’ which does not suit Paul’s literary context. Jewett, *Romans* 640. This view, however, is untenable, considering that Paul’s use of the term ‘gospel’ may already contain ‘political’ and offensive overtones against its Greco-Roman background. For more discussion, see Richard A. Horsley, ed. *Paul and Politics. Ekklesia, Israel, Imperium, Interpretation: Essays in Honour of Krister Stendahl* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2000), esp. an article by N. T. Wright, ‘Paul’s Gospel and Caesar’s Empire’ in pp.160-83; John P. Dickson, ‘Gospel as News: εὐαγγελ- from Aristophanes to the Apostle Paul,’ *NTS* 51 (2005) 212-30.

⁹¹ Wagner, *Heralds* 173-74.

⁹² Wagner, *Heralds* 174.

⁹³ Moo, *Romans* 663.

be admitted that Paul deliberately chooses the words ‘good news’ (εὐαγγέλιον) in reference to the message he proclaims (Ro. 10:16) indicating that he attempts to identify the message that he preaches with the Isaiah’s oracles that the evangelist proclaims. However, to admit that a parallel exists between the messages of Paul and Isaiah is one thing, but it is quite another thing to argue that Paul sees the passage as a prefiguration of his own ministry. Therefore, the scope of Paul’s concern in view appears to be much broader than what Wagner has suggested.

Many scholars have been focusing their attention on the question of the referent of the verse. They ask the question who Paul is referring to when he quotes this verse. Some have suggested that the immediate context indicates the Jews are the implicit subjects of Paul’s concern in this section, and therefore the evangelists in view are the preachers to the Jews, and thus Paul’s point is to press that the Jews have heard the gospel.⁹⁴ Others argue that Paul, as the apostle to the Gentiles, sets himself alongside Peter and the Jerusalem apostles who are the apostles to the Jews, and thus Paul is referring to apostles sent to both Gentile and Jewish people.⁹⁵ Still others contend that Paul was speaking of himself and other Christian preachers involved in the Gentile mission.⁹⁶ It appears that although Paul has other evangelists in view, he may well see himself as representative of a corporate ministry.⁹⁷ However, the main point of this citation is not to prove who the preachers of the good news are. Instead, the focus seems to be on the message that the preachers bring. In the light of the series of rhetorical questions posited preceding the quotation, Paul’s use of Isa. 52:7 may leave no one to doubt that the quotation at the end of 10:15 is intended to demonstrate that God has sent preachers of good news, and thus the most important condition for salvation, as listed by Paul in 10:14-15a, has been met.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ For example, Sanday and Headlam, *Romans* (1902) 293-95; C. E. B. Cranfield, *Romans* II: 533; Munck, *Christ and Israel* 91.

⁹⁵ See Richard H. Bell, *Provoked to Jealousy: The Origin and Purpose of the Jealousy Motif in Romans 9-11* (WUNT II; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck: 1994) 89.

⁹⁶ E.g. N. T. Wright, *The Messiah and the People of God: A Study in Pauline Theology with Particular Reference to the Argument of the Epistle to the Romans* (Oxford D. Phil Thesis, 1980) 178.

⁹⁷ This view is suggested by Paul Foster in a private conversation.

⁹⁸ It is worth noting that the citation of the Isaianic prophecy is placed at the end of Rom 10:15, which implicitly suggests that the last condition for salvation listed in vv. 14-15a has been met: that is: God has sent preachers. Moo follows Cranfield, and contra Dunn, in suggesting that the citation functions

However, given the messianic overtone attached to the Isaiah 52, and in particular 52:7, it would be inadequate to assert that this fully explains the reason for the incorporation of the quotation. It seems that the citation in 10:15 may endow a more profound element to Paul's argument: that is, the sending of Christian preachers of the good news is in part the fulfillment of the Isaianic prophecy.⁹⁹ To demonstrate this, two key points must be noted here: (1) how should the citation to be read within its original literary context? and (2) how was the Isaianic text interpreted in other early Jewish literature.

The original literary context of the citation

Isa. 52:7-10 announces the oracle of God's imminent revelation and salvation to his people. The good news in Isa. 52:7 is expressed in terms of the sovereign reign of Yahweh who comes victoriously to Zion, and thus it is announced, 'Your God reigns!' In the broader literary context,¹⁰⁰ the reign of God is further elaborated in the showing of his mercy on (ἠλέησεν / נחם) his people and his deliverance of Jerusalem (Isa. 52:9b). The good news is an expectation of the revelation (ἀποκαλύψει) of God's holy arm before 'all the nations' (ἐν ὧπιον πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν) so that 'all the ends of the earth' (πάντα τὰ ἄκρα τῆς γῆς) 'will see' (ὄψονται) the 'salvation' (ישועה, τὴν σωτηρίαν) which is from God. The oracle envisages that God's salvation will have a global impact beyond the boundary of Israel. The cluster of vocabularies and themes of the salvation of God made known to all nations indicates a clear

not merely to substantiate the need for preaching, but rather God has already sent out the preachers. Moo, *Romans* 664.

⁹⁹ Schreiner, *Romans* 569.

¹⁰⁰ The demarcation of the literary unit is signalled by the use of a double imperative, a remarkable feature that characterizes this section of the poem: 'awake, awake' (51:9); 'arise yourself, arise yourself' (51:17); 'awake, awake' (52:1); and 'depart, depart' (52:11). In addition, within this literary unit, the kingship of Yahweh is a dominant motif that is expressed in three ways: 1. in chaos-battle motif expressed in the creation of the world as an act of divine sovereignty (51:9); 2. in divine liberation of Israel from Egypt in Exodus and the new act of salvation of Israel from Babylon; 3. In Yahweh's return to Zion, his royal abode, as his final goal. (p.148-50) For more discussion, see Trygve N. D. Mettinger, 'In Search of the Hidden Structure: YHWH as King in Isaiah 40-55,' in C. C. Broyles and C. A. Evans eds., *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition* (2 vols.; Leiden/NY/Köln, 1997) 1:143-154.

resonance with the task of the Servant in Isa 49:6, namely, to be the light to the nations, so that the salvation of God will reach to the ends of the earth.¹⁰¹

Furthermore, Isa. 52:7 also belongs to the four passages in which the term εὐαγγελίζω is found in LXX Isaiah 40-66. These four passages are: 40:9 (twice), 52:7 (twice), 60:6 and 61:1.¹⁰² The term appears in both singular (40:9; 52:7; 61:1) and plural (60:6), referring to the proclamation of the good news of God's return to Zion as a mighty king, whose kingship is both recognized by Jerusalem/Zion and other nations (60:6). In all these instances, the good news is centred on the manifestation of the reign of God, and the universal implication of God's reign and divine salvation is either explicitly mentioned or assumed. In addition to his glorious appearance in Zion (60:1-3, 19-20), God will also forgive the sin of Israel and defeat her enemies, so that Israel's shame will be removed and God's salvation purposes will be accomplished.¹⁰³ Therefore, Isa. 52:7-11, like other similar prophecies of restoration and salvation, was widely understood in other Second Temple literature as prophetic of the messianic age, a depiction of a future, eschatological deliverance.¹⁰⁴ The application of the Isaianic passage 52:7-11 appears in other Jewish literature including Pss. Sol. 11:1, 3 Enoch,¹⁰⁵ and Jubilees.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹ The LXX renders 'the ends of the earth' with two different words. Isa 49:6 reads ἕως ἑσχάτου τῆς γῆς for the Hebrew עַד-קֶצֶה הָאָרֶץ whilst Isa 57:10 renders the Hebrew as πάντα τὰ ἄκρα τῆς γῆς.

¹⁰² The term 'good news' (בִּשְׂרָה) occurs also in MT Isa. 41:27, but is not rendered literally in the Greek translation. MT Isa. 41:27 text runs like this: 'First to Zion, behold, behold them, I give one who proclaims good news' (רִאשׁוֹן לְצִיּוֹן הִנֵּה הֵנָּה וְלִירוּשָׁלַם מְבַשֵּׂר אֶתֶן), the LXX renders it with significant differences, interpreting the 'good news' in terms of God's promise of dominion given to Zion and comfort to Jerusalem: 'I will give dominion to Zion, and I will comfort Jerusalem by the Way' (ἀρχὴν Σιων δώσω καὶ Ἱερουσαλημ παρακαλέσω εἰς ὁδόν).

¹⁰³ It is interesting to observe that in Isa. 60:6, the LXX renders the phrase 'they proclaim praise of Yahweh' (וְתִהְיֶה יְהוָה יְבִשְׂרָה) in MT as τὸ σωτήριον κυρίου εὐαγγελιοῦνται, drawing a closer connection between the good news and the salvation of Yahweh.

¹⁰⁴ Evans has pointed out that LXX translators tend to render the material of the Isaianic oracle in this chapter with an eschatological overtone, if we carefully compare the parallel texts between the MT and LXX. Cf. 'The Function of Isaiah,' 2:664. See also Moo, *Romans* 664.

¹⁰⁵ In 3 *Enoch* 48:10, for example, Isa. 52:10 is quoted as a prophecy that will be fulfilled as the Messiah makes his appearance, though the dating of this material is still unsettled among scholars. Evans is one of the scholars that tend to date it rather late, around the fourth or fifth century CE. For more discussion, see Evans, 'Function of Isaiah,' 2:658.

¹⁰⁶ The author of *Jubilees* expresses the opposite idea when he comments on the same passage. In *Jub.* 22:16, the author interprets Isa. 52:11 by exhorting his reader to '[s]eparate yourselves from Gentiles,

Within the wider literary context and the interpretative tradition of Isa. 54:7-10, Paul's application of the Isaianic text in Romans reveals his unique understanding of the hope of the eschatological salvation of Israel and humanity, indicating both continuity and discontinuity to the literary context in Isaiah. Just as the good news in Isaiah is about the manifestation of Yahweh's justice/righteousness in terms of the forgiveness of Israel's sins and the end of her exile, the good news for Paul is nothing other than the manifestation of God's righteousness that leads to salvation (σώζω/σωτηρία) (e.g. Ro. 1:16; 10:9, 10, 13; cf. 10:1). Reading in conjunction with what Paul has conveyed by his application of the Isaianic 'stumbling stone' passages, one may understand the reasons why Paul laments over the unbelieving Jews who reject the righteousness of God in Christ. For Paul, the lordship and reign of God is manifested in the death and resurrection of Christ who through his victory over death and sin is enthroned as Lord of all nations. As such, Paul views God's salvation and God's righteousness as two inseparable aspects of the same reality revealed in Christ. As such, 'salvation' is not viewed in political or social terms, but rather spiritual and theological terms.

Paul's emphasis on 'hearing' the good news may take on a new layer of significance when is set in resonance with the promise in Isa 52:7b: 'I will make my salvation heard' (ἀκουστήν ποιήσω τὴν σωτηρίαν σου). In Isaiah, the Hebrew term יְשׁוּעָה is rendered σωτηρία in Greek (Isa. 49:6, 8; 51:6, 8; 52:7 10 etc.) and צֶדֶק is rendered δικαιοσύνη in Greek (Isa. 59:11, 17, 62:1). A closely related term κρίσις/מִשְׁפָּט is also used, in particular in the context of delineating the task of the Servant of Yahweh (Isa. 42:1,3,4; 49:4; 50:8; 53:8 etc.), who is to bring God's justice (Isa. 42:1, 3,4) and God's σωτηρία to the ends of the nations (Isa. 49:6).¹⁰⁷ The wider context of Isaiah shows that σωτηρία and δικαιοσύνη of God often come in pairs, indicating that these two terms are closely linked in the context of divine salvific action. The two terms form a major motif in Romans to express God's salvation accomplished in

and do not eat with them...' This attitude towards Gentiles stands in sharp contrast to Paul's conception of the good news, which has an implication to bring the good news to the Gentiles.

¹⁰⁷ According to the literary movement of the narrative, the 'justice' and 'salvation' in view refer not to 'violent subjugation' to the Gentiles, but rather to compassion for the oppressed and the burdened. Portrayed as a humble and compassionate servant, the Servant figure in Isaiah 40-55 reveals that Yahweh's salvation/judgment. Even the servant's life itself will be a testimony of being an agent to God's salvation. This point will be discussed further in chapter four of the present study.

fulfilment of the promise announced by the prophets in the Scripture (Ro. 1:2). Although Paul did not explicitly cite this portion of the text, the wider context of Romans may aid in understanding the double notions of salvation and righteousness.

The textual distinctiveness of Paul's citation of Isa. 52:7 fits his context maybe too well, suggesting modifications on some level. Whether Paul began with a Hebrew text and rendered a translation or adapted a Greek version is impossible to know. The use of the text also reveals that relevance is found on two distinct levels. On the surface level, the scriptural text is used to affirm that God has sent heralds of the good news. As in Gal 1:16-17, where Paul stresses the divine origin of his ministry, Paul appeals to the scriptural text to affirm the necessity of divine commission. On the other hand, Paul employs Isa. 52:7 in Ro. 10:16 to confirm that the Isaianic prophecy concerning the sovereign reign of God is now fulfilled in Christ. The reign of God is now represented by and manifested in the lordship of Christ above all nations. This explains why Paul seeks to bring Gentiles to submit to Christ, as expressed by the term 'for the obedience of faith' (Ro. 1:5, 16:26).

c. Ro. 10:16 and Isa. 53:1

Having demonstrated that the message of Christ has been delivered to Jews and Gentiles alike through God sent messengers,¹⁰⁸ Paul moves on to describe how the message of Christ was received amongst the Jews by citing Isa. 53:1.¹⁰⁹ Paul's quotation follows verbatim the LXX text as shown in the table below.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Contra Munck who argues that Paul refers here to the preaching to the Jews only. *Christ and Israel* 91, 93.

¹⁰⁹ Munck points out that the nuanced phrase 'not all' in fact should be rendered 'hardly any' (of the Jews). This view is supported by Paul's use of Isa. 53:1 to describe his lament over the resistance to gospel shown by most of the Jews. Munck, *Christ and Israel* 92-93.

¹¹⁰ The major difference between the MT and the LXX is the occurrence of the vocative κύριε at the beginning of the verse in the latter. The reading of the MT is supported by 1Q8 23:10 and 1QIsa^a 44:5.

Romans 10:16b	Isaiah 53:1 LXX
Ἡσαΐας γὰρ λέγει· κύριε, τίς ἐπίστευσεν τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν;	κύριε, τίς ἐπίστευσε τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν;
<p style="text-align: right;">Isaiah 53:1 MT מִי הָאֱמוּן לִשְׁמֹעַתָּנוּ</p>	

The substantive issues of intended meaning and broader significance arise once again with the citation of Isa. 53:1 in Ro. 10:16b. There are generally two camps of opinion over the function of the citation in Paul's argument: (1) those who view it as simply a proof-text to confirm the rejection of the Jews to the gospel that Paul and other evangelists proclaim (10:16a),¹¹¹ or (2) those who detect reference to the so-called Suffering Servant of Isaiah 53 and thus suggest a connection between the message of Christ and the message about the Suffering Servant.¹¹² There are good reasons to support the former position. First, the context into which Paul has inserted the citation concerns Israel's unbelief. Second, Paul's cited text does not differ much in meaning from both the LXX and the MT, indicating that no particular redactional activity has been done to tailor for his own theological purpose. Third, the emphasis upon unbelief in the Isaianic text squares with the flow of argument found thus far in Romans 10. Therefore, there is no doubt that on a surface level Isa. 53:1 is employed to substantiate Paul's lament over Israel's unbelief.

The question remains, however, as to why Paul cites this particular Isaianic text and why he evokes explicitly the name of Isaiah at this point? Pertaining to the question is the observation that Paul focuses not simply on the Jewish unbelief but also on the specific message, ἡ ἀκοή to which the Jews reject. Paul's attention to the specific message is indicated by both what is preceding and what is following the citation. Preceding the citation represents Paul's argument that Christ is the God appointed

¹¹¹ Cranfield, for instance, held the view that the scriptural citation functions as a proof-text, confirming that 'this failure to believe has been foretold by the prophet.' *Romans* II: 535-36.

¹¹² Most recently, Hays, *Echoes* 44-46.

Messiah to whom all should trust in order to be saved (Ro. 9:30-10:13). It is this specific message that Paul and his associates are sent to preach and Jews seem to reject. Following the citation begins Paul's discussion on the nature of the message (Ro. 10:17). He argues that faith/believe is elicited through this message: faith comes from ἄκοῆς and ἡ ἄκοή comes by 'the word of Christ' (Ro. 10:17).¹¹³ By employing Isa. 53:1 that contains the term ἡ ἄκοή Paul seems to link the citation linguistically and contextually to the ἡ ἄκοή in the preceding cited text. If this observation is correct, then Paul's citation of Isa. 53:1 has relevance both to the negative reaction of the Jews to his gospel and to the depiction of the content of his gospel. In other words, Paul not only identifies the negative response of the Jews with that in Isaiah's time, but also identifies the message that his gospel embodies to that proclaimed in Isaiah 53:1. Paul's lament over the fact that only a few Jews have responded positively to the gospel is likened to the lament of the prophet of Isa. 53:1, whose message was also met with Israel's unbelief. By drawing on this text, therefore, Paul strongly indicates that his gospel message is connected to the fourth Servant Song.

The literary context of Isa. 53:1

What, then, is the message that the Israelites in Isaiah's time rejected? The answer can be derived from the literary context from which Isa. 52:7 and 53:1 are drawn.¹¹⁴ Structurally speaking, the prophet's lament over the rejection of the message (ἄκοή) in 53:1 is bracketed by two passages concerning the Suffering Servant (Isa. 52:13-15 and 53:10-12). In the middle section between these two brackets is given the details of the life of suffering and humiliation of the Servant (Isa. 53:2-9). When Paul brings these two Isaianic texts together by the shared vocabulary ἄκοή, he probably notices

¹¹³ There are textual variances in the use of the phrase 'through the word of Christ' (διὰ ῥήματος Χριστοῦ). Instead of Χριστοῦ, which is strongly supported by early and diverse witnesses (e.g. P^{46vid}, B* C D* Old Latin vg etc), there are some manuscripts (e.g. S^c A D^{b,c} K P) that read θεοῦ. It seems that the present reading is original and well attested. See the discussion in Metzger, *Textual Commentary* 463-64.

¹¹⁴ N.T. Wright has also pointed out the connection of Isaiah 52:7 to the fourth servant song, though he did not elaborate in details how this connection 'provides further food for thought'. See *Christian Origins and the Question of God, vol.1: The New Testament and the People of God* (London: SPCK, 1992) 303, n.68.

the intimate connections between these passages.¹¹⁵ The immediate literary context of Isa. 53:1 suggests that ἡ ἄκοή that is proclaimed refers to the humiliation and the final exaltation of the Servant of Yahweh (Isa. 52:13-53:15). The Servant figure central to the message is portrayed as an enigmatic person, who looked so humiliated, despised and rejected in the eyes of men. This person silently bore all humiliation and suffering for the sake of other people. It was not until the suffering Servant eventually exalted and honoured by God Himself that the people began to realize that the Servant was bearing their sins. The eventual exaltation of the Servant also took the nations by surprise (Isa. 52:15).

In the Isaianic context, the identity of the people ('we') who are speaking in the poem and the enigmatic servant figure who is being spoken of ('he') has been a puzzle to biblical scholarship for centuries.¹¹⁶ In view of the lack of sufficient information from the literary context and the text itself, it is impossible to know for certain the identity of these people and the mysterious suffering Servant in Isa. 52:12-53:15.¹¹⁷ Some facts regarding the Servant, however, are certain.¹¹⁸ What is remarkably clear to us can be summarized by two sets of contrast: the contrast between the Servant's humiliation and suffering and his final exaltation,¹¹⁹ and the contrast between what people thought about the Servant and what was really the

¹¹⁵ In fact, the term ἄκοή occurs only in Isa. 6:9 apart from these two occurrences in the entire book of Isaiah. The arrangement of the materials and the repetition of vocabulary strongly suggest an intended development of the theme on Israel's obdurate disobedience. It is because of Israel's hardened heart that causes her unable to comprehend and submit to the good news of salvation promised by God. This point will be further discussed in due course.

¹¹⁶ For a recent discussion, see D. J. A. Clines, *I, He, We, and They* (JSOTS 1; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1978) 29-31.

¹¹⁷ Smart contends that this Servant can only be the people of God, Israel. He writes, 'In the time of darkness he was trodden into the ground, scattered, impoverished, despised by his neighbours, yet all the time there was hidden in him a word and a destiny that no one could have suspected from his outward appearance. He was the Servant of God, unrecognized. But in the day of God's glory and power all such concealment would fall away, and the Servant would be revealed in his closeness to God, as the instrument of God's purposes, through whom light would shine forth to the nations and God's covenant love would reach out to encircle all mankind.' Smart, *History and Theology* 191.

¹¹⁸ Oswalt rightly comments, 'while we may agree that what the text says is capable of several applications, we may not say that we do not know what is being said.' Oswalt, *Isaiah* 377.

¹¹⁹ The Servant in view is distinguished by being exceptionally marred but finally awed and honoured by nations and kings. As Brueggemann has rightly pointed out, 'the entire poem is epitomized by the odd relation between the *marred* figure of verse 14 and the *awesome* figure of verse 15.' W. Brueggemann, *Isaiah* 40-66 (WBC; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1988) 142.

case.¹²⁰ We do not know how this suffering Servant is moved from marred to exaltation, except that Yahweh is behind this scene of reversal of fortune. Thus the poem seems to point beyond the humiliation and exaltation of the Servant to the intention of Yahweh behind the whole event. It is through the suffering and death of the Servant that the sins of ‘many’ are atoned for. This echoes well with Paul’s statement at the opening section of Romans that the gospel demonstrates ‘the power of God’ for the salvation of all.¹²¹

Although Paul does not explicitly cite the fourth Servant song to illustrate or explicate the life and work of Jesus, he does seem to understand Jesus in the light of the humiliated Servant and exalted Lord whose death and resurrection has a salvific and atoning implication for ‘many’, as portrayed in Isaiah 53. Apart from the present passage, a strong case of allusion to the Isaianic suffering Servant in relation to Jesus’ ministry can be found in Ro. 4:25, in which Paul has clearly expressed his understanding of Jesus’ death as an expiation for the sins of humanity.¹²²

Taking all these quotations altogether into consideration, it is reasonable to suggest that Paul is well-versed with the text of Isaiah 52-53.¹²³ Instead of atomistic proof-

¹²⁰ Oswalt, *Isaiah*, 376. Also see P. Raabe who argues the intentional repetition of certain key words in order to highlight the contrasts. ‘The Effect of Repetition in the Suffering Servant Song,’ *JBL* 103 (1984) 77-81.

¹²¹ In addition, this characterization fits perfectly well with Paul’s description of Jesus in Gal. 1:4: ‘who gave himself for our sins to rescue us from the present evil age according to the will of our God and Father.’ This point has already been discussed in the previous chapter of the present study.

¹²² Although there is no marked citation formula in Ro. 4:25, the intertextual relationship between the passage and Isaiah 53 especially vv. 6, 11 and 12 can still be established based on several significant verbal and thematic parallels. For more discussion, see Shum, *Paul’s Use*, 283-83.

¹²³ In summary, there are three pieces of evidence to support this claim. First, Isa. 53:1, in its original context, immediately follows Isa. 52:15, a verse Paul quotes in Ro. 15:12 when he speaks of his ambition to preach in regions where the gospel is still unheard. Therefore, Isa. 52:14-15 and 53:1-3, when read together, show that the whole story of the Servant is familiar to Paul, and undergirds his understanding of his ministry. Second, the humiliation and suffering of the Servant is sandwiched between two announcements of the final exaltation of the Servant in 52:13-15 and 53:12 respectively, and the Suffering Servant would have a worldwide impact, both in terms of shocking the world and of the remission of sins. The theme of the worldwide implication of Jesus’ death and resurrection is evident in Romans and forms the basis for his worldwide Gentile mission (Ro. 15:14ff). Third, this reading is further confirmed by Paul’s portrayal of Jesus as Lord in Php. 2:5-11, where the humility and exaltation of Jesus exhibits remarkable parallels in terms of concept and vocabularies with Isa. 53:3, 11 as well as Isa. 45:23.

texting the negative response of the Jews to his gospel, it is highly possible that Paul is evoking the larger literary context of Isaiah 52-53 to indicate that the good news of salvation is rooted in Israel's hope of the coming of the Messianic king. For Paul, God's mighty reign is revealed in the suffering, death and eventual resurrection of Jesus.

Paul's usage of Isa. 52:7 and 53:1 in reference to the gospel of Christ is creative and distinct in the combination of a divine kingly figure with the Suffering Servant. While the good news in Isa. 52:7 refers to a message concerning the reign of God, i.e. Yahweh is king, the 'message' of Isa. 53:1 centres upon a Suffering Servant whose humiliation and exaltation by the will of God has brought about a worldwide salvific implication. Paul's juxtaposition of these two Isaianic texts in delineating Christ as a suffering Messiah presents a unique understanding of the Messiah.

Whether the idea of a suffering Messiah exists in pre-Christian Jewish circles has long been a subject of dispute among scholars. Schürer, for instance, surveyed a great number of major pre-Christian Jewish writings, including *4 Ezra*, *Testament of Benjamin* 3:8 and other sources, and finally came to the conclusion that no convincing evidence has been found on any extant early Jewish literature that interprets Isa. 53 messianically, and there is no evidence of a messianic figure who experienced atoning suffering and final exaltation.¹²⁴

Presupposing that a suffering and dying Messiah seems to be peculiar to the Jewish mind, Koester argues that when Paul applies 'Christ' to Jesus, he uses it as part of his proper name instead of as a title. He cites the examples in Ro. 5:8, 'Christ died for us, when we were still sinners' and 'If we have died with Christ (Ro. 6:8) and argues that 'Paul does not say that "the Messiah" died for us.'¹²⁵ Koester contends that the reference to Isa. 53 is the 'suffering servant'. The 'suffering servant' is not the Messiah but is a servant/prophet figure like Moses. In addition, Koester claims that

¹²⁴ This point has been discussed by Emil Schürer in *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C. – A.D. 135)* (Trans. Geza Vermes et al.; 2 Vols; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1979) 2: 547-49.

¹²⁵ Koester, *Paul and His World*, 105.

Paul's Christology 'is in no way related to the messianic expectations of Israel, but is deeply rooted in the story and expectation of the Suffering Servant of God. Jesus is not the Messiah because of his descent from David; rather, he is the Son of God because of the power of his resurrection.'¹²⁶ In other words, Koester attempts to argue that Paul understands Jesus merely in terms of the Isaianic Suffering Servant and rejects any association of him with the Davidic Messiah.

Koester's view offers much to be commented upon. For the purpose of the present study, two points of comment are necessary. First, the preceding discussion has demonstrated that Paul affirms Jesus as Christ both in terms of the Davidic Messiah and the Isaianic Suffering Servant. While it is true that 'the Messiah suffered' is not found in the tradition of Israel, Paul's juxtaposition of the two Isaianic texts affirms that Jesus is both 'Messiah' and the Suffering Servant. The conception is based upon the interplay of Paul's interpretation of God's miraculous work in the resurrection of Jesus and his reading of Israel's Scriptures (Ro. 1:4). In Paul's view, the Christ event has revealed that the promise of God's salvation is manifested even in the death of Israel's Messiah! For Paul, the nature of faith in the hope of salvation is best expressed in Abraham who believed 'in hope against hope' (παρ' ἐλπίδα ἐπ' ἐλπίδι) (Ro. 4:18). Although the circumstances in reality are all against hope, in this case that Abraham and his wife are both too old to bear children, their bodies are as good as dead, but he believed that God is the one who gives life and is able to accomplish what he promised.

Second, nowhere in Paul's letters is undermined the notion that Jesus is the Davidic Messiah. This is indicated first in the opening of Romans, where Paul qualifies Jesus as Son of God by two parallel participial phrases, listed side-by-side: that he is the seed of David (ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυίδ) and 'the Son of God' (τοῦ υἱοῦ θεοῦ). Along with these qualifications Paul designates Jesus as 'Jesus Christ' (Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ) 'who is our Lord' (τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν). In fact, there are other instances indicating that Paul's use of Isaiah has a two-level relevance. The citations on the one hand validate or support the argument on the surface level and on the other hand recall ideas

¹²⁶ Ibid.

concerning or ways of viewing Jesus' person and ministry within the broader message of the good news. From the way in which Paul presents Jesus, there can be no mistake in saying that Paul is not suggesting an either-or option between the 'Son of David' and 'the Suffering Servant', but rather that Jesus is both the Davidic Messiah and the Suffering Servant. Apart from the present passage, Paul's identification of Jesus with the Davidic Messiah is best seen in his use of Isa. 11:10 in Ro. 15:12, which will be discussed in the next chapter of the present study.

In fact, Martin Hengel and Daniel Bailey have pointed out several strands of evidence showing that the Isaianic Suffering Servant passage (Isa. 52:13-53:15) has exerted various degree of influence on Jewish circles such as the Qumran community in the intertestamental period.¹²⁷ It was observed that the suffering theme is present in the so-called *Hymn of Self-Glorification* (4Q491) and the *Testament of Benjamin* 3:8. Hengel even claimed that ““a messianic interpretation” in 1QIsa^a “probably applied—as the *Aramaic Apocryphon of Levi*^b (4Q541) suggests—to the end-time high priest.”¹²⁸ By way of concluding the survey, Hengel stated that there are evidence to confirm ‘that already in the pre-Christian period, traditions about suffering and atoning eschatological messianic figures were available in Palestinian Judaism...and that Jesus and the Early Church *could* have known and appealed to them...This would explain how first Jesus himself and then his disciples after Easter could presuppose that their message of the vicarious atoning death of the Messiah (Cf. 1 Cor. 15:3-5) would be understood among their Jewish contemporaries.’¹²⁹

A similar line of argument was advanced by Israel Knohl who attempted to adduce from a wide spectrum of Jewish literature around the late first century BCE a Messiah figure that might provide ‘the missing link in our understanding of the way Christianity emerged from Judaism.’¹³⁰ Knohl explored two hymns of 1QH,¹³¹ with

¹²⁷ Martin Hengel with Daniel P. Bailey, “The Effective History of Isaiah 53 in the Pre-Christian Period,’ in *The Suffering Servant: Isaiah 53 in Jewish and Christian Sources*, ed. Bernd Janowski and Peter Stuhlmacher; trans. Daniel P. Bailey (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004) 75-146.

¹²⁸ Hengel and Bailey, ‘The Effective History,’ 146.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ Israel Knohl, *The Messiah before Jesus: The Suffering Servant of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Trans. David Maisel; London/Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), quoted from p.3.

the first hymn speaking of a figure who described himself as someone ‘rejected of men’ and ‘enduring evil’ and eventually has been exalted and granted ‘a throne of power’ in the heavens. In Knohl’s view, the hymn reflects a concept borrowed from Isaiah 53. The second hymn spoke of the community’s relationship to the messianic figure.¹³² Knohl asserted that this image of a suffering-and-exalted messianic figure of the late first century BCE has influenced how Jesus conceived of himself as a Messiah.¹³³ In addition, Knohl compared the messianic figure portrayed in the *Oracle of Hystaspes* and the two witnesses in Revelation 11, and argued that the plots of the two accounts speaks of the two Qumranic messianic figures, one priestly and one royal. Knohl further adduced materials from the Mishnah and other rabbinic literature to identify Menahem as the Qumran Messiah to explain the ‘another *paraclete*’ promised by Jesus in the Gospel of John.¹³⁴

Although Knohl’s argument was not equally persuasive at every point, in particular shaky was his correlation of Menahem with the speaker of the self-glorification hymn,¹³⁵ his identification of a humiliated-yet-exalted messianic figure in 4Q491 and the ‘Son of God’ text 4Q426 seemed to have drawn some evidence that the Isaianic Suffering Servant language have been appropriated amongst early Jewish circles before the time of Christ Jesus. However, Paul’s interpretation of the Isaianic Servant passage distinguishes from those Jewish texts in two aspects. First, there is no mention of atoning death in the Qumran text, while in Paul’s letters the atoning death and eventual exaltation of the Isaianic Servant seem to constitute an integral part of Jesus’ identity. Second, Paul’s application of the Isaianic texts to Jesus reveals that he sees Jesus not merely as a suffering-yet-exalted Servant but also a kingly figure.

¹³¹ Knohl reconstructed the Messianic figure on the basis of three manuscripts found in cave 4. The first messianic hymn was based on fragments 4QHe frag.1-2 and 4Q491 frag. 11, col. 1, while the second messianic hymn was excised from 4QHa frag. 7, col. 1 and 2. See *The Messiah*, 14-27.

¹³² Knohl, *The Messiah* 20-21; 84-85.

¹³³ Knohl, *The Messiah* 25-26.

¹³⁴ Knohl, *The Messiah* 58-62.

¹³⁵ For a succinct critique of Knohl’s view, see J. J. Collins’ review published in *Jewish Quarterly Review* 91 (2000) 185-90.

d. Ro. 10:20-21 and Isa. 65:1-2

The final cited text from Isaiah within the cluster of quotations in Ro. 10 to be discussed is Isa. 65:1-2 in Ro. 10:20-21. In this passage Paul explains how God was unceasingly calling a people to him, both from Jews and Gentiles alike. But the response from Jews and Gentiles are remarkably different. The cited texts of Ro. 10:20-21 and Isa. 65:1-2 are compared as follows.

Romans 10:20	Isaiah 65:1 LXX
Ἰσαΐας δὲ ἀποτολμᾷ καὶ λέγει· εὗρέθην [ἐν] τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ζητοῦσιν, ἐμφανὴς ἐγενόμην τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ἐπερωτῶσιν	Ἐμφανὴς ἐγενόμην τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ζητοῦσιν, εὗρέθην τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ἐπερωτῶσιν
<p style="text-align: right;">Isaiah 65:1 MT</p> <p style="text-align: right;">נדרשתי ללוא שאלו נמצאתי ללא בקשני</p>	

Romans 10:21	Isaiah 65:2 LXX
πρὸς δὲ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ λέγει· ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐξεπέτασα τὰς χειράς μου πρὸς λαὸν ἀπειθοῦντα καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα.	ἐξεπέτασα τὰς χειράς μου ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν πρὸς λαὸν ἀπειθοῦντα καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα,
<p style="text-align: right;">Isaiah 65:2 MT</p> <p style="text-align: right;">פרשתי ידי כל-היום אל-עם סורר</p>	

Paul's citations in these two verses exhibit similarities and differences to the Greek text of Isa. 65:1-2, with some differences in word- and phrase- order.¹³⁶ In fact, the

¹³⁶ The first line of Isa. 65:1 and 65:2 LXX generally follows the same grammatical structure as the MT, but there is an additional ἀντιλέγοντα in the LXX version, strengthening and elaborating the force of סורר in the MT. It is noteworthy that of the 17 occurrences of the Hebrew term סורר in the

textual differences between Paul's citation and the extant LXX and Hebrew texts do not seem to produce any significant change to the meaning, except one interesting difference which is worth noting. The phrase ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν is placed at the beginning of Paul's quotation, which is divergent from both extant LXX and MT versions. This is very likely intended by Paul to emphasize his critique on Israel's obduracy.¹³⁷ Though various suggestions have been put forward, it is still hard to determine the textual tradition behind Paul's lemma conclusively.¹³⁸ The textual distinctiveness of Paul's citation suits his context well and betrays his concerns for Yahweh's compassionate attitude towards both Gentiles and Jews despite the fact they respond to him in completely different manners.

In both verses Paul quotes only the first half of the sentences of the original text, but the content of the second half seems to be implied. Most commentators of Romans observe that Paul sees a contrast between Isa. 65:1 and 65:2 and splits up the prophecy by applying the former to the Gentiles and the latter to Israel. Some hold the view that since Paul's application of Isa. 65:1 has changed the original referent of the passage from 'the apostate Israelites' to 'the Gentiles' that Paul's citation is therefore primarily linguistic borrowing.¹³⁹ But we will argue that Paul's application of the Isaianic text to both Jews and Gentiles underscores a strong theological reading of the text.

scriptural text, six times it is rendered as ἀπειθέω in the LXX (Dt. 21:20; Neh. 9:29; Hos. 9:15; Ps. 68:19MT/67:19 LXX; Isa. 1:23), but it is never used in conjunction with ἀντιλέγω.

¹³⁷ This point is also pointed out by F. Wilk, *Die Bedeutung des Jesajabuches*, 44 and Fitzmyer, *Romans* 600. It fits the overall argument in this section that Paul stresses Israel's disobedience and shows her guilt.

¹³⁸ The differences in word order could be explained by: (1) Paul was using a LXX tradition which is no longer extant today; or (2) Paul translated the Hebrew text by himself and with his own emphases expressed in the way he rendered it. T. H. Lim has observed that Paul's rendering of Isa. 65:1 is close to 1QIsa^a, in which the text runs like this: לָלוּאֹ שְׂאֵלֹנִי, which is similar to Paul's translation of ἐμὲ μὴ ἐπερωτῶσιν. See *Holy Scripture* 147. For textual traditions, see also Stanley, *Language of Scripture* 144-47.

¹³⁹ For instance, Goldingay, *Isaiah* 365. The reason supporting this view is established on the notion that in the original context Isa. 65:1-2 appear to be about Israel.

As A. Motyer has pointed out,¹⁴⁰ the view that Isa. 65:1 is about the Israelites is not without problems. His argument is based on linguistic and thematic structure grounds. Linguistically, as he maintains, the term ‘a nation that did not invoke my name’ (Isa. 65:1b) is never used as a reference to Israel in the book of Isaiah. In addition, structurally speaking, there is an ‘archway’ pattern within Isaiah 65-66, with the reference of Gentile nations bracketing the beginning and ending of the two chapters.¹⁴¹ The reference to the Gentile nations at the beginning of the larger section in Isa. 65:1 matches with its ending in Isa. 66:18-21, where the ‘nations’ are described as those ‘who have not seen my glory’ and ‘have not heard the report of me.’¹⁴² Therefore, Motyer concludes, it appears to be more reasonable to read Isa. 65:1 as referring to the Gentile nations.

¹⁴⁰ A. Motyer, *Prophecy of Isaiah* 522-24.

¹⁴¹ The thematic pattern that Motyer proposes is listed as follows:

A¹ The Lord’s call to those who had not previously sought or known him (65:1)

B¹ The Lord’s requital on those who have rebelled and followed cults (2-7)

C¹ A preserved remnant, his servants, who will inherit his land (8-10)

D¹ Those who forsake the Lord and follow cults are destined for slaughter because he called and they did not answer but chose what did not please him (11-12)

E Joys for the Lord’s servants in the new creation The new Jerusalem and its people (13-25)

D² Those who have chosen their own way and their improper worship. They are under judgment because the Lord called and they did not answer but chose what did not please him (66:1-4)

C² The glorious future of those who tremble at the Lord’s word, the miracle children of Zion, the Lord’s servants (5-14)

B² Judgment on those who follow cults (15-17)

A² The Lord’s call to those who have not previously heard (18-21)

Conclusion: Jerusalem, pilgrimage centre for the whole world (22-24)

See *Prophecy of Isaiah* 522-23.

Although this structural analysis is based primarily on the Hebrew text, it is largely applicable to the Greek text. As for his comments on the interpretation of נִמְצְאָתִי and נִדְרַשְׁתִּי as ‘tolerative niphāl’ and the translation of קָרָא to be passive or active, although they might not be immediately applicable to the Greek text, it is not entirely unhelpful because we cannot exclude the possibility that Paul’s citation is based on the Hebrew text.

¹⁴² Shum’s critique to Motyer’s analysis is not entirely fair and convincing, especially his statement that ‘Motyer’s analysis betrays his attempts to harmonize the discrepancy of Paul’s use of Isa. 65:1’ is but a mere speculation without any textual support. It is, at best, an argument from silence because there is no mention of Paul at all throughout Motyer’s analysis in these sections. *Paul’s Use* 228.

Motyer's reading of the Isaianic text does explain that Paul's application of the text is not at odds with its original literary context. However, the question why this particular passage is used to support Paul's argument is still left unanswered. On the one hand, there is no doubt that the vision of incorporating the Gentiles into God's people is not foreign to the book of Isaiah (e.g. Isa. 56:1-8). The promise of Yahweh to bring the scattered Israelites to his 'holy mountain' and to gather the outcasts to his people is set within the larger context of 'the new things' promised in Second Isaiah (42:9; 43:19; 48:6; 56:6-7).¹⁴³ Therefore, the eschatological vision of the inclusion of the Gentiles into God's people seen in Isa. 65:1 concurs with the entire Isaianic theology concerning the Gentile nations. On the other hand, we cannot avoid the particular question that is associated with the present passage, of what the significance is of the specific citation that is taken from Isa. 65:1. Therefore, without denying the possibility of Motyer's reading, it appears that the issues of intended meaning and broader significance of the citation of Isa. 65:1-2 in Ro. 10:20-21 can be approached from a different direction.

First of all, the two passages of citation in view should not be treated in isolation with each other, as they are both taken from the same literary context, though each passage has a different referent. The fact that the beginning two verses of Isa. 65 have been cited at all suggests that its broader context is in view. The way in which Paul puts the two Isaianic passages together reflects that there is a linkage existing between divine revelation to the Gentiles and his indictment of Israel's disobedience and unbelief. In addition, central to the case in favour of such a linkage is the fact that in the immediate context Paul cited Dt. 32:21, in which Paul associates God's gracious act towards the not-nation/foolish nation with divine judgment on Israel. Paul's attempt to collaborate these two scriptural texts underscores that he detects such thematic connection shared between the texts. In order to appreciate the force of Isa. 65:1-2 in Paul's argument, we will investigate how the two verses are to be understood in their wider literary context.

¹⁴³ Indeed, in the early Jewish literature, there are various ideas concerning the form in which the Gentiles may take part in and share the eschatological blessings with the Israelites. The most significant forms include: to become a proselyte or a sympathizer, to be subjugated by Israel, or total conversion to Israel's God. For a helpful discussion and comprehensive source, see Terence L. Donaldson, *Judaism and the Gentiles: Jewish Patterns of Universalism (to 135 CE)* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2007); also his *Paul and the Gentiles: Remapping the Apostle's Convictional World* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1997), esp. 51-78.

Isaiah 65 in its wider literary context

That Isaiah 65-66 form the conclusion to the book of Isaiah represents the consensus held by the majority of Isaiah scholarship.¹⁴⁴ The central concern of the chapters is the fate of God's faithful servants and the rebellious one. The overall message is that the humble or 'those who tremble at Yahweh's word will be restored and the wicked will be punished. As such, the line between the two groups coincides more or less with the boundary of the group described as 'the servants of Yahweh', which is explicitly expressed in particular in Isa. 65:13-15.

As far as the definition of the 'servants of Yahweh' in relation to the ultimate destiny of the Gentiles is concerned, the overwhelming sense of Third Isaiah is positive. In Isa. 56: 6-7, for instance, it speaks of the divine promise that 'the Gentiles who bind themselves to Yahweh to serve him' will be brought to the holy mountain. They may offer their sacrifices and prayers there in 'the house of prayer' and they will be accepted. It also mentions that the temple of God will be a house of prayer for all nations (56:7).¹⁴⁵ As for the future, the dominant expectation is for the complete destruction and annihilation of the rebellious and the unrighteous (Isa. 65:15). Hence, it is noteworthy that for Third Isaiah 'the servants of Yahweh' is not quite the same category as 'the Israelites', but rather the term denotes a group of people who is

¹⁴⁴ Earlier on scholars have noted the verbal parallels between Isaiah 1 and Isaiah 65-66, which indicates that the last two chapters of Isaiah takes up a great deal of vocabulary of Isaiah 1, and thereby forms an *inclusio* that envelops the entire book. E.g.: Leon J. Liebreich, 'The Compilation of the Book of Isaiah,' *JQR* 46 (1955-56) 259-77. In recent decades, more scholars have discovered how these two chapters as a whole presents their theological message by citing and interpreting earlier texts in the book of Isaiah, including not only materials from Isaiah 1 but also throughout the entire book as well, e.g. Isaiah 1, 2-4, 11, 49, 54, 60-62 etc. e.g. Wolfgang Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66. Eine Untersuchung zu den literarischen Bezügen in den letzten elf Kapiteln des Jesajabuches* (BZAW 225; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1994), who argues that Isaiah 65-66 make reference to a variety of Isaianic texts from preceding chapters as part of a larger effort in Trito-Isaiah to define the task of the 'Servant of Yahweh'. Sweeney also argues that these last two chapters of Isaiah not only revisit some of the themes throughout the previous chapters of Isaiah, but also conclude the entire book by reiterating the significant theme of a worldwide revelation and recognition of Yahweh's sovereignty. He points out that this theme is first envisaged in Isaiah 2-4 which portrays the nations' pilgrimage to Zion and the vindication of Jacob/Israel from foreign enemies, and is presented at the end of the book again to tie the entire book together. Sweeney, 'Prophetic Exegesis in Isaiah 65-66,' 1:457.

¹⁴⁵ Although Paul does not explicitly cite this specific text in his epistles, the idea of Gentiles participating in eschatological priestly service which is pleasing and acceptable to God is nevertheless present in Ro. 15:16, 23-29, a passage which will be discussed in the next chapter.

characterized by responding to Yahweh in fear and trembling at his words (Isa. 66:2, 5) over against those who do not answer to Yahweh's call (Isa. 66:4). In short, throughout these chapters, a clear distinction has been made between the rebellious and the unrighteous that are doomed for destruction and the righteous ones who are destined to participate in divine blessings, which include even the Gentiles. The fundamental dividing line is not drawn between Jew and Gentile but between the ones whom Yahweh esteems and the rest that Yahweh chooses for harsh treatment (Isa. 66:2, 4).¹⁴⁶ In the light of this, Sweeney observes that the introductory statements in 65:1-2 function in two ways: it announces judgment against the wicked who refuse to acknowledge Yahweh and respond to his call, and it appeals to the intended audience to accept Yahweh's offer and not to be included among the wicked.¹⁴⁷

Against this wider backdrop, we may have a firmer foundation upon which the interpretation of Isa. 65:1-2 is built. It seems what is important for Paul is the divine mercy shown to the Gentiles and the reactions of the rebellious Israelites to God's calling. In view of the apparent success of his Gentile mission, Paul laments over the rejection of his kinsfolk to God's righteousness and salvation and grapples with the question why God's salvation to his own people the Israelites seems to tarry. The overarching issue with which Paul is wrestling demonstrates a striking similarity with that of Isa. 65:1ff. These two chapters of Isaiah represent a response from Yahweh to the lament of his people as to why God's salvation tarries (Isa. 63:7-64:12).¹⁴⁸ The answer provided by these verses, as Paul understands it, is that God determines to show mercy to the Gentiles, i.e. those who did not seek him, and to a rebellious group that refuses to submit to Yahweh's salvation but insists on its own plans (65:2; cf. 55:8-9 for the same term).¹⁴⁹ In other words, the salvation of Israel is

¹⁴⁶ Of course, the line dividing the ethnic identity of Jew and Gentile is by no means abolished. The ethnic distinction is only relativized in relation to the participation of the eschatological blessings, but it is not removed in a fundamental way.

¹⁴⁷ Sweeney, 'Prophetic Exegesis in Isaiah 65-66,' 460.

¹⁴⁸ Charles C. Torrey, *The Second Isaiah: A New Interpretation* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1928) 466-67.

¹⁴⁹ W. Brueggemann, *Isaiah 40-66* 240.

slow to come not because of God's indifference to his people but rather due to the people's rebellion and sin that has caused the nation to stumble and fall.¹⁵⁰

In addition, God's indictment of the disobedient and unrighteous is defined in the category of idolatry and pride, seeking other gods and ignoring the instructions of God (Isa. 65: 3-5). These themes echo well Paul's statements of Israel's wrongdoing in Romans 9-11, namely, that Israel seeks to obtain righteousness by following its own way, i.e. by observance of the Law instead of submitting to God's way, through faith in Christ. Therefore, when Isa. 65:1-2 is read within the larger context of Isa. 65-66, Paul's use of the text is not only understandable but also reveals deep insight.

In summary, there are several probable reasons for Paul applying this verse to the Gentiles. First of all, linguistically, it is very likely that the concern for God's mercy shown to the 'nation' in the Isaianic text caught Paul's attention. The text describes the nations as those who 'did not call on my name' (τῷ ἔθνει οἷ οὐκ ἐκάλεσάν μου τὸ ὄνομα) which seems to be an appropriate depiction of the 'Gentiles' who did not pursue God's righteousness (Ro. 9:30). Second, the internal development of the Isaianic text of Isaiah 65 and 66 also centres on the inclusion of 'Gentiles' in the last days. The Gentiles are characterized in Romans by having not heard of the name and having not seen the glory of Israel's God.¹⁵¹ The eschatological salvation envisaged in Isaiah is that Yahweh gathers people from all nations and thus the name and glory of Yahweh should go forth to the distant lands of the known world. The Gentile nations thus shall be shown God's mercy just as the Israelites. Thirdly, and even more striking is that the Gentile nations are not only welcomed into God's people but also appointed to priesthood. This is even more remarkable when it is compared with

¹⁵⁰ Paul D. Hanson, *Isaiah 40-66* (Louisville: John Knox: 1995) 241. Some other scholars also hold a similar view e.g. Brueggemann, *Isaiah 40-66* 239; and David N. Carr, 'Reading Isaiah from Beginning (Isaiah 1) to End (Isaiah 65-66): Multiple Modern Possibilities,' in *New Visions of Isaiah*, edited by Melugin and Sweeney (JSOTSup 214; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996) 188-21.

¹⁵¹ The climax of the vision is expressed in Isa. 66:18, which speaks of the 'nations' being gathered by Yahweh and thus seeing the glory of Yahweh. In addition, it also envisages that the 'survivors' (פְּלִיטִים, σεσωσμένους) of Israel, i.e. restored Jews, will be sent to all parts of the nations (אֶל-הַגּוֹיִם, εἰς τὰ ἔθνη), who will go where the news of Yahweh has never been heard (οἷ οὐκ ἀκηκόασιν μου τὸ ὄνομα οὐδὲ ἑωράκασιν τὴν δόξαν μου) before so as to declare his glory among the nations (ἀναγγελοῦσιν μου τὴν δόξαν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν). The commission of messengers to make the proclamation (ἀναγγέλλω) resonates with Paul's argument in the present context. This theme emerges again in Ro. 15:21 where Paul cites Isa. 52:15, and the same word for 'proclaim' (ἀναγγέλλω) is employed. This point will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

4QIsa^a, in which the texts referred to foreigners serving as priests in the temple are omitted. The Gentiles will be designated as ‘priests and Levites’, whose status and role were formerly reserved and restricted only to a particular group of Jewish people. This point will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter of the study.

What functions does the citation of Isa. 65:1-2 serve in Paul’s interpretation of his Gentile mission? There are at least three. First, Paul affirms the divine promise of salvation by linking the eschatological hope to obedient response to God’s calling.¹⁵² The oracles of Isaiah in these two chapters envisage that God will show mercy to the Gentiles by accepting them as his people. Meanwhile, those Israelites who continue to turn to idolatry and fail to respond to his invitation will be treated harshly. In Paul’s view, the obedience of faith is of paramount significance to salvation. Second, and closely related to the first, in accordance with the Isaianic vision, Paul is also clear that the dividing line between God’s people is not drawn so much on the basis of ethnic identity but rather on their response to God’s decisive salvific act of mercy. In Paul’s view, God has shown his mercy to both groups of people, i.e. both the Gentiles (that he reveals himself to them) and the Israelites (he stretches his hand to them all day long), but the two groups of people respond in remarkably different ways. Third and finally, Paul expresses in a more indirect manner that salvation has not yet come upon ‘all Israel’ because of her sins that have still not been removed.

Of course, Paul’s application of the Isaianic texts includes some notions that are not present, at least explicitly, in their original context. For instance, the motif of jealousy is not clearly detected in the Isaianic text but appears to be imported predominantly from Dt. 32:21. In addition, Paul both agrees with his Jewish contemporaries that salvation is to be proclaimed to the Jews first, and also differs with them in the sense that Israel’s unbelief is part and parcel of God’s salvation plan, through which salvation comes to the Gentiles. Maybe it was a surprise to many of the Jews in Paul’s day that salvation of all Israel would come only after the fullness of Gentiles being achieved.

How, then, does Paul understand the dynamic of his Gentile mission and the salvation of all Israel? What role is his Gentile mission playing within the wider

¹⁵² Childs, *Isaiah* 456-57.

context of God's salvific acts for humanity? With these questions in mind, we move on to discuss the citations of Isaiah in Romans 11.

III. Paul's use of Isaiah in Romans 11

Ro. 11:26-27 and Isa 59:20-21a; 27:9a

The last instance of Isaianic citation in Romans 9-11 to be examined is a composite quotation comprising Isa. 59:20-21a (Ro. 11:26b-27a) and a clause from Isa. 27:9b (Ro. 11:27b).¹⁵³ In the immediate context, Paul continues to deal with the issues of God's faithfulness to Israel and the salvation of Israel. Paul believes that Israel's stumble is only *temporary* and *partial* and it has served the purpose of the extending of God's salvation to the Gentiles. By way of citing a composite of Isaianic texts, Paul asserts the certainty of the salvation of 'all Israel' after the fullness of the Gentiles has come in. The cited texts follow the LXX closely, though with some variations. The various texts from which Paul could have drawn are compared in the following table.¹⁵⁴ A brief discussion of the most significant distinctions will follow.

¹⁵³ Some commentators think that Paul may also allude to the 'new covenant' passage of Jer. 31:31-34, e.g. Schreiner, *Romans* 619; Stott, *Romans* 304 (though in the footnote he concedes that the association of the covenant with the removal of sins may be inspired by Jer. 31:33f). However, the verbal parallels between Paul's citation and Isa. 27:9 seem to support the present view. The possibility of allusion to Jeremiah will not be entirely ruled out, but it will not be discussed further as it falls out of the scope of the present study. For supporters of the present view, see Cranfield, *Romans* II: 548; Moo, *Romans* 711.

¹⁵⁴ The LXX and MT texts are rendered differently at two points: (1) In the MT, the preposition ל is placed before צִיּוֹן, which is to be taken as indicating location, i.e. the deliverer will come *to* Zion, while the LXX has ἕνεκεν, interpreting it as 'for the sake of' Zion. There is no strong evidence for the reading of ἐκ Σιῶν in the Greek texts. (2) In the MT and Isaiah Targum, the Hebrew participial construction לְשׁוּבֵי (to those who turn) is rendered in the LXX with a finite future transitive verb ἀποστρέψει (he will turn). This change indicates the redeemer's future action is more emphasized in the Greek rendering.

Romans 11:26b-27a	Isaiah 59:20-21a LXX	Isaiah 27:9b LXX
καθὼς γέγραπται ἥξει ἐκ Σιών ὁ ρύόμενος, ἀποστρέψει ἀσεβείας ἀπὸ Ἰακώβ. καὶ αὕτη αὐτοῖς ἡ παρ' ἐμοῦ διαθήκη, ὅταν ἀφέλωμαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν	καὶ ἥξει ἕνεκεν Σιών ὁ ρύόμενος καὶ ἀποστρέψει ἀσεβείας ἀπὸ Ἰακωβ. καὶ αὕτη αὐτοῖς ἡ παρ' ἐμοῦ διαθήκη,	 ὅταν ἀφέλωμαι αὐτοῦ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν
<p style="text-align: right;">Isaiah 59:20-21a MT</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ובא לציון גואל ולשבי פשע ביעקב נאם יהוה: ואני זאת בריתי אותם</p>		
<p style="text-align: right;">Isaiah 27:9b MT</p> <p style="text-align: center;">לכן בזאת יכפר עון־יעקב וזה כל־פרי הסר חטאתו</p>		

The text-form

There is no significant difference found between the cited texts of Ro. 11:27a and Isa. 27:9b, but it is not the case with Ro. 11:26b and Isa. 59:20a. The most distinctive difference between the texts of the latter case is perhaps the preposition before the noun ‘Zion’, which is hard to ignore. While the LXX of Isa. 59:20a says that the redeemer will come ‘for the sake of Zion’ (ἕνεκεν Σιών), the MT has ‘to Zion’ (לציון), Paul’s version goes against both versions, and indeed all known Greek and Hebrew versions, with his use of ‘out of/from Zion’ (ἐκ Σιών).¹⁵⁵ Therefore, we may assume that Paul is either drawing upon his source from a text that is no longer available to us or he makes the text his own. The latter option is very likely for the reasons including: (1) there is no extant textual evidence that lends support to Paul’s

¹⁵⁵ Instead of having the preposition ל, as in the MT, 1QIsa^a has the more emphatic preposition אל.

version; (2) the usual equivalent of the Greek word ἐκ is מִן in Hebrew, and though the preposition מִן is rendered in various ways in the LXX, there is no instance that it is rendered as ἐκ;¹⁵⁶ and (3) the notion that the deliverer will come out of/from Zion is divergent from its MT text. Nevertheless, even if the variation is not originally from Paul's hand, the result of the analysis in the present study will not be greatly affected because Paul at least opts for the present version that conveys his conviction that Zion is the location from which the redeemer will come.

The conflation of two Isaianic Texts

Scholars hold different views on the origin of the conflation of these two specific Isaianic texts.¹⁵⁷ Given rich discussions have already been put forward, we find it neither possible nor necessary to rehearse the history of the discussion here, and only a brief summary should suffice for the purpose. Indeed, not all scholars have agreed that the conflation of the two Isaianic passages can be traced back to the hand of Paul himself. C. D. Stanley, for instance, has argued that the quotation in view is drawn 'not directly from the Jewish Scriptures, but rather from a Jewish oral tradition in which Isa. 59:20 and Isa. 27:9 had already been conflated and adapted to give voice to a particular interpretation of Yahweh's coming intervention on behalf of his oppressed people Israel.'¹⁵⁸ However, a careful examination of the evidence leads us to conclude that his arguments are difficult to support.¹⁵⁹ This study will analyze the

¹⁵⁶ 'מִן,' BDB, The Hebrew preposition מִן is a very flexible word and is rendered in a various ways in the LXX. The most frequent translation of מִן in Greek is πρὸς, indicating direction when it is used with verbs like looking, listening, attending, or saying, calling, vowing etc. In addition, it is rendered in the LXX as ἐναντι when it is used in conjunction with verbs related to dealing/acting, such as sin against (e.g. Lev. 5:19). Besides, it is used also to indicate locality, e.g. κατά (before one's face), 1 Kg 1:23. Furthermore, it also denotes the direct object of a verb, and in this case it is rendered by a dative in the Greek. Additionally, it is also used to express the purpose of an action and is rendered as εἰς in the LXX, e.g. Isa. 36:9.

¹⁵⁷ Although most scholars agree that the scriptural citation is a conflation of two Isaianic passages, they are not all convinced that it comes from Paul's hand. The strongest proponent for its pre-Pauline origin is C. D. Stanley, see his 'The Redeemer will Come ἐκ Σιών: Romans 11:26-27,' in *Paul and the Scriptures of Israel*, ed., C. A. Evans & J. A. Sanders (JSNTS 83/SSEJC 1; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993) 118-42; cf. idem., *Language of Scripture* 170ff.

¹⁵⁸ Stanley, 'The Redeemer will Come,' 126.

¹⁵⁹ Shum has launched a comprehensive critique of Stanley's view. In summary Shum found Stanley's argument unconvincing for the following reasons. First, Stanley believes that διαθήκη is an intended emphasis in this citation, but Shum challenges that the mere use of the word διαθήκη does not prove that Paul intends an emphasis on the notion in the cited text. Second, in response to Stanley's argument that tends to undermine the significance of the concept of the removal of Israel's sins in

citation as it appears in Paul's letter and presume Pauline authorship based on the judgment that Shum's argument is more cogent than his counterparts.

If the text-form and the conflation indeed find their origin in Paul, then the question that follows naturally will be: (1) how does Paul interpret these texts as they appear in his argumentation? (2) How is this relevant to Paul's conception of the manner of Israel's salvation? And (3) what is its significance to Paul's self-understanding of his Gentile mission in the present context? To these questions scholars have various opinions and no interpretative consensus has been reached. Before answering the above questions, it is necessary to examine the two Isaianic texts within their immediate literary contexts so that the full force of these cited texts can be more accurately identified and appreciated.

Isa. 59:20-21 and Isa. 27:9a in their literary contexts

Isaiah 59 is a significant chapter that expresses Israel's sin and wickedness (59:2-8, 15), the question of God's righteousness (59:16-19), and the reason why the salvation of Israel has been slow to come (59:1). The prophecy asserts that it is not that God has no power to save but it is the sin of Israel that makes God to tally his visitation, and that it is Israel's wickedness and her sins that have caused the slowness of salvation. Towards the end of the prophecy, a group of repentant Israelites confess their sins and await God's mercy.¹⁶⁰ Then there is a promise that a deliverer will come and turn the rebellious from Jacob for the sake of his covenant with Israel (59:20ff).

Paul's writings, Shum illustrates with examples from other Pauline epistles that it is a significant notion in Paul's theology. Stanley's third argument is that there is a sudden break of Paul's quotation of Isa. 59:20 at the point where the divine covenant is linked with the coming of the Spirit, which would serve his argument well if the citation were not broken off there. Shum responds that the conflation serves Paul's argument well because Paul's point here is on salvation and forgiveness of sins rather than the giving of the Spirit. Finally, in response to Stanley's contention that the use of ἐκ Σιῶν instead of ἔνεκεν Σιῶν in Rom. 11:26b is pre-Pauline and Jewish, Shum argues that without sufficient evidence to the contrary, it is equally possible that Paul might have been inspired by the Jewish eschatological expectations, and reading it in the light of the Christ event he made the alteration when he quoted the Isaianic text. For more details, see Shum, *Paul's Use of Isaiah in Romans* 236-39.

¹⁶⁰ Childs, *Isaiah*, 490.

Isaiah 27, on the other hand, is an oracle about Israel's salvation after divine punishment. In Isa. 27:7 the prophet by way of asking rhetorical question affirms that Yahweh did not deal with Israel the same way as he dealt with Israel's enemies. His chastisement was fierce but not endless (27:8). The oracle stresses that Yahweh did not strike Jacob/Israel in order to bring her to destruction. Instead, Yahweh handed the Israelites over to warfare and exile only temporarily and for the purpose of removing her sin and eventually saving her (27:9). It is noteworthy that in the present context, though Jacob/Israel has suffered a severe divine penalty, including warfare and exile, she will eventually be redeemed by divine intervention bringing about the removal of sin (ἀφέλωμαι αὐτοῦ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν).

A closer look at the immediate contexts of these two texts makes it clear that they share a similar vision of the eschatological restoration of Israel, which is characterized by the removal of the nation's sinfulness and ungodliness. Both of the passages are set in the broader context of the account of Israel's apparent failure and suffering subsequent to their rebellion, and the divine promises are announced to those who are bearing divine chastisement (Cf. Isa. 59:9-11; 27:7-8, 10). Paul's use of the texts demonstrates both continuity and discontinuity with his source texts. In terms of continuity, Paul shares Isaiah's view that the primary hindrance to salvation of ethnic, historical Israel is not so much political oppression but rather Israel's own sinfulness.¹⁶¹ It was most probably that a distinctive stress on the removal of Israel's sins had induced Paul to draw together these two texts. More specifically, the emphasis of the quotation upon the removal of Jacob's ungodliness is manifested in both the terminology itself (τὴ ἁμαρτία and ἀσεβείας) and the context into which it has been inserted (Ro. 11:30, 32). Its immediate context is the explanation of the hardening that Israel experienced. This follows upon the account of God's mercy shown to both groups of people, namely, Jew and Gentile, who are characterized by ἀσεβείας. In the broader context of Romans 9-11, this ungodliness is also expressed as disobedience (οὐ ὑπακούω; 10:16).¹⁶² Paul contends that the divine hardening of Israel and the disobedience of Israel are inseparable. This resonates so well with the

¹⁶¹ Cranfield also noticed that Paul's view is in stark contrast to that of the general Jewish expectation that is focused on political agendas. *Romans* II: 563.

¹⁶² The terms that Paul uses to describe the unbelieving Jew also include ἀπειθέω (10:21), ἀντιλέγω (10:21, 11:30, 31; 15:31).

broader context of Isa. 59 and 27, within which divine chastisement and Israel's sinfulness are succinctly portrayed.¹⁶³

The second aspect that indicates Paul's awareness of the wider context of the Isaianic texts is perhaps the unique stress on the future hope of the salvation of Israel despite the plight she is experiencing in the present. In Paul's view, the hope of Israel's salvation is nothing less than the coming of the Deliverer. The quoted text refers to the nation Israel by the name of Ἰακώβ, which fits well with the thematic connection to the reference to Ἰακώβ in Ro. 9:6-13. In 9:6, Paul attempts to redefine the two understandings of the term Ἰσραήλ, by setting up a distinction within ethnic Israel between those who are elected and those who are not, and the term Ἰακώβ is used to represent those who are elected according to God's call.¹⁶⁴ There are several other linguistic markers in Ro. 11:25-32 that point to the beginning of Paul's argument in Ro. 9 about the identity of true Israel, including: (1) 'God's call' (κλήσις τοῦ θεοῦ) of Israel (9: 7, 12; 11:29); (2) 'God's election' (ἐκλογή) of Israel (9:11; 11:5, 7, 28); and (3) Jacob whom God loves (ἀγαπάω; 9:13) and Jacob who is God's 'beloved' (ἀγαπητός; 11:28). Therefore, Paul's argument on God's faithfulness to his chosen people Israel comes to full circle when he asserts that Ἰακώβ will be turned from ungodliness and will have its sins taken away when the Deliverer comes, thereby πᾶς Ἰσραήλ will be saved in Ro. 11:26.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶³ This notion is intimately linked with Paul's understanding of God's justice in relation to Israel's salvation, as we have discussed earlier in his appropriation of Isaianic passages (e.g. Isa. 42:1-9; 49:1-7; 52:7-10).

¹⁶⁴ James W. Aageson, 'Scripture and Structure,' 285.

¹⁶⁵ A note on Paul's use of the term 'all Israel' is in order. What the precise meaning of the phrase 'all Israel will be saved' is as intended by Paul has generated a great number of scholarly debates. In summary, there are several possibilities proposed by scholars. First, 'all Israel' refers to the elect within Israel. This reading is based on Paul's earlier redefinition of Israel in Ro. 9:6, where he says, 'Not all those from Israel are Israel' and his citation of Isa. 10:22-23 in Ro. 9:27, where he proved 'only a remnant of them will be saved.' The redefinition of Israel separates the ethnic Israel into two groups: one group belongs merely biologically to God's people, and the other is chosen by God's sovereignty. Therefore, by 'all Israel', according to this view, Paul was probably referring to the remnant at the present time as well as those who came into faith later on. The problem of this view, however, is that when Paul was speaking of 'all Israel', he is also having the parallel term 'fullness of Gentiles' in mind. In addition, it will not make much sense if the phrase refers only to a small group of or remnant and minority of Jewish believers, when we take Paul's vision that when the fullness of Israel comes in, the benefit to the world is even resurrection from the dead!

Second, 'all Israel' refers to the church, comprised both of the believing Jews and Gentiles. It is so-called 'true Israel' or 'spiritual Israel'. This view has been supported by some of the church fathers, e.g. Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Theodore of Mopsuestia and Theodoret (as noted by Fitzmyer).

Before moving on to discuss the distinctiveness of Paul's reading of the Isaianic texts, a note on the interpretation of the phrase καὶ οὕτως in 11:26 is in order. The term can either be taken as temporal,¹⁶⁶ sequential,¹⁶⁷ or modal.¹⁶⁸ The last option certainly is most convincing. The 'manner' of Israel's salvation is the process that Paul has outlined in 11:11-24 and has summarized in 11:25b: God imposes a hardening on most of Israel while the Gentiles come into the messianic salvation, with the Gentiles' salvation leading in turn to Israel's jealousy and her own salvation. As Moo rightly points out, 'this means that καὶ οὕτως, while not having a temporal meaning, has a temporal reference: for the manner in which all Israel is saved involves a process that unfolds in definite stages.'¹⁶⁹ In short, although Paul's description of the mystery does not offer us a timetable or any other specific details for the when and

They interpreted 'all Israel' as the entire spiritual Israel. This view is supported by Paul's use of the term 'Israel' in Gal. 6:16, where Israel is probably referring to the church which comprised both Jews and Gentiles, and this 'true Israel' has replaced the ethnic Israel as the true spiritual heir to God's blessings originally promised to ethnic Israel. However, this view is not without problem. First, Paul's focus throughout Ro. 9-11 is the problem of ethnic Israel in the salvation history of God. He used the term 'Israel' consistently to refer to ethnic Israel in these three chapters, and nowhere does he seem to suggest that the place of ethnic Israel has been occupied or replaced by the church, as spiritual Israel. Paul on the one hand affirms that salvation is open to both Jews and Gentiles, and people from all nations are adopted into the new family of God through faith in his Son Jesus Christ, but on the other hand he does not nullify the difference between these two groups of people. Nor does he deny the special role and status of ethnic Israel in the salvation history of God. Second, Paul stresses that God has not rejected ethnic Israel. This is proved by his preservation of a remnant of Israel, and indeed Paul himself, as a sign of his mercy on them. Third, Paul stresses that the hardening of Israel is only partial and temporary in order to serve the good purpose of God, i.e. salvation may come upon the Gentiles. Once this purpose is fully achieved, i.e. 'the fullness of Gentiles' has come in, Paul believes, all Israel will once again be accepted and saved. Therefore, the future of ethnic Israel is in view here. For those who oppose this view, see Dunn, *Romans 9-16* II: 681; Bell, *Irrevocable Call*, 260.

Third, 'all Israel' refers to all of ethnic Israel, the elect and the rest combined. In other words, it refers to the nation generally. This view is supported by the fact that Paul's use of the term in Rom. 9-11 ten times, and each refers to ethnic Israel (9:6 (x2), 27 (x2), 31; 10:19,21; 11:2, 7, 25). Moo, *Romans* 722.

For a more detailed discussion, see Bruce Longenecker, 'Different Answers to Different Issues: Israel, the Gentiles and Salvation History in Romans 9-11,' *JSNT* 36 (1989) 95-123; Hvalvik, 'Sonderweg,' *JSNT* 38 (1990) 87-107.

¹⁶⁶ According to this view, the adverb is to be translated as 'and then'. So that Paul means here that all Israel will be saved after the events depicted in v.25 has accomplished. E.g. Dunn, *Romans*; Barrett, *Romans*.

¹⁶⁷ It is used to introduce a consequence or conclusion, and thus the sentence should be taken as referring to 'all Israel will be saved in consequence of the process depicted in 11:25b.' See Hofius, 'Das Evangelium und Israel,' 198-200; Kim, *Origin* 83-84.

¹⁶⁸ So the phrase is used to indicate manner, linking the sentence with what comes before. Therefore, Ro. 11:25 will go like this: 'And in this manner all Israel will be saved.'

¹⁶⁹ Moo, *Romans* 720.

how of all Israel's salvation, he does provide a clue for the conditions to be fulfilled for its realization.

Moving on to Paul's appropriation of the Isaianic texts, we may notice that his reading has created a new level of meaning which is not explicit within their original context. First of all, the referent in Isa. 59:20 within the original context is apparently Yahweh himself¹⁷⁰ and yet in Paul's literary context it is Christ to whom he is referring. Central to the case in favour of such a soteriological and Christological interpretation is the fact that a linkage exists between the terminology *ῥύμαι* and the eschatological salvation by Christ in Paul's thought.¹⁷¹ First, in Romans 9-11, the language of salvation is given an explicitly Christocentric definition in 10:9: 'for if you confess with your lips that Jesus is Lord and believe in your heart that God raised him from the dead, you will be saved (σωθήσῃ).' Furthermore, it is particularly clearly expressed in 1 Th. 1:10 that the expectation of Christ's (second) coming is associated with the belief in his redeeming believers from the impending divine judgment. Similarly, the scriptural text quoted in Ro. 11:26 promises a solution to the problem of sin and ungodliness. Thus, contained within this citation is a remarkable Christology which contributes to Paul's overall portrait of Jesus Christ, and although the designation 'Saviour' is absent here, one cannot ignore the image of a saviour who removes the sin of his people, a motif which is so strongly presented in Ro. 3:21-26 and 4:25. Paul's citations focus on God's forgiveness of sins and on Israel's need of it, thus making it clear that in Paul's view the true nature of Israel's salvation is ultimately a matter of forgiveness of sins. If this reading is correct, then the 'two-covenant' proposal will not be valid.¹⁷² For throughout Romans, indeed in all the

¹⁷⁰ As indicated by the first personal pronoun as the subject of the utterance, which refers to the subject of the verb (ἔκω) in the content of the oracle.

¹⁷¹ This term *ῥύμαι* occurs five times in the seven undisputed Pauline letters (Ro. 7:24; 11:26; 15:31; 2 Cor. 1:10; 1 Th. 1:10), of which four cases are explicitly used in reference to the eschatological salvation. As for its occurrence in Ro. 15:31, where Paul uses the term to refer to his 'being delivered' from the hands of the Jews in order that his missionary service may succeed, although its connection with the eschatological salvation is not immediately clear, given that the eschatological significance of Paul's Gentile mission is so clearly presented in Romans, at least as Paul understands it, the presence of such a soteriological/Christological connotation is not to be lightly dismissed. For other arguments in favour of the present position, see Wilk, *Die Bedeutung* 99-100; Moo, *Romans* 727; Cranfield, *Romans* II: 578; Dunn, *Romans* II: 692.

¹⁷² The 'two-covenant' theology was first put forward by Krister Stendahl who argued that there are two different tracks of salvation: the Christians and the believing remnant and the Gentiles come to salvation through believing in Christ Jesus, whilst the remaining parts of ethnic Israel may rely on

Pauline epistles, there is not a hint of a special way for the removal of the sins of humanity apart from the decisive work of Christ, and thus it is inconceivable to maintain that there is a special way of salvation for the Jews.¹⁷³

Secondly, as observed above, Paul reads the prophecy of the redeemer as coming *from* Zion and not *to* Zion. Instead of emphasizing the vision of Yahweh's return to Zion, Paul seems to shift the focus to the location/origin from which the Deliverer will come. Although it is possible to argue that the term may refer to the physical, historical, and earthly Zion,¹⁷⁴ it is more likely that this reference is pointing forward to the *parousia* of Christ, and thus the term Zion in view is referring to the heavenly Zion, as most commentators cogently contended.¹⁷⁵ It is crucial to note that although Paul nowhere in Romans explicitly mentions the (second) coming of Christ the Lord, there is no lack of evidence of his conviction for the *parousia* of Christ in other Pauline letters (e.g. 1 Th. 2:19; 1 Cor. 15:23). In addition, the whole notion of the coming of the Deliverer is set within the context of God's 'mystery', which carries a strong connotation of apocalypse. The use of the word 'mystery' to designate such knowledge betrays how Paul sees the nature of the knowledge: it is only through divine revelation that man may see how the purposes of God are working themselves

God's covenant with them. *Paul among Jews and Gentiles* 4ff. For a critical review, see Reidar Hvalvik, 'A Sonderweg' for Israel: A Critical Examination of a Current Interpretation of Romans 11:25-27,' *JSNT* 38 (1990) 87-107; Scott Hafemann, 'The Salvation of Israel in Romans 11:25-32: A Response to Krister Stendahl,' *Ex Auditu* 4 (1988) 38-58. However, it is beyond the scope of the present study to be involved in further discussion on this issue.

¹⁷³ Klaus Haacker observes that Paul's teaching of the salvation of Israel here is very similar to his message through out Romans. He remarks, 'The lack of any reference to faith is sometimes paralleled with the conversion of Paul himself, who was converted by an overwhelming revelation of the risen Lord in a way which leaves little room for the notion of a "decision" for Christ and belief in a message.' This is a highly possible explanation for the lack of 'justified by faith' language here. See his *The Theology of Paul's Letter to the Romans* (New Testament Theology Series; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) 94.

¹⁷⁴ E.g. Fitzmyer, *Romans* 624; Barry G. Webb, 'Zion in Transformation: A Literary Approach to Isaiah,' in David J. A. Clines, Stephen E. Fowl, and Stanley E. Porter eds., *Bible in Three Dimensions: Essays in Celebration of Forty Years of Biblical Studies in the University of Sheffield* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990) 68-69; Reidar Hvalvik, 'A "Sonderweg" for Israel,' *JSNT* 38 (1990) 87-107, esp. 92-93.

¹⁷⁵ Dunn is one of the representatives of this view, who writes, 'since he [Paul] refers the scripture to the eschatological climax he would not be thinking of Jesus' previous historical association with Jerusalem, rather of his Parousia from heaven to Jerusalem or from the heavenly Jerusalem (cf. again 1 Thessalonians 1:10; also Galatians 4:26). This is the first and only time Paul speaks of Christ's second coming in this letter.' Dunn, *Romans* II: 692. Other interpreters holding this position include: Moo, *Romans* 728; Schreiner, *Romans* 619; Stuhlmacher, *Romans* 171.

out in history. Moo, following Wilcken, maintains that Paul's notion of 'mystery' is loaded with 'a technical theological meaning derived from Jewish apocalyptic.'¹⁷⁶ In addition, Paul also characterizes his gospel message as the revelation of God, which speaks of a mystery that had been 'hidden' from God's people in the past but now revealed in the gospel (e.g. 1 Cor. 2:1, 7; 4:1; 15:51).¹⁷⁷ In addition, as Bockmuehl rightly argued, the notion of 'mystery' in Paul is intimately related to and should be understood within the framework of revelation. More specifically, the mystery to which Paul often refers is none other than the revelation of God, whose content is Jesus is Christ, the Messiah and the saviour.¹⁷⁸ Therefore, the language and content of Paul's message have reflected a strong redemptive emphasis and future orientation.

Thirdly, and finally, although the prophecy of these two Isaianic passages strikes a note of hope in the midst of Israel's gloomy situation, it does not mention any possible benefits to the Gentiles, but on the contrary, it merely expresses the fact that Yahweh will subjugate the enemies of Israel (Isa. 59:18-19; cf. 27:7-8). In the Isaianic context, Israel and the nations are presented as being enemies to one another, and the salvation of Israel will result in the subjugation of the Gentile nations. In Ro. 11:28, Israel is presented as ἐχθροί to the gospel for the sake of the Gentile nations, and yet Paul stresses that their status as God's beloved elect remains unchanged. Paul's portrayal of the divine treatment of disobedient Israel is an attempt not only to reveal God's faithfulness to the Israelites despite their unfaithfulness, but also the divine wisdom and mercy expressed in the process. For through the hardening of his own people divine mercy and salvation is extended to the Gentiles. In other words, it is precisely through the obduracy of the Israelites that the good news of salvation has reached out to the Gentiles (Ro. 11:25). However, this situation has a limit. When the fullness of the Gentiles has come in, the Isaianic promise of Israel's salvation will

¹⁷⁶ Moo paraphrases the definition of mystery given by Wilcken as follows: 'In these writings [Jewish apocalyptic] "mystery" usually refers to an event of the end times that has already been determined by God – and so, in that sense, exist already in heaven – but which is first revealed to the apocalyptic seer for the comfort and encouragement of the people of Israel.' Moo, *Romans* 714.

¹⁷⁷ Also cf. Eph. 1:9; 3:3, 4, 9; 6:19; Col. 1:26, 27; 2:2, 4:3; 1 Tim 3:9, 16. As Moo observed, 'the mystery involves an event or insight associated with Christ's coming and the preaching of the gospel, but in Rom. 11:25-27 and in 1 Cor. 15:51 it refers to an event at the end of history.' Moo, *Romans* 714.

¹⁷⁸ Markus Bockmuehl, *Revelation and Mystery in Ancient Judaism and Pauline Christianity* (WUNT 2/36; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1990, especially in his discussion on Paul's Christological oriented emphasis on the notion of revelation, 270ff.

also be fulfilled, and thereby God's faithfulness to his people is maintained, and both Jew and Gentile, who were once disobedient, will eventually share the blessings of salvation on account of God's mercy (11:30-31).

As mentioned earlier, God's faithfulness and sovereignty, in Paul's view, secures the promises to his people as well as the abiding election of Israel. The Isaianic passages from which Paul's quotations are taken provide him with the insight that the covenantal love of God for his elect, namely, Israel, and his calling of Israel remain unchanged. More surprisingly, Paul is convinced that it is God himself who has allotted the Jews the role of being enemies of the gospel message that Paul is proclaiming (Ro. 11:7, 11-15; Cf. 15:31; 1 Th. 2:15-16). As a result, their opposition to the gospel and their temporary stumbling do not invalidate the covenantal love of God towards his people (11:28). On the contrary, God's faithfulness to his word and his sovereignty over all these events is the source of hope that his salvific purpose will eventually be accomplished.

Conclusion

In conclusion, Paul's use of Isa. 59:20-21a and Isa. 27:9a serves several purposes in his argument. First, following on from his previous argument in Ro. 9-10, Paul intends to expose *indirectly* Israel's sin and godlessness. Her rebellious rejection of God's way of salvation is expressed in terms of ἀσεβείας, which is also a term that denotes the sin of the Gentiles under divine indictment (Ro. 1:18).¹⁷⁹ This may suggest that Paul has placed the Jews into the same category as the Gentiles with respect to sin and ungodliness. Second, given that both of the Isaianic texts and Paul's citations centre on the remission of Israel's sins as the ultimate purpose of the divine act of salvation, it seems clear that Paul stresses that the hope of Israel lies not in her own righteous behaviour but on the electing grace of God (Ro. 11:32), the covenantal relationship between God and Israel, and the decisive salvific act of God, in this case, the coming of the Deliverer. Third, through a transformation of the cited texts, Paul not only has confirmed God's faithfulness to Israel at the present time but also has shifted the whole focus of discussion to the future salvation of ethnic Israel.

¹⁷⁹ The term occurs only twice in Romans, as indicated here.

He has reinforced the hope of Israel's salvation expressed in the Isaianic texts by pointing the prophecy to the time when *all* Israel will be saved.

Section 3 The Preservation of a Remnant and Paul's Gentile Mission

The previous observations will lead to the discussion of two primary issues arising in relation to Paul's notion of the final salvation of ethnic Israel. First, if Paul is so convinced that on account of God's electing grace and faithfulness Israel 'according to nature' will one day be grafted into the 'cultivated olive tree' of true, spiritual Israel (Ro. 11:24), and the hardening of Israel is limited until the fullness of the Gentiles has come in, then why does he strive to preach to the Gentiles so that he may provoke the jealousy of the Jews in order to save them (Ro. 11:14)? Second, following on the previous question, one will naturally ask: what is the role of Paul as a missionary to the Gentiles in relation to this overarching salvation plan of God?

To answer the question that how Paul's Gentile mission might lead to the salvation of all Israel, we need to clarify first that in what manner the jealousy of Israel is important to Paul. One of the questions that biblical scholarship has grappled with for many decades is whether Paul understands that Israel's salvation is achieved through the 'jealousy' of Jews provoked by his Gentile mission. Some early studies such as Stendahl and Munck have given an affirmative answer.¹⁸⁰ Some other studies have investigated how jealousy is used in the wider context of early Jewish and Christian literature.¹⁸¹ More recent works have taken a broader approach in considering the whole patterns and practises of conversion in Jewish and Christian traditions.¹⁸² The results of these studies are various with some scholars suggesting the jealousy motif plays a significant role in early Jewish literature and Paul (e.g. Bell, Munck) while others claim that the jealousy motif has no particular bearing to

¹⁸⁰ Krister Stendahl, in Johannes Munck, *Christ and Israel: An Interpretation of Romans 9-11* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1967) i-viii; Munck, *Paul and the Salvation of Mankind* (London: SCM, 1959).

¹⁸¹ This strand of study is represented by Richard Bell, *Provoked to Jealousy: The Origin and Purpose of the Jealousy Motif in Romans 9-11* (WUNT 2/63; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994).

¹⁸² The most rigorous study along this line is Terrence L. Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles: Remapping the Apostle's Convictional World* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997); and idem, *Judaism and the Gentiles: Jewish Patterns of Universalism (to 135CE)* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2007).

the salvation of Israel at all.¹⁸³ As the view represented by Munck has been influential to many of the Pauline studies,¹⁸⁴ in the following we will briefly consider his view of the issue before moving on to analyze how Paul understands the role of jealousy and his own Gentile mission in relation to the salvation envisaged in Isaiah.

In *Paul and the Salvation of Mankind*, Johannes Munck has made two observations, namely, (1) Paul is strongly aware of his call to be an apostle to the Gentiles, and (2) he understands God's salvation plan of mankind is accomplished through two stages: first through the rejection of Jews to the gospel as a way to bring salvation to the Gentiles; second, the coming in of the Gentiles as a means to provoke the jealousy of the Jews so as to lead them into repentance and be saved.¹⁸⁵ Munck suggested the link between the two is a significant one. The schema proposed by Munck can be summarized as follows: Paul recognizes that God is reaching out to the Gentiles through the obduracy of Israel and her rejection to the gospel, while at the same time reaching the Jews with his salvation by means of the conversion of the Gentiles. More specifically, Paul understands that the way in which God intends to achieve the

¹⁸³ E.g. Murray Baker, 'Paul and the Salvation of Israel: Paul's Ministry, the Motif of Jealousy, and Israel's Yes,' *CBQ* 67 (2005) 469-84.

¹⁸⁴ Two of the significant followers are: Mark D. Nanos, *The Mystery of Romans: The Jewish Context of Paul's Letter* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996) and John G. Gager, *Reinventing Paul* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). In fact, Stendahl also noticed the overarching concern of the Jews in Paul's Gentile mission, who comments, 'He [Paul] goes so far as to consider the mission of the gentiles and the success of that mission in the name of the Messiah Jesus only as a detour which ultimately must lead to the point where the Jews accept this same Jesus as their Messiah.' K. Stehdahl, *Paul Among the Jews and Gentiles and Other Essays* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976).

¹⁸⁵ The same idea is first expressed in *Christ and Israel*, in which he writes: 'In reality three periods are in question: first, that already described, in which Israel, apart from the remnant, was unbelieving, while the Gentiles received the gospel; next, the period new beginning, when the great results of the mission among the Gentiles begin to make an impression on Israel, so that the tide turns, and an indefinite but not inconsiderable number are won for Christ; and lastly, the decisive and final period, when God intervenes and saves the whole of Israel. Paul sees no decisive difference between this second period with its work of the apostle and its first fruits based on the great success of the Gentile mission, and the approaching period with its salvation of all Israel. Admittedly the latter belongs to the future, but the apostle does not feel himself to be separated from this future as something he cannot take part in and prepare for, even though he himself will not experience it since his task is to be done when the fullness of the Gentiles has been achieved. It is therefore his hope, and a necessary condition for really being able to magnify his office as the apostle to the Gentiles, that the jealousy produced among the Jews by his great results among the Gentiles may lead to that change in the destiny of his people that accords with God's saving will. This final stage (11:25) is not an entirely new phase in the *Heilsgeschichte*, but it makes use of that jealousy in the Jews which even now (the apostle feels) is the decisive means for breaking down Israel's present obduracy and for changing the destiny of the people.' (pp. 124-25)

salvation of the Jews is through the jealousy provoked by his Gentile mission. On the basis of Ro. 11:11, Munck observes that jealousy seems to provide a link between the Gentile salvation and the salvation of Israel. He asserts, therefore, that Paul is convinced when the Jews see the Gentiles coming in that they will be provoked to jealousy and emulate the Gentiles in seeking God's salvation (ἡ σωτηρία τοῖς ἔθνεσιν εἰς τὸ παραζηλώσαι αὐτούς; 11:11). So Munck reached the conclusion that Paul regards 'his mission to the Gentiles as an important task because of its significance for Israel.'¹⁸⁶ In other words, in Munck's view, Paul's Gentile mission is aimed to achieve the salvation of Israel in an indirect way.

Recently, Murray Baker has attempted to challenge this generally accepted view. He argues that the view represented by Munck is untenable on several grounds, which can be summarized as follows. First of all, he maintains that the term παραζηλοῦν should not be viewed in a positive light because (1) the jealousy motif is taken from Dt. 32:21, in which the term refers to Israel being 'provoked to angry jealousy' by a non-nation, and therefore the term is 'closely associated with anger and disobedience' rather than a positive emulation;¹⁸⁷ (2) its cognate ζήλος in Ro. 10:2 is associated with the Jews' misguided enthusiasm in obtaining righteousness by the observance of the Law, and thus he postulates that Paul might see a connection between Israel's jealousy and her zealous upholding of the Torah, which is by no means a posture of turning to God, as Paul argues so strongly in Romans; and (3) the παραζηλοῦν to which Ro. 11:11 refers should be understood as a correspondence to the God-induced 'spirit of stupor' (Ro. 11:8), and thus also has negative connotations.¹⁸⁸ Therefore, Baker concludes that the term παραζηλοῦν in Ro. 10:19 and 11:11-12 should be taken as conveying a negative emotion (a jealous anger) instead of a positive one (emulation), and thereby one would not 'expect Israel's jealousy to be connected with its redemption.'¹⁸⁹ Secondly, Baker contends that the term παραζηλοῦν in Ro. 11:14 should be also taken as negative, because if it was taken in a positive light, as referring to Israel's emulation's of the Gentiles and

¹⁸⁶ Munck, *Christ and Israel* 121-22.

¹⁸⁷ Baker, 'Paul and the Salvation of Israel', 472.

¹⁸⁸ Baker, 'Paul and the Salvation of Israel', 476.

¹⁸⁹ Baker, 'Paul and the Salvation of Israel', 476.

turning to God, then it will create ‘an unnecessary shift’¹⁹⁰ in the meaning of the term. Thirdly, he observes that there is a leap from linking jealousy with the salvation of ‘some’ of the Jews and its association with the salvation of ‘all Israel’ in 11:25-27. Finally, he contends that Israel’s salvation is not driven by jealousy to repent before the end time, nor does it depend on the number of Gentile converts, but rather it is God’s decisive action that will initiate Israel’s salvation.¹⁹¹

Baker has offered an illuminating discussion on the issue of jealousy, but his argument is not without problem. The main shortcoming of his view is his undifferentiated, categorical negative understanding of the term *παραζηλοῦν* in every instance of its occurrence in Romans. In fact, the term is used both in a positive and a negative sense in various early Jewish and Christian literatures in general and in Romans in particular.¹⁹² His view cannot be sustained in a closer look of Ro. 11:14. In this case Paul has obviously drawn a connection between provoking Israel’s jealousy and the salvation of some of the Jews, but Baker simply dismisses the possibility of a positive meaning attached to the term without paying due attention to what Paul has presented in the text. As Bell has rightly pointed out, although the verb *παραζηλοῦν* used in Dt. 32:21, and its appropriation in Ro. 10:19, refers to jealous anger, the term used in 11:11, 14 shows a change in meaning, denoting a positive sense of jealousy, namely, ‘provoke to emulation’, which is designed as a means to bring Israel to salvation.¹⁹³ Hence he emphasizes that ‘these two meanings of *παραζηλοῦν* must be clearly distinguished.’¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁰ Baker, ‘Paul and the Salvation of Israel’, 472.

¹⁹¹ Baker, ‘Paul and the Salvation of Israel’, 481-82.

¹⁹² Richard Bell, after conducting an extensive study on the use of jealousy in Paul and other scriptural and non-scriptural sources, including early Jewish and Christian traditions, and also Rabbinic, Patristic, and Greco-Roman literature, concludes that the verb ‘has a fairly broad spectrum of meanings in the OT and expresses the ideas of anger, jealousy, envy, emulation, zeal, and passionate love. Most of the uses, however, refer to jealousy and envy. The root has a similarly broad spectrum in the Rabbinic literature: anger, jealousy, envy, emulation, zeal, ill will, and warning. In Qumran, the root expresses jealousy and zeal. Then in the NT, the root expresses ideas of jealousy, envy, and emulation. The root in the NT, however, in contrast to some uses in the OT (see Is. 42:13) and Rabbinic literature (e.g. b. Git. 7a), does not simply express ideas of anger but expresses the idea of jealous anger.’ Bell, *Provoked to Jealousy*, 39. For a detailed discussion of the lexical meaning of these terms and their use these sources, see Bell, *Provoked to Jealousy*, 5-43.

¹⁹³ Bell, *Provoked to Jealousy*, 39.

¹⁹⁴ Bell, *Provoked to Jealousy*, 43.

Another faulty argument is found in his analysis of the use of the term ζῆλος and its possible connection to the use of παραζηλοῦν in Romans. Baker speculates that since ζῆλος has led some of the Jews to a stronger attachment to law observance, therefore the παραζηλοῦν provoked by Gentile salvation will probably lead them to a more vigorous upholding of Torah. But nowhere in the Epistle in view is this clearly mentioned, and thus Baker's speculation appears to be textually unfounded. On the contrary, Paul has clearly explained in Rom 11:14 that he intends to provoke his kinsmen to jealousy through his Gentile mission in order to save some of them.¹⁹⁵ Furthermore, although these two terminologies ζῆλος and παραζηλοῦν are lexically related, they belong to different semantic domain, each denoting a different sphere of meaning and should be treated with caution.¹⁹⁶

Nevertheless, Baker's analysis has some merits. Particularly the third point in his argument as we mentioned above is significant because it has rightly identified the major difficulty exhibited in Munck's view. There is indeed a gap between Paul's explicit statement about how provoking Israel to jealousy will save 'some of them' and Munck's contention that such jealousy will effect the salvation of all Israel. In addition, his observation that tension seems to exist between the two pathways for Israel's salvation, namely, through the provoking of jealousy (11:14) and God's decisive act in the end time (11:25ff) is an astute one.

Indeed, Paul on the one hand has made it clear that only until the fullness of the Gentiles has come in and the redeemer comes to remove the hardening of Israel that the salvation of 'all Israel' can happen. In other words, the complete spiritual rejuvenation of Israel comes not before but after the salvation of the Gentiles. Therefore, in Paul's view, the achievement of the 'fullness of Gentiles' is significant

¹⁹⁵ Bell, *Provoked to Jealousy*, 113.

¹⁹⁶ According to Louw and Nida, ζῆλος belongs to the domain of attitudes and emotions, and specifically denotes 'love, affection and compassion,' (25.46) while παραζηλοῦν belongs to 'moral and ethnical qualities and related behaviour' and it is specifically related to envy and jealousy. However, only Ro. 10:19 is cited as example. Louw & Nida, 88.164. Cf. A. Stumpff, 'ζῆλος', *TDNT* II: 877–88.

for the salvation of all Israel.¹⁹⁷ But on the other hand, Paul in Ro. 11:13-14 also indicates that he glorifies (δοξάζω) in his ministry, as an apostle to the Gentiles. The reason is that he believes he may somehow through his ministry arouse his own people to jealousy and save some of them. How, then, are we to make sense of these two ‘pathways’ to salvation of Israel as presented in Romans in the framework of salvation history within which Paul understands his own Gentile mission?

If we look at Paul’s description of his conception of the relationship between his mission to the Gentiles and the impact of jealousy resulting from that mission, we will notice several significant items that both Bell and Munck have failed to take into consideration. First, Paul honours/glorifies (δοξάζω) his ministry as an apostle to the Gentiles because he believes that his ministry will have an impact on his fellow Jews (μου τὴν σάρκα),¹⁹⁸ which is, it will cause jealousy. However, he makes it clear that this effect is limited, it will only save ‘some of them’ (τινὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν), but not a large number of them, let alone ‘all of them’. Therefore, it appears that in Paul’s presentation he perceives that the effect of his Gentile mission on the Jews is at best rather modest, though positive.

The second point that should be noted is the distinctive dimension of the present and the future in Paul’s conception of salvation history. In Romans 9-11 Paul takes pain to emphasize the tension existing between the present and the future of Israel with respect to salvation. He acknowledges that Israel’s stumbling (τὸ ἥττημα) and transgression (παράπτωμα) do not nullify God’s promises to his people. On the

¹⁹⁷ The fullness of the Gentiles may be understood in various manners: (1) it refers to the completion of Gentile mission; e.g. Aus, who contends that Paul sees the fullness of the Gentiles will coming in only after his completion of preaching in Spain and having brought the collection back to Jerusalem. (2) it is a concept borrowed from Jewish apocalyptic writings, that there is a fixed number of people whom God has destined for salvation? This is, for example, stated in 4 Ezra 4:35-37:

Did not the souls of the righteous in their chambers ask about these matters, saying, ‘How long are we to remain here? And when will come the harvest of reward?’ And Jeremiel the archangel answered them ad said, ‘When the number of those like yourselves is complete; for he has weighed the age in the balance, and measured the times by measure, and numbered the times by number, and he will not move or arouse them until that measure is fulfilled.

¹⁹⁸ Baker’s contention (‘Paul and the Salvation,’ 471) that this phrase μου τὴν σάρκα refers not to Jews in a general sense but rather merely to ‘some from among Paul’s kinsfolk’ is untenable. The fact is: Paul does use a similar expression (τῶν συγγενῶν μου κατὰ σάρκα) to refer to Jews in a general sense in Ro. 9:3.

contrary, the present ‘stumbling’ and ‘transgression’ of Israel are meant for the riches of the world (πλοῦτος κόσμου) and of the nations (πλοῦτος ἐθνῶν) (11:12). It is indeed part and parcel of God’s salvation plan of the world. It is through their stumbling at the present time that the salvation of the Gentiles (ἡ σωτηρία τοῖς ἔθνεσιν) may be achieved. The salvation of the Gentiles then in turn will provoke the jealousy of the Jews (τὸ παραζηλώσαι αὐτούς) (11:11). Until the fullness of the Gentiles (ὁ πλήρωμα τῶν ἐθνῶν) is accomplished, the whole of Israel will not be saved (πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ σωθήσεται) (11:25-26).¹⁹⁹ In these statements, Paul reveals a few facts about the dynamics that are at work in the salvation of the Gentiles and the Jews, which include: (1) in the present, Israel stumbles at the Isaianic stone, which is the Messiah, and thereby by the means of the ‘hardening’ of the majority of Jews salvation has come to the Gentiles. Meanwhile, only a remnant of Israel will be saved; (2) there is a limit of time for both the hardening of Israel and the Gentile mission. It is clear to Paul that when the ‘fullness of the Gentiles’ has come in then the hardening of Israel will cease, and then the Deliverer will come from Zion which will be the time that ‘all Israel’ are saved (11:25). In other words, the Gentile mission is an enterprise that takes place only in the present time and is part and parcel of a sequence of necessary conditions for the salvation of all Israel, which comes at the *parousia*.

The third aspect that both Bell and Munck may have overlooked is that there is a significant ‘remnant’ motif running through Romans 9-11, of which Paul speaks on several occasions. In Ro. 9:27, Paul discloses that only a meagre number of ethnic Israel will be saved, and with the citation from Isa. 10:22 he illustrates how God

¹⁹⁹ It is worth noting that Paul uses himself as a vivid example that God has not abandoned Israel. That Paul designates himself as an ‘Israelite’ (Ἰσραηλίτης) expressing his belongingness to the people of God, as a descendant of Abraham and ‘implies an unbroken line of succession, while membership in the “tribe of Benjamin” places his family in the tribe of Judah from which came Israel’s first king, Saul. He connects as own exemplary of God’s faithful commitment to Israel with the preservation of 7,000 Israelites who remained faithful to Yahweh in the Elijah episode in order to prove that God has chosen a remnant by grace. Picking up the cognate expression (τὸ ὑπόλειμμα) from Isa 10:22 passage cited in Rom 9:27, Paul refers here to himself belonging to the group of ‘remnant’ (λεῖμμα) ‘at the present time’. This present critical time is mentioned in Rom 3:26 that it is a time that God presented Jesus as a sacrifice of atonement through faith in his blood in order to demonstrate his justice at the present time. Again in Rom 8:18 Paul refers the present time as the period of sufferings that mark the eschatological period. This remnant is characterized and defined by grace, which means the membership is achieved solely by God’s election (11:6). Paul frequently speaks of his apostleship in conjunction with the grace he received (Ro. 1:5; 15:5; 1 Cor. 3:10; 15:10; Gal. 1:15; 2:9; Php. 1:7).

preserves a small number of seed/remnant (ὑπόλειμμα) in the midst of his judgment. In Ro. 11:5 he mentions again that in the present time only a ‘remnant’ (λεῖμμα) chosen by grace exists while the majority of the Jews are hardened. Paul interprets its significance with particular clarity in 11:2b and 11:5-11. Ellison also points out the significant remnant motif in the Elijah story, as he writes, ‘If there are seven thousand loyal survivors, it is because God has been working out His secret purposes even in the dark days of apostasy. The word in Hebrew “I will leave” is itself linked with the word which becomes the technical word for a remnant.’²⁰⁰ In short, as Paul understands it, the present salvation of the remnant guarantees the future blessing of their people. As such, when ‘the fullness of the Gentiles has come in’ and the *parousia* of the Deliverer takes place, ethnic Israel as a corporate entity will take her proper place in the salvation of God.

If the above observation is granted, then the key to understand Paul’s self-understanding of his Gentile mission in relation to the salvation of Israel is related to two issues. Firstly, it is the significance of the remnant motif that informs Paul’s conception of his Gentile mission. Paul is convinced that in the present God demonstrates his faithfulness to Israel by means of preserving a remnant, amongst which Paul himself is one (11:1). Though the number of remnant is meagre as compared to the number of Gentile Christians, the very existence of them is the sign of God’s fidelity to his promise. Therefore, in Paul’s view, there is a link between the preservation of the remnant of Israel in the present and the salvation of the ethnic Israel in the future. The existence of the remnant of Israel in the present stands as a sign that in the future all Israel will be saved. Thus, Paul seeks to make ethnic Israel jealous in order ‘to save some of them’ (11:14). The purpose of Paul’s ministry in provoking the jealousy of Israel is not to bring in the ‘fullness’ of Israel, which can only happen at the *parousia* when the Deliverer comes, but rather to add to the number of the remnant in the present time. This view is supported by Hafemann, who writes, ‘it seems more appropriate to see the ultimate purpose of Paul’s ministry to be the securing of the elect in the present. Paul’s ministry aims at saving Gentiles in order that he might cause ethnic Israel to be jealous, and in so doing, save the elect from within her (11:11, 14). The hardened rest will simply be further alienated by their jealousy, as Paul has already indicated in 10:20-21. Yet in realizing that his

²⁰⁰ For more discussion, see H. L. Ellison, *The Mystery of Israel: An Exposition of Romans 9-11*, 76.

ministry will thus have an effect on only a small number of Jews, Paul is not forgetting the future of his people or the final redemption of the creation.²⁰¹

Secondly, while labouring in the Gentile mission, Paul has not lost sight of the eschatological fulfilment of God's promise to Israel. It appears that Paul views the time as growing short and the *parousia* is near. The present opportunities of 'last days' evangelism will not last long. If the fullness of the Gentiles should be achieved before the fullness of Israel comes, and thus the subsequent manifestation of the fullness of God's glory and salvation, then he must seek to achieve the fullness of the Gentiles. He said he had fully preached the gospel in Jerusalem to Illyricum and there was no more room in the east. Paul's effort of striving 'to establish representative churches in a string of Roman provinces, together with the belief that with the delivery of the collection project the eastern portion of the Gentile mission had been fulfilled (πεπληρωκέναι; Rom 15:19), provides a strong indication that he saw himself as working toward the kind of 'fullness (τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν ἐθνῶν) of the Gentiles' anticipated in Rom 11:25.²⁰² As such, by embarking on a new phase of mission to the west, starting in Spain, after his visit to Jerusalem, Paul seeks to further extend his missionary boundary towards the unreached regions of the Roman Empire. Again, Hafemann's remark is insightful and is worthwhile to quote in full: 'For Paul knows that the remnant is God's "down payment" on the future salvation of his people and the final fulfilment of God's promises to his creation. Thus, just as the present "transgression" of ethnic Israel means salvation in the present for Gentiles, i.e. "riches" and "reconciliation for the world" (11:12a, 15a), so too the remnant's present "acceptance" means "life from the dead" for Israel in the future (11:15) and in turn, their eventual "fullness" will mean eschatological riches for the creation (11:12). Paul's ministry is an essential link in this chain of event.'²⁰³

Therefore, the proposals of Munck and Stendahl concerning an overarching orientation of Israel's salvation driving Paul's Gentile mission can be affirmed. But Munck's suggestion should be modified. The study has found that Paul is not

²⁰¹ Scott Hafemann, 'The Salvation of Israel,' 51.

²⁰² Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles* 252.

²⁰³ Scott Hafemann, 'The Salvation of Israel,' 51-2.

attempting to bring in the *fullness of Israel* by means of provoking jealousy, but rather he seeks to preach to the Gentiles to make Israelites jealous in order to preserve a remnant of Israel. Ultimately Paul endeavours to bring in the fullness of *Gentiles* in the hope of the coming of the Messiah.

From the analysis above, we may find that Paul never denies that the ongoing special identity of ethnic Israel in the salvation history of God. The fact that Gentiles are brought in to the community of God's people does not imply that the empirical Israel is given up by God and is displaced by the Gentiles. The hearts of the Jews are hardened by God because of their unbelief and rejection of Christ the Messiah, but God's hardening of Israel is only partial and temporarily. Once the Gentile mission has been accomplished and the full number has come in, the divine hardening of Israel will come to an end and the fullness of Israel will become a reality. Therefore Paul focused his mission in his present time. By the time of *parousia*, there will be full acceptance of Israel and the arrival of the age of resurrection; whereas the Gentile mission will terminate with the *parousia*. As Donaldson helpfully puts it, 'The hardening of Israel functions to open up not an element of space but a segment of time – an interim period, during which a mission to the Gentiles can take place.'²⁰⁴

In summary, Paul considers that his Gentile mission will serve two purposes in relation to the salvation of Israel. First, he expects to preach the good news to the Gentiles in order to provoke Israel to jealousy, a zealous emulation of Jews so as to save some of them. To some extent, Paul himself may serve as a life example to his fellow Jews in this regard. Second, he seeks to bring in the full number of Gentiles so as to see the end time come and the promise of salvation of all Israel come true. Though it seems to be too exaggerated to assert that Paul saw himself as *the* determining factor in this grandeur salvation of mankind, it nevertheless is reasonable to conclude that Paul did see the significant role he played in his mission in the overarching plan of God's salvation of Jews and Gentiles.

²⁰⁴ Donaldson, *Paul and Gentiles*, 241.

Section 4 Conclusion

After analyzing the various uses of the Isaianic texts in Romans 9-11, we will summarize in the following conclusion how Paul articulates some of his theological, pastoral and missionary concerns in the light of the prophecy of Isaiah. There are four overarching motifs dominating Paul's citations and allusions in Romans, as our analysis in the previous chapters has demonstrated. First, Israel's present stumbling does not prove that God has rejected Israel. In dealing with the very specific tension between the present reality of Israel's rejection and God's irrevocable calling, Paul appeals to a number of Isaianic texts that are intimately associated with Israel's salvation history, both of her failure in the past and her hope for the future. In Paul's view, the Isaianic prophetic words testify that Israel has been rejecting God, resulting in their captivity and subjugation under foreign tyrannical rule. Paul's heavy use of Isaiah centres on his explanation of the Jews' stumbling and their distrust in God (e.g. Ro. 9:27-29; 10:19, 21; and 11:8-11), and thereby exposes their obduracy, godlessness and sin. Although he has made some affirmative remarks about the Jews' zeal, Paul does not hesitate to warn that the unbelieving Jews' refusal of the righteousness of God manifested in Christ is the primary cause of their hardening. As such, the Isaianic prophecy concerning Israel's rejection of God's way of salvation finds its parallel in Paul's time. However, Paul's assessment of Israel is not entirely negative. He also affirms that Israel's 'stumbling' (παράπτωμα) brings in the reconciliation (καταλλαγή) of the world (11:15). In the sovereign plan of God, the hardening of Israel at the present is part and parcel of God's salvation plan. Paul asserts that the appearance of Israel's failure and rejection in the midst of historical upheaval does not nullify God's election of Israel.

The second motif that dominates Paul's citations of Isaiah is that the Gentiles are benefiting from God's mercy. Paul has presented a dynamic between the inclusion of the Gentiles and Israel's stumbling in the present and the ultimate fulfilment of God's promise to Israel at the redemption of the whole creation. The Isaianic texts that Paul appropriates all appear to involve the issues of the eschatological age and its concomitant effects. Paul employs some of the scriptural texts that concern the Jews in their original literary context and applies them to the Gentiles (9:25-26; 10:11, 13, 20) in order to affirm and endorse the salvation enjoyed by the Gentiles. It demonstrates that Paul creatively interprets the texts and re-applies them in a way in

which the 're-created' texts in the new context take on a new level of meaning that transcend the original ones. By way of re-application of the scriptural texts, Paul deliberately expresses his conviction that Gentile Christians have attained the status of the true people of God.

Thirdly, the preservation of a remnant of Israel is a significant sign of God's faithfulness at present and Israel's future salvation. It is Isaiah's prophetic word on God's faithfulness to Israel in the midst of her plight as well as the promise of the coming of the Messiah that directs Paul's understanding of the present circumstances of Israel. According to Paul, God's faithfulness to his elected people is expressed both in terms of the continued existence of a faithful remnant of Israel (Isa. 10:27-28 in Ro. 9:27-29) and in the ministry of Christ to the Jews (Ro. 15:7). Ultimately, however, all Israel will be saved. The confidence of God's final salvation of his people is best illustrated in Paul's appropriation of Isa. 59:20 and 27:9, by which he asserts that *all* Israel will be saved at the coming of her Messiah.

Finally, Paul sees himself as a member of Israel's remnant that is preserved through God's sovereign grace (Ro. 11:1), and therefore is conscious that he is called, as a representative of the Israelites, to fulfil the task that God's servant Israel should have taken up, which is to bring God's righteousness and his salvation to the Gentile nations (Isa. 52:15//Ro. 15:21). As Donaldson rightly puts it, Paul 'goes to the Gentiles, then, not simply as an individual Jew but as a representative of Israel, sharing Israel's spiritual blessings with the nations.'²⁰⁵ As a called apostle to the Gentiles, Paul believes that he is taking a significant role in ushering in the consummation of the end time.

²⁰⁵ Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles* 260.

Chapter 4

Paul's Use of Isaiah in Romans 14-15

If Romans 9-11 represents Paul's theological reflection and augmentation over the historical problem of Jewish unbelief, then Romans 14-15 should be regarded as a pastoral admonition on the basis of and as an extension to that theological premise. In the previous chapter, it has been demonstrated that Paul attempts a rebuttal of the misconception, presumably held by non-Jewish congregation in Rome, that God has forsaken Israel because the present reality seems to contradict what the Scripture reveals about the 'irrevocable' gifts of God and the election of Israel. The tension between the present plight of Israel and the promise of God to Israel appears to be one of the major reasons that provokes the arrogant boasting of the Gentile Christians over the unbelieving Jews. Therefore, Paul seeks to reorient the congregations in Rome by (re)interpreting Israel's scriptural texts as to how the present circumstances of Jewish unbelief paradoxically serve to advance God's plan to save humanity, both Jew and Gentile.

In this chapter we will discuss three Isaianic texts that Paul employed in Romans 14-15, namely, Isa. 45:23 in Ro. 14:11, Isa. 11:10 in Ro. 15:12, and Isa. 52:15 in Ro. 15:21 in the course of his dealing with the pastoral issues arising from the tension between the Jewish and Gentile groups.¹ By and large, there is no dispute over the question of the source from which the citations are taken, but as to the functions of these cited texts in the flow of Paul's argument, scholars are of different opinions. In addition, they are also differed on the question as to whether the Isaianic texts should be read as isolated proof texts or be understood within their original literary context. In the following, we will examine each case in its own terms first, and then follow this by an integrated analysis.

¹ Although different scholars have different opinions whether Jewish or Gentile Christians should be designated as 'the weak', almost unanimously they believe the problem of 'the weak' and 'the strong' with which Paul was dealing is the problem of the Jewish-Gentile relationship. See Cranfield, *Romans* II:690-98; Schreiner, *Romans* 703-10. M. D. Nanos in *The Mystery of Romans: The Jewish Context of Paul's Letter* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996) proposes that the weak are the non-Christian Jews and the strong are the Christian Gentiles (pp. 85-165). See John Murray, *Romans*, 174ff; Moo, *Romans* 828-31.

I. The literary context of Romans 12-15

After his long discourse in Ro. 9-11 on how the salvation of Jew and Gentile is grounded on the mercy and sovereign will of God, Paul moves on to discuss the implications of God's mercy and His will for the Christian life which embraces all kinds of relationships (Ro. 12-15), including the relationship of Christians to God (12:1-2), to themselves (12:3-8), to one another in faith community (12:9-16), to evildoers and enemies (12:17-21), to the government (13:1-7), to the Jewish law (13:8-10), and to the return of Christ Jesus (13:11-14) and to the 'weaker' members of the Christian community (14:1-15:13).² In addition, some of the major themes of the entire epistle are summarized in chapter 15.³ Wright even regards the passage (15:7-13) as 'the climax of the entire epistle.'⁴

Furthermore, Paul's missionary agenda can be detected in these chapters, Ro. 12:1-15:13. In fact, the purposes for Paul's plea for his first audience to live a totally dedicated life to God in Christian service (Ro. 12), in obedience to the government (Ro. 13) and to live in acceptance and mutual love (Ro. 14) are inseparable from his concern for the development of his Gentile mission (Ro. 15).⁵ At first sight these pastoral issues do not seem immediately related to Paul's missionary intentions, but a closer reading of 15:1-21 will give the clue as to how Paul understands the significance of the work of Christ for the unity of the Jews and the Gentiles, and how such unity is necessary for his future advancement of Gentile mission.⁶

There is no doubt that the pastoral concern arising from the Jewish-Gentile conflict in the Roman churches of Paul's time underlies his exhortation (14:1-23; 15:1-6).

² Stott, *Romans* 324.

³ J. Ross Wagner, 'The Christ, Servant of Jew and Gentile: A Fresh Approach to Romans 15:8-9,' *JBL* 116 (1997) 473-85.

⁴ N. T. Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant* 235.

⁵ Philip H. Towner, for example, argued cogently that Paul's exhortation in Rom 13:1-7 is very likely tied with his missionary concern. 'Romans 13:1-7 and Paul's Missiological Perspective,' in *Romans and the People of God: Essays in Honor of Gordon D. Fee on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed., Sven K. Soderlund and N. T. Wright (Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1999) 149-69.

⁶ A more detailed treatment of Ro. 15 will be carried out in the third section of this chapter.

But Paul's admonition of mutual acceptance of the strong and the weak is inseparable from his conviction that unity in the faith community is first of all achieved by Christ who accepts both of them. This is a sign pointing to the fulfilment of the eschatological hope anticipated in the Scripture that the Gentiles will join Israel in the worship of the one true God. In addition, Paul's advancement of his Gentile mission is also subsumed to the ultimate union of humanity under the lordship of one God and one Lord (15:7-21, 14:9-12). The purpose of such mutual acceptance is for the purpose of bringing glory to God (15:6), which is also the ultimate goal of the ministry of Christ (15:7b, 9a).

II. The Analysis of Citations of Isaiah in Romans 14

Ro. 14:11 and Isa. 45:23

The first passage to be examined is an allusion to Isa. 45:23 in Ro. 14:11. Paul introduces the scriptural text with a citation formula γέγραπται γάρ, and the wording follows closely to the Greek text of Isa. 45:23, with only two modifications as shown in the table below.

Romans 14:11	Isa. 45:23 LXX
<p>γέγραπται γάρ ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος,</p> <p>ὅτι ἐμοὶ κάμψει πᾶν γόνυ καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσεται τῷ θεῷ</p>	<p>κατ' ἐμαντοῦ ὁμνύω ἡ μὴν ἐξελεύσεται ἐκ τοῦ στόματός μου δικαιοσύνη, οἱ λόγοι μου οὐκ ἀποστραφήσονται</p> <p>ὅτι ἐμοὶ κάμψει πᾶν γόνυ καὶ ἐξομολογήσεται πᾶσα γλῶσσα τῷ θεῷ</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">Isa. 45:23 MT</p> <p style="text-align: center;">בִּי נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי יֵצֵא מִפִּי צְדָקָה דְּבַר וְלֹא יִשׁוּב כִּי־לִי תִכְרַע כָּל־בֶּרֶךְ תִּשְׁבַּע כָּל־לִשׁוֹן:</p>	

The first difference between Paul's citation and Isa. 45:23 is exhibited by the modified word order of the words *πάσα γλῶσσα* and *ἐξομολογήσεται*. Whatever the reason might be for the explanation of the difference in word order, the minor difference neither poses any difference in meaning nor causes scholars any problem in tracing the source of the cited text to Isa. 45:23. This is because the whole phrase *ὅτι ἐμοὶ κάμψει πᾶν γόνυ καὶ ἐξομολογήσεται πάσα γλῶσσα τῷ θεῷ* is found nowhere else in the entire book of Israel's Scripture except the present passage.

The second difference is found in the formula of asseveration and has generated more scholarly discussions. Instead of the phrase *κατ' ἐμαυτοῦ ὁμνύω* with which Isa. 45:23 begins, Paul's text begins with *ζῶ ἐγώ*, a phrase which appears also in other places of the Scripture such as Isa. 49:18, Num. 14:28, Jer. 22:24.⁷ The difference between the two texts can be attributed to a number of reasons,⁸ and Matthew Black's suggestion is worth mentioning. He proposes that 'the asseverative formula prefacing the quotation "As I live"... is introduced by Paul, not just as a formula of asseveration..., but with the clear intention of identifying 'the Lord' in the quotation with the Lord Christ who "lived again"... and is the Lord both of the dead and the living (verse 9).'⁹ His argument is based on the observation that there is a verbal link between *ζῶ* in 14:11 and *ἔζησεν* 14:9, which he believes is an indicator of the association intended by Paul to stress that Jesus is the living God. A related question has been generated as a result of the discussion: what is the referent to the term *κύριος* from the cited text in Ro. 14:11?

⁷ Commentators have noticed that the phrase 'as long as I live' occurs in many places in the Scriptures, e.g. Cranfield, *Romans* II:710; Murray, *Romans* II:185.

⁸ Shum, for example, proposes that Paul's lemma may be taken from a *Vorlage* that is no longer extant, see *Use of Romans* 249, n.211. Cranfield suggests that it is due to Paul's memory lapse. *Romans* 710. Furthermore, Koch contends that the phrase is taken from Isa. 49:18. However, it is uncertain whether the exact origin of the phrase 'As long as I live' is Isa. 49:18, as Koch contends, *Schrift als Zeuge*, 184-85. Stanley argues against such a proposal, see *Language of Scripture*, 177, n.320. It seems that although Paul's knowledge of the wider context of Isa. 49 is without doubt, the evidence is not strong enough to support the contention that Paul intends to draw on Isa. 49:18 in Ro. 14:11. After all, the emphasis of the cited text in Paul's context rests not so much on the promise of Zion's restoration which is the major theme surrounding Isa. 49:18, but rather Paul's cited text and context are focused on the sovereignty of God.

⁹ M. Black, *Romans* 194-95. Cf. idem, 'The Christological Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament,' *NTS* 18 (1971-72) 1-14.

Without any doubt, in the original Isaianic context, the text is speaking of Yahweh as the κύριος, the only true God of all nations on the earth. In the oracle the prophet announces that Yahweh is sovereign over all kingdoms and powers, who raises up Cyrus the pagan king to save Israel (45:1, 45:13), who creates both light and darkness, and brings both prosperity and disaster (45:7), and who is the creator God and has the power to destroy his enemies (45:9-12, 14). The prophet asserts that Yahweh is the unique and supreme God and there is no God or κύριος beside him. The strong monotheistic claim is repeatedly pronounced throughout this oracle (45:5, 6, 14, 18, 21, 22).

However, within the literary context of Romans, the referent of the subject κύριος in the cited text is more or less opaque and thus it has been a matter of contention amongst scholars. While some scholars suggest that κύριος refers to ‘God’ himself,¹⁰ others contend that the κύριος refers to Christ.¹¹ In fact, both suggestions are plausible on grammatical grounds. For the proponents of the latter view, the argument is based on Paul’s preceding statements concerning the lordship of Christ. They point out that it is Christ who died and returned to life so that he is the κύριος of both the living and the dead, and thus logically the cited text could be intended to support the claim that Christ as κύριος will be the appointed judge who will judge all humanity.¹² This view is further supported by Paul’s use of Isa. 45:23 in Php. 2:11, in which exactly the same scriptural expression is used to depict the lordship of Jesus Christ. Hurtado has pointed out, ‘The creative understanding of Isaiah 45:23 in these verses as predicting a universal acknowledgment of Jesus as κύριος shows that being given this title must be the Greek equivalent of bearing the Old Testament name of God.’¹³ Although the passage is perhaps Paul’s adaptation of a Christological hymn that originated much earlier than Paul’s epistle in which it is preserved,¹⁴ the fact that Paul affirms the intimate relationship between God and Jesus Christ is still

¹⁰ E.g. Cranfield, *Romans* II: 710; Schreiner, *Romans* 722.

¹¹ E.g. Black, *Romans*, 194-95; D. B. Capes, *Old Testament Yahweh Texts in Paul’s Christology* (WUNT 2/47; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992).

¹² This notion occurs also in 2 Cor. 5:10.

¹³ Hurtado, *Lord Jesus Christ*, 112.

¹⁴ The issue is dealt with great details in T. Nagata, ‘Philippians 2:5-11: A Case Study in the Contextual Shaping of Early Christology?’ (PhD. diss., Princeton Theological Seminary, 1981).

remarkable, and his use of the hymn may indicate that he endorses the notion that Christ is κύριος.

However, it is equally possible that the term κύριος refers to God. Those who hold this view maintain that the immediate literary context of the citation should be Paul's statement that sandwiched around the citation, i.e. all believers shall stand before God's judgment seat to give account to God (14:10, 12). Therefore, the citation should be understood as a scriptural voice that speaks of God. In fact, the issue of the identification of the referent of the term is further complicated by confusion caused by textual problems in the manuscripts.¹⁵ Therefore, the text itself does not seem to have provided enough evidence for us to draw a decisive either-or conclusion.

Nevertheless, what is clear is that in the whole section of Ro. 14:1-12, Paul demonstrates a striking oscillation between Christ and God. On the one hand, he draws a clear distinction between Christ and θεός in terms of their designation.¹⁶ But on the other hand he does not hesitate to emphasize the very close relationship between Christ and God, attributing both the function of lordship. Paul states that those who live to κύριος give thanks to θεός (14:6), meanwhile, he claims also that Christ's lordship is established on the basis of his death and resurrection (14:9, ἵνα καὶ νεκρῶν καὶ ζώντων κυριεύσῃ). There is an intimate relationship between God and Christ in terms of lordship so that submission to one inevitably leads to submission to the other. Although the immediate context of the citation seems to favour that the term κύριος refers to God himself,¹⁷ and Paul's focus here is not so much on Christology *per se*, the way Paul appropriates the text seems to indicate the very close relationship between God and Christ. Paul's real concern in the passage is the lordship of God and Christ in relation to the ethics of Christian community life.

¹⁵ See discussion in Schreiner, *Romans* 724-25.

¹⁶ E.g. in 14:3 he specifically mentions θεός, and in 14:6-9 he uses the term κύριος to refer to Christ.

¹⁷ Indeed there are other instances when Paul applies the term κύριος to Jesus in his epistles, both in Romans and other undisputed letters. E.g. Ro. 1:4; 5:1, 11, 21, 10:9-10; 14:14; 16:20; 1 Cor. 8:5-6; 11:23; 2 Cor. 13:13 etc. Hurtado observes that in the seven undisputed authentic Pauline epistles there are over 200 occurrences of the word κύριος, and in about 180 of these he applies the term to Jesus. *Lord Jesus Christ* 111. In addition, Paul also applies to Jesus other scriptural passages that originally have to do with God, e.g. Ro. 10:13 (Joel 2:32); 1 Cor. 10:26 (Ps. 24:1).

The proclamation of the sole sovereignty of God/Christ who is the only judge over all people has paved the way for Paul's admonitions in Ro. 14:13-23 (do not judge), avoid self-seeking interest (Ro. 15:1-6) and welcome one another (Ro. 15:7-13).

III. The analysis of Citations in Romans 15

The second passage of Isaianic text to be examined is found in Ro. 15:12. This text is set in the wider literary context in which Paul exhorts the Romans churches to welcome one another as Christ has welcomed them (15:7-13).¹⁸ In fact, in this section Paul employs a catena of quotations taken respectively from the Writings (Ps. 17:50 LXX//2 Sam. 22:50; Ps. 116:1 LXX), the Torah (Dt. 32:43), and the Prophets (Isa. 11:10). Many scholars have noticed the various sources from which the citations are taken, but as for questions such as why are these scriptural texts employed, and what the intertextual connections that link all the scriptural texts together are, scholars are of different opinions. Barrett, for instance, opines that Paul's citations are intended to support 15:9a, i.e. to prove that the inclusion of the Gentiles was foretold in the Scripture and is not an after thought.¹⁹ Along a similar line of thought, Murray maintains that 'the interest that guided the selection of these passages' lies in the reference to the salvation of the Gentiles. He remarks, 'They all are adduced to support the proposition that one of the designs in Christ's being made a minister of the circumcision was the salvation of Gentiles.'²⁰

Proponents of the above views primarily base their arguments on linguistic evidence, arguing that all the cited texts are held together by the key word 'Gentiles' (ἔθνη).²¹ However, the main problem with this view, and similar views along this line, is that there is no explicit mention of Gentile mission in the immediate literary context. In addition, the apostle's exhortation was not directed merely or even mainly to the

¹⁸ The word καθώς should be understood as causative (Cranfield, *Romans* II:739), instead of a comparative (e.g. Wagner, 'The Christ,' 474).

¹⁹ Barrett, *Romans* 272.

²⁰ Murray, *Romans* II:206.

²¹ Barrett observes that 'In all these passages, Paul sees a reference to 'the Gentiles.' *Romans* 272; Murray also remarks that 'Common to all of these quotations in the form quoted by the apostle is the reference to the Gentiles.' *Romans* II: 206. Also Käsemann, *An die Römer* 370; Byrne, *Romans* 429; Shum, *Paul's Use* 251.

Gentile Christians but to both groups within the churches. More specifically, it is the obligation of mutual acceptance that is in view in 15:7-13. Admittedly Paul admonishes the strong ones to avoid self-seeking pleasure in the preceding section (15:1-6), but here in 15:7-13 he exhorts both the strong and the weak to practice mutual acceptance. It is difficult, therefore, to see that the Scriptural citations are intended to justify Paul's Gentile mission or to reinforce what Paul demanded of the Gentile Christians – to accept their fellow-believers for the glorifying of God.

Furthermore, the difficulty in understanding Paul's use of citations will be further complicated when Paul's assertion concerning the function of Scripture comes into play. In between two admonition imperatives and two blocks of citations (15:1-6 and 15:7-13), Paul explicitly explains what functions the Scriptures have in relation to Christian community life. He asserts that 'whatever was written before' (ὅσα γὰρ προεγράφη) was written for the purposes of instructing Christians of later generations, in order that by the encouragement of the Scriptures (διὰ τῆς παρακλήσεως τῶν γραφῶν) they might have hope (τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχωμεν). In other words, Paul's reference to the Scriptures, at least in the present context, is intended to evoke Christian hope in the context of community life. The hope envisaged by the Scripture is somehow related to the life and ministry of Christ, as Paul understands it. In Paul's view, the Scripture is pointing to the 'encouragement' and 'hope' that has found its fulfillment in Christ and this forms the basis on which Christian community life of mutual acceptance is built. As such, on closer inspection we find that the network of intertextual connections that link the scriptural citations is far more complicated than the above mentioned views would allow.

In order to identify more accurately the force of Paul's scriptural citations in Ro. 15:7-13, we must first clarify the framework that Paul has established in the present context. Therefore, we will briefly outline the structure and argument of this section, following by an examination whether the scriptural texts that Paul selects in the present context are isolated proof texts or intended to allude to the entire narrative of the text. If Paul quotes these texts with their respective literary contexts in mind, then we might ask: in what way these citations contribute to Paul's overall argument when they are read within their respective literary context. The discussion will illuminate

our understanding of Paul's use of Isa. 11:10 in Ro. 15:11, the text on which we will focus attention.

a. The literary context of Ro. 15:7-13

There are two observations pertaining to the structure and the argument of the present passage. The first observation is that in Ro. 15:1-13 there is a similar pattern demonstrated in the two subsections (15:1-6 and 15:7-12) of Paul's argument: Paul first gives a command, then he mentions what Christ has done, and finally provides the scriptural texts to sustain his statement. In Ro. 15:1-2 Paul commands the church members to avoid self-seeking pleasure and to seek the wellbeing of other members of the community. Then he exhorts them to emulate Christ who sacrificed his own pleasure in exchange for the wellbeing of others. At this point he cites Ps. 68:10 LXX to buttress his statement. Likewise, in Ro 15:7, Paul commands the church members to 'welcome one another' just as Christ has welcomed them. Then he delineates how Christ has welcomed them in 15:8-9a followed by a catena of scriptural citations. The citations are presented in support of Paul's reference to Christ rather than to the practice of unity in the believing community or to Paul's Gentile mission *per se*.

The second observation is this: the central concern of 15:8-9a is Christ's ministry. Paul makes it very clear that Christ's reception of all and his being made a minister of the circumcision is the ground of Christian fellowship that manifests the glory of God. Paul describes Christ's ministry as follows:

Χριστὸν διάκονον γεγενῆσθαι περιτομῆς ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας θεοῦ, εἰς τὸ βεβαιῶσαι τὰς ἐπαγγελίας τῶν πατέρων, τὰ δὲ ἔθνη ὑπὲρ ἐλέους δοξάσαι τὸν θεόν

In this compact description, Paul has made several notions regarding the ministry of Christ.²² (1) Paul refers to Christ in terms of διάκονος περιτομῆς. The term διάκονος

²² This sentence is so fraught with grammatical problems and Christological implications it has attracted many scholarly discussions. E.g. Cranfield, *Romans* II: 742-74. Schreiner, *Romans* 755-76. For a recent treatment of this passage, see Wagner, 'The Christ, Servant of the Jew and Gentile'. In the article, Wagner has critically examined three competing views of how to translate the sentence and

is used in Greco-Roman and other Jewish literature to refer to a person having a role as a representative agent and involved in activities of mediation.²³ The reference to Christ as δῖάκονος does not refer to his lowliness, but rather to his role as a mediator and representative agent of God, though with the connotation of duty and constraint.²⁴ More importantly, here in Ro. 15:8, Paul speaks of Christ as having become a δῖάκονος περιτομῆς, suggesting his special relationship with the Jewish people. Murray has rightly pointed out the covenantal significance of the adjective περιτομῆς that entails, which is ‘the sign and seal of the covenant with Abraham.’²⁵ Furthermore, it is important to note the force of the perfect infinitive γεγενῆσθαι,

finally offered his own solution at the end. In summary, the thrust of the problem lies in the interpretation of the δὲ, and how the phrase τὰ δὲ ἔθνη in v.9 should be related to v.8. (1) to view v.8 and v. 9 is to be taken as two completely separate sentences; (2) to view δοξάσαι as governed by εἰς τὸ of v.8 and parallel to βεβαιῶσαι; (3) to view v.9a as subordinate to the verb λέγω in v.8. Wagner’s main challenge to the second proposal is the abrupt change of subject in v.9, and thus he proposes to make the accusative τὰ ἔθνη function as an accusative of respect modifying the verbal phrase δῖάκονον γεγενῆσθαι, parallel in function to περιτομῆς, and δοξάσαι as a purpose clause in parallel to εἰς τὸ βεβαιῶσαι. According to Wagner’s reading, Christ has become both the Servant of Jew and Gentile, on behalf of God’s faithfulness to the former and on behalf of God’s mercy to the latter. In addition, Christ, being the subject of the whole sentence, achieved the purposes of confirmation of the promises and glorification of God. This is a helpful reading of the text but is not without problem. The main weakness of Wagner’s proposal is that the parallel structure cannot be sustained on closer inspection. He takes τὰ ἔθνη as a parallel to περιτομῆς, suggesting that Christ has become a Servant of both Jew and Gentile. However, if we follow this reading, then we would expect a genitive ἀκροβυστίας instead of an accusative τὰ ἔθνη, and as we can see in the context of Romans, Paul uses the word pair περιτομή and ἀκροβυστία to denote the two groups of people, circumcised and uncircumcised (3:30; 4:11-12), but not ‘the nations’ (τὰ ἔθνη). Wagner has not offered any explanation for the different use of vocabulary. Second, his argument for why τὰ ἔθνη in his reading should be taken as an accusative of respect is unconvincing.

²³ For a survey of the use of δῖάκονος in the LXX, post-biblical Judaism, and Paul, see Scott Hafemann, *Paul, Moses, and the History of Israel: The Letter/Spirit Contrast and the Argument from Scripture in 2 Corinthians 3* (WUNT 81; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck/Peabody: Hendricksons, 1995/6), 110-19. Along a similar line, J. N. Collins maintains that Paul uses the term not to describe any Christian service in a general sense, but rather specifically refers to one being a representative of God or serving as God’s spokesperson. J.N. Collins, *DIAKONIA: Reinterpreting the Ancient Sources* (Oxford: OUP, 1990), esp. 195-215. In fact, Paul also uses the term to describe his own ministry, e.g. Ro. 11:13; 2 Cor. 3:3, 6, 8-9; 4:1; 5:18; 6:3-4; 11:18. Cranfield suggests that Paul might refer to the Servant of Yahweh by using this term (*Romans* II: 741), however he has offered no substantial evidence to support this claim. On the other hand, in the LXX, the Hebrew term ‘the Servant of Yahweh’ is usually rendered either as παῖς or as δοῦλος in Greek, but there are no instances that the term δῖάκονος is used in such contexts in Isaiah. Therefore, Cranfield’s suggestion does not seem to be convincing.

²⁴ This may be a further elaboration of Paul’s description of ‘Christ did not please himself’ in Ro. 15:3. In this sense, it is very similar to the description of Christ who took up the form of a servant (δοῦλος; Php. 2:7).

²⁵ Murray, *Romans* 205.

which indicates that Christ not only became but also remains the δῆκονος of the Jewish people.²⁶ As we shall see in the following, this is central to Paul's argument.

(2) The continuing ministry of Christ to the Jewish people has an implication to the Gentiles, namely, that the Gentiles might glorify God for his mercy.²⁷ In other words, the ministry of Christ first and foremost has its significance to the Jews and then the Gentiles, and this sequence is emphasized in Romans several times.²⁸ This echoes the point that Paul has made earlier in Romans, namely, the promise that 'all nations will be blessed' through the seed of Abraham (Ro. 4:17a; Gen. 15:9).²⁹ The hope of salvation of the Gentiles is tied closely to the salvation of Israel (Cf. Ro. 8:19-22, 31-39). Meanwhile, Paul indicates that the goal of Christ's ministry is to bring glory to God. The present phenomenon of Gentiles joining the Jews in worshipping the same true God is a confirmation of promises to Israel and a partial fulfilment of the eschatological redemption of all nations yet to come. From Paul's perspective, there is a very close connection between Christ's servanthood to the Jews and its significance to the Gentiles.

(3) There is an emphasis on the future orientation of salvation. Instead of speaking about Christ's ministry in terms of 'fulfilment' in Ro. 15, Paul uses the terms 'promises' (ἐπαγγελία) and 'in order to confirm' (εἰς τὸ βεβαιῶσαι) to emphasize that the promises are not yet fully realized.³⁰ In addition, Paul twice uses the titular term Christ in reference to Jesus' role as the Messiah in 'confirmation' of God's promises (Ro. 15:3, 8). Furthermore, Paul repeatedly expresses faith in terms of hope

²⁶ Moo, *Romans* 879.

²⁷ Here the study concurs with the view that is widely held by the majority of interpreters, e.g. Barrett, Hays, C. H. Dodd, Käsemann, Keck, and Murray as well as represented by major English translations, e.g. RSV, NRSV, NIV, NEB, NJB etc.

²⁸ Cf. Cranfield *Romans* II: 741; Barrett, *Romans* 271. In addition, this further affirms Paul's notion that the gospel is for the Jew first, then the Greeks (1:16; 2:9, 10). It also concurs with Paul's general conviction that the Jewish people remain to be God's special elected ones in Romans (9:9:4-5; 11:28).

²⁹ For 'the promise to the Fathers' in Romans, see 4:16; 9:4; 11:28. The confirmation of the promise is a decisive step that 'opens the path of divine mercy for the Gentiles' (15:9). Jewett, *Romans* 891.

³⁰ 4:17-25; 5:1-10; 8:24-25. This point has been emphasized and developed by Christiaan Beker, *Paul the Apostle* esp. 94-99.

in the wider context of Romans.³¹ The hope to which Paul refers is demonstrated through the life example of Abraham and Christ. In both cases, Paul demonstrates that the ground of Christian hope is faith in God's ability to give life to the dead (Ro. 1: 3-4; 4:17-21; cf. 11:15, 19-23). In fact, Paul has mentioned 'hope' several times in the section 15:1-13, which links to the function of the Scriptures (15:4), to the root of Jesse (15:12//Isa. 11:10), and to the hope of the community (15:13). How does the notion of hope envisaged in Scripture in general and in Isaiah in particular further illuminate Paul's argument?

b. The citations of Ro. 15:7-12 (Ps. 17:50 LXX//2 Sam. 22:50; Dt. 32:43 LXX; Ps.116:1 LXX)

As observed earlier in this chapter, Paul usually employs a cluster of scriptural citations to buttress any particular theological position when such claims are really important in the flow of his argument. What then is the theological position that Paul intended to convey through these citations, in particular Isa. 11:10 in Ro. 15:12? If the scriptural texts are employed to sustain Paul's 'single proposition' of Christ's ministry, then how has the respective text been developed as a 'combined citation' to contribute to Paul's larger argument and his concern in Ro. 15:7-13? Isa. 11:10 is the last quotation in the series of scriptural texts as he concludes his arguments in 12:1-15:13.

As the citation of Isa. 11:10 locates at the end of a catena of citations in the present context, it will be helpful therefore to trace first briefly the basic logic underlying Paul's use of scriptural texts in the first three citations within their respective literary contexts. This exercise will provide us an understanding of the framework within which the citation from Isa. 11:10 operates. In other words, if the three preceding scriptural texts are employed to evoke the larger context of the cited text, then we may safely derive that Isa. 11:10, the last of the catena, is to be read in a similar way.

³¹ e.g. Ro. 4:18, 5:2, 4, 5; 8:20, 24; 15:4, 13.

(1) Ro. 15:9b and Ps. 17:50 LXX//2 Sam. 22:50

The first cited text of the catena to be examined is Ro.15:9b, a text taken from Ps. 17:50 LXX//2 Sam. 22:50 (cf.18:49 MT). The original introduction of the psalm indicates that it is a song sung by David ‘on the day when the LORD delivered him from the hand of all his enemies, and from the hand of Saul.’ (Ps. 17:1, 4). The psalmist has experienced severe ‘cords of death’ (ὠδῖνες θανάτου) and ‘torrents of perdition’ (χείμαρροι ἀνομίας), ‘cords of Sheol’ (ὠδῖνες ᾗδου) and ‘snares of death’ (παγίδες θανάτου) at the hands of his enemies (17:5-6 LXX). As he cries out to God he experiences deliverance from his enemies by the mighty hand of Yahweh. Towards the end of the psalm, the psalmist provides the reason why (διὰ τοῦτο) he praises God by referring to what God has done for him. With the experience of God’s deliverance and his mercy, David is confident that Yahweh will continue to bestow his mercy and deliverance on his seed (τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ) and ‘for ever’ (ἕως αἰῶνος) (Ps. 17:50-51 LXX).

It is noteworthy that the psalm indicates that its significance is far beyond personal concern of a king in the past. In the psalm David is self-designated as the anointed king (τῷ χριστῷ αὐτοῦ; 17:51 LXX) of Israel, and therefore, his deliverance signifies not only Yahweh’s mercy to an individual king but also entails divine commitment to His people Israel. Being the anointed king of Yahweh, David represents the kingdom that Yahweh promised to establish, a kingdom that will last forever (2 Sam. 7:14). The defeat of David’s enemies and the victory David enjoys entail Yahweh’s covenantal faithfulness to fulfil his promises. This conviction of future victory is further elaborated when David expresses that God’s mercy (ἔλεος) will continue to fall upon the king’s seed (τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ). Therefore, the link between David’s present deliverance and his vision of Yahweh’s covenantal faithfulness to the generations that follow ‘forever’ allows the psalm to be taken as looking forward to the time in which Israel will be restored by her Messiah. It is on the basis of God’s promise of future faithfulness that evokes David’s praise among the Gentiles.

In the light of what Paul declares in 15:4 that the Scriptures were written in order to give hope to those who are in Christ, and Paul’s Christological use of Ps. 69:9 in Ro. 15:3, which provides that precedent and evidence that his citation is intended to

evoke the larger context of the scripture,³² we may postulate that the apostle Paul cites this verse also in order to allude to the entire narrative of the psalm, especially vv. 47-51. Paul's point of using Ps. 17:50 LXX can be summarized as follows. The psalm indicates at least two reasons that David praises God. First, he recognizes how Yahweh has saved him from the 'cords of death' and that points to the life-giving power of God. Second, the experience of David's suffering of the threats of death and eventual deliverance has demonstrated that God is faithful to his promise. David sees the experience of his deliverance from death a confirmation of God's commitment to the establishment of his everlasting kingdom.³³ Although the cited text refers merely to singing praises among the Gentiles, it ultimately evokes the image of a suffering and vindicated Christ, given the immediate context of Paul's argument on Christ's ministry as a Servant of the Jews. Hays is definitely right to point out that David in the psalm 'becomes a symbol for the whole people and - at the same time - a prefiguration of the future Anointed One (ὁ Χριστὸς) who will be the heir of the promises and the restorer of the throne.'³⁴ Reading in this light, the citation does not seem to be 'words shadowing Paul's Gentile mission.'³⁵ Rather it represents the voice of David, king of Israel, who celebrates in praise the victory over his enemies.

This resonates with what Paul has written in the beginning of Romans, that Christ is described as the seed of David (ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ) according to flesh, and

³² This point has been argued thoroughly by Richard B. Hays, 'Christ Prays the Psalms: Paul's Use of an Early Christian Exegetical Convention,' in *The Future of Christology: Essays in Honor of Leander E. Keck*, eds., Mahlherbe Abraham J. and Wayne W. Meeks (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993) 130. The present study concurs with his view that Paul's citation is intended to evoke the entire narrative of the psalm, but unlike Hays, the present study is not convinced that Paul intends Christ to be the speaker of the words cited from Ps. 17:50 LXX. As a presentation of the distinctive hermeneutical move of early Christianity, however, Hays' proposal is highly persuasive. He contends that there is an exegetical tradition in early Christianity, in particular Paul, the Synoptic gospels, John and Hebrews, that saw the sufferings of Israel/the sufferings of the king who represents Israel in these psalms 'as having been accomplished in an eschatologically definitive way by Jesus on the cross, *and* to see the vindication of Israel accomplished proleptically in his resurrection.' Hays, 'Christ Prays,' 125-27, words quoted from 131.

³³ In this respect, the view of Moo and Cranfield that Paul took the words 'messianically' seems to have missed the mark. They read the citation as the utterance of Christ, i.e. the exalted Messiah of the Jews proclaiming the praise of God among the Gentiles through the preaching of the gospel. Cranfield, *Romans* II:745; Moo, *Romans* 878-79.

³⁴ Hays, 'Christ Prays,' 130.

³⁵ Käsemann, *An die Römer* 370.

(2) Ro. 15:10 and Dt. 32:43

Deuteronomy 32:43 LXX	Deuteronomy 32:43 MT
<p>εὐφράνθητε, οὐρανοί, ἅμα αὐτῷ, καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες υἱοὶ θεοῦ·</p> <p>εὐφράνθητε, ἔθνη, μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ,</p> <p>καὶ ἐνισχυσάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι θεοῦ·</p> <p>ὅτι τὸ αἶμα τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ ἐκδικᾶται,</p> <p>καὶ ἐκδικήσει καὶ ἀνταποδώσει</p>	<p>הָרַנִּינוּ גוֹיִם עִמּוֹ</p> <p>כִּי דַם־עַבְדָּיו יִקּוּם</p> <p>וְנִקְם יִשִּׁיב לְצָרָיו</p>

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<p>δίκην τοῖς ἐχθροῖς</p> <p>καὶ τοῖς μισοῦσιν ἀνταποδώσει,</p> <p>καὶ ἐκκαθαριεῖ κύριος τὴν γῆν τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ.</p>	<p>וכפר ארמתו עמו</p>
<p>Ro. 15:10</p> <p>εὐφράνθητε, ἔθνη, μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ.</p>	

The LXX appears to have a greater emphasis on heavenly rejoicing, which is reflected by the opening verse ‘Rejoice, O heavens’ (εὐφράνθητε, οὐρανοί), which is absent from the MT. It is the term ‘nations’/ ‘Gentiles’ that is emphatic in the MT, as the text begins with: ‘Make his people shout out for joy, O nations/Gentiles’ or ‘Praise his people, O nations/Gentiles’ (הרנינו גוים עמו).

This text belongs to the so-called Song of Moses in Dt. 32.³⁷ The Song contains a proclamation of Yahweh’s righteousness and faithfulness to His people Israel throughout the nation’s history (32:4), a judgment on the infidelity of the nation Israel who forsakes her Creator God (32:15-18), resulting in Yahweh’s punishment on Israel through ‘a people of no account/a foolish nation’ (32:19-38), and Yahweh’s eventual judgment against His enemies in favour of Israel (32:39-42). It concludes with a command to all Israel and the Gentiles to praise Yahweh (32:43).³⁸

Why should the Gentiles rejoice with God’s people then? In fact, in the Song Moses warns Israel of Yahweh’s impending judgment for her infidelity and idolatry. The judgment of Israel does not mean that the Gentiles will be spared. On the contrary,

³⁷ The thematic parallel between Dt. 32 and Paul’s arguments in Romans 9-11 is beyond the scope of the present study. In fact, Paul explicitly cites Dt. 32: 21 in Ro. 10:19 when he speaks of the situation in which God provokes Israel to jealousy by the Gentile nations. In addition, Paul also uses Dt. 32:35 in Ro. 12:19 to explain that God will judge in justice and his judgment is sure to come on that day.

³⁸ For a detailed discussion on the structure and themes of Dt. 32, see Matthew Thiessen, ‘The Form and Function of the Song of Moses (Deuteronomy 32.1-43),’ *JBL* 123 (2004) 401-24. Interestingly, scholars have also noticed the intertextual connections such as the thematic, theological, and linguistic parallels between this passage and the prophecies of Isaiah. For a discussion on its connection with Isaiah 40-55, see Thomas Kaiser, ‘The Song of Moses A Basis for Isaiah’s Prophecy,’ *VT* 55 (2005) 486-500; for a discussion on its links to the so-called First Isaiah, see Ronald Bergey, ‘The Song of Moses (Deuteronomy 32:1-43) and Isaianic Prophecies: A Test Case for Early Intertextuality?’ *JSOT* 28 (2003) 33-54.

the present judgment against Israel by the ‘foolish nation’ demonstrates God’s abhorrence of sin, and Israel’s fate foreshadows the coming judgment against the nations by God himself (Dt. 32:40-42). The execution of God’s judgment against the nations, in turn, will manifest His full restoration of His people (Dt. 32:43). Therefore, the call for the Gentiles to join in the praise is also a call to the nations to turn away from the sins of which Israel is accused. The rationale is that if God’s own people will be punished for their sins, what will become of the nations (c.f. Ro.11: 21)?³⁹ Finally, in view of God’s present ‘judgment’ on Israel, Paul reminds the Gentile Christians that God will eventually restore His covenanted people Israel (Ro. 11: 26) and His gifts are irrevocable (Ro. 11:29). Therefore, in the light of the reality of God’s judgment, and the faithfulness of God to His people Israel, the Gentile Christians should, instead of being arrogant towards the Jews, join the people of God in praise of his mercy.

(3) Ro. 15:11 and Ps. 116:1 LXX (Ps. 117:1 MT)

The third cited passage to be examined is taken from Ps. 116:1 LXX. The psalm belongs to the larger collection of the Egyptian Hallel (Ps. 112-117 LXX//113-118 MT) that celebrates Yahweh as the praiseworthy Deliverer.⁴⁰ Elizabeth Hayes has argued cogently that the whole Hallel psalms are constructed as a coherent and cohesive discourse unit, comprising various poetic elements that are used to ‘tell a story’ as a whole.⁴¹ The Egyptian Hallel begins by a threefold call to praise (Ps. 112:1 LXX//113:1 MT) and follows with the psalmist’s recount of the salvific act of Yahweh in Israel’s history, bringing to mind the exodus from Egypt, Yahweh’s astounding ability to save and His covenantal love. Central to the narrative is the question whether God is still present and active on behalf of his covenantal people. The nation’s questioning of Yahweh’s salvific activity is expressed in Ps. 113:10

³⁹ J. H. Tigay, *Deuteronomy* (JPS Torah Commentary; Philadelphia: JPS, 1996) 314.

⁴⁰ It has been widely recognized that Psalms 113-118 MT/112-117 LXX belong to the collection of the so-called Egyptian Hallel that has been associated with Passover and subsequently other Jewish feasts, and have thus become a significant component of Jewish festival liturgy since the Tannaitic period. Ismar Elbogen, *Jewish Liturgy: A Comprehensive History* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1993) 114.

⁴¹ Elizabeth Hayes has argued that this psalm represents the ‘discourse peak’ in the thematic progression. For more discussion on the structure of the Hallel, see Elizabeth Hayes, ‘The Unity of the Egyptian Hallel: Psalms 113-18,’ *BBR* 9 (1999) 145-56, words quoted from 152.

LXX (115:2 MT), in which the psalmist asked the rhetorical question: ‘Why should the nations say, “Where is their God?”’ The psalmist answers the question by appealing to Yahweh’s mercy and faithfulness (Ps. 113:9 LXX/115:1 MT). The Egyptian Hallel concludes with the anticipation of Israel’s future deliverance under a Davidic king (Ps. 117 LXX/118 MT). The last psalm of the collection speaks of the defeat of Israel’s enemies, celebrating God’s exodus-like intervention on Israel’s behalf.⁴² It is widely accepted as an expression of the eschatological new exodus and the return of Israel.⁴³

Ps. 116:2 LXX emphasizes that God is to be praised by all nations and all peoples due to his mercy (ἐλεος, רַחֲמִים) and faithfulness (ἀλήθεια, אֱמֻנָה) in the light of his salvation.⁴⁴ Hayes describes this psalm as ‘the high point of the story,’ and ‘the goal of the discourse’ because the thematic progression of the Egyptian Hallel culminates in the exhortation to all nations and all peoples to praise God.⁴⁵ If Ps. 113:9 LXX affirms the promise of divine mercy and faithfulness in Israel’s dire situation, Ps. 116:1 LXX celebrates with the anticipation of its final realization.

Although the two words ἐλεος and ἀλήθεια have not been explicitly mentioned in Paul’s cited line, the striking resonance that the text creates can hardly be ignored.⁴⁶ More important than the explicitly cited line is the reference to divine ἐλεος and ἀλήθεια found in the content of praise in Psalm 116 LXX. Just as the focus of praise in Ps. 116 LXX is Yahweh’s ἀλήθεια and mercy ἐλεος to the remnant Israel, so also is the point that Paul intends to emphasize preceding the catena of citations: Christ’s ministry to the Jews is a demonstration of God’s faithfulness (ἀλήθεια) and mercy

⁴² M. Dahood, *Psalms III: 101-150* (AB 17A; New York: Doubleday, 1970) 155; L. C. Allen, *Psalms 101-150* (WBC 21; Waco: Word, 1983) 124.

⁴³ E. Zenger, ‘The Composition and Theology of the Fifth Book of Psalms, Psalms 107-45,’ *JSOT* 80 (1998) 77-102. Ps. 117 LXX/118 MT has been widely used in early Christian writings in connection with eschatological new exodus, for example Mk. 11:9 (Ps. 118:25, 26); 12:10-11 (Ps. 118: 22-23); 1 Pe. 2:7.

⁴⁴ Cf. T. F. Torrance, ‘First of the Hallel Psalms,’ *EvQ* 27 (1955) 36-41; idem, ‘Last of the Hallel Psalms,’ *EvQ* 28 (1956) 101-08.

⁴⁵ Hayes, ‘The Unity,’ 155.

⁴⁶ Moo also has the same observation. *Romans* 879.

(ἐλεος) and this provides the ground for the Gentiles to glorify God. The touching point of the two texts suggests that the entire psalm is in view here.

This brief survey has shown that the first three cited texts of the catena are intended to support Paul's statement in Ro. 15:8-9a, with each of the cited texts specifying one aspect of the statement, and altogether pointing to the 'hope' that is envisaged in the Scripture, as Paul states in Ro. 15:4. Several motifs found in the larger context of the citations overlap with motifs present in Paul's argument in Romans 15 in particular. The cited texts are more than merely a call to the Gentiles to praise God, as they appear on the surface. Rather, Paul seems to be intending to evoke the larger context of the scripture. Put specifically, the careful combination of these texts serves to unpack the significance of Christ's ministry in Ro. 15:8-9a. With the larger context of Ps. 17:50 LXX//2 Sam. 22:50 in mind, Paul makes the point that David's experience of God's deliverance establishes God's promises to David's seed, which has found its fulfilment in Jesus' resurrection from the dead. This deliverance confirms the continuing commitment of God to his promises. (2) With Dt. 32:43 that speaks of the present judgment of God's people, Paul reminds his intended readers of the present judgment of Israel and the certainty of the future vindication of God's people and judgment of the nations. But in the light of God's forgiveness and promises in Christ, the Gentiles should have hope as they see that God's commitment to His people has never changed. (3) With Ps. 116:1, in which all nations are summoned to celebrate God's mercy and faithfulness in the light of the certainty of final vindication of Israel, Paul admonishes the Gentiles to have hope by praising God together with the remnant of Israel. Taking all together, the combined effect of the citations is to heighten the fact that through the ministry of Christ God's promises to the Jewish patriarchs are fulfilled, the salvation of His own people is assured and God's mercy and unfailing love have been shown to Israel and to all nations and peoples. Reading in this light, the first quote hints more on the hope of Davidic messiahship, and only the second and the third quotes summon the Gentiles to praise God. How is the fourth quotation related to these preceding texts? What particular import is brought about by the Isaianic text? To these questions we now turn.

c. Ro. 15:12 and Isa. 11:10

Having the interpretive framework delineated, we are now in a better position to turn to Isa. 11:10 which Paul cites by way of concluding the catena while at the same time

attempting to form a tight link to the beginning of the section (15:1-6). Paul starts his argument in this section by adducing Christ as the foundation of mutual acceptance (15:3, 8-9a)⁴⁷ and finally claims that Christ is the focal point for the hope of the Gentiles (15:10). He concludes his argument with the Isaianic text that announces that God's salvation is mediated through ἡ ῥίζα τοῦ Ἰεσσαί. The cited texts are compared in the table below.

Romans 15:12	Isaiah 11:10 LXX
καὶ πάλιν Ἡσαΐας λέγει ἔσται ἡ ῥίζα τοῦ Ἰεσσαί καὶ ὁ ἀνιστάμενος ἄρχειν ἐθνῶν, ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔθνη ἐλπιουσιν.	Καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἡ ῥίζα τοῦ Ἰεσσαί καὶ ὁ ἀνιστάμενος ἄρχειν ἐθνῶν, ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔθνη ἐλπιουσιν
<p style="text-align: right;">Isaiah 11:10 MT</p> <p style="text-align: center;">וְהָיָה בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא שְׂרֵשׁ יִשִּׁי אֲשֶׁר עֹמֵד לְנֶס עַמִּים אֵלָיו גּוֹיִם יִדְרְשׁוּ</p>	

This is the fifth time in Romans that Paul explicitly mentions Isaiah by name in his citations.⁴⁸ Paul's cited text is closer to the Greek translation than to the Hebrew. The MT and LXX differ in two places. First, the MT speaks of שְׂרֵשׁ יִשִּׁי shall 'stand as an ensign to the peoples' (עֹמֵד לְנֶס עַמִּים) while the LXX interprets it as 'to rule the nations' (ἄρχειν ἐθνῶν).⁴⁹ The second difference between the MT and LXX is this: while the MT reads 'to him nations will seek' (אֵלָיו גּוֹיִם יִדְרְשׁוּ), the LXX renders it

⁴⁷ Both Cranfield (*Romans* II: 739) and Käsemann (*An die Römer*; Tübingen: Mohr, 1974) take καθὼς as causative, and understand Christ as an example to whom the Roman believers are exhorted to model themselves.

⁴⁸ The citations in Romans where the name of the prophet Isaiah is evoked include: 9:27, 29; 10:16, 20; 15:12.

⁴⁹ Some scholars attempt to explain why Paul chooses the LXX over against MT. Dunn, for instance, suggests that the MT was much less suitable for Paul's purpose, because the root of Jesse is referred to as 'a battle flag' that exhibits strong military connotations. Paul opts for the LXX in order to tune down such association. Dunn, *Romans* II:850. Jewett also opines that the MT 'ensign' terminology carries an overtone of Israel's military predominance. Jewett, *Romans* 896. However, there is little evidence to substantiate such speculation. At any rate, that Paul is in favour of the LXX over the Hebrew is nothing unusual to his citation practice.

‘upon him nations will hope’ (ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ἔθνη ἐλπιούσιν). Again Paul follows the LXX almost verbatim, except with the omission of the phrase ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ and the initial καί. The omission can be explained by the fact that Paul is convinced that Isaiah’s prophecy is no longer an event yet to happen in the distant future, but is already in process of being fulfilled in the present time (cf. 2 Cor. 6:1), in which Paul himself is alive.⁵⁰ To appreciate fully Paul’s use of the passage and its implications, we need to look at how the text is to be understood in its original context and how it was appropriated by Paul’s contemporaries.

Isa. 11:10 in its original literary context and the Second Temple Jewish Literature

Isaiah 11 forms the culmination of the promise of a coming messianic king in the book of Isaiah. The promise was first hinted in Isa. 6, then announced in terms of the Immanuel oracle in Isa. 7, and further elaborated with the portrayal of a righteous messianic king along the line of the Davidic dynasty in Isa. 9. The messianic ruler is finally identified as of ἡ ῥίζα τοῦ Ιεσσαί in Isa. 11:10.⁵¹ He is depicted as one (1) who is endowed with the Spirit of Yahweh (Isa. 11:2); (2) who is characterized by his righteousness and faithfulness in his judgment (Isa. 11:4-5) and who will usher in a new world order in which enmity will be subdued and there will be peace that embraces the whole creation (11:6-9); and (3) he will show his powerful salvation a second time⁵² by re-gathering the remnants of Israel from the *diaspora*, from all places where they have been scattered (11:11-16). The whole picture of the restoration is presented in terms of a second exodus.

⁵⁰ F. Wilk argues cogently that Paul omits the phrase because he believes that Isaiah’s prophecy about the root of Jesse has been fulfilled in the person of Jesus. *Die Bedeutung* 48. Similarly, Wagner also contends that the deletion is intended to allow a recontextualizing of the citation as a prophecy of missionary fulfilment rather than a threatened day of judgment in which the Gentiles would be forced to acknowledge their subordination under Israel’s Messiah. *Herald* 318.

⁵¹ Childs observes that the metaphor is a continuation of the motif of ‘the holy seed in the stump’ of Isa. 6:13. In addition, he comments, ‘it is a striking characteristic of chapter 11 that all the various themes sounded in the previous chapter are pulled together to provide, as it were, a holistic reading of the entire Isaianic message.’ *Isaiah* 102.

⁵² This is expressed explicitly in the MT as indicated by the word שְׁנִיית.

There are two striking features of the passage that are noteworthy. First, the coming king is identified as both ‘the shoot’ (11:1) and the ‘root’ (11:10) of Jesse. The implications of this are twofold. (1) This king ‘is not just another king in David’s line but rather another David.’⁵³ Put specifically, the reference to Jesse has a particular significance, because in Israel’s scripture only David is called the ‘son of Jesse’, and David is referred to as the father of the successive kings of Israel. Therefore, when the coming king is described as the ‘shoot’ produced by Jesse the logical inference is that it must be David. (2) Meanwhile, the coming king is also referred to as ‘the root’ from which Jesse springs. He is called ‘the root of Jesse.’ That means he is at the same time the root and origin of Jesse, from which the Davidic Messiah king will shoot forth.⁵⁴ The description of this ‘coming king’ underlies so much enigmatic overtones that has led numerous speculations on the identity of this Messianic king in succeeding generations, which is reflected in the early Jewish and Christian literature.⁵⁵

The second striking feature of the passage is that the verse, Isa. 11:10, stands as a hinge between the coming of the Davidic king (11:1-9) and the final restoration of Israel (11:11-16). The coming king is manifested as one ‘who was raised up to rule the nations (ὁ ἀνιστάμενος ἄρχειν ἐθνῶν). If Paul’s reading of Isa. 11:10 is taken according to its original context, then the text should be understood as pointing not to the resurrection in the past, but rather to his present reign over the nations and as an anticipation of his coming again to restore Israel and judge all nations.

As mentioned in passing earlier, Isa. 11 is a text that is widely recognized by both early Jewish and Christian groups to be messianic.⁵⁶ The significance of the scene is centred on ἡ ῥίζα τοῦ Ιεσσαί (‘the root of Jesse’),⁵⁷ a term widely accepted as

⁵³ This point is put forward by Motyer in *Prophecy of Isaiah*, 121.

⁵⁴ Although it is not the purpose of the present study to solve this ‘dilemma’, as Motyer called it, it is mentioned here so as to heighten the tremendous force of Paul’s identification of the root of Jesse with Jesus Christ.

⁵⁵ More detailed discussion on this subject will follow as the section unfolds.

⁵⁶ For the importance of Isa. 11:1-5 in developing messianic hope in Second Temple Judaism, see Max Turner, *Power from on High: The Spirit in Israel’s Restoration and Witness in Luke-Acts* (JPTSUP 9; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996) 114-17; 132-3.

⁵⁷ See also the same observation by Motyer, *Prophecy of Isaiah* 125.

carrying a messianic overtone as evidenced in Second Temple Jewish and Christian literature. Apart from the evidence found in Qumran literature, other messianic uses of this expression are found in *Sir.* 47:22, *Sib. Or.* 3:385-95, and *Test. Jud.* 24:5-6 etc.⁵⁸ As demonstrated in much research,⁵⁹ the Qumran community believed that God would raise up two messiahs in the last days, one kingly and one priestly. The kingly messiah is called 'the Prince of the Congregation' (1Q28b 5.20), 'the Branch of David' (e.g. 4Q174 1.11; 4Q 285 5.3-4), and 'the messiah of Israel' (1QS 9.11). Furthermore, Isa. 11 is also used in the *Psalms of Solomon* in the description of the Messianic figure. In *Pss. Sol.* 17, for instance, the psalmist describes the role and character of the Messiah in terms of a kingly figure along David's line, who bears a remarkable resemblance with what is described in Isa. 11:2-5 (*Pss. Sol.* 17:35-40). The psalm envisages a time when God will raise up the son of David to restore Jerusalem (*Pss. Sol.* 17:21-22) by (1) driving out all Gentiles and sinners from Jerusalem (*Pss. Sol.* 17:22-24//Isa. 11:4b) and (2) cleansing Jerusalem and gathering a holy people to judge the nations in righteousness (*Pss. Sol.* 17: 26-30//Isa. 11:4a). A similar idea is also found in *Pss. Sol.* 18:7-8, which alludes to Isa. 11:2-4, in the formation of the imagery of the messianic figure. As for the apocalyptic works, allusions to Isa. 11:2-5 are also found in *1 Enoch* 46:4; 49:3-4; 62:2, *4 Ezra* 13:10, *2 Baruch* 72: 2-6.⁶⁰ The messianic figure in *2 Bar.* is described as one who will destroy those who oppressed Israel. All these instances appear to suggest that messianic reading of Isa. 11 was part of Jewish and early Christian exegetical traditions.

It is clear that although in these writings neither the concept of the Messiah nor the definition of his mission was universal across the sectarian groups, there was a core

⁵⁸ In addition, the 'shoot of David' is also found in 4Q282, 4Q285, 4QPat 3-4; 4QFlor 1:11; 4QpIsa. 3:10ff.; 1QSb. 5:26; Rev. 5:5 and 22:16. Cf. Jewett, *Romans* 896, n.105; Shum, *Paul's Use*, 64-65; 73-74; 163-71; 250-59; 264-71. In addition, the term was also interpreted messianically in *Targum Jonathan*, which refers to the Messiah as a bringer of peace. For more discussion, see Bruce Chilton, 'Two in One: Renderings of the Book of Isaiah in Targum Jonathan,' in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition*, edited by C. C. Broyles and C. A. Evans (VTSup 70.1; 2 Volumes; Leiden: Brill, 1997) 2: 547-62.

⁵⁹ For a list of all messianic passages in the Qumran writings, see M. G. Abegg and C. A. Evans, 'Messianic Passages in the Dead Sea Scrolls,' in *Qumran Messianism*, ed., J. H. Charlesworth, H. Lichtenberger and G. S. Oegema (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998) 191-203.

⁶⁰ For more discussion of allusions to Isaiah in *1 Enoch*, see M. Knibb, 'Isaianic Traditions in the Book of Enoch,' in *After the Exile: Essays in Honour of Rex Mason*, ed., John Barton and David J. Reimer (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1996) 217-29.

of messianic belief that was shared across these writings.⁶¹ They seemed to have a shared conception of the main role of the Messiah: he is viewed as God's eschatological agent to restore Israel. And the eschatological salvation, for the writers of sectarian writings, still lies in an unknown future, and there is an intense hope for the coming of the messiah(s) reflected in these writings.

The significance of Isa. 11:10

Turning back to Paul, we notice that he reads Isa. 11:10 in a way that is both in continuity and in discontinuity to that of his Jewish contemporaries. He shares with them the intense hope for the coming of the Messiah who will bring God's promises to fulfilment. Secondly, Paul also shares with other Jewish contemporaries the view that the Messiah of Israel will bring about the eschatological restoration of Israel, which in turn will demonstrate the righteous and powerful rule of Israel's God. Finally, his assertion that 'the Root of Jesse' will be the ruler over all nations and the hope of the Gentiles indicates that Paul, like other Jewish contemporaries, underscores the lordship of Israel's Messiah over all nations. In this respect, Paul is conscious of living at a crucial moment of history in expectation of the consummation of the divine purpose when Israel's Messiah would reveal himself to be the Lord of all nations.

Of course, there are stark contrasts between Paul and other early Jewish authors in the understanding of the nature of the Messiah. The most obvious difference is that, unlike the authors of the Jewish writings mentioned above, who understand the prophet's sayings merely as a projection into the distant future, Paul sees that the promise to a Davidic messiah king has already been confirmed and inaugurated in Jesus as proven by his death and resurrection, a point which is presupposed rather

⁶¹ This point has been forcefully argued by N. T. Wright in *Jesus and the Victory of God* (London: SPCK, 1996) 481-6. For a study of the figure of Messiah in the Second Temple Jewish writings, see C. Marvin Pate, *Communities of the Last Days: the Dead Sea Scrolls, the New Testament and the Story of Israel* (Downers Grove: IVP, 2000), esp. 107-118; R. S. Hess and M. D. Carroll ed., *Israel's Messiah in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2003); J. J. Collins, *The Sceptre and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (New York: Doubleday, 1995); J. Neusner, W. S. Green and E. S. Freuchs ed., *Judaisms and Their Messiahs at the Turn of the Christian Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

than argued by Paul.⁶² Paul's identification of the 'root of Jesse' with Jesus Christ marks him out from other Jewish sectarian groups. As pointed out earlier, Paul at the outset of the epistle designates Jesus in terms of his distinctive identity as the seed of David according to his physical lineage (ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ κατὰ σάρκα), the vindicated Son of God (υἱοῦ θεοῦ) by his resurrection from the dead, and the Christ (Χριστός) and the Lord (Κυριός). These designations of Jesus are unpacked in the course of argument throughout the epistle (in particular relation to the significance of his death and resurrection in chapters 4-8) and reinforced in Ro. 14-15. The lordship of Christ is expounded in Ro. 14:1-10, in particular in relation to the notion that he is the judge alongside of God the Father. The notion Davidic kingship and sonship is implicitly alluded to in Paul's use of Ps. 17:49 LXX, as demonstrated in the preceding discussion,⁶³ but is brought out explicitly when Paul applies Isa. 11:10 to Jesus, indicating that Jesus is the Messiah and thus the hope of all nations. The force of the Isaianic reference, however, lies beyond the overt citation. The most striking elements of Paul's subtext, which are embedded in the larger context of Isa. 11, are to be discovered when the subtext is interpreted against the backdrop of its wider context.

In other words, Paul does believe that Jesus Christ is indeed the Davidic messianic king, and this notion is significant to Paul in establishing his argument of the faithfulness of God to his promises. The significance of Jesus' Davidic descent (Ro. 1:4) has been argued succinctly by Hurtado who aptly summarizes that, 'His Davidic descent and messianic role (9:5) are both his *kata sarka*, through his physical/historical connection with Israel, and in this epistle where there is such emphasis upon the salvation-historical purposes and plans of God, Jesus' historical/physical derivation is relevant.'⁶⁴ This is a direct challenge to those who tend to downplay or even deny the relevance of Jesus' historical and physical

⁶² The identification, though not articulated explicitly, is to be found in the train of thought shown in Paul's argumentation throughout Romans in general and his use of Isa. 11:10 in particular. The text is used here not to prove the identity of Jesus *per se*, but in effect the use presupposes that Jesus is the Messiah of the eschatological hope. Shum, *Paul's Use*, 254-55.

⁶³ See also the discussion of Paul's use of Ps. 69 in Ro. 15:3 in Hays, 'Christ Prays,' 122-37.

⁶⁴ Hurtado, 'Jesus' Divine Sonship,' 227.

connection with Israel.⁶⁵ Koester, for instance, expresses a wholesale doubtfulness to the notion that Paul has associated Jesus with the Davidic Messiah. He writes, ‘Among the most difficult and as yet unsolved problems of the history of early Christian Christology are why and when Jesus was given the title “Messiah.” There can be little doubt that this title was applied to Jesus at a very early time. It appears early in the Greek translation *Christos*, “Christ,” in the letters of Paul, and it must have existed before Paul’s call, although in Paul’s letters it has become nothing more than a part of Jesus’ proper name. *Paul’s own Christology does not rest on this title, or on any other notion connected with the ideology of the royal offspring from the house of David.*’⁶⁶ This view has been proved to be untenable in our analysis. The main problem with this approach is its complete failure to recognize the import of Isa. 11:10 to Paul’s argument and the ‘hope’ that entails.

John Collins has given a forceful refutation to those who deny that Paul thought of Jesus as Messiah on the basis that Paul’s interpretation of Jesus as Davidic messiah fits well with that of the Gospel authors.⁶⁷ It is clear, as Collins points out, that the title *χριστός* is a heavily politically loaded term that Jesus’ followers would not have applied it to him after his death if it had no basis in Jesus’ lifetime.⁶⁸ But far

⁶⁵ Helmut Koester, ‘Suffering Servant and Royal Messiah’ in *Paul and His World: Interpreting the New Testament in its Context* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007) 93-117. In the article, he advances a thesis that ‘Paul’s Christology is in no way related to the messianic expectations of Israel, but it is deeply rooted in the story and the expectation of the Suffering Servant of God.’ (105). He claims that ‘Jesus is for Paul and his churches the Servant of God, not the Messiah.’ (104) His argument is based on (1) Messiah in Paul’s letters does not function as a title but as part of a proper name of Jesus (104-5). (2) The concept of a suffering and dying Messiah is never found in the tradition of Israel and such a notion would be at odds with the tradition (105). (3) He asserts that ‘Paul is suspicious of the claim that Jesus comes from the house of David’ because he ‘emphatically adds’ the phrase ‘according to the flesh’ in Ro. 1:3. In addition, Koch also expresses a similar view, who writes, ‘Themen, die in einen spezifisch (hellenistisch-)judenchristlichen Raum weisen, wie Davidssohnschaft (Jes 11:10), Erfüllung der Zionsverheißungen (Jes 28:16; 59:20f.), aber auch Bund (Jes 59:20ff; in christologischem Zusammenhang in 1 Kor 11:23-25), spielen bei Paulus entweder keine Rolle mehr (Davidssohnschaft, Zionsverheißungen) oder erscheinen in transformierter Gestalt (Bund; vgl. 2 Kor 3!).’ *Schrift* 286.

⁶⁶ Koester, ‘Suffering Servant,’ 99. Emphasis is mine.

⁶⁷ John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (ABRL: New York: Doubleday, 1995) 204-09.

⁶⁸ Collins, *Scepter* 204.

from claiming Jesus as a militant messiah,⁶⁹ the Gospel authors instead understand him as a prophetic and royal messiah on the basis of Jesus' words and deeds.⁷⁰

From the observation above, the way in which Paul organizes his citations in Ro. 15:8-10 indicates that he reads Isaiah in the light of the scheme of redemptive history. In Paul's view, the redemptive history reaches its climax not in the death and resurrection of Christ who sums up the destiny of Israel in himself, as Wright argues,⁷¹ nor as an event already taken up in the establishment of the church, as Hays maintains,⁷² but rather when Christ, as the Davidic messianic king, returns to restore Israel so that Israel and Gentile believers together bring glory to God in praises. In other words, the salvation history is still an ongoing process that has yet to reach its final consummation. That is why in Israel's Messiah all the nations hope (Ro. 15:12).⁷³

If the above analysis is correct, then the testimony of Isaiah 11:10 plays a significant role in the conclusion of Paul's argument in Ro. 14:1-15:13 as well as the whole epistle. We find that Paul chooses this passage from Isaiah to round off his exhortation is by no means merely incidental, or simply because Isaiah is Paul's 'favourite prophet.'⁷⁴ He deliberately selects Isa. 11:10 to achieve far more important ends than most scholars tend to think. This can be summarized as follows. First, he intends to remind his implicit readers that Christ Jesus is indeed the Messiah on whom the hope of Israelites and the nations rests. Meanwhile Jesus' death and resurrection, as well as his ministry to Jews, has confirmed God's faithfulness to His people. However, in applying this Isaianic text, Paul both affirms and transforms the image of the Messiah. He connects Jesus' servanthood with His Messiahship and His

⁶⁹ In agreement with Mowinckel and James Dunn, see *ibid.*

⁷⁰ For example, the manner in which Jesus enters Jerusalem is to be seen as one of the most remarkable enactments of the coming of the Davidic Messiah. Collins has rightly pointed out that 'The incident is at least a possible case of a symbolic action by Jesus that fits the mode of operation of an eschatological prophet but that also implies a royal claim. Collins, *Scepter* 206.

⁷¹ N. T. Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant* esp. 231-57; 262-63.

⁷² R. Hays, *Echoes*, esp. chapter 3.

⁷³ Moo, *Romans* 880.

⁷⁴ Dunn, *Romans* II: 850.

Davidic kingship. As seen both in Ro. 1:3-4 and Ro. 15:7-13, which forms an *inclusio* of the entire letter, Paul juxtaposes the dual identity of Jesus: the seed of David and the resurrected Son of God in order to allow them to illuminate each other. Presented as a typological symbol of the fate of Christ, David's experience of deliverance from the pangs of death is understood by Paul as foreshadowing of the vindication and ultimate triumphal victory of Christ. Although Paul does not explain Jesus' death in terms of vicarious atonement in the immediate context, he has made explicit reference to this in some other parts of Romans.⁷⁵ In the present context, Paul presents Jesus as God's Messiah in terms of fulfilling his ministry of serving Jew and Gentile. With the backdrop of Christ becoming a 'servant' of the Jews provided by the preceding statements, Paul links the lordship of Jesus with his servant-hood: Christ served the Jews (and Gentiles too) by dying for them rather than subjugating them by force, which substantially transformed the majority Jewish understanding of Messianism in Isa 11:10.⁷⁶

Second, the future-looking nature of Isa. 11:10 strengthens Paul's notion of hope which is of paramount significance in Ro. 15:1-13. In his response to the pastoral problem posed by the tension between 'the strong' and 'the weak', Paul stresses that Christ's on-going ministry to the Jews is aimed to bring Gentiles to praise Israel's God. If Christ has already become a servant to confirm these promises, and if the certainty of the restoration of Israel is witnessed in the scripture, and if the promise has been fulfilled typologically in the vindication of David, and eschatologically in the vindication of Jesus, then what will this mean? It means that there is a hope yet to be totally fulfilled. Isa. 11:10 provides a climatic summary of the eschatological vision that the coming of the Davidic king will restore Israel and bring all nations together to the glorification of God. The presence of Christian communities, with both Jew and Gentile believers worshipping God in unity, is therefore, in Paul's view, the manifestation of this eschatological vision and foreshadowing of its full consummation in Christ's *parousia*.

⁷⁵ Especially in Ro. 4:25, 5:6,8, and 19.

⁷⁶ In this respect, Koester's antithesis that Jesus is either the Davidic Messiah or a Suffering Servant is a false one. Paul understands Jesus in both terms. It is not an either-or, but a 'both-and'.

d. Ro. 15:21 and Isa. 52:15

With the vision of having the Gentiles joining Jews in the praise of God in view (Ro 15:2-7), Paul gives a brief summary of what he has done in his past years of labour in evangelism amongst the Gentiles and also of the coming itinerary of the western Mediterranean to be started after he has finished delivering the collection to Jerusalem (Ro.15:14-29). The purpose of his determination to preach the gospel not in places where Christ's name was already known is expressed in terms of a citation from Isa. 52:15. The quoted text follows verbatim the LXX as shown in the table below.⁷⁷

Romans 15:21	Isaiah 52:15b LXX
ἀλλὰ καθὼς γέγραπται οἷς οὐκ ἀνηγγέλη περὶ αὐτοῦ ὄψονται, καὶ οἱ οὐκ ἀκηκόασιν συνήσουσιν.	ὅτι οἷς οὐκ ἀνηγγέλη περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὄψονται, καὶ οἱ οὐκ ἀκηκόασιν, συνήσουσιν.
Isa. 52:15b MT כִּי אֲשֶׁר לֹא-סִפֵּר לָהֶם רְאוּ וְאֲשֶׁר לֹא-שָׁמְעוּ הִתְבֹּנְנוּ	

The scriptural text quoted from Isa. 52:15b belongs to the larger section of the so-called fourth Servant song (Isa. 52:13-53:12) in the book of Isaiah.⁷⁸ As mentioned before, this song describes a figure identified as the Servant of Yahweh whose identity is enigmatic and yet his sacrificial suffering, death, exaltation, and the impact of his work are clearly described. The Servant is presented as the agent, the arm of Yahweh, through whom the salvation plan of God would be accomplished (Isa. 53:1). The Servant is said to be undergoing severe suffering and humiliation even unto death for the remission of sins of many but will eventually be lifted up, raised and exalted (53:14). The striking characteristics of the Servant's humiliation

⁷⁷ There is no significant divergence in meaning between the Greek text and the MT, apart from the fact that the force of the final verb הִתְבֹּנְנוּ (hipolel perfect) in the MT has not been emphasized in the LXX, in which it is rendered as συνήσουσιν.

⁷⁸ For a more detailed discussion of the so-called the fourth Servant Song, see chapter 5 of the study.

and exaltation have shocked and astonished many of the nations and have silenced the mouths of many kings (Isa. 52:13-14). Eventually a new level of seeing and understanding will dawn upon the Gentiles and kings. As many scholars have pointed out, the issue at stake is the new level of understanding that is envisaged amongst the nations and kings.⁷⁹ In other words, the nations and kings were originally among the people who had no knowledge of the Servant of Yahweh. The characterization of Gentiles as the ones without knowledge of God's salvation resonates with what Paul has done in Ro. 10:20 when he applies Isa. 65:1 to describe the Gentiles as those who do not seek God or ask of him. In addition, the scriptural text discloses that it was not until the people had 'heard' and been 'told' that they finally could 'see' and 'understand' what the Servant's suffering and exaltation means. The presence of the phrase in both Paul's cited text and the LXX is worth mentioning. It is the person, namely, the Suffering Servant of Yahweh, which forms that focus of attention for all nations.

So what is Paul's intention by citing this passage from Isaiah in the present context? In the immediate context, the apostle Paul expresses that his missionary work in the east, i.e. 'from Jerusalem and as far as Illyricum' is fully accomplished (Ro. 15:19) and therefore he is planning to move westward to Spain and beyond (Ro. 15:24, 28). The reason for this strategic move initiated by Paul himself is that he seeks to go to preach in regions where Christ's name has not been heard. In other words, Paul's focus is placed on the people who need to be told of Christ Jesus (Ro. 15:19-20).⁸⁰ It is the necessity of proclamation amongst the Gentiles that drives Paul to extend his ministry to new regions. After the completion of his mission in the east, Paul is eager to move on to proclaim Christ in new regions. He is convinced that all who call upon Christ's name will be saved, and the prerequisite for one being able to call upon Christ's name is that he has heard of Him through apostolic preaching (Ro. 10:14-17).

⁷⁹ Childs, following Beuken, makes this point. His argument is based on the intertextual links to Isa. 48:6ff where Israel was challenged to 'see' and 'understand' the new salvific act of God that is about to be revealed. In the present poem, not only a group within Israel begin to see and understand, but also the many nations and kings will 'see' and 'understand' the truth that was previously foreign to them. *Isaiah* 413. Also, Motyer, *Prophecy of Isaiah* 426.

⁸⁰ See also Moo, *Romans* 897. Following S. Pedersen, Moo believes that Paul might intend to use the quoted text to justify his decision 'not to build on another's foundations (15:20) on the basis that the text speaks of evangelising those who have not yet heard the message.

In this sense, Wagner is right to point out that the passage is quoted in order to ‘justify his determination to preach the gospel to those who have not yet heard.’⁸¹ This accords with Paul’s sense of calling to the Gentiles because he is entrusted with the good news concerning Christ and he is called to preach to the nations/Gentiles (15:15a).

However, the implication of Paul’s use of Isa. 52:15 does not seem to be limited by the overt words of quotation. There are at least two possible rhetorical effects when Paul’s quotation is read within its original literary context. First, the quotation alludes to the content of Paul’s gospel. As Isa. 52:15 belongs to the larger section of Isa. 52:13-53:12, this particular verse specifically mentions that the content that the nations and kings have not yet been told of is ‘about him’ (περὶ αὐτοῦ), and this ‘him’ is none other than the Servant of Yahweh, as indicated clearly in Isa. 52:13. Likewise, the centre of the message that Paul determines to preach is identified with Christ (Ro. 15:19-20). This echoes with what he has declared at the beginning of the epistle that the subject matter of the ‘gospel of God’ (εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ) is concerning the Son of God Jesus Christ (Ro. 1:2). Therefore, although Paul’s narrative emphasis in the present context is neither the identity of Christ *per se*, nor the content of his gospel, but rather his decision to preach in regions where the name of Christ has not been named, the strong connection between Christ and the Servant of Yahweh is nevertheless strongly suggested.⁸² Just as he identifies his gospel message in Ro. 10:16 with ‘the message’ (τῇ ἀκοῇ) described in Isa. 53:1, Paul also makes a strong connection between the person about whom he proclaims, that is Christ Jesus, and the Servant of Yahweh in the prophecy of Isaiah 52:13-15. The connection between Christ and the Servant of Yahweh, in Paul’s presentation, is more or less presupposed or implied rather than argued.

Secondly, if the above reading is correct, then it is reasonable to conclude that Paul sees his mission as a fulfilment of the scriptural prophecy about the Gentiles coming

⁸¹ Wagner, *Herald* 332.

⁸² This of course does not mean that Paul would have known the designation of ‘the Servant Song’ created by modern Isaiah scholars. But his familiarity with the larger portion of this section of Isaiah is beyond any doubt, given the evidence of his quotations of Isa. 53:1 in Ro. 10:16, of Isa. 52:7 in Ro. 10:15 and of Isa. 52:5 in Ro. 2:24, as well as his allusions to Isa. 53 in Ro. 4:25 and 8:32.

to see and understand the message about the Servant of Yahweh, and the Servant's identity as now revealed in the person of Jesus Christ.⁸³ In the original context of Isa. 52:13-15, there is no mention of the way in which the Gentiles and kings will see and understand apart from implying that they will be told and they will hear. Paul's application of the text to his own ministry seems to suggest that he interprets it, in the light of Christology, as taking the gospel to the Gentile nations. Therefore, his ministry was crucial to the completion of God's plan of salvation for humanity.

Paul's priestly service of the gospel and 'the offering of the Gentiles'

Before leaving our discussion of Paul's citation of Isa. 52:15 in Ro. 15:21, there is an interesting and significant observation to be made. The citation is set within the context of Paul's theological exposition of the gospel (Ro. 15:7-13) and its outworking in his own missionary endeavour (Ro. 15:14-32). In particular, he expresses the purpose of his missionary labour as 'to win obedience from the Gentiles' (Ro. 15:18). This resonates with the overarching goal of the proclamation of the gospel, namely, 'the obedience of faith' (ὕπακοή πίστεως), that Paul expresses both in the introductory paragraph (Ro. 1:5) and the concluding paragraph (Ro. 16:26). As Garlington has rightly remarked, the term ὑπακοή πίστεως 'serves to articulate the design of the apostle's missionary gospel' and is 'a programmatic statement of the main purpose of the letter to the Romans.'⁸⁴

What is perhaps even more striking is that the goal of 'winning obedience from the Gentiles' is expressed in the present context in cultic terms. Paul states that 'because of the grace given by God to be a minister (λειτουργός) of Christ Jesus to the Gentiles, serving the priestly service (ἱερουργέω) of the gospel, so that the offering of the Gentiles (ἡ προσφορά τῶν ἐθνῶν) might become acceptable (εὐπρόσδεκτος) to God, sanctified (ἡγιασμένη) by the Holy Spirit' (Ro. 15:16). In this brief statement of his missionary intentions, there is a high concentration of cultic image and terminology in reference to the Gentile mission, which can hardly be ignored. These references include: (1) Paul uses the word 'priestly minister' to identify his own role

⁸³ Moo, *Romans* 898.

⁸⁴ D. Garlington, 'The Obedience of Faith in the Letter to the Romans. Part 1: The Meaning of ὑπακοή πίστεως (Rom 1:5; 16:26),' *WTJ* 52 (1990) 201.

of serving the Gentiles in relation to Christ. (2) He describes the gift he is about to present to God as ‘the offering of the Gentiles’, and he seeks to have the offering made acceptable and sanctified. (3) The very term ‘the offering of the Gentiles’ itself is no less than a sacrificial term. All these have generated numerous scholarly debates as to what exactly Paul intends to convey. Attempts to explain the term ‘the offering of the Gentiles’ are divided into two general camps: those who view it as a genitive of apposition, indicating that the offering of which Paul speaks consists of his Gentile converts themselves;⁸⁵ and those who take it as a subjective genitive (the offering given by the Gentiles).⁸⁶ The case for identifying the ‘offering’ with the ‘Gentile converts’ seems to be a good one. Reasons supporting this position include: (1) the context into which Paul has inserted the statement concerns his Gentile mission as a whole (Ro. 15:16 and 15:18), not the collection, and, in fact, no mention is made of the collection here; (2) the cultic language employed in the present context and the characterization of Paul’s priestly service appear to highlight the cultic significance of his Gentile mission as a whole; (3) Paul indicates that ‘the offering of the Gentiles’ is closely related to his priestly service of the gospel of God, and the effectiveness of his ministry in winning the obedience of the Gentiles is nothing less than the work of Christ himself and the Holy Spirit (Ro. 15:17-18). Therefore, there is strong indication that when Paul speaks of ‘the offering of the Gentiles’, he refers to the Gentile converts who are the result of his missionary labour by the grace of God (Ro 15:15).

In a recent article, David Downs attempts to argue against this generally accepted position and contend that the referent of the ‘offering’ is the collection for the

⁸⁵ Proponents of this view include Cranfield, *Romans* II:756; Murray, *Romans* 210-11; Sanday and Headlam, *Romans* 403; Dunn, *Romans* II:860; Byrne, *Romans* 438; Schreiner, *Romans* 767; Fitzmyer, *Romans* 712. According to this view, ‘the offering of the Gentiles’ is a reference to Paul’s symbolic offering to God of his Gentile converts. Munck seems to have built much of his case on this point as he has argued that Paul’s understanding of his mission to the Gentiles was significantly shaped by the apostle’s appropriation of the scriptural tradition regarding the eschatological pilgrimage of the nations to Zion. See his book entitled *Paul and the Salvation of Mankind*.

⁸⁶ The view is represented by D. W. B. Robinson, ‘The Priesthood of Paul in the Gospel of Hope,’ in R. Banks ed., *Reconciliation and Hope: New Testament Essays on Atonement and Eschatology Presented to L. L. Morris on his Sixtieth Birthday* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974) 231-45. According to scholars who hold this position, the term refers only to the collection for Jerusalem from the Gentile believers and not the Gentile converts themselves.

Jerusalem saints and not the Gentile converts.⁸⁷ However, his argument is not convincing on several grounds. First, as he rightly concedes, in Jewish and Christian literature the term προσφορά often refers to religious offerings. He cannot find any instances in scriptural text that such a term is also used for designating ‘more mundane gifts and benefactions’ apart from the Greco-Roman literature and one instance from Josephus. Second, he argues that the present case is similar to the genitive in the phrase ὑπακοῇ ἐθνῶν in 15:18, which is to be taken as a subjective genitive. However, this at best can only be affirmed as a possible reading. The issue cannot be decided on linguistic grounds alone. Likewise, his appeal to the use of the genitive in Php. 2:17 is also untenable. Finally, while it is true that Paul makes explicit reference to the collection in both Ro. 15:31 and 2 Cor. 8:12, and in both cases he uses the same term εὐπρόσδεκτος (to be acceptable) to describe the collection, it does not prove that Paul is referring ‘the offering of the Gentiles’ in Ro. 15:16 to the collection. In short, the evidence that Downs has marshalled does not sufficiently prove his case.

Nonetheless, it must be admitted that there exists a linkage between Paul’s Gentile mission and the collection in the wider literary context of Romans 15.⁸⁸ When Paul spells out his missionary intentions in Ro. 15:22-33, he does not hesitate to indicate his apprehension about his forthcoming visit to Jerusalem. The trip to Jerusalem is largely for the purpose of bringing the collection for which he has invested much energy, thought and time. As many scholars have observed, the collection in Paul’s view is more than an expression of Christian generosity and relief of financial needs. Rather, it was ‘a symbol of Jewish-Gentile solidarity in the body of Christ’,⁸⁹ an enterprise that Paul has staked his personal prestige on. But there is a cloud of danger is on the horizon of the visit to Jerusalem, that’s why Paul solicits the Roman churches to join him in prayer (15:30). He asks them to pray not only for his deliverance from the hands of the ‘unbelievers in Judea,’ but also for the success of

⁸⁷ David J. Downs, ‘“The Offering of the Gentiles” in Romans 15:16,’ *JSNT* 29 (2006-07) 173-86.

⁸⁸ This does not mean that it gives support for a subjective genitive interpretation of the phrase ‘the offering of the Gentiles’ in Ro. 15:16. In fact, it is more likely that ‘the offering of Gentiles’ refers not the collection, but rather the converts themselves; though it may include the monetary contribution, as the wider literary context suggests.

⁸⁹ Stott, *Romans* 33.

his mission, namely, that the collection might be accepted by the Jewish Christian leaders in Jerusalem.

Therefore, if Ro. 15:14-32 is to be read as a whole, then we may conclude that when Paul speaks of the trip to Jerusalem, he has in mind to bring both the collection for the poor saints of Jerusalem and the representatives of the Gentile converts from various churches in the Asia Minor as the fruit of his missionary labour. However, it must be noted that the offering of the Gentile converts as a whole is directed to God (15:16) whereas the collection for the poor saints is to be accepted primarily by the Jerusalem Christians (15:25-26).

For the purpose of the present study, the issue at stake is not so much the exact referent of ‘the offering of the Gentiles’ in Ro. 15:16 but the fact that Paul understands his Gentile mission in cultic terms. Not only does Paul refer to the fruits of his Gentile missionary endeavour as ‘an offering’ (προσφορά) acceptable to God, and to himself as a priestly minister (λειτουργός) of Christ serving a priestly service (ιερουργέω) regarding the gospel, but he also describes the monetary contribution of the Gentiles for the poor saints in Jerusalem as a priestly service (λειτουργέω) within Jewish-Christian mutual fellowship (κοινωνία) under the lordship of Christ (Ro. 15:26-27). Therefore, Paul’s use of the sacrificial service terminology is by no means incidental. On the one hand, Paul views his own offering of the Gentiles to God with the lens of levitical service, and on the other hand, he affirms the reality that the Gentiles are participating in the worship of God through their priestly service to their Jewish fellow believers in Christ. In Paul’s view, then, when the Gentile churches fulfil their obligation of sacrificial service to the poor among the saints in Jerusalem, they are in fact rendering a priestly service within the community of God’s people.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ The notion that to help the poor fellow believers of Christ is to offer priestly service to God resonates with the motif running through Paul’s exhortation in Ro. 14-15, namely, ‘to bear the burdens of another’, which is to serve Christ. As discussed earlier, Paul twice appeals to Christ’s example and the Scriptures that speak of the hope in Christ when urges the Roman Christians to live a life of mutual acceptance (15:1-13).

They become participants of the eschatological worship with God's people Israel in the praise of God.⁹¹

Based on the observation of Paul's description of the Gentiles as an offering brought to Jerusalem, Roger Aus argues that Paul intends the event to be viewed as a fulfilment of the eschatological pilgrimage of Gentiles to Jerusalem/Zion envisaged in Isa. 66:20.⁹² The major critique on Aus' position include: (1) there is no explicit citation from this passage in any of Paul's extant letters; (2) the eschatological pilgrimage tradition seems to be at odds with the gist of Paul's entire missionary enterprise which is characterized by his endeavour of bringing the good news out of Jerusalem and to the places where Christ's name is not yet named (Ro. 15:20-21); (3) Aus' identification of Tarshish with Spain is rejected as unconvincing and lacks historical evidence; and finally, (4) Isa. 66:20 speaks of bringing 'your brothers', which might denote remnants of the Israelites in the diaspora and not of Gentile converts. But Paul is in fact bringing the Gentiles along with their financial contribution to Jerusalem.⁹³

Although Aus' argument of an allusion to Isa. 66:20 in Ro. 15:16 is not entirely persuasive, his observation does have some merit. In particular pertinence to the present study is the correlation between the Isaianic vision of the Gentiles' participation in the end-time cultic service and Paul's conception of his Gentile mission. Whether the cultic terminology is intended to denote a mere symbolic sense

⁹¹ It is interesting that the Gentile converts are presented both as ministers serving priestly service and as the offering itself offered by Paul to God. This usage does not surprise us when we read it in the light of Ro. 12:1 where Paul exhorts the Roman Christians (who are presumably dominated by Gentiles) to present their very selves 'as a living sacrifice' (θυσίαν), which is their priestly service (λατρεία) offered to God. The word λατρεία (verb λατρεύω) is a cognate of λειτουργέω, referring to the service of God in a cultic context. 'λατρεύω,' Louw & Nida, 53.13. Cf. Php. 4:18; 2 Cor. 9:12; Heb. 9:1, 6; and Ac. 7:7.

⁹² Roger D. Aus, 'Paul's Travel Plans to Spain and the "Full Number of the Gentiles" of Rom XI 25.' *NovT* 21 (1979) 232-62. This view is endorsed by many modern scholars including: Walter C. Kaiser Jr. *Mission in the Old Testament: Israel as the Light to the Nations* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000) 78-79; Schreiner, *Romans* 767; Rainer Riesner, *Paul's Early Period: Chronology, Mission Strategy, Theology* (Trans. Doug Stott; Grand Rapids: Eerdmanns, 1998) 245-53; Fitzmyer, *Romans* 712; Moo, *Romans* 890.

⁹³ For a recent critique of Aus' view, see A. Andrew Das, 'Paul of Tarshish: Isaiah 66.19 and the Spanish Mission of Romans 15.24, 28,' *NTS* 54 (2008) 60-73.

or to be taken literally, it is still remarkable that Paul would describe his service to the Gentiles in such priestly terms. As Dewey has astutely pointed out, ‘such service would have had a distasteful or taboo aspect to it from a Jewish perspective. Indeed, in taking over such service, Paul is risking being considered socially impure.’⁹⁴ However, Paul considers his Gentile mission ‘a matter of boast’, i.e. a ministry that he is proud of (15:17). This can only make perfect sense if we read it in the light of his understanding of Christ’s ministry, both in the broader context of Romans in general and the immediate literary context in particular. In Ro. 15:7 Paul speaks of Christ as the Lord who ‘receives/welcomes’ (προσλαμβάνω) both Jews and Gentiles and exhorts his intended audience/reader to follow Christ’s example to do the same to one another.

IV. The Significance of the Scripture

There is yet another clue revealing Paul’s rationale for his understanding of his mission in the light of the Scripture, which is stated in Ro. 15:4. Leander Keck has questioned the rationale for the existence of the verse in its present context and conjectures that it might be ‘an interpolation.’⁹⁵ The analysis makes it plain that it is the hermeneutical key to understand Paul’s reading of Scripture at least within the context of Romans 15. The scriptural texts, as Paul understands it, were written not only to describe God’s dealing with His people in the past, but also to offer eschatological hope for believers. In particular, the passages employed in Romans 15 stress the motif of the Messiah of the gospel, by which the suffering and eventual salvation experienced by David and the people of Israel are read as a typology foreshadowing the eschatological salvation that is to be revealed in the future.

In Ro. 15:8-9a, Paul expresses that the work of Christ has primarily achieved two purposes: First, Christ’s work confirms (βεβαιόω) first and foremost the faithfulness (ἀλήθεια) of God’s promises to the patriarchs, His own chosen people. It is important

⁹⁴ Arthur J. Dewey, ‘ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΣΙΙΑΝΙΑΝ: The Future and Paul,’ in *Religious Propaganda and Missionary Competition in the New Testament World: Essays Honoring Dieter Georgi*, eds. Lukas Bormann, Kelly Del Tredici & Angela Standhartinger (Leiden/New York/Köln: Brill, 1994) 344-45.

⁹⁵ Leander E. Keck, ‘Romans 15:4 – An Interpolation?’ in *Faith and History: Essays in Honor of Paul W. Meyer*, ed., John T. Carroll (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990) 125-36.

to note that Paul here speaks not about the fulfilment of the promises but about their confirmation in Christ. This harks back to Ro. 4:16 where he speaks of the faith that confirmed the promise (εἰς τὸ εἶναι βεβαίαν τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν) to Abraham. In other words, the Christ-event, the content and object of faith, has not made God's promises to Abraham obsolete but are taken up in the hope of consummation. As Beker rightly summarizes it, 'the Christ-event ratifies the Old Testament promises, but it is not a closure [closing] event, because it reactivates the hope of his Parousia in glory (1 Cor. 1:7, 8).'⁹⁶ It is within this 'already and not yet' time frame that Paul seeks to fulfil his own task of Gentile mission.

Second, based on the fact that Christ's ministry to the Jews upholds God's faithfulness, Paul is convinced that the pathway to salvation is opened for the Gentiles. God's promise to bless all nations through His own seed, Abraham, is finally fulfilled in Jesus, so that the Gentiles are able to join in the chorus to praise God's mercy shown through Christ (cf. Ro. 9:25-26; 10:11, 13, 20). Paul's mission to the Gentiles (Ro. 15:16) is to be understood as 'the theological corollary of Paul's exposition of the gospel and God's saving purposes for both Jew and Gentile.'⁹⁷

What is the implication, then, of this God-given gospel to the Gentiles for Paul's missionary endeavour? As a called apostle to the Gentiles, Paul seeks to bring the gospel of Christ out of Jerusalem to the Gentile nations. In this respect, Paul understands his ministry to be integral to the goal of bringing the 'full number' of Gentiles to faith through active preaching of the gospel. Paul has determined that he will not build on the foundation of others, by preaching the gospel where others have preached before him and have already laid the foundation of a Christian community (Ro.15:20-21; Cf. 2 Cor. 10:13-16). Paul endeavours to lay the foundation of a Christian community in regions where the name of Christ has not been named. This may reflect his self-conception of his apostolic ministry as a pioneer and founder of the Christian community among the Gentiles.⁹⁸ As Paul strives to reach his goal of

⁹⁶ Beker, *Paul the Apostle* 148.

⁹⁷ P. T. O'Brien, *Gospel and Mission* 29.

⁹⁸ Even though Christian communities already exist before Paul's missionary trip to Rome, Paul explicitly mentions that he is still hoping to reap some harvest there by his missionary work as he did among the rest of the Gentile nations (Ro.1:13-14).

making the gospel message heard amongst the Gentile nations and thus winning the obedience of faith from them, he is in fact seeking to bring home ‘the continuity between his ministry and the whole revelation of Israel.’⁹⁹ The message of the good news that Paul proclaims is centred on the coming of Israel’s Messiah and God’s reign of the whole world through the lordship of Christ.

Furthermore, Paul stresses the manner in which his mission is accomplished as he refers to his ministry as ‘what Christ has accomplished through me ... by word and deed, by the power of signs and wonders by the power of the Spirit of God (15:18-19). The fruit of his missionary labour is expressed in terms of the ‘obedience of faith’ and the collection for the saints in Jerusalem. In Paul’s view, the very act of mutual reception is an expression of solidarity, imitating Christ himself who is ‘the archetype of solidarity.’¹⁰⁰ In so doing the community of God’s people, comprising both Jew and Gentile, are glorifying God together, bringing the goal of Christ’s ministry to realization. Likewise, Paul also seeks to lead the Gentile churches into participating in the eschatological worship envisaged in Isaiah through his Gentile mission. This is to be understood in two aspects. First, he attempts to bring Gentile converts as gifts offered to God. Second, Paul exhorts Gentile churches to serve the poor saints in Jerusalem, presumably most, if not all, are Jewish Christians, so that through their financial contribution and unity in love the whole community will bring praise and glory to God – the chief goal intended by Christ’s ministry. If these observations are granted, then we may conclude that Paul’s deliberate use of cultic expression reflects his intention to connect his own ministry to that of Christ. In this sense, Paul’s Gentile mission is nothing less than a continuation of the ministry of Christ. He stands within this salvation-historical framework.

V. Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated how the eschatological hope envisaged in Isaiah 11:10 (Ro. 15:12) and Isa. 52:15 shapes Paul’s understanding of his Gentile mission. The implication of the eschatological vision to Paul’s Gentile mission is remarkable.

⁹⁹ J. D. G. Dunn, *Romans 9-16* II: 867.

¹⁰⁰ Dieter Georgi, *Theocracy in Paul’s Praxis and Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991) 103.

Paul's Gentile mission appears to be driven by the idea that 'preaching was a sign that was to precede the Messianic age.'¹⁰¹ The Isaianic vision of Israel's eschatological hope provides two fundamental dimensions for Paul to perceive his Gentile mission in relation to the salvation of Israel. First, his mission to the Gentiles may provoke some of the Jews to jealousy so as to save some of them. In this sense, his mission is a detour to the salvation of Israel in that it ensures the continued existence of a remnant of Israel at present; (2) Paul is convinced that the fullness of the Gentiles is a necessary condition for the coming of Israel's Redeemer. In other words, the salvation of all Israel can only be achieved *after* the fullness of the Gentiles is attained. Therefore, the present task of Gentile mission is determinative and foundational to bring about the final stage of the salvation of humanity. Meanwhile, the time for Gentile mission is limited and temporary. The present opportunities of last days' evangelism will not last long. In addition, Paul sees his bringing of the Gentiles to God in terms of levitical service, that through enabling Gentiles to participate in priestly service he is in fact continuing what Christ has achieved through his ministry on earth. With the conviction of God's faithfulness to Israel in mind, Paul labours with concerted effort in the preaching of the gospel message to the Gentile nations. It is remarkable to see how within a couple of decades Paul finishes the task in the eastern regions, and then he seeks to embark on a new phase of missionary activity in the western regions of the Roman Empire, in places where Christ's name has not been named.

¹⁰¹ Munck, *Paul and the Salvation* 40. The notion that 'mission is a sign of the end is also attested in other early Christian writings (e.g. Mk. 13:10; Mt. 24:14; Rev. 6:1-8; Ac.1:6-7). In some apocryphal writings there is a line of thought which sees 'mission' as the eschatological sign (or promise). In this period, Elijah will preach repentance in the last days (e.g. Ecclus 48: 10,11), and then the kingdom of God will come when the number of the elect has been completed (e.g. 2 Baruch 30:2; 4 Ezra).

Chapter 5

Paul's use of Isaiah in 1 and 2 Corinthians

In the previous chapter, we have investigated how Paul appropriated Isaiah in Romans in his dealing with the issues surrounding Jewish unbelief and the tension between Jewish-Gentile members of the congregation in Rome. It has been discovered that his interpretation of the Scriptures reflects his theological understanding of the discrepancy between the divine promises to Israel and the present plight in which the Jews are facing. In the course of his argument, he sounds a note of warning to the Gentiles who attempt to boast over their being 'grafted in' and the 'stumbling' of the Jews, and who mistakenly conclude that God has forsake his people Israel. Paul's use of Isaiah shows that these texts provide a rich and evocative source that not only helps him to buttress his assertion of God's unfailing faithfulness to Israel but also affirms his conviction for the significance of his Gentile mission in the overarching divine salvation plan.

Paul's critique on human self-assertion and boasting arising from worldly wisdom comes to the fore in the Corinthian correspondences. In these two epistles, one of the dominant problems with which Paul constantly grapples is the charge against the foolishness of the cross and the authenticity of his apostolic authority due to the appearance of weakness exhibited in his ministry. In 1 Corinthians, Paul seeks to demonstrate that the cross of Christ is the divine wisdom that destroys every boasting, while in 2 Corinthians he wrestles with the reality of his apostolic suffering in the service of preaching the gospel. He asserts that his apostolic existence represents a form of participation in the cross of Jesus' own suffering. In both epistles, the Isaianic texts have provided him vocabularies and concepts that illuminate and shape his articulations of his gospel and his apostleship. In this chapter, we seek to examine four passages of Isaianic texts, including two citations (Isa. 29:14b//1 Cor. 1:19 and Isa. 49:8//2 Cor. 6:2) and two allusions (Isa. 61:1//1 Cor. 1:17 and Isa. 53:12//2 Cor. 4:11), that Paul appropriates in these two correspondences.

Section 1: The use of Isaiah in 1 Corinthians

I. The nature and purpose of 1 Corinthians

The problems of the Corinthian churches that Paul addresses in 1 Corinthians are many and complex. For the purpose of the present study, we will not rehearse all the issues arising from the churches with which Paul has dealt. Instead, our focus will remain on the use of Isaiah within the framework of the first four chapters where the Isaianic citation and allusion can be detected. Two major issues that Paul mentions at the outset of the letter in these chapters centre around the Corinthians' boasting (καυχάομαι) and their criticism of the 'weakness' of the manner in which Paul preaches the gospel, i.e. he preaches the message of the cross without using 'eloquent wisdom' (σοφία λόγου; 1 Cor. 1:17). These two issues are intimately interrelated; both reflect strong Hellenistic socio-cultural influences.¹

From Paul's response indicated in the Corinthian correspondence, there seem to be a number of elements that point to the same core issue of the Corinthian church. These include boasting,² a high evaluation of eloquent speech, and worldly wisdom and power, which subsequently undermine the true wisdom and power of the message of the cross as well as the authority of Paul's apostolic preaching. Coming from a largely Hellenistic socio-cultural background,³ the Corinthian churches are no less affected by the first-century Hellenistic influence than other people of the Greco-Roman world. Competitive boasting on the basis of worldly wisdom, social status and power is one of the significant influences underlining the problems of the Corinthian churches as indicated in the letter. The division of the church is in part triggered by destructive quarrels among different groups of the congregation who seem to pledge allegiance to different successive leaders of the church, which include

¹ For a detailed treatment of the social setting of the first-century Corinth, see Timothy B. Savage, *Power through Weakness: Paul's Understanding of the Christian Ministry in 2 Corinthians* (SNTSMS 86; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), esp.19-102.

² The act of boasting is found both in the Corinthian congregation (e.g. 1 Cor. 1:26-29; 4:6b-7) and Paul's opponents (e.g. 2 Cor. 10:12-18; 11:18). The verb καυχάομαι and its cognates appear 39 times in 1 and 2 Corinthians, as compared to 15 times elsewhere in Pauline writings.

³ For a fuller discussion of the social background of the Corinthian churches, see Fee, *First Corinthians*, 4, 13-14; Schnelle, *Apostle Paul* 204-07; Savage, *Power Through Weaknesses*, especially chapters 1-2; Richard A. Horsley, '1 Corinthians: A Case Study of Paul's Assembly as an Alternative Society,' in *Paul and Empire: Religion and Power in Roman Imperial Society*, ed. Richard A. Horsley (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1997) 242-52.

Apollos, Peter and Paul himself (1Cor. 1:10-12). And this behaviour of giving glory to one leader as opposed to another is very likely provoked by the way in which Paul presented the gospel of the cross (1 Cor. 1:22, 2:1-5). In addition, Paul's refusal to boast of self and his insistence on preaching the gospel not with human wisdom but solely on the principle of crucified Christ is understood in Corinth as a lack of self-confidence and personal pre-eminence and is thereby regarded as foolish and weak.

Therefore, Paul's rebuke is mainly directed to this aspect of Hellenistic influence on the community life of the Corinthian Christians as well as their attitude to the gospel of the cross that Paul preached. Paul brings several accusations against the boasting of the Corinthians, including the boasting in human leaders and the placing of their trust in worldly standards of wisdom and powerfulness, without full comprehension of and submission to the true nature of the gospel that the cross of Christ represents.⁴

With this backdrop of the social setting of the Corinthian churches in mind, we will explore in this chapter how Paul employs the words of Scripture particularly from Isaiah in the course of his argument. He launches his critique on the Corinthians' boast of power and wisdom according to worldly standards on the one hand, and on the other, he defends both his apostolic authority and message as having originated from God himself. In doing so, Paul, by appealing to the authority of Israel's Scripture, the word of God, claims that the God of the gospel he preaches is the supreme God over all the wisdom and power of the world. This, in turn, challenges the wisdom and power of the world of which the Corinthian churches are taking so much pride.

⁴ In the course of Paul's argument, he also explains the reasons for his disavowal of the use of rhetoric technique ('words of eloquence') in his preaching and his rejection to the monetary support from the Corinthian church. It is very likely that in so doing he deliberately distinguishes himself from his opponents who do the both, and thus to remove obstacles that might hinder his gospel ministry. For more discussion on the sociological explanation of Paul's disavowal of the use of rhetoric techniques, see Timothy H. Lim, 'Not in Persuasive Words of Wisdom, but in the Demonstration of the Spirit and Power,' *NovT* 29 (1987) 137-49.

II. Analysis

a. 1 Cor. 1:19= Isa. 29:14

The first passage of the cited text from Isaiah that we examine is Isa. 29:14 in 1 Cor. 1:19. Set in the larger context of Paul's treatment of division in the Corinthian church (1 Cor. 1:10-4:21), Paul's discourse in 1 Cor. 1:17-2:2 focuses on how the message of the cross should be understood as God's wisdom and power. He sets the whole argument in the form of a series of repetitions on the antithesis of 'the wisdom of the world' (τή σοφία τοῦ κόσμου;) and 'the wisdom of God' (θεοῦ σοφίαν; 1:24).⁵ The whole unit is bracketed by the *inclusio* of Paul's statement that he is sent to preach the gospel (εὐαγγελίζω) of Christ crucified (1 Cor. 1:17; 2:2). In addition, structurally speaking, the assertion that 'we preach Christ crucified' (ἡμεῖς κηρύσσομεν Χριστὸν ἐσταυρωμένον) lies right in the middle of the unit (1 Cor. 1:23), indicating that the gospel of Christ crucified lies at the heart of Paul's argument. Paul expounds throughout the unit that the εὐαγγέλιον for him is nothing less than the message of the cross of Christ (1 Cor. 1:17), because the cross of Christ is the manifestation of God's wisdom and power. Paul states that although this is plain to those who are saved, to those who are perishing God's wisdom and power through the cross is not immediately evident (1 Cor. 1:18).

What Paul asserts is essentially that no one by his natural capacity can make sense of the cross. It is God himself who sets the criterion of wisdom, which is the cross of Christ.⁶ In other words, the message of the cross is not the subject to human evaluation but it defines what God's wisdom designates. The salvation effected by the cross through apostolic preaching pronounces the triumph of God's wisdom over human wisdom. In order to strengthen his argument, Paul appeals to the scriptural text that is quoted almost verbatim from Isa. 29:14b of LXX as shown in the following:

⁵ K. E. Bailey has made a detailed analysis of the literary structure of 1 Cor. 1:17-2:2 in the article, 'Rediscovering the Poetic Structure of 1 Cor. 1:17-2:2: A Study in Text and Commentary,' *NovT* 17 (1975) 265-96. Although not all of his arguments are equally convincing, some of his observations on the thematic structure laid out in parallelistic pattern are accurate and stimulating, and help to solve a number of grammatical and translation problems.

⁶ This term is taken from Schnelle, *Apostle Paul* 199.

1 Corinthians 1:19	Isaiah 29:14b LXX
<p>γέγραπται γάρ·</p> <p>ἀπολῶ τὴν σοφίαν τῶν σοφῶν καὶ</p> <p>τὴν σύνεσιν τῶν συνετῶν</p> <p>ἀθετήσω.</p>	<p>καὶ</p> <p>ἀπολῶ τὴν σοφίαν τῶν σοφῶν καὶ</p> <p>τὴν σύνεσιν τῶν συνετῶν κρύψω</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">Isaiah 29: 14b MT</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ואבדה חכמת חכמיו ובינת נבניו תסתתר</p>	

Paul’s citation is introduced by the formula γέγραπται γάρ without further specifying the source of the quoted text. But its verbal affinity with Isa. 29:14b confirms the relationship of the two texts. Paul’s citation shows two modifications. First, he omits the initial ‘and’, which can be easily explained by his grammatical concern. He drops the first half of Isa. 29:14 in his citation, so there is no co-ordinational clause and thus there is no need to have the ‘and’ in the sentence. Second, and more importantly, instead of κρύψω (‘to hide’) in the LXX, Paul uses ἀθετήσω (‘to set aside’).

The difference between the two texts can potentially be attributed to two possible reasons. First, Paul has a Greek *Vorlage* that is different from our extant Greek manuscripts. Second, Paul might have translated it from a different Hebrew text. However, there is no variance found in any extant Hebrew texts that can support this view, so this is unlikely. In addition, the LXX of Isa. 29:14b rendering κρύψω concurs with the extant Hebrew text בָּתַר. This also undermines the possibility that Paul translates from the Hebrew text by himself. If the above observations are correct, then we will come to the conclusion that either Paul’s text is based on a *Vorlage* that we are now unable to access, or Paul might be responsible for the change. Though both cases are possible, and no conclusive decision can be made based on the present textual evidence, we can still assert from the present text that Paul presents a version that carries a stronger tone of God’s judgment. In Paul’s text, God is described as one who will not only destroy the wisdom of the wise, but also ‘set aside’ the discernment of the discerning. In doing so, Paul is very likely drawing out the full force of the scriptural citation in Isa. 29, as its larger story is centred on the

astonishing fact that the divine wisdom exhibited in his salvation will frustrate the proud and save the humble.

Commenting on Paul's citation of Isa. 29:14 in 1 Cor. 1:19, Wilk has argued that the main thrust of the quotation is to indicate 'the reason why God's saving act has taken form in the word of the cross.'⁷ He further puts forward two theses: (1) That God has made the human wisdom foolish, which in essence means that God takes away human capacity to know Him; (2) The way in which God takes away worldly wisdom is 'by veiling his word of deliverance in the apostolic preaching.'⁸ In doing so, God has decided to do away with human wisdom and has excluded it from the divine/human relationship. Unfortunately, with these very brief statements Wilk did not adequately explain how Paul's use of Isa. 29 functions in Paul's argument. The problem of his treatment is threefold. First, although Wilk notices Paul's use of ἀθετήσω instead of κρύψω, he does not take it seriously enough to stress its significance to Paul's argument. In fact, the point of Paul's citation is not so much on the hiddenness of God's word as on the powerful force of its triumph over human wisdom. Second, Paul repeatedly claims that the gospel message preached by him demonstrates God's power (δύναμις θεοῦ; 1 Cor. 1:18, 24; 2:4, 5. Cf. Ro.1:4, 16). This implies that for Paul the preaching of the gospel is not merely utterance of some facts about God. Rather, the cross and the preaching are both God's performative word,⁹ demonstrating the reality of the dynamic power of God. In other words, Paul regards his preaching of Christ crucified as an event, in which God advents into human existence and transforms their perception of God.¹⁰ On this point, Martyn expresses it aptly when he states that 'the gospel is inseparable from God because God himself comes on the scene in that proclamation in the fullness of his power.'¹¹

⁷ Wilk, 'Isaiah in 1 and 2 Corinthians,' 136.

⁸ Wilk, 'Isaiah in 1 and 2 Corinthians,' 136.

⁹ The term 'performative word' refers to the type of utterance whose primary purpose is 'not to inform but to perform' (p. 21). This type of utterance is characterized by two features: (1) the speaker is committed to stand by his word. (2) the utterance is meant to illicit response, and its effectiveness depends on the response. When we speak of God's word mediated through apostolic preaching as performative, we refer to the perlocutionary power that is able to illicit a response. For a fuller discussion on the definition and nature of performative utterance, see G. B. Caird, *The Language and Image of the Bible* (London: Duckworth, 2002, 1980c), especially pp. 20-25.

¹⁰ Martyn, *Theological Issues*, 219.

¹¹ Martyn, *Theological Issues* 219.

Since the gospel is God's power to effect salvation, those who are being redeemed will receive it by faith and recognize that the power of God's salvation is at work. Finally, Paul's point of focus is not so much on why human wisdom is incapable of knowing God. Rather, he is stressing the fact that the truth of the gospel of the crucified Christ 'is not subject to human evaluation.'¹² Again, Martyn's insightful comment is helpful: 'in this denial Paul obliterates in one stroke the thought that the gospel is subject to criteria of perception that have been developed apart from the gospel!'¹³ In summary, the main thrust of Paul's argument lies in the power of the gospel and the apostolic preaching instead of the hiddenness of God's wisdom.

The question still left unanswered is: why does Paul at this point employ Isa.29:14b in his argument? What do 'the wise' seek so that they are unable to know God? To whom are these words of polemics addressed in Paul's letter? Before discussing the larger story of Isa. 29, we may first ask: does Paul intend the larger context of the Scripture to have any bearing on his argument at this point? If Paul's citation intends to evoke the larger context of Isa. 29, then how does the Isaianic text lead us to appreciate Paul's argument at a deeper level?

Isa. 29 and 1 Cor. 1:18-2:16

When we compare Paul's argument with the wider context of Isa. 29:14, there is at least one significant difference between the two contexts: Isaiah 29 is concerned with the destruction of the Israelites by a foreign empire, an issue that is clearly not in view in Paul's argument. However, the underlying critique on the misplaced trust in human power and wisdom for obtaining salvation/deliverance is shared in both texts. It is possible that the shared concepts of divine wisdom, human boasting and the surprising nature of God's act of salvation that pervade each context are primarily what led Paul to incorporate this citation in his argument.

¹² Martyn, *Theological Issues* 220.

¹³ Martyn, *Theological Issues* 220.

The fact that the concept of the divine humbling of the proud in a surprising way when God manifests his salvation plays so prominent a role in both Paul's argument (1 Cor. 1:18-2:16) and Isa. 29:1-8 gives weight to the argument that the larger context of the Isaianic passage is in view here. In addition, there are three interesting connections between the two, specifically between the Isaiah context and the larger context of 1 Cor. 1-2. First, in the original context of Isa. 29:1-8, the prophet mentions how the complacent Israelites are brought low (29:1)¹⁴ and how the multitudes of nations are frustrated by Yahweh's strange work of salvation (Isa. 29:8, 21).¹⁵ In the present context of Paul, he argues that God's wisdom will 'frustrate' and 'set aside' (1 Cor. 1:21-22) worldly wisdom as God's salvific purposes are working out. Secondly, the oracle announces that God's act may seem to be a mystery to all, both for those who can read the Torah and for those who do not know (Isa. 29:9-14). Here Paul contends that the message of the cross seems to be weak and foolish to both the Jews and the Greeks, because the Jews look for miraculous signs while the Greeks seek 'eloquent wisdom' (1 Cor. 1:22). The cross goes against the expectation of both groups of people. Thirdly, the themes of pledging allegiance with human power (Isa. 28:14-22; cf. 30:1-5; 31:1-3; 1 Cor. 1:10ff) in relation to misapprehension of the reality (29:22-24; 1 Cor. 2:6) intersect in the larger context of Isaiah 28-29 and also find their correspondence in Paul's argument.

The above mentioned prominent motifs pervading the texts, both of 1 Cor. 1-2 and the larger story of Isaiah 29:14 make it highly possible that Paul structures his argument in such a way that he has the wider context of Isaiah 29:14 in mind. These underlying connections underscore the power of divine wisdom that will render all human boasting futile. One more piece of evidence may lend support to the claim that Paul is familiar with this portion of Isaiah. Paul cites Isa. 29:16 in Ro. 9:20-21 as he elucidates the absolute sovereign nature of divine wisdom. The overarching motif of the absolute divine wisdom over against human wisdom from Isa. 29 is applied to Ro. 9:20-21 and the present passage. Though he has different emphases in each

¹⁴ The people of Israel is symbolically represented by the term 'the town where David dwells' (πόλις ἣν Δαυιδ ἐπολέμησεν; דִּיר דָּוִד חָנָה and its altar (29:1) (אַרְיֵאל; אֶרְיֵאֵל).

¹⁵ The nations that against God and his people are designated by the phrase כָּל-הַגּוֹיִם הַמּוֹנִן (ὁ πλοῦτος πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν).

context, the fact that he cites a text in such proximity to the present one provides us with a firmer ground to believe that Paul is aware of the wider context of Isa. 29:14.

As mentioned earlier in the previous chapter, the wider context of Isaiah informs us that the issue at stake is about the outworking of Yahweh's salvation purposes: there are competing strategies of relieving the national crisis proposed by the royal and religious leaders in Isaiah's time. The 'wise', the counsellors of the king, advise to remedy the Assyrian threat by forming alliances with other military powers (Isa. 28:14-22), but they fail to perceive that the Assyrian threat is only Yahweh's 'rod' to discipline Israel (Isa. 8), which effectively is the act of rescuing Israel (Isa. 28:11-12, 21). The 'destruction' brought about by the divine act of judgment appeared to be an experience that engendered great fear and threat, but underlying the apparent upheaval of Israel, there is a promise of spiritual renewal that will result in a renewed fear of God (29:22-24). In fact, the prophet Isaiah announces that by way of the 'marvellous work', Yahweh intended to make Zion a city of righteousness (28:16-18). But the leaders of Jerusalem failed to perceive the divine purpose in these events. Instead of submitting to Yahweh's plan, they sought to avert the crisis and save themselves through political means, which turns out to be a 'refuge in lies' (28:15, 17). Such wisdom, in the view of the prophet Isaiah, represents their incomprehension of the divine purpose and misplaced trust in human wisdom in obtaining salvation/deliverance, which subsequently undermines the true worship of God (29:13). As Savage remarks, 'It is a man-centred wisdom, which leaves God out of account and incurs his wrath.'¹⁶ The wider context informs us that the prophetic criticism is not only directed to trusting human wisdom over against divine wisdom, but also to human pride shown in the rejection of the divinely ordained manner that salvation is achieved.

If Paul indeed has the wider context in mind, then how does the wider context inform his argument? The similarity between the two texts lies in the overarching motif of the humbling of human wisdom by a divine act of 'wonder' (29:14) when his salvific purpose is manifested. Yet Paul's application has both transformed and developed

¹⁶ Savage, *Power through Weakness*, 76.

this theme in two ways. First, while the alliance with foreign power is in view in Isaiah, Paul's application is on the Corinthians' boasting in allegiance to different church leaders. As the texts show, their quarrelling and boasting, which in some way being carried on in the name of 'wisdom' (3:18-21), shows that some are 'puffed up' for one leader (Apollos in this case) against the other (perhaps Paul himself; 4:6).¹⁷ In so doing, they hope to assert themselves a position of strength and honour and so glorify in themselves. However, a closer analysis may find that the difference is only superficial. It is because both texts are addressing the same kind of man-centred wisdom that undergirds the act of seeking allegiance with human power.

Secondly, while Isaiah simply states God will destroy human wisdom by his act, Paul actually explains why human wisdom should be set aside in order to attain the knowledge of God. Paul asserts that through human wisdom no one may know God, and therefore God chooses the way that is foolish and weak according to human wisdom to demonstrate his power (1:21). Against their mistaken notion of wisdom Paul holds out 'Christ crucified' as the real wisdom, the wisdom of God (1 Cor. 1.24, 30). Now 'Christ crucified' is according to the worldly standard no wisdom but simply folly (1 Cor. 1.21, 23). This is so because he is God's wisdom ἐν μυστηρίῳ, the hidden wisdom (1 Cor. 2.7).¹⁸ The wisdom and power of God are not only revealed through the cross but also through the 'foolishness' of the apostolic preaching, which is not by mere words but through the power of the Spirit. He elucidates the point still further in 1:26-28 where he reminds the Corinthians that they were called from humble origins: not many of them were rich, influential or of noble birth when they were called. By appropriation of the Isaianic text, Paul emphasizes that only through a decisive abrogation of human wisdom may one comprehend divine wisdom.

¹⁷ As Fee rightly observed, they are not quarrelling 'just *for* Apollos or Cephas, but is decidedly *over against* Paul at the same time.'¹⁷ They boast of one leader as opposed to another. Gordon D. Fee, *The Epistle to the Corinthians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987) 49. It is clear that Paul's discussion of the message of the cross is set in the wider context of his dealing with the discord and division within the Corinthian church (1 Cor. 1:10-4:6), which is largely caused by their pledging allegiance to different church leaders (1:10-12; 3:3-4, 22; 4:6). The whole section of the argument is bracketed by statements on this theme (1:10 and 4:6), which form a clear inclusio.

¹⁸ Kim, *Origin* 76.

Finally, and more importantly, in both texts, the polemics against idolatrous ‘wisdom’ motif is set within the context of comprehending the divine salvation plan. In the Isaianic context, the point of the prophetic utterance seems clear enough in that it mocks those who ought to have known Yahweh’s will but because of their wilful rejection of his word are likened to staggering drunkards (29:7; cf. 28:7). The insensible condition is Yahweh’s doing (29:10). Isa. 29:14 thus presents a picture of a national leadership and a people, already under the effect of the judicial blinding pronounced in Isa. 6,¹⁹ who are further given over to their own wisdom, and consequently, destruction. In this sense, although there is discrepancy between the wording of Paul’s citation and the LXX, there is in fact little substantive difference between the senses of the two texts. Since in both cases the crux of the utterance is that those who have set their face against God’s salvation plan will suffer judicial blinding which will lead to utter devastation.

Conclusion

It is clear from the foregoing analysis that there are striking similarities between the thematic emphases of Isa. 29:14 and its broader context and 1 Cor. 1:18-2:16. The conclusion that Isa. 29:14 as employed by Paul presents more than a mere proof-text now appears sound. In both texts the human rejection of God’s manner of executing of salvation has been criticised, and the strangeness and incomprehensibility of Yahweh’s way of salvation are emphasized. Only those who are humbled by divine ‘shattering’ will eventually attain the knowledge of God. The subversive nature of the gospel of the cross is manifested in its critique of a false form of religion characterized by the aggrandizement of human wisdom and self-boast.

Throughout Paul’s argument, Paul makes it clear that he sides himself with God’s weaknesses and foolishness for the sake of the gospel. Paul presents himself and his co-workers as fools (μωρός), weak (ἀσθενής), and ‘without honour’ (ἄτιμος) for the sake of Christ, contrasting with the Corinthians who are described as ‘wise’ (φρόνιμος), ‘strong’ (ἰσχυρός) and ‘held in honour’ (ἐνδοξος) (4:10). Paul’s

¹⁹ The connection between Isa. 29:9-10 and Isa. 6:10 is strongly suggested by the unique expression *וְעִיְנֵי הַשָּׁעַר* in Isa. 6:10 and in *הַשָּׁעַר שֶׁנֶּשְׁעָר* 29:9. The unique connection seems to suggest that it is in fulfilment of the prophet’s earlier oracle that the national leaders and prophets are now failed to comprehend Yahweh’s plan.

retorical goal is to persuade the Corinthians to abandon their views of the gospel of the cross by his proclamation that they were based on society's criteria of power, and to adopt instead a cruciform model.

b. Isa. 61:1 in 1 Cor. 1:17

The next passage to be examined is a possible allusion taken from Isa. 61:1 in 1 Cor. 1:17. As Paul concludes the introductory remarks in 1:10-17, he declares that he was 'sent to preach the gospel' by Christ. In this statement several verbal and conceptual parallels can be found in Isa. 61:1, as illustrated in the following:

1 Cor. 1:17	Isaiah 61:1 LXX
οὐ γὰρ ἀπέστειλέν με Χριστὸς βαπτίζειν ἀλλὰ εὐαγγελίζεσθαι, οὐκ ἐν σοφίᾳ λόγου, ἵνα μὴ κενωθῇ ὁ σταυρὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ	Πνεῦμα κυρίου ἐπ' ἐμέ, οὗ εἵνεκεν ἔχρισέν με· εὐαγγελίσασθαι πτωχοῖς ἀπέσταλκέν με, ἰάσασθαι τοὺς συντετριμμένους τῇ καρδίᾳ, κηρύξαι αἰχμαλώτοις ἄφεσιν καὶ τυφλοῖς ἀνάβλεψιν
<p style="text-align: right;">Isaiah 61:1 MT</p> <p style="text-align: center;">רוח אדני יהוה עלי יען משח יהוה אתי לבשר עניים שלחני לחבש לנשבריי לב לקרא לשבויים דרור ולאסורים פקדון</p>	

It is true that linguistically speaking the connection between these two passages is not very strong: they have in common only two terms: ἀποστέλλω με and εὐαγγελίζω. But in all of Israel's Scripture, only in Isaiah is there a passage found that contains these two words in such close proximity. In addition, their thematic continuity is evident with both stressing that the good news is to be brought to the poor and both also stressing the significance of the Holy Spirit in the ministry of the messenger.²⁰ Therefore, the relationship of the allusion between Isa. 61:1 and 1 Cor.

²⁰ Wilk also notes the share theme of preaching to the poor in passing. 'Isaiah in 1 and 2 Corinthians,' in *Isaiah in the New Testament* eds., Steve Moyise and Maarten J. J. Menken, (London: T&T Clark, 2005) 133.

1:17 may hinge on this thematic resemblance. One may well suspect that Paul might have picked up these terms unconsciously, but as shall be demonstrated in the following, the way in which Paul characterizes his ministry shows remarkable similarities to that of the spirit-anointed figure in Isaiah 61, which indicates that the appropriation of these vocabularies is more than incidental.

Isa. 61 and the Servant of Yahweh in early Jewish and Christian literature

In the larger context of Isaiah, we may find that the characterization of the spirit-anointed messenger corresponds in many ways to the description of the Servant of Yahweh in Isa. 40-55. First of all, like the Servant of Yahweh, the messenger is empowered by God's Spirit (42:1; 61:1) for the task of bringing the good news of God's justice to the earth (42:4; 61:3). In addition, just as the Servant of Yahweh speaks to the weary and afflicted (50:4), so the spirit-anointed messenger will comfort those who mourn (παρακαλέσαι πάντας τοὺς πενθοῦντας) (61:3). Furthermore, the Isaianic Servant serves as a spokesman of the word (42:6; 49:2; 50:4), through whom God's salvation is effected; likewise, the messenger who will proclaim the good news and will enact God's salvation through his proclamation. Both of them share similar goals in their ministry: by proclaiming the good news and enacting God's salvation by restoring the sight of the blind and setting the prisoners free (42:7; 45:13; 49:25). The distinctive signs of salvation associated with the spirit-anointed figure and the Isaianic Servant have been noticed by both early Jewish and Christian writers. In both Isaiah and Second Temple Jewish and Christian literature, these distinctive activities are regarded as signs of the messianic era of salvation. A brief survey of the interpretative trajectory of this text in Second Temple Jewish literature will affirm how this text carries it with messianic overtones.

First, the sending of a speaker to announce good news and proclaim the Jubilee of God suggests that this is a prophetic role. This is reflected in the Isaiah Targum that renders Isa. 61:1 as 'The Spirit of *prophecy*... is upon me.'²¹ The Targumist believed that a prophetic-messianic figure would appear to proclaim the good news of

²¹ Samson H. Levey, *The Messiah: An Aramaic Interpretation. The Messianic Exegesis of the Targum* (Monographs of the Hebrew Union College 2; Cincinnati/New York/Los Angeles/Jerusalem: Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religions, 1974) 202.

salvation to His people. Second, at Qumran, the proclaiming of release in Isa. 61:1 is interpreted in the light of two passages in the Torah, namely, Dt. 15 and Lev. 25, all of the three texts centred on theme of the final year of Jubilee. In 11Q13 2.4-8, these three texts are drawn together to describe the coming of the final year of God's grace and the ushering in of the new age.²² Furthermore, the announcement of the good news is attributed to the Anointed one of the Spirit, i.e. the Messiah (11Q13 2.18). Therefore, a messianic prophet is associated with the role described in Isa. 61:1-2, who will take on a prophetic role of announcing salvation and release from sin and from Belial (11Q13 2.12-13). Another Qumran text that links Isa. 61:1-2 with Yahweh's eschatological salvation is found in 4Q521 2.1. In this text, Yahweh/the Messiah will bless the righteous by releasing the captives, giving sight to the blind, healing the broken, giving life to the dead and proclaiming the good news to the poor (4Q521 2.8-12).²³ Both these texts show that the Qumran interpreters envisaged the eschatological fulfilment of Isa. 61:1-2 when the era of God's salvation was to be inaugurated.

In Christian literature, the text Isa. 61:1-2 LXX was quoted with various degrees of modification in the gospels of Matthew (11:4-5) and Luke (4:18; 7:22) as well as Acts (10:38) to describe Jesus' ministry. In particular, there is an extended scriptural citation of LXX Isa. 61:1 in Luke's account of Jesus' early ministry at Nazareth (Lk. 4:18-19).²⁴ By giving the extended citation of the Isaianic passage and Jesus' interpretive comments (Lk. 4:25-27), Luke interprets the significance of Jesus' ministry within the fulfilment of God's purposes in three aspects. First, God's salvation is extended to the Gentiles. In Luke's account, Jesus further interprets the Isaiah passage by referring to two episodes of the ministries of Elijah and Elisha, who have brought the blessings of God to non-Israelites. The implication of Jesus' interpretation is that he will likewise extend the good news to the 'outsiders'. Second,

²² For more discussion, see Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, 319-23.

²³ For more discussion, see E. Puech, 'Une Apocalypse messianique (4Q521),' *RevQ* 15 (1992) 475-519.

²⁴ The text of the quotation follows closely with the LXX. The infinitive clause ἰάσασθαι τοὺς συντετριμμένους τῇ καρδίᾳ has been omitted (this phrase is also omitted from some of the earliest manuscripts, e.g. **Σ**, **B**, **D**), while an extra infinitive clause ἀποστείλαι τεθραυσμένους ἐν ἀφέσει, probably from Isa. 58:6b, has been inserted. Most important of all, the quotation ends at κηρύξαι ἐνιαυτὸν κυρίου δεκτόν, thus omitting καὶ ἡμέραν ἀνταποδόσεως.

unlike the Qumran community who viewed the prophecy of Isa. 61:1-2 as yet to be fulfilled, the Lukan Jesus interprets the prophecy as being fulfilled 'today' (Lk. 4:21). Third, Jesus omits the final infinitive clause on the pronouncement of judgment on Israel's enemies. This is very different from the views that were held by most of the various groups within first century Judaism. Though these groups have different notions of who would be saved, most of them agreed that non-converted Gentiles could not escape God's judgment.

Isa. 61 and Paul's ministry

In 1 Cor. 1:17ff, Paul may have picked up from this Isaianic passage the features of the Spirit-anointed messenger. More specifically, two aspects of Paul's ministry share particularly similar characteristics with that of the Spirit-anointed messenger. First, both the messenger in Isaiah 61 and Paul are empowered by the Spirit of God. The presence of God's Spirit is a distinctive feature of Paul's ministry. Paul repeatedly appeals to the power of the Spirit as the witness to the authenticity of his preaching and ministry (Ro. 15:30; 1 Cor. 2:11, 5:3; 2 Cor. 1:22, 5:5). The Holy Spirit validates his preaching by making it convincing (1 Cor. 2:4-5). Paul preaches the message of the cross not by wise rhetoric (σοφίας [λόγοις]), but by the demonstration of the Spirit and power (ἀποδείξει πνεύματος καὶ δυνάμεως). Paul's stress on the role of the Holy Spirit in authentication of his ministry occurs also in 2 Corinthians 3. Paul asserts that he does not need a letter of commendation to or from the Corinthians like other apostles because he has one not written by ink but by the Spirit of God (3:3).

Second, both of them are sent to preach the good news to the poor. In the Isaianic context, the Spirit-anointed figure is sent to preach the good news to the poor. Although the term 'the poor' (πτωχοῖς) can be used as a generic term to refer to those who are materially or socially deprived, in the Isaianic context here the notion of 'the poor' seems to have a wider sense of application, which is placed along side with other categories of the underprivileged, including 'the blind', 'the captive' and 'the wounded'. Still, these terms may be understood either symbolically or literally. In Paul's application of the Isaianic text, he seems to understand it both symbolically and literally. He is convinced that he is one being sent to preach the gospel (1 Cor.

1:17), to comfort those who are afflicted for the sake of Christ (2 Cor. 1:3-7), so that those who hear his good news will become ‘rich’ in Christ (2 Cor. 8:9).

The ‘poverty’ of the Corinthians

In 1 Cor. 1:26-27, Paul uses three pairs of opposite terms, namely σοφός, δυνατός and εὐγενής and τὰ μωρὰ, τὰ ἀσθενῆ and τὰ ἀγενῆ and τὰ ἐξουθενημένα as an illustration of the contrast between God’s wisdom and strength and that of men when he elaborates his thesis laid out in 1:25, namely, ‘for the foolishness of God is wiser than men, and the weakness of God is stronger than men.’ Traditionally, commentators believe that Paul’s words in 1:26 are a description of the lowly status of the Corinthians, in the sense that not many of them were wise, influential and of noble birth.²⁵ This verse has generated immense interest for understanding the social status of the early Hellenistic Christian communities, and whether the Corinthians really belonged to the ‘the poor’ has been a matter of contention.²⁶

Recent sociological studies have demonstrated that the social composition of the early church was much more complicated than this single verse reveals.²⁷ In addition, there are some grammatical and theological problems created by the traditional reading. First, there is a doubling of particles in 1:26, namely, ὅτι and οὐ, and most modern English translations find it necessary to omit the initial ὅτι to solve the problem.²⁸ Second, there is no verb connecting the τὴν κλήσιν ὑμῶν and ὅτι οὐ phrases. Most modern English translations have supplied a verb with the past tense ‘were’ to complete the sense. Third, there is a sense of awkwardness in the meaning if we take the particle ἀλλά into account. i.e. if the Corinthians were in fact not rich, wise, or influential in the first place, and God chooses the weak, the foolish, and the

²⁵ E.g. Fee, *First Corinthians* 82; Barrett, *1 Corinthians* 58; Udo Schnelle, *Apostle Paul: His Life and Theology* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2003) 194.

²⁶ For the sociological studies of early Christianity in general, see E. A. Judge, *The Social Patterns of Christian Groups in the First Century* (London, Tyndale Press, 1960) 49-61; for a discussion on the Corinthian congregation, see K. Schreiner, ‘Zur biblischen Legitimation des Adels: Auslegungsgeschichte zu 1 Kor. 1, 26-19,’ *ZKG* 85 (1975) 317-57.

²⁷ Wayne A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983); Gerd Theissen, *The Social Setting of Pauline Christianity: Essays on Corinth* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983).

²⁸ RSV, NIV, all missed out the initial ὅτι.

lowly, why is the emphatic particle ἄλλὰ necessary? Fourth, and most importantly, the three elements that God chooses to use to shame the world, including τὰ μωρὰ, τὰ ἄσθενῆ and τὰ ἄγενῆ and τὰ ἐξουθενημένα are all expressed by the neuter plural form instead of the masculine (1:27). The traditional reading takes these three adjectives as referring to the Corinthians. But there is no other incidence in the New Testament where a neuter plural adjective is used to refer to persons.²⁹ In addition, making the Corinthians as the referent to these adjectives also creates a theological tension, because throughout Paul's argument in 1 Cor. 1:18ff Paul consistently stresses that the means by which God demonstrates his power and wisdom is Christ crucified. It is by the message of the cross and the apostolic preaching that God has shamed the world (1 Cor. 1:19).

In an article on the sociological implications of 1 Cor. 1:26, Wüllner challenges the above traditional view by arguing for a different translation of the verse based on grammatical grounds.³⁰ Observing the grammatical markers in the verse, namely, the βλέπετε...ὅτι and the οὐ/ἄλλὰ pattern, he argues that the verse should be translated as interrogatives instead of indicatives.³¹ In Wüllner's view, a close attention to the grammatical and syntactical pattern of the sentence indicates that Paul intended a series of interrogative questions instead of a plain portrait of the humble social status of the Corinthian church. If his analysis is correct, then 1 Cor. 1:26 would read, 'Look to your calling, brothers, were not many of you wise according to the flesh? Were not many strong? Were not many of noble birth?' In addition, on the same grammatical grounds, Wüllner further contends that the anticipated response is 'yes'. He writes, 'Verse 26b made the Corinthians respond somewhat like this: "Why, yes, of course, many of us...were (are) indeed endowed with wisdom, power and noble heritage. What about it?"'³²

²⁹ This is also observed by K. Bailey, see his discussion in 'Poetic Structure,' p. 280, n. 35.

³⁰ This article has provided some good insights into the understanding of this verse and Paul's argument in the section as a whole. Unfortunately, it has received little attention. Wilhelm Wüllner, 'The Sociological Implications of I Corinthians 1:26-28 Reconsidered,' in *SE VI* (ed. Elizabeth. A. Livingstone; Berlin: Akademie, 1973) 666-672.

³¹ A grammatically similar sentence can be found in 2 Cor. 11:11, where it is translated as interrogative.

³² Wüllner, 'The Sociological Implications,' 668.

If we follow Wüllner's argument, then we will find what Paul says in 1:26 is in fact acknowledging that many of the Corinthians were indeed wise, rich, and of noble birth according to worldly standards. Wüllner's conjecture can find at least one piece of internal evidence in 2 Cor. 8:1-15. In this section, Paul exhorts the Corinthians to give generously to the collection which he launched to help the poor brothers of Jerusalem. He mentions that although the churches of Macedonia were 'in their extreme poverty' (ἡ βάθους πτωχεία αὐτῶν) and 'in a severe ordeal of affliction' (ἐν πολλῇ δοκιμῇ θλίψεως; 8:2), they abounded in an 'extraordinary generosity' (εἰς τὸ πλοῦτος τῆς ἀπλότητος αὐτῶν) in giving gifts, even to the point 'beyond their ability' (8:3). However, the Corinthians, in contrast to the Macedonian churches, are having an 'abundance' (τὸ ὑμῶν περισσεύμα) (8:14), but they are unwilling to give according to what they have (καθὸ ἐὰν ἔχη) (8:11-13). It is clear that the Corinthian churches are not poor in terms of financial capacity as compared to other Asian churches. In addition, Paul is well aware that there are some of the Corinthians who are well off by human standards (e.g. Crispus, Gaius, Erastus, Stephanas).³³ In fact, the Lord's Supper for the Corinthian Christians very likely took place in the home of the rich members, who had their own houses (11:17-22). Even though the evidence from the text does not allow us to determine the exact social composition of the church, the existence of the 'wise, wealthy, and influential' is certain.

If Wüllner's argument is accepted, then the adjectives (the foolish things, the weak, the lowly things) in 1:27 should *not* be understood as referring to the Corinthians. Instead, they are referring to the message of the cross, the Christ crucified, and the apostolic preaching, which have been the main focus of Paul's argument up to this point (1 Cor. 1:17, 18, 21, 22, 23, 24). In addition, in the verse immediately preceding 1:26-28, Paul asserts that God's weakness is stronger than human power, which is referring to how God overcomes the wisdom of the world by the message of the cross through the apostolic preaching (1:25). Therefore, the force of Paul's argument is placed on the message of the cross and the power of God that is mediated through the apostolic preaching.

³³ Fee, *First Corinthians*, 82.

As Paul moves on to appeal to the conversion experience of the Corinthians themselves, he seems to invite his Corinthian readers/audience to think how they came to faith by the power of God's word. They were once 'the wise', 'the rich' and 'the influential' in terms of worldly standards, but they were overpowered/overcome by God's 'weakness' and 'foolishness' when they came to faith in Christ Jesus. Paul reminds them of the fact that their conversion itself is the proof of the power of the cross (1 Cor. 1:26-28). In fact, they are 'shamed' by the 'weakness' of God in the first place, and this is the manifestation of the power of the message of the cross mediated through the apostolic preaching (1 Cor. 1:25). In order to make a rhetorical impact on the Corinthians, Paul deliberately chooses the testimony of the Corinthian conversion to illustrate how God frustrates human wisdom and strength by His 'foolishness' and 'weakness'. With this larger picture in mind, it is therefore more reasonable to believe that 'what is foolish', 'what is weak' and 'the low and despised' of the world in 1:28 are referring to the cross and the preaching message rather than the Corinthians.

If this reading is accepted, then the discussion of the nature of the Corinthians' boasting will take on a new direction. What lies at the heart of Paul's rebuke is the strong disposition of boasting that is so pervasive in the Hellenistic culture to which the Corinthians belong. Though they were once humbled by the message of the cross and were converted to Christianity, the strong Hellenistic cultural influence of boasting is still at work in the community. One may conjecture the situation of the Corinthians like this: there are quite a few of so-called rich, wise, and influential Corinthians who are converted to Christ when they first heard Paul's preaching. When they have 'been made rich' in the spiritual gifts of words and knowledge (1 Cor. 1:5), they turn these gifts into the worldly wisdom of this aeon by boasting of them and engaging in divisive arguments with one another to show off their superior knowledge and wisdom.

The new reading of the text also reveals that Paul's rebuke of their boasting contains ironical overtones.³⁴ In Paul's view, there are a number of the Corinthians who are

³⁴ For more discussion on this topic, see Karl A. Plank, *Paul and the Irony of Affliction* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987).

indeed wealthy, influential, and wise in worldly terms, but they fail to see that the spiritual richness they now possess is in fact divinely given (1 Cor. 1:4; 4:7). They claim themselves to be wise, but ironically, they are foolish. They were rich and wise only according to worldly standards, but they were spiritually poor. It seems that Paul's concern is not sociological, but theological. He acknowledges the high social position of some of the Corinthian members with a theological purpose. The boasting of the Corinthians reflects that they have put a misplaced trust on 'worldly wisdom', which in turn exposes their foolishness in the knowledge of God. The worldly wisdom prevents them from comprehending the true knowledge of God, namely, the mystery hidden in the message of the cross. Paul reminds them of the fact that only the divine calling of their conversion and the divinely chosen means of salvation³⁵ are the determinative factors for one's salvation and thus form the basis of one's identity and grounds for 'boasting'.

That is why Paul exhorts his audience that 'if any one of you thinks he is wise by the standards of this age, he should become a "fool" so that he may become wise' (3:18). This is because one may understand the wisdom of God in Christ only by setting aside worldly wisdom, and thereby become truly rich and wise in divine knowledge. In other epistles, Paul repeatedly announces that he was sent to preach the gospel of Christ crucified to the Gentiles (cf. Ro. 1:5; Gal. 1:16) who are characterized by their ignorance of the truth of God (cf. 1 Thess. 1:9; Gal. 4:8; Cf. Eph. 2:11-13). In this sense, Paul does not seem to understand the term 'poor' merely in financial terms, and he does not seem to particularly choose to preach to the materially 'poor'. He has transformed this term into a theological category, the spiritually poor. This is best illustrated in his statement in 2 Cor. 8:9, 'For you know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that though he was rich, yet for your sake he became poor, so that by his poverty you might become rich.'

Moreover, Paul understands that the way in which God reveals his power has sociological implications, because the divine means by which salvation is attained

³⁵ The emphatic effect of the term 'God chooses' (ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεός), is intended by a three-fold repetition of the phrase in the sentence.

has turned the world's status claims upside down.³⁶ Paul declares God's election of the 'foolish', 'weak' and 'unimportant' in order to shame the 'wise', 'strong' and 'the honoured ones', and thereby stresses that the good news is intended for those who are 'poor' before God. The Corinthians boast that they are 'rich', 'wise', and 'strong' (1 Cor. 4:8-9), and the apostles are 'weak', 'like fools', 'in disrepute', in 'hunger and thirst' etc (1 Cor. 4:10-12). These notions do take on sociological implications. The ultimate divine intention of God's election of the people who by worldly standards are 'nobodies' is to save the humble who completely trust in God and to shame the proud who boast in self-reliance and worldly wisdom. By doing so, the gospel message obliterates all forms of human grounds for 'boasting'.³⁷

Lastly, it is clear that in Isa. 61 the day of liberation for the poor is also a day of vengeance for those who are in power, as the establishment of justice entails the overthrow of the power of injustice (61:2). The reversal of fortune is expected at the time of God's salvation. The same concept of reversal is present in Paul 1 Cor. 4:8-13. Paul speaks of his own ministry as one characterized by 'weakness' and 'poverty', which is described succinctly in the list of hardships (1 Cor. 4:9-13; 2 Cor. 6:3-10). Paul speaks of his present situation as entailing all kinds of physical suffering including hunger, thirst, and homeless. These lists are not merely used to inform Paul's readers of his suffering, but also laid out to display God's power through the weaknesses of his body as well as the final vindication by God.

Given this evidence, it is thus justifiable to conclude that Paul uses images and concepts of salvation from Isaiah to express the gospel he preached: Paul understands it as one intended to bring sight to those who are blind to God's truth concerning salvation (2 Cor. 4:3-4), and to release those who are enslaved by idols and the power of sin and death (1 Cor. 15:56; Gal. 4:8; Ro. 8:1-2). The concept of salvation as reversal may allude to Isaiah's image of salvation: the blind receive sight, the deaf hear (cf. Ro. 15:21), and the captives released are significant categories for Paul's description of his own ministry. Although similar concepts are certainly

³⁶ Mitchell, *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation*, 87.

³⁷ Fee, *First Corinthians*, 79.

present in other prophetic writings and psalms, the reference to the reversal of fortune in the context of proclaiming the good news is more likely to allude to Isa. 61:1-3, since the distinctive connection is found exclusively in this passage.

Conclusion

In conclusion, as compared to the use of Isa. 61 in other Christian and Jewish literature, Paul's application of this passage to his own ministry is distinctive. Paul does not seem to apply narrowly this text to Jesus the Messiah as did the Targumist and Luke. Rather, Paul applies it to his own ministry and uses it to define his apostleship. First, he is the one being sent by God primarily for the task of preaching the gospel. Second, the good news he preached is intended as good news for 'the poor', 'the weak' and those who suffered at the present time for the sake of Christ. Finally, it entails a reversal of fortune in the eschatological time. On the one hand, the gospel of the cross has already pronounced God's judgment on the 'wise', 'the rich' and the 'powerful' of the present age. But on the other hand, a complete vindication of Paul's hardships, 'weakness', and 'foolishness' is still yet to come.

If Paul applies Isa. 61:1 to depict his own ministry of preaching the gospel, then the question that naturally arises will be: in what mode does Paul see himself in relation to the Spirit-anointed figure? Does Paul see the Isaianic figure as a prefiguration of his own ministry and find in himself the fulfilment of the task of the Spirit-anointed figure? Or is the Isaianic influence upon Paul no more than linguistic inspiration? The present passage does not allow us to give a conclusive answer to this question. What is clear, however, is that Paul's presentation of his ministry does resonate at several points with Isa. 61:1-2 as discussed above. If our understanding of the influence of this passage on 1 Cor. 1:17 and Paul's argument on his preaching is accepted, then it is hard to deny that this passage has exerted a strong impact upon the apostle's thought of his ministry.

Section 2: The use of Isaiah in 2 Corinthians

I. The nature and purpose of 2 Corinthians

The Second Letter to the Corinthians is a letter that arguably reveals more personal aspects of the apostle in terms of his views on ministry than any other extant undisputed authentic letters of Paul. It is even designated as ‘the most personal of the extant letters of Paul’ that contains ‘self-defence and polemic throughout.’³⁸

However, it must be emphasized at the outset that Paul’s self-defence is not merely a defence of his own reputation *per se*. Instead, and more importantly, it is a defence of his apostolic office and the nature of suffering in relation to his apostolic ministry.³⁹

The criteria Paul chooses to prove his apostolic authority is not based on worldly standards, but rather based on the Lord alone (10:18).

Paul’s self-defence of his apostolic ministry forms the central theme of this letter, which comprises three paradoxical antitheses. First, he sets out to demonstrate that his ministry of the new covenant is empowered by God’s Spirit and is more glorious than that of Moses (2:14-4:6). The glory of God is revealed in the crucified Christ and thereby in the gospel he preached. Second, Paul explains the paradoxical and intimate relationship between his glorious ministry of the new covenant and the afflictions and sufferings he experiences in the ministry. Paul affirms that although his ministry is characterized by weakness and suffering and the on-going experience of the death of Christ in his mortal body, God’s life is overflowing on others (4:7-15). He argues that ‘his apostolic sufferings on behalf of the Corinthians paradoxically reveal the eschatological power of Christ’s resurrection life in his mortal body.’⁴⁰ In other words, as Matera nicely puts it, Paul is not saying that ‘he and other apostolic ministers already experience the full power of the resurrection,’ but rather ‘he is affirming that God’s eschatological future is already making itself felt in the present.’⁴¹ Finally, Paul emphasizes that God has given him the ministry of

³⁸ Rudolf Bultmann, *The Second Letter to the Corinthians* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1985), citing Adolf Jülicher, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1931) 87.

³⁹ Jan Lambrecht, *Second Corinthians* (SP8; Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1999) 1; Victor Paul Furnish, *II Corinthians* (AB 32A; Garden City: Doubleday, 1984) 34.

⁴⁰ Frank J. Matera, *II Corinthians: A Commentary* (Louisville/London: Westminster John Knox, 2003) 105.

⁴¹ Matera, *II Corinthians* 105.

reconciliation. By making him an ambassador of Christ, God summons people to reconciliation through his ministry (5:11-6:10). Central to Paul's argument is the life and death of Christ who did not know sin but was made to be sin 'so that in him we might become the righteousness of God' (5:21). Just as the righteous Christ bears the sins of the unrighteous in order to make sinners righteous, Paul the apostle also bears afflictions and suffering in the present time in order to bring reconciliation of the Corinthians to God.

With Paul's defence of his apostolic integrity as the main theme of 2 Corinthians in the background, this section will explore how the passages of Isaiah shape Paul's self-understanding of his being an apostle sent to preach the message of Christ. It will concentrate on some of the significant passages in which the allusion is more readily to be detected. Recognizing that Second Corinthians is a letter fraught with literary and historical problems, which have been hotly debated and yet without a consensus on the solution having been reached,⁴² the present study will be based on its present canonical form for two reasons. First, the unity of 2 Corinthians has been well argued and seems to be a cogent argument.⁴³ Second, the purpose of the present study is to understand how Paul reads Isaiah as reflected in his letters, assuming the authorship of 2 Corinthians is not contested, which is indeed the case; though even if the epistle was composed of multiple letters of Paul, the result of our analysis would not be much affected.

⁴² Discussions surrounding the literary unity of 2 Corinthians are voluminous. The main suggestions against the integrity of the letter include: (1) Chapters 1-9 and 10-13 are recognized as two distinct letters. (2) Chapters 10-13 might be the 'painful letter' of which Paul speaks in 2 Cor. 2:3-4. (3) Within these multiple letters, a number of fragments can be identified, providing evidence that the letter was not a unified letter composed at a particular time but rather that it comprised fragments of several letters which were put together later on by the church or a redactor. For more discussion, see W. H. Bates, 'The Integrity of II Corinthians,' *NTS* 12 (1965) 56-69.

⁴³ J. Lambrecht has provided a cogent and detailed argument for the unity of the letter. To summarize, his views are as follows. First, there is neither internal evidence from 2 Corinthians itself nor external evidence from textual traditions that indicate the letter has not been transmitted in its present canonical form. Second, while reminding modern interpreters that the letter is an occasional letter rather than a 'systematic expose', Lambrecht asserts that 'no change in vocabulary or tone appears to be so great that the parts could not have stood originally, one next to the other, in a single letter.' Third, the hypothesis put forward by the proponents to explain the reasons for and the arrangement of the composite letters is unconvincing. See *Second Corinthians* 9. For other views opposing partition theories, see Barrett, *Second Corinthians* 21-25; Matera, *II Corinthians* 24-32; W. H. Bates, 'The Integrity of II Corinthians,' *NTS* 12 (1965) 56-59.

II. Analysis

a. Isa. 53:12 in 2 Cor. 4:11

After demonstrating that his preaching resembles the light shining in the darkness, Paul moves on to elucidate how the power of God is manifested through the weak and seemingly humble apostolic ministry. He says, ‘We are always carrying about in the body the dying of Jesus (τὴν νέκρωσιν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ) in order that the life of Jesus too may be manifested in our body. For we, who are living, are continually being handed over to death (παρεδόθη εἰς θάνατον) for Jesus’ sake in order that the life of Jesus too may be manifested in our mortal flesh’ (2 Cor. 4:11). The expression of one’s life ‘being handed over to death’ (παρεδόθη εἰς θάνατον) is distinctive to Isa. 53:12 describing the sacrificial death of the Suffering Servant. The comparison is illustrated as below.

2 Corinthians 4:11	Isaiah 53:12 LXX
ἀεὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες εἰς θάνατον παραδιδόμεθα διὰ Ἰησοῦν,	διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸς κληρονομήσει πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν ἰσχυρῶν μεριεῖ σκῦλα, ἀνθ’ ὧν παρεδόθη εἰς θάνατον ἢ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ
<p style="text-align: right;">Isaiah 53:12MT</p> <p style="text-align: center;">לכן אֶחָלֵק־לִי בְרָבִים וְאֶת־עֲצוּמִים יִחַלֵּק שְׁלַל תַּחַת אֲשֶׁר הָעִרָה לְמוֹת נַפְשׁוֹ</p>	

This echo is not obvious at first sight because the phrase is not marked by any form of quotation formula, though it demonstrates verbal affinity to the words of Isa. 53:12. Admittedly, Paul’s statement is entirely comprehensible to an audience/a reader who has never heard of Isa. 53:12. However, when the intertextual echo is read side by side with Isa. 53, a deeper level of resonance will emerge from the allusion.⁴⁴ Whether Paul intentionally alludes to Isa. 53:12 or he appropriates it incidentally or unconsciously is to be tested not by attempting to penetrate into the

⁴⁴ A similar example given by Hays is a phrase τοῦτό μοι ἀποβήσεται εἰς σωτηρίαν found in Php. 1:19, which follows verbatim of the words from Job 13:16, and it is not marked by any citation formula. Hays writes, ‘A reader nurtured on the LXX might, without consciously marking the allusion, sense a momentary ripple of elevated diction in the phrase, producing a heightened dramatic emphasis. The reader whose ear is able, however, not only to discern the echo but also to locate the source of the original voice will discover a number of intriguing resonances.’ Hays, *Echoes of Scripture* 21-22.

apostle's mind, which is impossible after all, but by reading attentively the allusion in its wider literary context, to see how the appropriation of such a distinctive, theologically loaded phraseology or concept of the scriptural text reflects the ideas that he might intend to convey, and whether the import of such an allusion shed light on understanding Paul's ministry that is compatible with the story he tells in the wider literary context.

The intertextual relation between 2 Cor. 4:11 and Isa. 53:12 is based on three facts. First, linguistically, the two texts have in common the special phrase: παρεδόθη εἰς θάνατον (הערה למות נפשו),⁴⁵ though with a different word order. Although the verb 'hand over' (παραδίδωμι) is not particularly distinctive in its own terms, when it is used in connection with 'someone being killed', it carries rich theological overtones as evidenced in Pauline epistles, the gospels and the Catholic Epistles. Instances of the phrase used in this sense are scattered throughout the Gospels, depicting Jesus as one 'being handed over' to be crucified (παραδέδοται εἰς τὸ σταυρωθῆναι) (Mat. 26:2; 1 Pet. 2:23), or 'handed over into the hands of men' (παραδέδοσθαι εἰς χεῖρας ἀνθρώπων). It occurs both in the passive forms (e.g. Mat. 17:22//Mk. 9:31//Lk. 9:44, Mat. 20:18//Mk. 10:33, 26:45//Lk. 24:7, Lk. 18:32) and the active.⁴⁶

Likewise, as elsewhere in the Pauline epistles, Paul also twice uses the word when he portrays Christ as one who was handed over to death by God himself for redemptive purposes (Ro. 4:25 and 8:32). In Ro. 4:25, for instance, he writes that Jesus is the one 'being handed over for the sake of our trespasses' (ὃς παρεδόθη διὰ τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν). Likewise, in Ro. 8:32, Paul depicts the love of God for sinners by saying he 'handed him over for us all' (ὕπὲρ ἡμῶν πάντων

⁴⁵ Paul's allusion is closer to the LXX both in terms of the verbal form and the sense of meaning, where the Greek text says 'he was given over' (παραδόθη) while the MT states that 'he was made emptied/naked' (הערה).

⁴⁶ The subject of the verb 'hand over' in some cases is Judas (e.g. Mt. 10:4//Mk. 3:19; Mt. 26:15, 16; 26:21, 23, 24, 25, 46, 48//Mk. 14:10, 11, 18, 21, 41, 42, 44//Lk. 22: 4, 6, 21, 22, 48; Mt. 27:3, 4), 'the chief priests and scribes' (Mt. 20:18-19), 'the chief priests and the elders' (Mat. 27:2, 18), or 'the chief priests, scribes and the elders' (Mk. 15:1, 10), the chief priests and rulers (Lk. 24:20), Pilate (Mat. 27:26//Mk. 15:15//Lk. 23:25) or Jesus himself (Eph. 5:2) indicating that it is Jesus himself who takes the initiative to 'hand himself over as a sacrifice for our sake....' (παρέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν προσφορὰν καὶ θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ εἰς ὁσμὴν εὐωδίας).

παρέδωκεν αὐτόν), a phrase strongly reminiscent to that of Isa. 53:6, which runs like this: παρέδωκεν αὐτόν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἡμῶν. That these two particular texts of Romans have an allusive relation to Isa. 53 can be detected on the grounds of both verbal and thematic similarities. This issue has also been discussed by scholars.⁴⁷ Further, he links the word παραδίδωμι to Jesus' sacrificial death which effects the remission of sins and brings salvation to people (Gal. 2:20). These evidence indirectly heightens the possibility of the connection between the phrases in 2 Cor. 4:11 and Isa. 53:12.

Secondly, in conceptual terms, both texts are centred on the righteous suffering with the effect of the giving of life. Paul understands that his constant predicament of being 'handed over to death' has the effect of bringing life to other people. Moving beyond the description of his own apostolic experience, Paul explains how his experience of being handed over to death serves the benefit of others. He writes, ὥστε ὁ θάνατος ἐν ἡμῖν ἐνεργεῖται, ἡ δὲ ζωὴ ἐν ὑμῖν (4:12), and thus Paul's explanation of the suffering of his apostolic ministry also resonates with that in Isa. 53:12. In other words, the affinity of the two passages lies not only in verbal parallels of the distinctive phrase παρεδόθη εἰς θάνατον, but also in thematic parallels. In this passage, Paul expresses that the 'dying' of Jesus is a real and constantly repeated experience in his ministry, but the 'dying' itself is not the end in itself.⁴⁸ The dying experience in the execution of his apostolic tasks on the one hand manifests the life of Christ through his mortal flesh, i.e. results in life within the apostle himself, and on the other hand brings life to the Corinthian churches. In 4:11 he uses a ἵνα clause to indicate that the process of dying serves the purpose of manifesting the life of Christ in the form of human 'flesh' (σαρκὶ ἡμῶν).⁴⁹

⁴⁷ E.g. Schreiner, *Romans*, 243. Some scholars believe that to understand Jesus' death and resurrection in terms of Isa. 53 comes probably from a pre-Pauline credo or liturgical formula. E.g. K. Wengst, *Christologische Formeln und Lieder des Urchristentums* (SNT 7; Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1972) 101-4; Barrett, *Romans*, 93; B. Byrne, *Romans* (Sacra Pagina 6. Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1996), 161-62. Without denying the possibility of this view, it must be stressed that the statement found in Rom. 4:25, which utilizes the language of Isa. 53 to describe the significance of Jesus' passion is still the earliest extant evidence in the New Testament. In any event, the authorship of this formula is not the focus of the present discussion.

⁴⁸ Barrett, *Second Corinthians* 140.

⁴⁹ It is interesting though, that in 4:10 Paul expresses a similar meaning by using another word to denote the human body, ἐν τῷ σώματι ἡμῶν. Barrett is probably right by saying that Paul's change from 'body' to 'flesh' is not simply for stylistic variations, but to make the point that 'the

Finally, in view of the explicit citations from Isa. 53:1 (Ro. 10:16b) and 52:15 (Ro. 15:21), there is no doubt that Paul had a good knowledge of this portion of Isaiah, the so-called fourth Servant Song. Furthermore, Paul's explicit use of Isa. 52:5 (Ro. 2:24) and Isa. 52:7 (Ro. 10:15) also indicates that he is very likely to be familiar with the larger context of Isaiah 52. These links heighten the sense that each passage represents Paul's contextual interpretation and application of some of the texts of this portion of Isaiah. This indirectly strengthens the argument for the potential influence of Isaiah 53 on Paul when he composed these words in 2 Cor. 4:11.

If the above analysis is valid, then the connection of Paul's description of his apostolic suffering and the Isaianic Servant Song can be established. The next question, then, will be: in what sense does Paul liken his experience of apostleship with that of the Isaianic Servant? Does he see himself as the righteous Suffering Servant prefigured in the prophetic literature? Or did Isa. 53:11 offer him merely a prophetic language to depict his apostolic experience? Or did the Isaianic Servant Song serve as a base text for him to reflect on and spell out the significance of the ministry of Jesus as well as his own apostleship?

As mentioned above, the concept of the sacrificial death of the righteous as the means of giving life to others is also attested in the Gospels and other Pauline epistles. In many passages the word 'to hand over' is used to depict the handing over of Jesus to death. Indeed, a full treatment of the question of Paul's use of Scripture to define the identity of Jesus Christ might require an independent study. Having said this, a brief comment on the instances found in Ro. 4:25 and 8:32 is necessary. Paul's allusive use of Isa. 53:6, 11 and 12 here clearly indicates that he does notice the parallel elements between the death of the Suffering Servant in Isaiah 53 and that of Jesus Christ. First, both the Suffering Servant and Jesus are righteous themselves. Second, their sufferings and death are not caused by their own sins, but for the sake of others. Third, both of them have brought life to others by their righteous and

manifestation of the life of Jesus, though perfect only in the resurrection at the end, is already begun and shines through the sin and suffering of the present life – it appears even in the context of *flesh*. Even our present self-centred, man-centred, existence shows signs of the transforming power of the Spirit who brings freedom.' (p.141) In other words, Paul believes that behind the physical suffering lies a 'dying with Christ' that gives it meaning.' (p.140) Barrett, *Second Corinthians*.

vicarious death. In other words, their righteous death produces an atoning effect on sinful men. Fourth, both of them are vindicated after their tragic death. It is beyond doubt that Paul understands Jesus' death and his resurrection to have the effect of the remission of sins as indicated in Ro. 4:25.⁵⁰ Although the idea that the substitutionary death of the righteous, whose death can take away the sins of the people and thus remove divine wrath, has already deeply influenced Jewish martyr theology,⁵¹ the paralleled significance of Jesus' vicarious death that Paul sets forth is not to be undermined. In particular, in the brief statement that 'He was handed over [to death] for our trespasses, and raised for our justification', Paul in fact claims that 'Christ in his death bore substitutionarily the penal consequences of our trespasses.'⁵² It also indicates that by expressing the death of Jesus in the language of Isa. 53, Paul finds the significance of Christ's death. Through his vicarious and atoning death, Jesus not only has done away with sins, but also has brought life to the believing in terms of justification (5:18).

Admittedly, Paul neither deploys the scriptural text as a proof-text nor uses it explicitly to establish the identity of Jesus as the Suffering Servant or Messiah. Therefore, it is hard to draw a firm conclusion based on these two instances of Paul's use of Isaiah 53 that Paul sees Jesus in terms of a prophecy/fulfilment, i.e. Jesus as the fulfilment of the Suffering Servant prefigured in Isaianic prophecy. This is quite different from the appropriation of Isaiah in the Gospels, especially in Luke, whose author sets out to attempt to prove Jesus as the Isaianic suffering Servant in his

⁵⁰ Scholars are of different opinions whether Jesus' sacrificial and redemptive death should be understood as 'representative' or as a 'substitution'. James D.G. Dunn, 'Paul's Understanding of the Death of Jesus' in *Reconciliation and Hope*, ed., R. K. Banks (Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1974) argues for the former view, whereas Udo Schnelle, *Apostle Paul*, argues for the latter, especially 442-51. This question is also pertinent to scholars of Isaiah, see the dialogue between Hermann Spieckermann, 'The Conception and Prehistory of the Idea of Vicarious Suffering in the Old Testament' (pp. 1-15) and 'He Bore Our Sins: Isaiah 53 and the Drama of Taking Another's Place' (pp. 48-74), both of the articles are collected in Bernd Janowski and Peter Stuhlmacher eds., *The Suffering Servant: Isaiah 53 in Jewish and Christian Sources* (Trans., Daniel P. Bailey; Grand Rapids/ Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2004 [1996c]).

⁵¹ This idea is most clearly represented in the book of Maccabees, e.g. 2 Macc. 7:37-38; 4 Macc. 6:27-29; 17:21-22.

⁵² Otfried Hofius, 'The Fourth Servant Song in the New Testament Letters,' in Bernd Janowski and Peter Stuhlmacher eds., *The Suffering Servant: Isaiah 53 in Jewish and Christian Sources* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004 [1996c]) 181.

agenda.⁵³ Likewise, Paul's rendering is also different from the Isaiah Targum, whose translator renders Isa. 53:13 with a strong messianic overtone by asserting the phrase 'the Messiah' at the beginning of the verse, and which runs like this: 'Behold, my servant, the Messiah, shall prosper, he shall be exalted and increase, and shall be very strong.'⁵⁴ Last but not least, the messianic interpretation of the Isaianic Servant is also attested in the Qumran community.⁵⁵ Although there were different interpretations of the Suffering Servant of Isaiah 53 in early Jewish and Christian literatures, the wide spread influence of this particular passage of Isaiah to various sectarian groups is beyond any doubt.

Turning to Paul's discourse in 2 Cor. 4, we find that here Paul is primarily focused on his apostolic ministry in which he laboured together with other evangelist co-workers. The mood of his application of Isa. 53 to 2 Cor. 4:11 is somewhat similar to that of his application to Jesus. That is, the Isaianic text is not cited explicitly as proof-text of his identity, but is embedded seamlessly in his discourse. The Isaianic text is only mentioned allusively in the course of his argument probably with an intention of evoking the larger story of the Isaianic Servant. At the explicit literal level, Paul simply borrows a phrase from Isaiah 53 to express the hardships he encounters amidst his ministry. But when the alluded text is read side by side with the new literary setting into which it has been transposed, a range of resonances within the two texts can be easily noticed. The intertextual allusion indicates that Paul's appropriation of the prophet's terminology is more than merely linguistic borrowing. Rather, the conceptual/theological influence of the Suffering Servant

⁵³ For a full discussion on this, see D. W. Pao, *Acts and the Isaianic New Exodus* (WUNT 2/130; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 2000); P. Mallen, *The Reading and Transformation of Isaiah in Luke-Acts* (LNTS 367; London: T&T Clark, 2008).

⁵⁴ B. D. Chilton, *The Isaiah Targum: Introduction, Translation, Apparatus and Notes* (The Aramaic Bible 11; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1987). For a more detailed discussion on Isa. 53 in the Isaiah Targum, see Jostein Ådna, 'The Servant of Isaiah as Triumphant and Interceding Messiah: The Reception of Isaiah 52:13-53:12 in the Targum of Isaiah with Special Attention to the Concept of the Messiah.' In Bernd Janowski and Peter Stuhlmacher eds., *The Suffering Servant: Isaiah 53 in Jewish and Christian Sources* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004 [1996c]) pp. 189-224.

⁵⁵ For a detailed discussion, see Martin Hengel and Daniel P. Bailey, 'The Effective History of Isaiah 53 in the Pre-Christian Period,' in Bernd Janowski and Peter Stuhlmacher eds., *The Suffering Servant: Isaiah 53 in Jewish and Christian Sources* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004 [1996c]), especially, 101-18.

Song on Paul's self-conception of his own apostolic suffering is evident in the discourse.

Central to Isa. 52:13-53:12 is a figure who is described as a servant of Yahweh, but whose identity is hidden. This person is described as one who committed no sins yet suffered severe afflictions and eventually died a tragic death. It was Yahweh himself who handed over the Servant to death because of the transgressions of the people. However, he was vindicated by Yahweh in the end so that he is proved to be innocent and his suffering is the result of taking upon himself the burden of sins for 'many'. The distinctive emphasis of the story is found not only in the theme that the servant is an innocent, righteous sufferer, but also in that his suffering and sacrificial death produce a life-giving effect. In his humiliation and eventual exaltation the Servant brings life to many, expressed in terms of producing 'his seed/offspring' (Isa. 53:10).

Indeed, the Suffering Servant Song of Isa. 53 is fraught with complexities, both in terms of textual, hermeneutical and theological issues. The present discussion will focus primarily on Paul's use of Isa. 53:12 in the context of 2 Cor. 4 instead of rehearsing the history of the interpretation of the Servant Song in its own terms. Set in the wider context of Paul's understanding of the afflictions and hardships he has encountered in his ministry, his allusion to Isa. 53:12 LXX in 2 Cor. 4:11 serves as an intertextual link connecting Jesus' ministry to the ministry of preaching the gospel in which he and his evangelist partners are involved. This is obvious in particular when he repeatedly depicts his experience of suffering as 'carrying about in the body *the dying of Jesus*' (2 Cor. 4:10) and 'continually being handed over to death *for Jesus' sake*' (2 Cor. 4:11). For Paul, the sufferings and afflictions he and other evangelists endured at the preaching of the gospel were not the result of their own sinfulness, which is also a significant overtone to be heard in Isa. 53, but rather the manifestation of the dying of Jesus as well as for the sake of Jesus. In other words, for Paul, the experience of afflictions is a process analogous to the dying of Jesus.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Barrett has astutely pointed out that Paul normally uses the common Greek word *θάνατος* when he means to speak of 'death' as static fact, but here and elsewhere only in Ro. 4:19 he uses *νέκρωσις*, a word that suggests a process of making dead, to describe the apostolic experience of the 'dying of Jesus' Barrett, *Second Corinthians* 139-40.

Similarly, when Paul speaks of the experience of ‘continually being handed over to death *for Jesus’ sake*’, he sees his sufferings in the service of preaching the gospel as a form of existence that patterning after that of Jesus. But what does he really mean by saying his sufferings are actually Christ’s?

Earlier in 2 Corinthians Paul describes ministry in terms of a paradoxical image: a ‘treasure’ held in an ‘earthen vessel’ (4:7). The former may refer to ‘the glorious gospel’ (2 Cor. 4:3, 4), ‘the apostolic ministry’ (3:7-9; 4:1) or ‘the knowledge of the glory of God’ (4:6), or a combination of all three things, while the latter may refer to his own fragile physical body in a metaphorical way, emphasizing its weakness and inferiority as compared to the glorious gospel. Then he presents a ‘hardship list’ listing out a series of four parallel antitheses to illustrate his sufferings he encountered in his ministry. However, this list represents more than a mere catalogue of suffering. Rather, as Savage rightly points out, by means of these antitheses ‘Paul seeks to give a remarkable interpretation to his suffering.’⁵⁷ In particular, while Paul recognizes that in reality he, along with his co-workers in the ministry, has indeed been hard pressed, perplexed, and persecuted, he stresses that he is by no means crushed, and despairing in these times of suffering, precisely because ‘the power of God springs to action and preserves him from ultimate crushing and despair.’⁵⁸

Although Paul applies the Suffering Servant song of Isaiah 53 to both the interpretation of Jesus and his own evangelical ministry, he seems to have different emphases of the Song in different cases. With respect to Jesus Christ, Paul stresses righteous suffering (Ro. 4:25; cf. 2 Cor. 5:21) and the ensuing effect of the remission of sins of ‘many’ (Ro. 5:19b).⁵⁹ With respect to his own apostolic ministry, Paul deploys the Isaianic Suffering Servant Song to depict the paradoxical situation in which he and his co-workers find themselves. They experience suffering almost unto the point of death on the one hand, and constant vindication by God’s power demonstrated in the life-giving effect through the ministry on the other hand. Although he does not explicitly cite any text from Isaiah 53 as a proof-text to his

⁵⁷ Savage, *Power through Weakness* 171.

⁵⁸ Barrett, 139.

⁵⁹ The salvific and atoning effect of Christ’s death is explained most clearly in Rom. 5 and 8.

identification with the Servant, he does use it in a nuanced way to link his own experience of suffering to that of the Servant, and the vindication of God is already present amidst his present suffering (2 Cor. 4:10-12). Therefore, in terms of vindication, there seems to be a difference between the situations of the Suffering Servant and Paul. In Isaiah 53, it was not until the death of the Suffering Servant that his vindication was eventually attained, whereas in 2 Cor. 4, Paul claims that he is already experiencing God's power of vindication constantly manifest amidst his present afflictions.

Reading from this perspective, Paul is far from asserting himself as the Suffering Servant of Isaiah 53 in terms of typological identification. Neither does Paul make any claim that he and his co-workers are in any form of an eschatological fulfilment of the Servant prefigured in Isaianic prophecy. Yet his rather obvious and pervasive allusion to the Suffering Servant Song of Isaiah 53 establishes an evocative intertextual resonance, which invites his intended readers/audience to reflect on the correspondences between the Suffering Servant and his own experience. With his use of Isaiah 53 to depict Jesus' ministry in mind, it is not surprising to find the parallels Paul attempts to draw between his sufferings in the service of preaching the gospel and that of Jesus Christ's earthly ministry.

If Paul understands Jesus' sacrificial death primarily in terms of bearing the burden of the sins for many and giving life to others by taking upon himself the curse of death/the Law, then how does Paul understand his sufferings and their relation to bringing life to other people? To what extent does he view the sufferings that he endures as in fact Christ's? How does his suffering bring about the 'salvation' of other people?

Some commentators compare these words with that in Col. 1:24, in which Paul or an amanuensis makes the remarkable assertion that in his bodily suffering on behalf of the church he 'fills up what is lacking in the afflictions of Christ (ἀνταναπληρῶ τὰ

ὕστερήματα τῶν θλίψεων τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῇ σαρκί μου).⁶⁰ While some contend that Paul's suffering is vicarious in the same manner as Jesus' suffering,⁶¹ i.e. Paul endures 'what is left over of the messianic afflictions that the church may not have to bear it, absorbing suffering into his own person, as Jesus had done (cf. Mark 10:45),⁶² others maintain that he simply indicates that he is 'sharing in and filling up a heritage of righteous suffering.'⁶³ In other words, by participating in the suffering of Christ, Paul is joining himself to the long succession of righteous suffering of God's people throughout the ages. This righteous suffering 'represents a legacy which began in the distant past and which continues even now in the afflictions of Christ.'⁶⁴

However, as discussed above, Paul sees himself, as well as other evangelists, more than merely righteous sufferers. Paul's understanding of his suffering as sharing that of Christ's is to be viewed in the light of his conception of the church as the body of Christ (σῶμα Χριστοῦ)⁶⁵ as well as his total identification with Jesus who is the Servant of God *par excellence*. For Paul, it is actually through the way of suffering even unto death that the life of Christ can be manifested in their lives. It is the life manifested through suffering for the sake of Christ that defines the character of the apostolic existence. Paul discloses in 2 Cor. 13:4 that Christ 'was crucified because of weakness, but lives through the power of God.' In the same way, for Paul, the 'life of Christ' that is manifested in his life and the lives of his co-workers is nothing less than the resurrection power of Christ. The resurrection power represents also 'the

⁶⁰ Although the authorship of Colossians is contested among Pauline scholarship, the discussion of the passage is still helpful to our understanding of Paul's word in 2 Corinthians and will not undermine the overall argument of the present study. It seems that the passage in Colossians makes explicit what is hinted here as elsewhere in the Pauline epistles that his suffering is for the sake of the church and not because of his own sins.

⁶¹ H. Windisch, *Der Zweite Korintherbrief* (Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament – Meyer; 1924) 61ff.

⁶² Barrett, *Second Corinthians*, 142.

⁶³ Savage, *Power through Weakness*, 174.

⁶⁴ Savage, *Power through Weakness*, 174.

⁶⁵ C. Merrill Proudfoot in an article has argued convincingly that Paul's self-conception of sharing the suffering of Christ should be best understood in the light of his theology of the 'church as the body of Christ'. 'Imitation or Realistic Participation? A Study of Paul's Concept of "Suffering With Christ"', *Interpretation* 17 (1963) 140-60.

overthrow of the old order.⁶⁶ In other words, by applying the Suffering Servant passage both to Jesus and himself, Paul on the one hand links his suffering to that of Jesus, emphasizing that both of them suffered as righteous sufferers, and on the other hand, he deepens the meaning of righteous suffering in the new light of the Christ event. That is, Christ has defeated the power of death and sin so that the old age is gone and the new age has come.⁶⁷ By sharing in the paradox of life amidst of the death of Jesus, Paul experiences in his body the manifestation of the power of the Holy Spirit.

The discussion of Paul's allusive use of Isa. 53:12 can be taken in yet another direction. As observed above, Paul's discourse on his apostolic suffering is primarily related to his apostleship, but does it mean that such a pattern of existence is limited primarily to apostles and evangelists?⁶⁸ Indeed, Paul is primarily speaking of himself and other Christian missionary co-workers in this context. However, it does not necessarily follow that Paul sees the experience of the 'dying of Jesus' and 'being handed over to death' for Jesus' sake as only applicable to the apostles.⁶⁹ In many occasions, after speaking of his own experience of following the example of Christ, Paul invites his intended audience/readers to imitate him, as he is imitating the life example of Christ in his death and sufferings (1 Cor. 4:16; 11:1; Php. 3:17). Perhaps Paul's use of Isaiah 53:12 here also resonates with the use of the phrase 'handed over' to death/afflictions in the gospels in the discourse of discipleship. In Mat. 24:9//Mk.13:9, 11//Lk. 21:12, for instance, in the words attributed to Jesus who encourages his disciples to be prepared for the future persecution, he writes, 'you will be handed over to tribulations and they will kill you' (παραδώσουσιν ὑμᾶς εἰς θλίψιν καὶ ἀποκτενοῦσιν ὑμᾶς). Similar language is deployed to envisage the destiny of the disciples, namely, that they are going to be handed over to unbelieving people, to be mistreated, and ultimately to be put to death. Should this be the case then Paul's suffering is also part and parcel of the life of discipleship of Jesus' followers.

⁶⁶ Savage, *Power through Weakness*, 176.

⁶⁷ This point will be discussed in fuller detail in the analysis of Paul's use of Isa. 49:8 in 2 Cor. 6:2.

⁶⁸ This view is expressed by Barrett who, following Cerfaux, believes that Paul speaks here of apostolic rather than ordinary Christian experience. Barrett, *Second Corinthians*, 139.

⁶⁹ This view is also supported by Savage, who mentions this by passing, *Power through Weakness*, 178.

In conclusion, Paul uses the material of Isa. 53 to portray both Jesus' death and suffering and the afflictions that he and his missionary co-workers encounter. The way in which he uses this text has three implications. First, according to Paul's interpretation, the Suffering Servant is to be understood both individually and collectively. It is indeed Jesus who takes upon himself the sins of many and makes atonement for sinful humanity. But he is also the Servant *par excellence* in that all those who are justified in him will share the same fate of suffering and vindication. Second, although Paul recognizes the distinctive significance of Jesus' death and resurrection, Paul does not hesitate to apply the same scriptural text to the description of his own apostolic ministry. Paul, by applying the Isaianic Servant text to himself and Jesus, connects his own ministry to that of Jesus. In this way, he claims that 'the dying of Jesus' that he carries about is in fact the same suffering which marked the cross of Jesus. Finally, whether Paul understands his suffering in the service of preaching the gospel as vicarious or not is hard to be certain. What is clear from his description in 2 Cor. 4 is that he sees all his experiences, both of affliction and of comfort, are turned to the advantage of the churches that he serves. He sees his sufferings in the service of preaching the gospel are participation in the cross of Jesus' own suffering (Php. 3:7-11; Gal. 6:17). Most important of all, the constant experience of the dying of Jesus turns out to be a form of life-giving existence. 'The constant dying contained in his ministry of preaching is not an end in itself; its only purpose is to reveal for both apostle and church the life of Jesus that makes itself present in the power of the Spirit as God's own power and glory. Paul's apostolic existence in death is thus paradoxically not oriented to death but exclusively to life.'⁷⁰

b. Isa. 49:8 in 2 Cor. 6:2

The final passage of Isaiah to be examined is a citation from Isa. 49:8 in 2 Cor. 6:2. In 2 Cor. 5:11-21, Paul presented himself and other Christians who share his missionary role as Christ's ambassadors (πρεσβεύομεν) through whom God appeals to people to be reconciled to God (5:20). This is set in the larger literary context of

⁷⁰ Udo Schnelle, *Apostle Paul: His Life and Theology* (Trans., E. Boring; Grand Rapids: Baker, 2003) 247.

Paul's self-defence of his apostolic ministry. Paul identifies himself as 'a servant of the new covenant' (διακόνους καινῆς διαθήκης; 3:6). The term 'servant' (διακόνος) and 'to be an ambassador' (προσβεύειν) could be used almost interchangeably in the classical and Hellenistic Greek literature to denote a 'messenger' of God who functions both as the agent and witness of God.⁷¹ In 2 Cor. 6:1-10, Paul makes a further more specific appeal to the Corinthians not to receive the grace of God 'in vain' (6:1-2) and gives evidence of the qualifications of his apostleship by listing out the hardships he suffered as well as his personal qualities. In 6:2, by way of a scriptural citation, Paul elucidates the significance of his appeal.

Paul's citation is introduced simply by λέγει γάρ without giving the source of the text. The verbal affinity with Isa. 49:8 LXX suggests that Paul is very likely citing this particular Isaianic text.⁷² Comparing the two texts, it shows that Paul's quotation follows verbatim that of the LXX as shown in the following.

2 Cor. 6:2	Isa. 49:8 LXX
λέγει γάρ καιρῷ δεκτῷ ἐπήκουσά σου καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ σωτηρίας ἐβοήθησά σοι.	οὕτως λέγει κύριος Καιρῷ δεκτῷ ἐπήκουσά σου καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ σωτηρίας ἐβοήθησά σοι
<p style="text-align: right;">Isa. 49:8 MT</p> <p style="text-align: center;">כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה בַּעַת רְצוֹן עֲנִיתִיךָ וּבַיּוֹם יְשׁוּעָה עֲזַרְתִּיךָ</p>	

The text is taken from the so-called second Servant Song (Isa. 49:1-13) of Isaiah. The first part of the oracle, vv.1-6, describes God's call of the servant, his frustration

⁷¹ For more support and a detailed list of relevant documents, see William L. Lane, 'Covenant: The Key to Paul's conflict with Corinth,' *TynB* 33 (1982) pp.16-17 and the footnotes 18, 19 of the pages.

⁷² The MT text differs from the LXX at two points. First, the MT text has the verb 'to answer' (ענה) whereas the LXX renders it as 'to listen to' (ἐπακούω). Second, while the MT has the pronoun 'you' in plural form, the LXX has it in singular (σου). However, both texts have the word of Yahweh in view rendered as an indicative. In MT, a qal perfect is used, indicating that it is either an event that has already taken place or is taking place, whereas the LXX has an aorist indicative, indicating that God's action of hearing (prayers) and help should be understood as 'the instantaneous or 'punctiliar' action as having taken place in the *past*. C. F. D. Moule, *An Idiom Book of New Testament Greek* (2nd edition; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, 1959c) 10.

over the apparent failure of his ministry and Yahweh's affirmation of his mission whose scope includes not only the restoration of Israel but also the salvation of the Gentiles.⁷³ In the second part of the oracle, vv.7-12, Yahweh assures his faithfulness to his servant about the original mission to Israel, which seems to be a divine response to the servant's present dejection and hardships.⁷⁴ The servant to whom Yahweh is speaking is described as 'the despised one', 'to whom the nations (ὑπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν), 'the servant(s) of the rulers' (τῶν δούλων τῶν ἀρχόντων) abhorred.'⁷⁵ And yet, Yahweh gives reassurance of his election of the Servant and of His faithfulness to the Servant, affirms the vindication of the Servant (vv.7b-8a), and reiterates the mission of the Servant as follows: 'I give you for a covenant of the nations' (εἰς διαθήκην ἐθνῶν), 'to establish the earth', and 'to inherit the desolate inheritance' (v. 8b). The Servant is described as one who is sent to call the captives to come out and to those who are in darkness to be exposed to the light (49:8b-9a). This characterization is strongly reminiscent to that of the Servant of Isa. 42:1-4. The phrase εἰς διαθήκην γένους εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν is repeated verbatim in Isa. 42:6 and 49:6, and in both texts the Servant's mission is announced by Yahweh.⁷⁶ In fact, the

⁷³ The original text and context of Isa. 49:1-6 has been discussed in chapter 2 of the present study.

⁷⁴ Though this section of the oracle raises a host of questions regarding its redactional history, the final form of the text does indicate that Yahweh is continuing to speak to the servant within the narrative flow of the passage.

⁷⁵ The LXX departs from the MT at the beginning of v.7a at four major points. First, the MT has קדוֹשׁ as an adjective, which is to be understood as part of the series of the titular descriptions of Yahweh, 'his Holy One', whereas LXX, instead of having 'the Redeemer of Israel' as that in the MT, renders the description of Yahweh as ὁ ῥυσάμενός σε ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραηλ, then changes the adjective קדוֹשׁ to a verb in imperative, ἁγιάσατε, 'sanctify', thus turning it into a petition. Second, the MT has the phrase לְבִזָּה-נַפְשׁ describing the condition of the object. Grammatically, the qal infinitive construct בִּזָּה with the noun in singular absolute נַפְשׁ can be translated in two different ways. If נַפְשׁ is taken as referring to man in a general sense, then the phrase will become 'man of despised', or 'a despised one'. If, on the other hand, נַפְשׁ is taken as referring to oneself, then the phrase will be translated as 'him who despises himself'. The LXX seems to have taken the latter meaning. Third, the MT has the 'servant' in the phrase לַעֲבָד in singular whereas the LXX has its correspondence in plural form: τῶν δούλων. Finally, the function of the phrase, 'the servants of the rulers', in the sentence seems to differ in the two texts. In the MT, it is clear that it belongs to one of the לִפְנֵי phrases describing the addressee of Yahweh, while in the LXX, it seems to be an appositional phrase to the preceding τῶν ἐθνῶν.

⁷⁶ As the parallelism suggests, both 'the people' and 'the nations' refer to the Gentile nations. This view is supported by Childs, who writes, "'People" stands in parallel to "nation" and is not a reference specifically to Israel, but one that carries a universal scope.' *Isaiah*, 327.

Servant's missionary role as a 'covenant to the nations' (εἰς διαθήκην ἔθνων) is one of the significant leitmotifs in Isaiah.⁷⁷

A number of thematic parallels with 2 Cor. 3:1-6:10, a section centred on Paul's defence of his apostolic authority, may be discerned in this summary. First, in the wider context of both texts, we notice that both the Servant in Isaiah and Paul, along with his associates, are involved in the ministry of God's covenant (διαθήκη). The Isaianic Servant was called to be the one who 'brings the covenant to the nations' (εἰς διαθήκην ἔθνων).⁷⁸ Paul likewise in 2 Cor. 3:6 claims that he and his associates are entrusted with the ministry of preaching the gospel, and therefore, it is God himself who has made them as competent 'ministers of a new covenant (διακόνους καινῆς διαθήκης).'⁷⁹

Second, the expression of 'in vain' (κενῶς) is found in both Isa. 49:3 and 2 Cor. 6:1. This is more than a coincidence or simple linguistic affinity. Although in Isa. 49:3 it is used in the Servant's expression of his experience of futility in ministry, that he has laboured 'in vain', yet in 2 Cor. 6:1 it is an exhortation to the Christians of Corinth not to receive God's grace 'in vain.' The literary contexts in which the term is used are in fact very similar: namely, the concern over the effectiveness of the ministry of God's word.

⁷⁷ In fact, the motif of the covenant runs on to the end of Isaiah. The covenant is expressed as a covenant of peace (διαθήκη τῆς εἰρήνης) (Isa. 54:10) and it is everlasting (Isa. 55:3; 61:8). It is foundational to the promise of restoration that Yahweh gives to Israel. Meanwhile, the prophet also announces that all people who hold fast to the covenant of Yahweh will be blessed (Isa. 56:4,6).

⁷⁸ Baltzer, among others, interprets the lines 'I have given you as a covenant to the people' and 'a light to (of) the nations' as Hebraic poetic parallelism. The two genitive phrases in 'covenant to the people' and 'light to the nations' should be taken as an objective genitive. Thus, the two phrases should be understood as 'the one who brings the covenant to the people' and 'the one who brings light to the nations.' K. Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah* 131-32.

⁷⁹ Indeed, the term 'new covenant' (διαθήκη καινῆ) occurs also in Jer. 31:31-33; cf. Ezek. 36:26-27. Paul's conception of the 'new covenant' may also be influenced by these texts. In particular, Paul's understanding of the ministry of the new covenant as the demonstration of the power of the Spirit in human hearts shows striking similarities with the relevant Jeremiah and Ezekiel passages (2 Cor. 3:1-3).

Third, in both texts ‘the time of acceptance’ and the ‘day of salvation’ are mentioned, and they were presented as a divine promise to the Servant in Isa. 49:8 yet for Paul the day of salvation had already become a reality, indicated by his use of ‘now’ twice, having been inaugurated by the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. The Lord’s favourable response and his help extended to the Servant mark the reality of God’s faithfulness to and his election of his Servant.

Some of the literary and thematic connections between Isaiah 49 and 2 Cor. 4-6 have been spotted in previous Pauline studies. However, as to what exactly the passage of Isaiah contributes to Paul’s argument, there is still no consensus among scholars. For example, Lane noticed that there is a common overarching motif, namely, ‘covenant’, exhibited in both of the texts. He suggests that the prophetic Servant figure of Isaiah 49:1-13, who is called to administer the covenant, serves as a paradigm for Paul understanding his ministry among the Gentiles.⁸⁰ Based on the model of the royal messenger of an offended suzerain, Lane observes that the prophet in the Old Testament functions as both a servant of the covenant and a messenger of Yahweh. Lane draws on the prophetic literature tradition that depicts the dispute between Yahweh and his people Israel in the form of a lawsuit, in which the prophet ‘stood in the council of Yahweh’ and heard Yahweh’s complaint. Then he ‘is commissioned to express Yahweh’s complaint to his faithless vassal.’⁸¹ The overarching concern of Lane’s thesis is to demonstrate that Paul understood his ministry ‘as a messenger of the covenant lawsuit.’⁸² He argues that the problems that lie behind the Corinthian congregation, as understood by Paul, reflect the Corinthians’ ‘callous insensitivity to the New Covenant.’⁸³ Therefore, ‘Paul was mandated by God to express the divine complaint against the rebellious Corinthians and to call them back to the stipulations of the covenant.’⁸⁴ Finally he concludes, ‘In this instance, Paul functioned as a messenger of the covenant lawsuit of God.’⁸⁵

⁸⁰ William L. Lane, ‘Covenant: The Key to Paul’s Conflict with Corinth,’ *TynB* 33 (1982) 3-29.

⁸¹ Lane, ‘Covenant’, 3. For more discussion on the connection between prophetic office and lawsuit, see pp. 4-6, and the bibliography listed on p.4, n.3.

⁸² Lane, ‘Covenant,’ 28.

⁸³ Lane, ‘Covenant,’ 10.

⁸⁴ Lane, ‘Covenant,’ 10.

⁸⁵ Lane, ‘Covenant,’ 10.

Although Lane has proposed a possible way of understanding Paul's ministry in the light of prophetic tradition, unfortunately his analysis does not provide much help in identifying the significance of the quotation from Isaiah to Paul's line of thought. First, Lane is narrowly focused on the contention that Paul functions as a messenger of the 'covenant lawsuit' who pronounces God's complaint to the Corinthian church. But he has failed to recognize that the emphasis of Paul's argument is not so much on God's complaint of the unfaithfulness of the Corinthians as on the false accusations of Paul's apostolic ministry and his personal integrity. Second, Lane's analysis is based on a juxtaposition of several prophetic texts and traditions, but has not paid enough attention to the uniqueness of Paul's citation of Isa. 49:8, which centres on the eschatological fulfilment of the 'time of acceptance' and 'day of salvation' envisaged in Isaiah. Third, he ignores the relationship between the eschatological fulfilment of the time of salvation and the Christological claims that Paul emphatically made in 2 Cor. 5:11-6:2. As a result, he has failed to pinpoint the significance of the citation in the flow of Paul's overall argument.

Beale's exploration of the Old Testament background of 'reconciliation' in 2 Cor. 5:11-7:1 seems to lead the discussion in another direction. In the article, Beale has given a detailed analysis of the recurring Isaianic themes present both in Isaiah 40-66 and this literary unit of the Pauline epistle.⁸⁶ He argues that the concept of reconciliation is closely related to two significant Isaianic themes, namely, the new creation and the restoration from exile. Beale has argued cogently that the new creation and the reconciliation are closely related and almost overlap in the light of Isa. 40-66 in general, and passages on new creation (Isa. 43:18-19 and Isa. 65:17) in particular. He points out that Paul's allusion to the 'new creation' language of Isaiah in describing the Christian life in Christ indicates his intention to link the Isaiah promise with the work of Christ; i.e. 'Christ's death and resurrection are seen as the fulfilment of this promise. He writes, 'As in the case of the Isaianic Servant's mission and in line with Jewish exegetical tradition, Paul explains the atonement not only as a negative means of doing away with sin but also as resulting in the re-

⁸⁶ G. K. Beale, 'The Old Testament Background of Reconciliation in 2 Corinthians 5-7 and its bearing on the Literary Problem of 2 Corinthians 6:14-7:1,' *NTS* 35 (1989) 550-81.

uniting and renewing of sinful people with God, which amounts to a new creation.’⁸⁷ Therefore, for Beale, the new creation represents the situation of restoration from exile, which in turn involves the fulfilment of Yahweh’s promises to Israel in terms of inheritance of the land and a restored relationship with Yahweh.

Based on the thematic resonances between the Isaianic new creation and reconciliation in Paul’s letter, Beale moves on to propose that Paul’s citation of Isa. 49:8 in 2 Cor. 6:2 indicates that he applies the Isaianic Servant prophecy to himself. Beale writes, ‘In radical fashion Paul applies to himself a prophecy of the Isaianic Servant, probably in order to identify himself with that figure. He is in some way the fulfilment of the righteous “Servant, Israel” (Isa. 49:3) who was to proclaim restoration to sinful Israel.’⁸⁸ A few lines following this, he writes, ‘although Paul’s ministry appears to be on the verge of being received ‘in vain’ (cf. 49:4), he appeals to Isa. 49:8 in order to authenticate his legitimacy as an apostolic ‘servant ‘ of the restoration and to demonstrate that his ministry will bear fruit.’⁸⁹ In conclusion, Beale states that ‘the quote from Isa. 49:8 and Paul’s comment on it in 2 Cor. 6:2b focus primarily on the eschatological period of prophetic fulfilment (cf. the ‘now’ twice in 6:2) when the “servant”, Paul, is given divine authority and reaffirmation in his work, and it is a call for the readership to accept this reaffirmation and to be reconciled, in the sense of “making complete” their profession to be partakers of the OT promises of restoration (cf. 2 Cor. 13:5, 9b, 11a).’⁹⁰ Beale justifies his contention by appealing to the notion of ‘corporate representation’ which is prevalent in the scriptural text and elsewhere in the NT, e.g. Luke-Acts. Therefore, Beale concludes that while Paul sees himself as continuing the mission of Jesus, he could easily apply this Servant prophecy to himself.⁹¹

⁸⁷ G. K. Beale, ‘The Old Testament Background,’ 557; On Paul’s interpretation of new creation in the work of Christ, Beale further elaborates that it is the direct effect brought about by Jesus’ death for all’ and his resurrection (2 Cor. 5: 15,17).

⁸⁸ G. K. Beale, ‘The Old Testament Background,’ 562.

⁸⁹ Beale, ‘The Old Testament Background,’ 562.

⁹⁰ Beale, ‘The Old Testament Background ’ 563.

⁹¹ Beale, ‘The Old Testament Background,’ 564.

Beale is certainly right in pointing out that the quotation from Isa. 49:8 is referring to ‘the eschatological period of prophetic fulfilment’. But what does the fulfilment entail? There seems to be a big hermeneutical jump from acknowledging now is the ‘eschatological period of prophetic fulfilment’ to the assertion that Paul sees himself as the fulfilment of the Servant figure portrayed in Isaiah 49? To put it another way, the oracle of Isaiah 49:8 indeed speaks of ‘the time of acceptance’ and ‘the day of salvation’, and Paul asserts that the envisaged ‘time of acceptance’ and ‘day of salvation’ has already come and it is right at the present moment. He claims that the present time is the eschatological day of salvation that the prophet Isaiah foretold. The urgency of the present time is reinforced by his twice-repeated use of ‘now’ (νῦν) and ‘look’ (ἰδοὺ): ‘now [is] the accepted time, now [is] the day of salvation.’ However, this observation does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that Paul claims himself to be the Isaianic Servant portrayed in Isa. 49. It will be proposed in the following that the purpose of Paul’s use of Isa. 49:8 in 2 Cor. 6:2 is primarily to confirm two facts: First, the divine promise to the Servant of Isaiah 49 has found its fulfilment in the reconciliation work of Christ. Thus, his reading of Isaiah 49 is both eschatological and Christological.⁹² Second, Paul, along with his evangelist associates, is entrusted with the same task of reconciliation as that of Christ. Acting as Christ’s ambassadors, Paul and his missionary associates are now continuing the work of Christ.

On the first point, according to Paul, the present time is indeed the eschatological fulfilment of God’s promise to the Servant of Isaiah 49. What Paul is emphasizing here can be summarized in two points, which are expressed in vv.14b-15, Christ ‘died for all and thus all died. He died for all in order that the living might live no longer for themselves but for the one who died and rose for them.’ First, the significance of Christ’s death signifies the passing of the old age. In Paul’s view, the fact that Christ died for all brings out the effect that ‘all’ died in Christ.⁹³ God made Christ sin so that humanity could become righteous in the sight of God. The death of Christ is both substitutionary and representative. Paul’s understanding of Christ’s

⁹² Matera, *II Corinthians*, 150.

⁹³ In many other places of the Pauline letters, Paul also expresses that Christ’s death is to be understood as ‘in the interest of humanity’, which is expressed by the preposition ὑπὲρ.

death as substitutionary is expressed in Gal. 3:13, where he says Christ took the place of humanity and became ‘a curse’ to free all humanity from the curse of the law. Meanwhile, Paul also interprets Christ’s death as representative. In him the old Adam, who represents the old humanity, together with the all the corruptions brought by sin and death, are put to death. Paul views God’s judgment and wrath and the death of Christ as signifying the final judgment of the powers of the old age. According to Paul, sin, the law, and the flesh form an alliance of powers comprising the field or dominion of ‘death.’ All humanity are ‘under the power of sin’ (Rom. 3:9), ‘under the power of the law’ (Rom. 6:15); sin ‘reigns’ (Rom. 5:21) and death ‘reigns’ (Rom. 6:9; 5:17). In Beker’s word, ‘The field operates as an interrelated whole; its forces cannot be genetically delineated; and no power can be viewed in isolation from the others.’⁹⁴ Therefore, for Paul, the death and resurrection of Christ mark the discontinuity between the old age and the new because history is broken apart into the era of the Old Adam and that of the eschatological Adam (Rom. 5:12-21). ‘The death of Christ does not refer primarily to the death of an innocent suffering martyr, which evokes remorse and moral cleansing; it does not mean a new moral beginning for the ‘old’ person, or primarily the forgiveness of his former transgressions so that he can begin again with a clean slate. On the contrary, the death of Christ addresses itself to sin as a cosmic power and slavemaster, that is, to the human condition “under the power of sin.” It announces the negation of the power of sin that controls the world, and thus it has not only a moral but also an ontological meaning. “The old has passed away...the new has come” (2 Cor. 5:17), and a “new creation” has been established (2 Cor. 5:17; Gal. 6:15).’⁹⁵

Second, the soteriological effect of Christ’s death is that ‘the living might live no longer for themselves but for the one who died and rose for them (v.15). Those who have joined their lives with Christ through baptism have died with Christ and become a new creation in Christ (2 Cor. 5:17). The new humanity constitutes an indispensable and inseparable part of the cosmic renewal of the new creation. One of the significant features of new creation for Paul is the manifestation of God’s power in the midst of death, not after death. For sure, the perfect manifestation of God’s victory is

⁹⁴ Beker, *Paul the Apostle* 189-90.

⁹⁵ Beker, *Paul the Apostle* 191.

consummated only in the time of the *parousia*. But ‘what strikes us in Paul is that a dialectical relation between the death and resurrection of Christ intersects the consecutive relation.’⁹⁶ Life is not just life after death but also life in the midst of death, just as ‘power’ is not displayed at the absence of ‘weakness’ (1 Cor. 15:43) but manifests itself paradoxically in the form of ‘weakness’ (2 Cor. 12:10). In the light of the Christ event, Paul claims that not only do life and power exist after or even notwithstanding human weakness but that they manifest themselves *as* weakness. Christian life is truly cruciform: “For while we live we are always being given up to death for Jesus’ sake, so that the life of Jesus may be manifested in our mortal flesh. So death is at work in us, but life in you” (2 Cor. 4:11-12).⁹⁷ In 2 Corinthians, in particular the section 2:14-6:10, there is no doubt that he views the apostolic hardships that he constantly endures in terms of Christ’s death and resurrection (cf. 2:14-16; 4:7-12; 6:4-10; 11:23-29; 13:2-4). By appropriating the language of Isa. 49:8, a promise of God spoken to the Servant who will suffer in the course of his ministry, Paul recognizes that the time period in which he lives is indeed the time of salvation, a time that the promise in Isaiah 49 has now become a reality.

Although Paul believes that the promise to the Servant finds its fulfilment first and foremost in the life and death of Christ, the primary purpose of Paul’s use of Isa. 49:8 is not to prove the identity of Jesus as the eschatological fulfilment of the Servant per se. His focus is rather on the entire Christ event as well as the salvation plan of God – the reconciliation of God through Christ and the establishment of the new creation in Christ. As Paul understands his apostolic existence entirely as a total submission to and identification with Christ, a life no longer lived for himself but for Christ alone (2 Cor. 5:9, 13, 15; cf. Gal.2:19-20; Php. 3:8-14), he does not seem to have any problem with saying that his ministry is just the same as that of Christ. One element which is not so evident in Isa. 49 but of which Paul makes clear is that the death of Christ is an expression of divine love.⁹⁸ Paul makes the claim at the outset of this section that his ministry is entirely ‘controlled’ and ‘directed’ (συνέχω) by ‘the

⁹⁶ Beker, *Paul the Apostle* 197.

⁹⁷ Beker, *Paul the Apostle* 197-98.

⁹⁸ This point is also evident in Paul’s explanation of Christ’s sacrificial death in Rom.5:6-8; 8:32.

love of Christ' (ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ Χριστοῦ).⁹⁹ In these manifesto statements Paul is almost in effect saying that his apostolic existence is not so different from Christ's own presence. The very message of reconciliation he preaches is practically the same as that of Christ. With this in mind, we will not be surprised to find that Paul's christological interpretation of the Isaianic Servant does not prevent him from appropriating Isa. 49 in description of his own ministry.

This leads us to the second aspect of the implication of Paul's use of Isa. 49:8, namely, that the ministry of reconciliation and the hardships involved as listed in 6:4-10 should be understood in the light of the larger story of the Isaianic Servant of Isaiah 49. In the Isaianic context, the Servant's mission is to bring the salvation of God even to the Gentile nations. Regarding the question of how the death of Jesus made possible the extension of Israel's blessings to the Gentiles, thereby fulfilling the promise to Abraham that all nations will be blessed through him, Paul has made an extended explanation in Gal. 3:13-14.¹⁰⁰ Here in 2 Cor. 5:14-15 Paul again mentions the significance of Christ's saving death and resurrection for all.¹⁰¹ Therefore, Paul understands that the sufferings and the ministry of God's servant are inseparable as evidence both of the life of the Isaianic Servant and Jesus Christ, as he connects his own ministry of reconciliation with that of Christ, claiming that just as God once made an appeal for reconciliation through Christ, so God continues to make an appeal through Christ's ambassador (2 Cor. 5:20). The appeal to reconciliation that Paul makes here can be understood as his appeal not to receive the grace of God in vain (6:1-2) and to be reconciled with God's apostle (6:11-13; 7:2-4).

⁹⁹ The phrase can be translated both as an objective genitive, which refers to *Paul love for Christ*; and as a subjective genitive, which refers to *Christ's own love for Paul*. In addition, the verb can be rendered as (1) 'to impel' or 'to urge'; (2) 'to control' and 'to direct'. In view of the present context, in which Paul is defending himself against the charge of his 'madness' (beside himself), it is very likely that Paul deliberately chooses these 'ambiguous' expressions to capture the dynamics of Christ's love that is driving and controlling his ministry.

¹⁰⁰ For a more detailed discussion see chapter 2 of the present study.

¹⁰¹ Cf. 1 Cor. 11:24; 15:3; 2 Cor. 5:21; Gal. 1:4; 2:20; Rom. 5:6, 8; 8:32; 14:15.

c. Conclusion

In this section, we explored two Isaianic Servant texts that are used in 2 Corinthians. The first one is an allusion to Isa. 53:11 in 2 Cor. 4:11, and the other one is an explicit citation from Isa. 49:8 in 2 Cor. 6:2. Although the ways in which the two Isaianic texts are appropriated in the Pauline context are different, i.e. one is more obviously indicated by an explicit citation formula and the other one is more nuanced, yet the intertextual links between the texts of Isaiah and Paul can hardly be ignored when the thematic overlap between the two texts are taken into account. Paul's application of the two passages in each case represents modulations on the theme of the Servant passages, with a coherent emphasis on the Christological 'fulfilment' of the prophecy of salvation as the foundation of his apostolic ministry. In both cases, Paul does not explicitly attribute the designation of 'Servant' to Jesus as a title, nor does he refer to himself in an explicit way as the eschatological fulfilment of the prefigured prophetic figure in the Isaianic prophecy. But on the other hand, in a more nuanced way, Paul's use of Isaiah 53 and 49 as analysed above shows that God's redemptive action through the agency of Christ indeed is the eschatological fulfilment of Isaiah's prophecy of salvation. Moreover, there is an overlap of patterns between the Isaianic Servant, Jesus and his own ministry of reconciliation. For Paul, the participation of Christ's sufferings in his execution of the apostolic ministry is more than merely a metaphorical expression of the imitation of Christ. Rather, the real experience of life amidst of death is in fact an existential reality of the power of God revealed in the new creation in Christ, in whom he now lives.

Section 3: The significance of Isaiah in the Corinthian Correspondence

A close examination of Paul's appropriation of Isaiah in 1 and 2 Corinthians, especially in the light of the situation that seemed to have prompted his response and arguments, helps us to appreciate the role of the Isaianic texts in Paul's understanding of his ministry. This is particularly illuminating when we notice that there is a clash between the worldly outlook of the Corinthians and the apostle's own cross-centred perspective. It has been demonstrated that when Paul cites from or alludes to these particular scriptural texts, he seems to have the larger context of the texts employed in his mind. Of course in some cases there are differences in terms of emphases and contexts between the cited text and Paul's application, but the shared

themes and concepts such as the supremacy of divine wisdom (Isa. 29:14) and vicarious suffering (Isa. 53) that undergird both texts remain to be the controlling factor that has led Paul to appropriate these texts.

More important has been the observation concerning Paul's application of the Isaianic servant passages in description of his own ministry. This is somewhat distinctive as compared to other early Jewish and Christian literature. Although Paul never explicitly cites these Isaianic texts concerning the Suffering Servant to prove his identity, he does attempt to connect his apostolic ministry and the form of his apostolic existence to the Isaianic Servant. In fact, Paul also describes the ministry of Jesus Christ, in particular his sacrificial and vicarious suffering in Isaianic Servant terms. In so doing, Paul seeks to draw a very close connection between the suffering and ministry of Christ and his own. This perhaps springs from his conviction that the preaching of the gospel is not simply a report about Jesus Christ. Instead, the reality of God's reign, the gospel message concerning the wisdom and power of God, and the hope of final vindication for the righteous will be mediated through the whole of his apostolic existence. As Fee rightly summarized, 'the *form* of the preacher and his preaching, which bears the same character as the message itself – 'weakness.'¹⁰² That is why Paul characterized both the form of his preaching and his own existence as 'weakness' through which the power of God is at work by the Spirit.

¹⁰² Fee, *1 Corinthians* 90.

Chapter 6

Integration and Discussion

The starting point of the study was the observation that Paul frequently appeals to the book of Isaiah, along with other scriptural texts, when he relates his Gentile mission and explicates the significance of his gospel. Amongst the various scriptural voices, Isaiah certainly is one of the most significant authoritative partners with whom Paul seeks to dialogue.¹ The significance of Isaiah to Paul is indicated not only by the many and varied forms of appropriation of the Isaianic texts, but also by the fact that he emphatically introduces his citations by the name of the prophet (e.g. Ro. 9:29; 10:16; 20, 21).² It seems, therefore, Isaiah plays an important role in developing Paul's thought. Without examining the evoked texts of Isaiah, one might miss important themes and contours of Paul's discourse that can shed light on Paul's struggles to understand his Gentile mission in the wider context of God's salvation plan envisaged in Israel's Scripture.

As argued in the introductory chapter, in order to understand each sample passage in its own terms thereby to avoid premature judgment on its contribution to Paul's overarching concern of his Gentile mission, our analysis of the sample passages of allusions and citations in Paul's *Hauptschrift* is conducted on a letter by letter basis according to the order as they appeared in the flow of Paul's argument, taking consideration of their original literary context in Isaiah. The inductive analysis in the preceding chapters offered us an overview of the distinctiveness of Paul's use of

¹ The idea of viewing intertextuality as a form of dialogue is expressed by Richard Hays who designates his study as an attempt to understand the 'intertextual conversation between Paul and the voice of Scripture.' Hays, *Echoes* 35.

² This is very different from the way in which Isaiah is used within the *Apocrypha* and *Pseudepigrapha*, where there is wide spread use of the materials of Isaiah but with very few of the quotations from the book attributed to the prophet. In addition, the prophet is rarely mentioned by name in these writings. The mention of 'the scripture of Isaiah' in 4 Mac 18:14 in the quotation of Isa. 43:2 is the only exceptional case. For more discussion on this, see Michael A. Knibb, 'Isaianic Traditions in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha,' in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition*, eds., Craig C. Broyles and Craig A. Evans (2 Vols.; VTSup 70.2; Leiden: Brill, 1997) 2:633-50.

Isaiah in each of the letters we examined, both in terms of the Isaianic themes on which Paul focuses and the historical situation in which Paul conducts his ministry.

In this chapter we will first summarize some of the major findings in each of the preceding chapters. Then we will make some observations on the distinctive characteristics of Paul's interpretation of Isaiah. In addition, we will integrate the data scattered in various Pauline epistles under four discrete headings, namely (a) The suffering Servant, Jesus and Paul; (b) The salvation of Israel; (c) The gospel and the anti-idolatry polemics; (d) The inclusion of the Gentiles into God's people. These headings reflect the most significant aspects of Isaianic influence on Paul's conception of his Gentile mission. The significance of these Isaianic influence is detected on the basis of the volume and intensity in each of the particular letters and/or various forms of recurrence in various Pauline letters. It was hoped, in conceiving of Paul's Isaianic citations and allusions as indicators of his hermeneutical framework, that a more foundational underlying organizing principle might be discovered. At the end of this chapter, we will conduct a brief survey of the portrayal of Paul as found in the book of Acts. Since the author of Acts is believed to be a travel companion of Paul and the book is composed around the turn of the first century, it will be illuminating to see how this author who lived in contemporary of Paul interpreted Paul's mission in the light of Isaiah. The purpose of the survey is to show that our understanding of Paul's self-conception of his Gentile mission can find support in early Christian literature, and thereby the claims of the present study is further substantiated.

I. A Summary of Findings

This study has examined the instances of Isaianic texts as found in the four of the undisputed authentic Pauline letters. Paul's use of Isaiah in Galatians is explored in chapter 2. The chapter examined three instances of Isaianic text in Galatians, one citation (Isa. 54:1//Gal. 4:27) and two allusions (Isa. 49:1-6//Gal. 1:15-16; Isa. 54:9-12//Gal. 6:15-16). Three conclusions have been reached on the basis of the sample texts examined. First, Paul's use of the Isaianic texts and phraseology intends to refer, not simply to the actual words or phrases cited, but to the wider literary context, i.e. the whole passage surrounding the quoted or alluded text. Second, the salvation story centring on the Servant figure in Isaiah has played a significant role in Paul's self-conception of his mission. Particularly striking is that Paul identifies his ministry

with that of the Isaianic Servant whose mission was to bring salvation to all nations. Third, we have shown that ‘new creation’ is one of dominant Isaianic themes running across the entire letter. This is reflected in the fact that Paul describes his missionary calling and his conversion in new creation terms, i.e. as the result of God’s creative act (Gal. 1:15-16; 2:8-9). Paul sees the inception of his Gentile mission as well his new life in Christ as embodiment of the new creation envisaged in Isaiah. In addition, Paul also employs new creation motif in his delineation of the nature of Christian communities.

Paul’s use of Isaiah in Romans 9-11 and 14-15 is explored in chapters 3 and 4 respectively. Thirteen sample texts were investigated. We discovered that the Isaianic references in Romans are particularly relevant to three aspects of Paul’s understanding of the Gentile mission. First, the Isaianic prophecy regarding Israel’s rejection to God illuminate Paul as he seeks to make sense of the Jewish unbelief to the gospel and their future hope rooted in divine promises. By interacting intensively with the Isaianic texts, along with other scriptural texts, Paul demonstrates from the Scripture that God remains to be righteous and faithful to Israel despite Israel’s apparent failure (Ro. 9:6, 27-29, 33; 10:15-16; 20-21; 11:26-27). In support of his argument that the formation and the continuing existence of God’s people are entirely dependent upon divine grace and mercy, Paul refers to Isa. 1:9, 28:22, alongside with texts from Genesis and Deuteronomy, to show how Israel was preserved as a remnant in times of judgment in the past. Meanwhile, the Isaianic references are also used as divine pronouncement of judgment on human pride and disobedience to God regarding his plan of salvation (e.g. Isa. 29:16, 45:9//Ro. 9:20-21; Isa. 40:13, 28:16//Ro. 10:11; Isa. 65:2//Ro. 10:21). The remnant motif derived from Isa. 10:22-23 and 1:9 runs across Romans 9-11 (e.g. Ro. 9:24-29, 11:1-6; 13-14). As such, Paul affirms through his reading of Scripture the abiding and special position that historical Israel occupies in the salvation history.

Second, the Isaianic references are relevant to the content and implications of Paul’s gospel. The gospel that Paul proclaims centres upon the reign of God, as envisaged in Isa. 52:7 (Ro. 10:14-17), which is already inaugurated by the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ (Ro. 1:3-4, 9), who is both the Suffering Servant (Isa. 53:1//Ro. 10:16, Isa. 52:15//Ro. 15:14-21) and the coming Davidic king (Isa. 59:20-

21//Ro. 11:26-27). Although Paul never uses the Isaianic texts as proof text to Jesus' identity, he nevertheless attempts to show christological relevancy of the Isaianic texts surrounding the Isaianic Servant (e.g. Isa. 53:1; 52:7; 53:15) and some of the passages about the messianic hope in the David king (e.g. Isa. 28:16; 8:14; 59:20) in the course of his argument.

Finally, the Isaianic texts are appropriated to illuminate Paul's understanding of his Gentile mission. He believes that Israel's rejection of the gospel (Isa. 53:1), though a tormentous reality for Paul (Ro. 9:1-3; 10:1), has nevertheless mysteriously served to advance the spreading of the gospel to the Gentiles, which are occurring in accordance with the purpose of God, as foretold by the prophet Isaiah (Isa. 65:1; cf. Hos. 2:25, 1). In the light of the vision of Isaiah that Gentiles will join Israel in priestly service of God in the temple, Paul describes his Gentile ministry in terms of priestly service (Ro. 1:9), characterizing himself as a priestly figure, bringing the Gentiles, along with their offering, to God as an offering (Ro. 15:16). Meanwhile, Paul views the Gentiles, having being sanctified by God, as participating in the priestly service (Ro. 15:27ff). The radical conception of a priesthood extended to the Gentiles is intimately related to Paul's understanding of the ministry of Christ who welcomes/receives both Jews and Gentiles (Ro. 15:7-9). As such, Paul finds his mission to the Gentiles as bringing the end-time salvation into fulfilment.

Chapter 5 explores Paul's handling of Isaiah in 1 and 2 Corinthians. Four passages were examined, two citations (1Cor. 1:19//Isa. 29:14; 2 Cor. 6:2//Isa. 49:8) and two allusions (1 Cor. 1:17//Isa. 61:1; 2 Cor. 4:11//Isa. 53:12). The purpose of Paul's appropriation of the Isaianic texts in the Corinthian correspondence is three-fold. First, he attempts to illustrate from Isaianic prophecy that the promised salvation in Isaiah has finally found its fulfilment in the present time (2 Cor. 6:2), reminding his first audience that they are living in the 'eschatological now'. Second, the gospel of Christ offers a radical challenge to human wisdom because it is the manifestation of God's wisdom and power to save those who trust in him. Paul appeals to the larger story of Israel's rejection to God's means of salvation delineated in Isa. 28-29 to argue that the worldly wisdom and power will be frustrated by the gospel (1 Cor. 1:19//Isa. 29:14). Finally, again in the Corinthians Paul seeks to draw a close connection of the Servant's suffering in his ministry to that of Jesus and his own,

indicating that he sees himself as a living embodiment of the Jesus, and his ministry an extension of the mission of the Servant (1 Cor. 1:17; 2 Cor. 4:11).

II. Distinctive Characteristics of Paul's Interpretation of Isaiah

The ways in which Paul appropriates the scriptural text are varied. In some cases the appropriated text is introduced by an explicit citation formula, while in other cases the appropriation seems to be strongly suggestive rather than explicit. The citations and allusions of Isaiah in Paul's writings are taken from various parts of the canonical Isaiah, including so-called First- (e.g. Isa. 10:22, 1:9, and 28:22 in Ro. 9:27-29; Isa. 8:14 and 28:16 in Ro. 32-33; Isa. 11:10 in Ro. 15:16), Second- (Isa. 52:7 in Ro. 10:15; Isa. 53:1 in Ro. 10:16; Isa. 45:23 in Ro. 14:11; Isa. 52:15 in Ro. 15:21), and Third- Isaiah (Isa. 65:1-2 in Ro. 10:20-21). Therefore, it is clear that Paul reads the whole prophecy of Isaiah as a unified prophetic testimony to the subject on which he expounds in the course of his argument. As far as textual form is concerned, in most cases, Paul's citations and allusions reflects a variety of ways in which he appropriates the Isaianic texts. The possibility of the existence of a different *Vorlage* cannot be completely eliminated, but it is equally possible that he modifies or translates the text in a way to better serve the purpose of his argument.

a. The influence of the original context of the texts

Our examination of Paul's use of the Isaianic texts has shown that in many cases Paul is familiar with the broader context surrounding the texts from they are taken. Instead of simply borrowing certain words and phrases to convey his own ideas, Paul's use of the Isaianic texts has demonstrated that he intends to evoke the larger literary context of the texts. The most significant cases are attested in his use of Isaianic servant passages (Isa. 49 and 52-53), from which many of the significant notions concerning the scope of mission, the implications of the gospel, and the salvation of Israel pertinent to Paul's self-understanding of his Gentile mission can be found.

The awareness of the larger context of the appropriated text does not seem to have limited Paul's application of the texts to a different historical context that is far

removed from the original. Paul's characteristic use of Isaiah is that while he is faithful to the actual context of Isaiah, his interpretation may be considered both subversive and radically challenging to modern readers. This is because although Paul is well-versed in Scriptures and is very likely familiar with the narrative context of the Isaianic texts, his application of the text is neither confined by or limited to the particularities of the specific historical event. Rather, Paul seeks to draw out the theological implications from the parallel texts. In other words, the point of contact between Paul's application of a text and the meaning of the text in its original narrative context is its theological significance, but not the particularities of the events. This is best illustrated by his application of Isaiah 28-29 to Jews in Ro. 9:20-21 and 9:30 and the Gentiles in 1 Cor. 1:19. In their Isaianic context, these texts speak of Israel's rejection to Yahweh's promise of salvation and seeking other forms of deliverance. Paul appropriates three different portions of this body of material to expose the futility and inappropriateness of man in challenging Yahweh's salvation plan. Instead of extracting the verses from the sacred text out of their original context for proof-texting, Paul has drawn upon the theological specificity of the text in support of his argument on the impartiality of divine mercy and the creative power of divine election.

b. The relationship between Paul's theology and hermeneutics

To a certain extent, Paul's reading of Isaiah is shaped by his theology, in particular his Christology,³ but whether his theology is derived from the reading of the scriptural text has been a matter of contention. E. P. Sanders argues that it is Paul's theology that leads Paul's interpretation of the text. Sanders remarks, 'Most of Paul's argument are based on Scripture, but we can hardly think simply by reading the Scripture he came to the view that obedience to the commandments contained in it is not a prerequisite for righteousness. We see, rather, that he arrived at a position

³ Lim has observed that Paul's experience of Jesus and understanding of the significance of the cross is central to his hermeneutics. To Lim, the most decisive source of Paul's hermeneutics is his experiential encounter with the divine in Jesus Christ. Particularly Paul's belief in Jesus as the Christ does not come from a vigorous study of the Torah but drawn from his encounter with Christ in revelatory visions. Lim has concluded that Jewish interpretive traditions as well as Israel's Scripture function only as an interpretive framework within which he work, 'but his hermeneutics and exegetical endeavours have their source beyond these boundaries.' T. H. Lim, *Holy Scripture in the Qumran Commentaries and Pauline Letters* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997) 176.

which led him to read Scripture and to understand God's intention in a new light.'⁴ In other words, Sanders suggests that Paul's exegesis is no more than presenting *a priori* theological claims in the guise of interpretation of the Scripture. The implication of Sanders view is that there is no real significance in Paul's exegesis to the formation of his theology. The essence of Sanders' view has been summarized succinctly by Watson who writes: '[in Sanders view], Paul's disagreement with Judaism derives from a Christological conviction that is self-grounded and self-sufficient, and that the pervasive appeal to scripture is merely a secondary consequence of that primary conviction. In this account, the relationship between Christology and scripture is a unilateral one: Christology determines how scripture is read, but Christology itself is not itself determined by the reading of the Scripture. In the last resort, that would mean that scripture is dispensable for Paul. His Christology stands or falls on its own account, irrespective of whether it issues in plausible readings of scripture. It is only his polemical or apologetic concerns that lead him into extensive exegetical engagement, forcing him to defend his Christological conviction on ground that is less than ideal for his purposes.'⁵

The other end of the spectrum, there is the view represented by Hofius, who argues that Paul's understanding of his Gentile mission and God's mystery of salvation is entirely founded on the basis of his reading of the Scripture.⁶ He contends that it is not necessary from the experience of 'revelation' as described in 2 Cor. 12:1ff or any kind of unmediated prophetic 'intuition', but rather from the Scripture that Paul learns and understands God's mystery concerning the salvation of Israel and, in fact, all humanity.⁷ He writes, 'Paulus kann das »Mysteriums« sehr wohl aus der *Heiligen Schrift* gewonnen haben; denn auch durch Gott aus der Schrift Erschlossenes wird im antiken Judentum als »Geheimnis« bezeichnet.'⁸ Paul does not merely obtain the understanding of God's mystery in Ro. 11:25b-27 from reading the Scripture, Hofius

⁴ E. P. Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People* 46.

⁵ Francis Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith* 16.

⁶ Otfried Hofius, 'Das Evangelium und Israel: E

⁷ He writes, 'Diese Erkenntnis [des in 11, 25b-27 mitgeteilten »Mysteriums«] – so dürfen wir feststellen – muß nicht notwendig auf einer besonderen »Offenbarung« im Sinne der von 2Kor 12,1ff oder auf einer unmittelbaren prophetische »Eingebung« beruhen.' Hofius, 'Das Evangelium,' 200.

⁸ Hofius, 'Das Evangelium,' 200. Emphasis is his.

continues to argue, Paul seeks all the answers to the questions regarding God's salvation plan from Israel's Scripture.⁹

From the evidence we gathered in the previous chapters suggest that both of the above views are incorrect. Paul's exegesis of the text on the one hand demonstrated that there indeed seems to be a vintage point from which all his exegesis starts, which is God's promises and salvation plan in history; but on the other hand Paul's reading of a text is strongly shaped and confined by the biblical text in front of him. In his struggling to make sense of the outworking of God's salvation plan in the real life situation in which Paul fulfils his mission, Paul reads the Isaianic text in dialogue with his theology. In other words, Paul's theology and hermeneutics are in dialogue with one another. This view is supported by Richard Hays. Hays holds a similar view that Paul's interpretation of the scripture should be characterized as 'dialogical', which means Paul's interpretation represents a dialogue with the ancient text. Hays remarks that Paul's interaction with the Scripture 'plays a constitutive role' in shaping his theology as reflected in his various letters. Hays says, 'The vocabulary and cadences of Scripture – particularly the LXX – are imprinted deeply on Paul's mind, and the great stories of Israel continue to serve for him as a fund of symbols and metaphors that condition his perception of the world, of God's promised deliverance of his people, and of his own identity and calling.'¹⁰

In addition, our analysis also shows that Paul's interpretative goal is not limited to the tracing of the origin of the Christian community, neither does Paul limits his appropriation of Isaianic texts to proof-texting the identity of Jesus Christ, though in some texts he does so by means of inexplicit implication rather than explicit statements (e.g. Isa. 10:22-23//Ro. 9:27-28; Isa. 1:9//Ro. 9:29; Isa. 28:16 and 8:14//Ro. 9:33; cf. Hos. 2:25, 1//Ro. 9:25-26). The lack of Christological proof texting in Paul's application of Isaianic text has led Hays to the conclusion that Paul's

⁹ Hofius writes, 'Die zahlreichen Schriftzitate, die sich in Röm 9-11 finden, zeigen deutlich genug, daß Paulus die Antwort auf das ihn bewegende Israel-Problem in der *Schrift* gesucht und gefunden hat.' Hofius, 'Das Evangelium,' 201.

¹⁰ Richard Hays, *Echoes of Scripture* 31.

hermeneutics is best described as ecclesiocentric.¹¹ He writes, ‘Paul shows relatively little interest in messianic prooftexts,’ although he concedes that ‘the messianic exegesis of scripture might be assumed as presuppositional background to Paul’s interpretations.’¹²

From the analysis in the previous chapters, we discover that Paul’s ecclesiology cannot be isolated from his Christology, soteriology and eschatology. While it is true that the identity of Jesus does not emerge to be an issue of contention for Paul’s intended audience, and thus Paul does not adduce scriptural texts to prove Jesus is the Messiah *per se*, the soteriological and christological orientation and emphasis in his use of Isaiah should nevertheless not be ignored. More specifically, in Ro. 9-11 although Paul’s central concern is God’s faithfulness expressed in his promise and his salvific activities in Christ for the formation of a new humanity, he has never lost sight of the significance of the role of the Messiah throughout his argumentation.

Therefore, Paul’s conception of salvation of Israel should not be understood in isolation from his understanding of Jesus and his soteriology. The citations and allusions as well as his interpretation of these texts should be viewed as a window through which the more fundamental issues of Paul’s theology and christology that undergird his self-understanding and his Gentile mission can be observed. There is in fact an interconnectedness of Christology and soteriology to ecclesiology in Pauline letters. For example, Paul frequently draws on Isaianic texts to delineate the eschatological hope of Israel’s salvation, and in many instances, the cited texts are significantly christologically relevant (e.g. Isa. 52:7, 53:1, 52:15 etc). Therefore, the classification of Paul’s hermeneutical practice into christocentric, ecclesiocentric, or theocentric is not as clear-cut as it first may appear. Watson’s caution is worth noting, ‘It would be wise to avoid characterizing Paul’s exegesis here in terms such as “ecclesiocentric” or “theocentric”, since what is at issue is not the church or God *per*

¹¹ He characterizes Paul’s use of Scripture as follows, ‘What Paul finds in Scripture, above all else, is a prefiguration of the *church* as the people of God. ...Paul uses Scripture primarily to shape his understanding of the community of faith; conversely, Paul’s experience of the Christian community – composed of Jews and Gentiles together – shapes his reading of Scripture. In short, Paul operates with an *ecclesiocentric* hermeneutic.’ Hays, *Echoes of Scripture* 85

¹² Hays, *Echoes of Scripture* 85, 86.

se but the people of God as constituted by the divine electing decision.¹³ Therefore, we should avoid characterizing Paul's interpretation narrowly in these kinds of categories. This is because of the inseparable connectedness in Paul's theology, Christology, ecclesiology and hermeneutics.

c. The eschatological hope in the historical situation

Paul's interpretive strategy seems to share with the widespread expectation of the intervention of Israel's God in human history, an expectation held by many Jewish groups in the Second Temple period.¹⁴ Studies of the Jewish literatures in this period have shown that the restoration of Israel, the defeating of Israel's enemies and the coming of a new kingdom are some of the prevalent expectations in those times.¹⁵ As N. T. Wright rightly observed, many Jews were earnestly awaiting a greater deliverance is yet to come.¹⁶ Wright writes, 'Although she [Israel] has come back from Babylon, the glorious message of the prophets remained unfulfilled, Israel still remained in thrall to foreigners; worse, Israel's god had not returned to Zion.'¹⁷ Like many of the Jews of the first century, Paul believes that the present history is not the fulfilment of prophecy of deliverance that envisaged in Isaiah.

For Paul, the eschatological hope envisaged in Isaiah and other Scriptures entails the expectation of new revelation and new acts of God. But Paul's view is distinctive in two aspects. First, he believes that the Christ-event has confirmed the promise of God. The eschatological salvation is already inaugurated and the present time is the 'eschatological now' (2 Cor. 6:2//Isa. 49:8). Therefore there is certainty for the final consummation of the eschatological salvation of all Israel (Ro. 11:25).

¹³ Francis Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith* 20.

¹⁴ For a discussion of the widespread belief of the continuation of the exilic state in this period, see Craig A. Evans, 'Jesus and the Continuing Exile of Israel,' in Carey C. Newman, *Jesus and the Restoration of Israel: A Critical Assessment of N. T. Wright's Jesus and the Victory of God* (Downers Grove: IVP, 1999) 77-100.

¹⁵ E.g. Richard A. Horsley and John S. Hanson, *Bandits, Prophets and Messiahs: Popular Movements at the Times of Jesus* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1985) 135-89.

¹⁶ N. T. Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God* (London: SPCK, 1992) 268-70.

¹⁷ Wright, *The New Testament* 269-70.

Second, Paul sees in Christ that the hope of Israel lies precisely in God's way of fulfilment – the paradoxical death of the Israel's Messiah. The scandal of the cross is exactly the death of Messiah. In this sense, Paul's interpretation of the text is not to 'spiritualize' the scriptural text so as to establish that Christians has replaced the Jews. Rather, he seeks to understand how God works his purpose out in the historical context and the ethnic Israel in the light of the new aeon inaugurated through the death and resurrection of Jesus, Israel's Messiah.

Having summarized the significant findings of Paul's appropriation of Isaianic texts in his major undisputed authentic letters, we are now in a better position to integrate the findings and to explore how the various Isaianic passages are interpreted and transformed by Paul as he reflects on these prophetic words in the light of Christ event, and how these Isaianic passages shape and inform Paul's self-conception of his own Gentile mission. In the following, various references to Isaiah in the writings of Paul that we have analyzed in preceding chapters will be grouped thematically under four discrete headings, namely: (a) The suffering servant, Jesus and Paul; (b) The salvation of Israel; (c) The gospel and the anti-idolatry polemics; (d) The inclusion of the Gentiles into God's people. These headings represent the four major aspects in which Paul's interactions with Isaiah are most frequent and intense. Only after a clearer picture on how these Isaianic texts have shaped and informed Paul's reflection on his Gentile mission can we answer the question why the book of Isaiah is so important to Paul, which will be discussed in the final chapter of the study.

III. Aspects of Isaianic Influence on Paul's Conception of his Gentile Mission

a. The suffering servant, Jesus and Paul himself

The assessment of Paul's appropriation of Isaiah in the previous chapters has revealed that Paul has a good knowledge of passages that modern scholarship has identified as Isaianic Servant songs.¹⁸ The explicit citations of Isa. 53:1 (Ro. 10:16),

¹⁸ In Romans Paul cites altogether three passages from Isaiah 52. First, in Ro. 2:24 Paul quotes Isa. 52:5 to demonstrate that failure of Israel has brought shame to God's name. This cited passage is taken from a divine soliloquy, in which Yahweh is mourning over the misery of his people and the honour of his name being threatened. Second, in Ro. 10:15b, Paul cites Isa. 52:7 to confirm that the messengers of the good news are indeed sent by God. Third, and more significantly, in Ro. 11:21 Paul

Isa. 52:15 (Ro. 15:21), Isa. 49:7 (2 Cor. 6:2) are found in more than one Pauline epistles, and strong cases of allusion have been detected at various points, including Isa. 49:1-6 in Gal. 1:15-16; and Isa. 52: 6, and 11-12 in Ro. 4:25. In addition, Paul also lavishly draws upon some of the Isaianic passages that are interpreted messianically both in early Christian and Jewish literature, which include Isa. 52:7 (Ro. 10:15), Isa. 59:20 (Ro. 11:26), Isa. 11:10 (Ro. 15:12), and he applies them to Jesus. Paul does not hesitate to draw on the phrases and concepts from these Isaianic Servant passages in his elucidation of the significance of Jesus' vicarious death and resurrection, (e.g. Isa. 53: 6, 11, and 12 in Ro. 4:25), the eschatological hope that the Messiah of Israel would bring (Isa. 53:1 and 52:7 in Ro. 10:15-16).¹⁹ These texts are framed in the literary context within which Israel's hope is envisaged. Although there is a lack of explicit proof text for Jesus as the Messiah, many of the Isaianic citations and allusions that we have examined demonstrate their christological and soteriological relevancy in their literary contexts (e.g. Isa. 53:12 in 2 Cor. 4:11; Isa. 49:8 in 2 Cor. 6:2).

Therefore, the evidence for Paul's use of Isaianic Servant passages is uncontested, but the way in which Paul appropriates these texts has puzzled many scholars. This is because Paul nowhere cites these texts as proof text to the claims of Jesus' ministry or identity. In many occasions, he simply alludes to these passages but is silent on the hermeneutical mode that underlies such usage. He also does not overtly quotes the Isaianic Servant passages to prove that Jesus is the fulfilment of the Servant of Yahweh foretold in Isaiah, as other Gospel authors do. Yet, the larger context of Paul's argument within which these many instances of intertextual echoes operate indicates that the notion is assumed. This is especially clear when Paul designates his gospel message as a message concerning the Isaianic Servant (Isa. 53:1//Ro.10:16; Isa. 52:15//Ro. 15:21). The most clearly expressed idea, of course, is still that Jesus is an example of the Servant of Yahweh par excellence (Isa. 53:6, 11, 12//Gal. 2:20).

cites Isa. 52:15, which falls within the so-called 'fourth Servant song', in order to justify his strategy of preaching in areas where people have not heard of the gospel. It is reasonable to suggest that Isaiah 52 is an important passage for Paul that informs his reflection on his gospel and the eschatological hope of salvation.

¹⁹ Cf. Ro. 4:25 and Gal. 2:20//Isa. 53:6, 11, 12; Ro. 5:6, 8//Isa. 53:8; Ro. 5:19b//Isa. 53:11; Ro. 8:32//Isa. 53:6; Ro. 8:31b, 33-34//Isa. 50:8-9.

What is more striking in Paul's appropriation of Isaianic Servant passages is that Paul attempts to link himself so closely to this Suffering Servant. As seen in previous analysis, languages and concepts from passages related to Isaianic Servant are readily detected in Paul's description of his own suffering and mission in fulfilling his apostolic ministry, indicating that Paul seeks to relate his mission and suffering in the course of his ministry to the Isaianic Servant. One of the most remarkable examples is found in his allusion to Isa. 61:1-2, a passage that Luke interprets Christologically and other early Jewish literature applies to the messianic figure, but is appropriated by Paul to his interpretation of his own ministry (1 Cor. 1:17). Apart from identifying himself as the Servant of Yahweh who is called by God to preach the good news to the Gentiles (Gal. 1:15-16//Isa. 49:1-6), Paul also sees the present time in the light of the eschatological salvation envisaged in Isaiah (2 Cor. 6:2//49:8). The death and resurrection of Christ announces the passing away of the old aeon and the coming of the new. For Paul, if any one is united with Christ, then he will no longer live in the old aeon, but rather will be a new creation living in the new aeon (2 Cor. 5:17).

It is clear that Paul's use of the Isaianic Servant passage is distinct and creative, defying easy categorization. Considering the nature and dating of Paul's letters, some possible explanations can be suggested. First, one of the most obvious explanations is that the identity of Jesus is not the subject of contention for his audience. Most of his occasional letters were dealing with the pastoral issues that the churches were facing and sometimes issues related to his own apostolic identity and authority. Meanwhile, Paul's gospel message is nevertheless centring on Jesus the Crucified and Jesus the Israel's Messiah. Therefore, the association between the Servant of Yahweh and Jesus seems to be either assumed or is in the initial stage of development. One may suggest the expressions that associate Jesus with the Isaianic Suffering Servant are derived from traditional creedal formula in early Christianity, and Paul was simply adopting them from tradition when he composed his letters. This explanation cannot be entirely ruled out, but the problem is that no extant written evidence that are earlier than Pauline writings can be found. If we believe Paul's writing is earlier than the gospels and other New Testament writings, then

Paul might be one of the earliest Christian authors who pioneered to articulate Jesus' ministry in terms of Isaianic Servant.

Tracing back the origin of Jesus and the Isaianic Servant is worthwhile for a project on its own and is beyond the scope of this study. It must suffice to acknowledge that for Paul the mission of the Servant is fulfilled in terms Jesus' sacrificial death for the sins of men, which has brought the blessing of Israel to the Gentiles. In this sense, Christ Jesus is the Servant *par excellence*. Soteriologically, Paul does affirm that Jesus' death distinctively bears the atoning significance for the sins of all people (Ro. 3:25) and his resurrection has effected redemptive power for the justification of sinners (Ro. 4:25) and has brought reconciliation of God to the world (Ro. 5:9-11).²⁰ Typologically Paul presents Jesus' suffering and humble service in Ro. 15:1-9 to illustrate the assurance of hope of salvation that is promised in Scripture. Paul has highlighted the fact that Jesus lived a life which is characterized by forbearance of insults and not self-seeking, becoming a servant of the Jew in manifestation of God's faithfulness and mercy. Existentially, Paul repeatedly exhorts his first audience to follow the example of Christ whose sacrificial love and death leaves his followers a form of existence that manifests and effects the power of resurrection in the midst of suffering and death in the present time.

If proving Jesus to be the Suffering Servant is not what Paul was intended when he appeals to these texts, what then Paul intended? It seems since the Isaianic servant passages are closely related to the Messianic hope in Paul's time, Paul intends to evoke two different but closely related schemata of Jesus. First, the application of the messianic passages to the person of Jesus evinces Israel's great hope of the coming of the Messiah and the revelation of the eschatological salvation of Israel and God's glory. Second, the allusion to the Isaianic Servant not only recalls the subject of the good news that Paul and his fellow evangelists proclaim but also indicates Paul's conviction that this Davidic Messiah is at the same time the Suffering Servant who died for the sin of the world. By appropriation of the Isaianic Servant motif to

²⁰ Paul's constant recognition of the soteriological significance of Christ's ministry is also noticed by David M. Stanley, 'The Theme of the Servant of Yahweh in Primitive Christian Soteriology, and its Transposition by St. Paul,' *CBQ* 16 (1954) 385-425.

description of the ministry of Jesus Christ, Paul attempts to establish that the good news that is now proclaimed through apostolic preaching is in continuity with the good news that was first proclaimed by the messengers in Isaiah.

As for the question in what manner Paul sees himself in relation to the Isaianic Servant, we may conclude that Paul identifies himself with the Servant figure by means of total identification with Jesus Christ, who is the fulfilment of the Servant par excellence. The preceding investigation shows that Paul understands that the Isaianic Servant whom God has called to be the light to the nations is both corporate Israel and an embodiment of an individual within Israel. It is the Israel within Israel that is made visible throughout the salvation history (especially in Romans). As Paul wrestles with the issue of the Jews' unbelief, he understands that the history of Israel showed that the majority of them failed the task and a remnant is preserved to carry on the task of witnessing. As a remnant of Israel, Paul understands that he is called to continue to take up the role of the Servant by carrying the good news of God's reign to the ends of the earth (Isa. 66:20). Therefore, Paul is aware of the fact that he is specially called to fulfil the task that is entrusted to him, that is, to preach the good news of Christ amongst the Gentiles. He regards the commission of preaching as something that is 'committed to' him. He says, 'for I am compelled to preach. Woe to me if I do not preach the gospel! If I preach voluntarily, I have a reward; if not voluntarily, I am simply discharging the trust committed to me' (1 Cor. 9:16-18). In addition, when Paul speaks of the apostolic commission, he also refers its origin to divine grace that is given him. He writes, 'For I am the least of the apostles and do not even deserve to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the church of God. But by the grace of God I am what I am, and his grace to me was not without effect. No, I worked harder than all of them – yet not I, but the grace of God that was with me' (1 Cor. 15:9-10). In short, Paul sees himself specially chosen by God from Israel for the purpose of fulfilling the mission entrusted to the Servant Israel, which is fulfilled by Jesus Christ.

Therefore, the significance of Paul's application of the Isaianic Servant passages to himself does not seem to lie in presenting the apostle himself as the fulfilment of the prefigured Servant of the prophetic text, but rather, it signifies the continuity of Christ's ministry in which Paul the apostle and his associates are now involved. In

Paul's view, the mission of the Isaianic Servant is first and foremost completely fulfilled by Jesus Christ. Paul finds his life entirely identified with Christ by announcing that he is crucified with Christ. Paul seeks to live a life that is in total identification with that of Christ. He even says, 'I have been crucified with Christ; it is no longer I who live, but Christ who lives in me; and the life I now live in flesh I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me' (Gal. 2:20). To live by faith that is of the Son of God is nothing less than to live out the faithfulness of Christ. It seems that Paul does not understand himself as a redemptive figure, like Jesus himself, but he is playing a similar mediatory role in the salvation history of God. This is because for Paul the preaching of Christ is in fact effecting the salvation in the sense that the life and power of Christ in the Spirit of God is brought to manifestation. The good news is about the hope of manifestation of God's reign. The repetition of Isaianic Servant phraseology and concepts throughout the Pauline letters reflects the thought world of the apostle Paul, who through a radical application and reinterpretation of these relevant passages, connects his life to the life of Christ whose sacrificial death is a demonstration of divine power at work in the present. In so doing, Paul sees his mission as an extension of Jesus' ministry. In this manner, Paul connects his life to the Isaianic Servant through his identification with Jesus. In other words, Paul understands his own ministry and apostolic existence as a continuation of that of Christ Jesus, in fulfilment of the good news foretold by the prophetic words of Isaiah concerning the Servant of the Lord.

b. The salvation of Israel and Paul's Gentile mission

Our analysis has demonstrated that the issue concerning the salvation of historical Israel constitutes an integral part of Paul's understanding of his Gentile mission, which is most clearly reflected in Romans 9-11. For Paul, the existence of Israel as God's people represents the faithfulness of God to his promises. Without the faithfulness of God as its foundation, the missionary activity will prove to be futile. Paul interacts intensely with Isaiah, alongside with other scriptural texts, as he defends the certainty of the salvation of Israel as envisaged the prophecy of Isaiah despite Israel's present dire circumstances. The remnant motif, derived primarily from Isa. 10:20-23 and 1:9, is one of the dominant themes of Isaiah that is foundational to Paul's conception of his Gentile mission.

The remnant motif is presented as a source of hope for the final salvation of Israel despite her rebellion and unfaithfulness in Isa. 10:20-23, as the prophet maintains firmly that the remnant will be born out of a destruction that destroyed Judah. Paul's use of this text betrays a use similar to that of Isa. 1:9 in Ro. 9:29, in which relevance is found on two distinct levels. On the first level, through the use of the remnant motif, Paul establishes that God was responsible for the existence and the survival of the remnant, because God stood in control of history as the sovereign creator of the world. On a deeper level, corresponding to the anticipation of the prophet Isaiah, that Judah would one day turn back and rely only upon Yahweh (Isa. 59:20-21 and 11:10-16), Paul in Ro. 9:27-29 anticipates the day when the remnant will return to God and trust in him when the Messiah appears.

It has been pointed out in chapter 3 that Paul's Gentile mission is in some way driven by his vision of the final salvation of Israel. Although Paul sees himself as an apostle called to preach among the Gentiles (Gal. 1:15-16; Ro. 1:1), he strongly believes that the gospel is to be preached to the Jews first, and also the Greeks (Ro. 1:15). Based on his reading of Isaiah and the reality that a remnant of Israel is preserved in the long history of Israel, even to the time when Paul composed Romans, Paul believes that God's promises to the ethnic Israel have not failed. Even the Gentile mission in which he is involved can serve to promote the salvation of Jews.

Although Paul is convinced that Israel's stumbling serves mysteriously the purpose of making the gospel accessible to the Gentiles, he does not attempt to undermine the rebellious nature of Jewish rejection to Christ and his gospel. If we read Paul's description of Israel's unresponsiveness to the gospel without reference to his use of Isaiah, we may tend to cast Jewish unbelief in an entirely positive light. But the import of Paul's reading of Isaiah prevents such a reading. The preceding investigation has shown that Paul also appropriates Isaianic passages to expose the rebellious rejection of the Jewish people to God. In the light of the Isaianic passages concerning divine judgment to Israel, Paul interprets Jewish rejection to Christ and the gospel as a form of mistrust in and disobedience to God (Isa. 28:16; 8:14). Paul's use of the Isaianic 'stone' passages reflects that he views Israel's stumble as divine indictment for her obdurate self-reliance. By means of connecting Christ and the gospel message with 'the stumbling stone' passage (Ro. 9:32-33; 11:11; 1 Cor. 1:23;

cf. Gal. 5:11), Paul attempts to establish the fact that God has been persistently offering salvation to his people while Israel has been persistently rejecting it.

Finally, our investigation has demonstrated that the unique status of historical Israel in salvation history has neither been displaced nor replaced by the Christian community. In Galatians, Paul is so vehemently to establish the validity of his gospel and the full membership of Gentile Christians that he designates the Christian community with the special term 'Israel of God' and describes Christians as children of the New Jerusalem. While in the Romans, Paul defends with equal rhetorical force for the continual validity of God's promise to Israel and her status as God's people. The seemingly discrepancy between Paul's two views of 'Israel' is by and large arising from the distinctiveness of the two letters. It is clear that Paul would have intended to achieve different rhetorical purposes in response to the different issues that he faces. When we read Paul's view of the historical Israel in the light of his reading of Isaiah in Romans, we will come to understand that the identification of 'Israel of God' in Gal. 6:16 does not suggest that the institution of the church has robbed historical Israel of its special position before God. This is evident in two aspects. First, Paul declares that the Jewish people even in rebellion and unbelief, are 'Israelites', and relates to them all the unique privileges of Israel (Ro. 9: 4-6). Second, Paul is strongly convinced by the Scripture that 'all Israel' will be saved when the divine purpose of salvation of the Gentiles is achieved, and the Messiah will come again to save his own people (Ro. 9:27-29; 11:25-27).

c. The inclusion of the Gentiles into God's people

The theme of inclusion of the Gentiles and the renewal of the people of God play a significant role in Paul's understanding of the Gentile mission. Paul has used a variety of images and concepts from Isaiah in delineating the new body of God's people comprised by believers of Christ. In both Galatians and 1 Corinthians, Paul designates the Christian communities established by the preaching of the gospel as God's new creation in Christ (Gal. 6:15-16; 2 Cor. 5:7), and the children of the New Jerusalem (Gal. 4:27). In the wider Isaianic context, the vision of restoration of Israel is not merely to have the community restored to the previous state of its historic past,

but is the establishment of a new body of humanity that will be transformed so much so that all its members will witness the mighty acts of God (Isa. 43:19-21; 65:17-25).

Paul's Gentile mission is also built on the eschatological hope of having the Jews and the Gentiles in submission to one lordship of Christ and God (Ro. 14:11//Isa. 45:23), praising the glory of God in unison (Ro. 15:12//Isa. 11:10). This union is also manifested in their joining together in the priestly service of Israel's God, which is envisaged in Isaiah 55-66, in particular Isa. 56:5-8. Moreover, in its Isaianic context, the inclusion of Gentiles into the people of God is thematically tied with the mission of Isaianic Servant, whose task is to bring God's salvation and justice to the Gentile nations (Isa. 42:1-4; 49:1-6).

d. The gospel message and the anti-idolatry polemics

Paul deliberately designates his ministry with the technical term 'preaching of the gospel', and we have demonstrated in the previous discussion that the term 'gospel' is very likely derived from the Isaianic texts, in particular Isa. 52:7 (cf. 40:9; 41:27). We have observed that the message of Paul's gospel is essentially concerning the imminent coming of Yahweh to assume his eschatological reign that has in fact already been inaugurated in the death and resurrection of Christ Jesus. The proclamation of the reign of Israel's God, as we have demonstrated, in the historical context within which Paul's missionary activities are conducted, entails a direct confrontation with the other claims of lordship, including that represented by Roman imperial cult and other forms of idol worship.²¹

In addition, the message of the cross is also a challenge to the boasting, self-glorifying and man-centred religions that characterized Graeco-Roman society in which most of Paul's Gentile believers are living. In establishing the supremacy of Christ and God of Israel, Paul deliberately appeals to Isaianic texts that proclaim

²¹ As N. T. Wright has cogently argued, in the framework of imperial cult, there is no clear division between the religious and secular realms. The worship of the ascended emperors entails paying homage to the false gods and lords represented by such activities. N. T. Wright, 'Paul's Gospel and Caesar's Empire,' in *Paul and Politics: Ekklesia, Israel, Imperium, Interpretation. Essays in Honor of Krister Stendahl*, ed., Richard A. Horsley (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2000) 160-83.

Yahweh's exclusive claim as the 'Lord' of all. Paul's announcement of the lordship of Christ and Israel's God is therefore an indictment for and denial of all the competing claims represented by the imperial cults and culture.

IV. The Portrayal of Paul's Mission in Acts

Paul's missionary activity is also described in great details in the book of Acts since Paul is casted as the central character in the second half of this book. Acts is believed to be written by Luke,²² who is also the author of the gospel attributed to his name.²³ He was believed to be a Gentile Christian, a companion of Paul, and was well acquainted with Hellenistic culture and the social elites of that time.²⁴

The reading of Paul's mission in the light of Isaiah in the present study can be supported by the portrayal of Paul as found in Acts. In Acts 13:13-43, Luke gives an extended description of Paul's preaching at the Jewish synagogue in Pisidian Antioch and its aftermath (Acts 13:44-52). As many scholars have rightly observed, the significance of this episode lies not only in the fact that it lays out a paradigm/pattern for Paul's subsequent ministry,²⁵ but also in that Paul explicitly cites Isa. 49:6 in Acts 13:47 in explanation of his Gentile ministry. In particular interesting is that Luke also

²² Many scholars agree that although the Gospel and the book of Acts themselves are anonymous, the traditional view that attributes the two-volume work to the same author, Luke is convincing. For more discussion on the authorship of Luke-Acts, see I. H. Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1978) 33-34; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke: Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (2 vols., AB 28. New York: Doubleday, 1979-86) 1:41; John Nolland, (3 vols.; WBC 35; Dallas: Word Books, 1989-1993) xxxiv-xxxvii; Ben Witherington III, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998) 51-76; Ernst Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971) 90-112.

²³ The literary unity of Luke and Acts is a generally accepted position. For more discussion on the relationship of the Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles, see Nolland, *Luke* 1: xxxiii-iv; Fitzmyer, *Luke* 1:143-258; R. Wallace and W. Williams, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Companion* (London: Bristol Classical Press, 1993) 7; R. F. O'Toole, *The Unity of Luke's Theology: An Analysis of Luke-Acts* (GNS 9; Wilmington: Glazier, 1984).

²⁴ For more discussion of the social location of the author, see Vernon K. Robbins, 'The Social Location of the Implied Author of Luke-Acts,' in *The Social World of Luke-Acts: Models for Interpretation*, ed. Jerome H. Neyrey (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1991) 305-32.

²⁵ James D. G. Dunn, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Epworth Commentary; Peterborough: Epworth Press, 1996) 182.

alludes to Isa. 49:6 in other places of Luke-Acts when he explains the ministry of Jesus Christ (Lk. 2:32; Acts 26:22-23).

In addition to this explicit citation, Luke also alludes to the light to the nations passage in other accounts of Paul's Gentile mission in Acts. For example, in Acts 26:18, Paul's description of his mission as one 'to open their [i.e. the Gentiles] eyes that they may turn from darkness to light.' Furthermore, the Paul in Acts also describes himself as one who is sent to the Gentiles (Acts 26:17) 'to open their eyes' (ἀνοίξαι ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν; Acts 26:18), which strongly echoes the mission of the Servant in Isa. 42:7 (ἀνοίξαι ὀφθαλμοὺς τυφλῶν). Just as the Servant's task is 'to bring out the prisoners from the dungeon, from the prison those who sit in darkness' (Isa. 42:7), so also Paul is sent to the Gentiles so that 'they may turn from darkness to light' (Acts 26:18).

Various strands of evidence we have examined appear to point to the conclusion that Luke also interprets Paul's ministry in the light of Isaiah, in particular with reference to the mission of the Isaianic Servant. Meanwhile, Jesus is also portrayed in the same way.²⁶ In so doing, Luke presents Paul's ministry as an extension of the ministry of Jesus Christ in whom the promises of God's salvation have found their ultimate fulfilment. As many scholars cogently demonstrated, Luke was one of Paul's travelling companions,²⁷ and lived in contemporary with Paul, his interpretation of Paul's understanding of his mission has a significant bearing on our understanding of Paul. Admittedly there are discrepancies between Paul's description of his mission and that in Acts. One of the most significant examples is that in Acts Paul deliberately turned to preach to the Gentiles only after his mission to the Jews was met with rejection (Acts 13-14), while in Pauline letters there is no mention of this point by Paul himself.

²⁶ Robert F. O'Toole, 'How Does Luke Portray Jesus as a Servant of YHWH,' *Biblica* 81 (2000) 328-46.

²⁷ For more discussion on Luke's relationship with Paul, see I. H. Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1978) 33-34; Fitzmyer, *Luke* 1:41; Nolland, *Luke* xxxiv-xxxvii; Ben Witherington III, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998) 51-76; Ernst Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971) 90-112.

Of course to explore the relationship of Paul's self-understanding and the Paul in Acts is worth an independent study of its own, but is beyond the scope of the present study. The brief survey above aims to obtain a sketch how Paul was depicted by his first century companion. The result strongly suggests that the reading of Paul's use of Isaiah in the present study is a possible one. That Paul sees himself in the light of the Isaianic Servant continuing the mission of Jesus is largely in congruent with the interpretation of Paul by his first century companion. If this observation is correct, then much could be made of the historical reliability of Acts' portrayal and interpretation of Paul. Much could also be made of the theological reading of Isaiah in early Christian community. But these considerations are far too complex for this study and will have to wait for further research in the future.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

The objective of this study is to examine how Paul's reading of Isaiah informs and shapes his self-conception of his Gentile mission, with particular focus on his reference to the passages related to the Isaianic Servant in Isaiah 40-66. The previous chapters analyzed most of the important instances of the Isaianic texts in Paul's undisputed authentic epistles and identified some of the significant Isaianic themes based on their recurrence, volume and rhetorical functions achieved in Paul's letters. By way of conclusion, we now address the final two questions with which we began this study: (1) How Paul's own conception of his Gentile mission is shaped and informed by his reading of Isaiah? In other words, how does Paul understand his mission in the light of Isaiah? (2) Why is the book of Isaiah so important to Paul?

I. Paul's Self-Conception of His Gentile Mission in the Light of Isaiah

Paul's self-understanding of his Gentile mission is shaped and informed by his reading of Isaiah in three aspects. First, he perceives his mission in the light of the mission of the Isaianic Servant, in continuation of the ministry of Christ. As mentioned earlier, one of the questions that biblical scholarship has grappled with for many decades is whether Paul sees himself as the Isaianic Servant. The preceding discussion has shown that Paul's identification with the Isaianic Servant is made through his identification with Jesus Christ, who, in Paul's view, is the Servant *par excellence*. This is expressed in Paul's letters not by means of proof-texting, but by evoking the salvation plan of God embedded in the wider literary context of Isaiah and Paul's argument in his letters. The good news of Christ, to which Paul is called to preach among the Gentiles, is a divine pronouncement centring on Yahweh's salvation promise that has found its fulfilment in Christ Jesus. In delineating the implications and contents of his gospel, Paul finds the Isaianic texts concerning the Servant figure are christologically relevant and significant (Ro. 10: 15-16//Isa. 52:7; 53:1; Ro. 4:25//Isa. 53: 6, 11 and 12). More specifically, central to Paul's gospel is that Christ Jesus has inaugurated a new era in which the reign of God is manifested. As a result, the blessings promised to Israel are now extended to the Gentiles. As an

ambassador and a servant of Christ, Paul patterns his life and mission after that of Jesus, not only in terms of outward imitation, but also by means of radical identification, so much so that he makes the bold claim that 'I have been crucified with Christ; it is no longer I who live, but Christ who lives in me' (Gal. 2:20). As such, Paul understands Jesus and himself as enacting and fulfilling the eschatological purpose that God had intended for Israel: to be 'a light for the Gentiles.'

Second, reading through Paul's letters will leave us no doubt that the status of the Gentiles as the people of God and the interpretation of the 'gospel' have been a matter of controversy. In order to argue that Gentile Christians have full membership of God's people without being required to observe the Mosaic Laws, Paul not only employs Isaiah to show that it is God himself that shows mercy to the Gentiles by manifesting himself to them (Isa. 65-66), he also makes the claim that the new community formed by the salvific work of Christ belongs to the New Jerusalem and new creation (Isa. 54, 66). Since the heavenly Jerusalem and the new creation are intimately linked with the mission of Yahweh's Servant, by employing these Isaianic texts Paul again justifies that his mission is integral to the eschatological fulfilment of the mission given by God to his Servant. In other words, Paul sees his Gentile mission as constituting to the realization of the divine plan of salvation, as a continuation of the mission of Jesus.

Finally, the important issues of God's 'rejection' of Israel and the 'replacement' of Israel by the Christian community are also significant to Paul's understanding of his Gentile mission. Paul's appropriation of the Isaianic texts that speak of God's faithfulness to his promises to Israel and the certainty of the reign of God affirm the unique role of historical Israel in the salvation history. The meta-narrative undergirding the ministry of the Isaianic Servant is the divine purpose of restoration of Israel and the creation of a new humanity, comprising Jews and Gentiles, in praise of God (e.g. Isa. 42:1-4; 49:1-7; 52:13-53:15; and 61:1-3). The reading of Isaiah assures Paul that the Servant's ministry as 'a light to the Gentiles' was based on God's faithfulness to Israel, and not the replacement of Israel by other nations. In fact, the Servant's mission is described as one 'to raise up the tribes of Jacob and to restore the preserved of Israel' (Isa. 49:6). Although Paul focuses his ministry on Gentiles, he is always convinced that the unique identity and role of historical Israel

will not be changed, and thus the gospel is meant to be preached ‘to the Jew first and also to the Greek’ (Ro. 1:16; 2:9, 10). As a result, Paul has always kept the overarching salvation plan of God in view. While labouring amongst the Gentiles, Paul has never undermined the significance of Israel. In fact, Paul’s Gentile mission is geared towards the goal of establishing a community comprising both Jews and Gentiles under one lordship of Christ and God (Ro. 14-15).

Their cumulative effect is proved to be able to demonstrate that the promises associated with the mission of the Isaianic Servant have played a vital role in shaping Paul’s self-conception of his Gentile mission. This reading of Paul is largely incongruence with the portrayal of Paul in Acts, in which Paul is also described as a servant of Christ called to be fulfilling the mission of the Isaianic Servant. Paul’s application of the Isaianic Servant text to Jesus Christ and to himself is remarkable. It strongly suggests that there is an intimate relationship between the ministry and that of Paul, both of which are understood in the light of the mission of the Servant figure in Isaiah. All strands of evidence seem to support that Paul understands himself as an extension of mission that is first and foremost fulfilled in and by Jesus Christ.

II. Why was the Book of Isaiah so important to Paul?

Apart from discovering the thematic influence of Isaiah on Paul, our examination of Paul’s use of the Isaianic texts has also shown that in many cases a broader context from which the citations and allusions are taken is in the apostle’s mind. Instead of simply borrowing certain words and phrases to convey his own ideas, Paul intends to evoke the larger story surrounding the cited texts. It is clear that the various instances of Paul’s use of the Isaianic passages, when they are taken together, have made an impressive case for the argument that Paul must have known a substantial amount of Isaianic tradition. The most significant cases are attested in his use of the Isaianic servant passages (Isa. 49, 52-53). The appropriation of the relevant Isaianic texts has helped him articulate his understanding of God’s plan of salvation to Israel and humanity as well his own role as an apostle to the Gentiles. Within this framework, the import of the citation and allusion is given greater clarity. The manner in which Paul appropriates the Scripture shows that his interests move beyond a purely Christological proof-text.

On the basis of what has been discussed so far, we may attempt to proffer some of the possible explanations for the reason why Paul favours this portion of Israel's Scripture. The first reason for his interest in the book of Isaiah is that it contains rich and evocative prophecies concerning the future hope of salvation. Since the outlook of Isaiah is generally futuristic, describing a reality yet to be fulfilled in the future, this particular prophetic book supplies Paul with relevant evidence and phraseology to convey his understanding of the outworking of the salvation plan of God in history and his mission to the Gentiles. The prophecy of Isaiah is presented as the living witness to the outworking of salvation in history. As Paul set forth in the beginning of Romans, the gospel that he was called to preach is first and foremost what God 'promised beforehand through his prophets in the holy writings', which concerns 'his Son' Jesus Christ.

Of particular significance to Paul is the eschatological vision of the New Jerusalem, the inclusion of the Gentiles and the expectation of the new creation, which are all envisaged in these prophecies. Most of the Isaianic texts that Paul appropriates in his epistles appear to involve the issues of the Messianic age and their concomitant effects. Each of these texts functions in a unique manner, linking the discourse of his Gentile mission to the eschatological fulfilment of the salvation plan of God envisaged in Isaiah, and each introducing new material into the flow of his argument, demonstrating in one way or another that his mission is intimately related to Israel's eschatological hope. Central to Paul's belief is the paradoxical death of Israel's Messiah.

A second reason for Paul's deliberate appropriation of Isaiah is due to the widespread influence of Isaiah in the Jewish and Christian communities in the Second Temple period. We have observed that some of the most important passages concerning the Messiah and the eschatological hope with which Paul intensively interacts are also present in other early Jewish and Christian literatures (e.g. Isa. 11:1-10; Isa. 40:1-10; 52:13-53:12; 61:1-3 etc.). This reflects the reality that these different religious groups seek to understand their own present circumstances, the coming of the Messiah and their own identity as people of God in the light of these prophetic words. Moody

Smith was certainly right when he proposed that the reason for Paul's heavy use of the scriptural texts, particularly in Romans and Galatians, was due to his constant encounter with Jewish counterparts.¹ By appealing to the same authoritative sources, Paul enters into dialogue with his Jewish contemporaries in defining their own existence in the framework of salvation history.

The third reason that accounts for Paul's deliberate interaction with Isaiah is perhaps that he has found the book relevant to his understanding of his Gentile mission. The Isaianic Servant passages not only offer him an array of notions pertaining to the ministry of Jesus Christ but also the relevant 'job descriptions' for his own ministry. As Munck succinctly remarked, 'God's dealings in history and God's words in Scripture seemed to go together in Paul's mind. History, he felt, provides us with a motive for searching God's words about what is happening now, while Scripture, in turn, throws light on all that has happened, explains God's underlying mind and will, and gives men cause for praising him.'² As a divinely chosen apostle to the Gentiles, Paul understands his call and commissioning in the light of the Isaianic Servant whose mission is to announce the saving will of God for both Jews and Gentiles. It is Christ Jesus himself who first and foremost has brought the mission of the Isaianic Servant to its fruition. Jesus' death and resurrection has opened up the floodgate of admission of the Gentiles into God's family as Gentiles. It is this worldwide implication of God's salvation that is of particular significance to Paul.

The inductive study of the citations of and allusions to Isaiah in the Pauline epistles points to the variety of ways in which Paul uses Scripture to serve his argumentative purpose in a particular situation. The investigation has shown that there is a three-way interaction at play in Paul's interpretation of Isaiah: the Scriptural text, his missionary situation and the Christ event. When Paul ponders upon the Isaianic texts in the light of the reality of God's salvation revealed through the person of Jesus Christ, the ancient text takes on a fresh meaning.

¹ D. Moody Smith, 'The Pauline Literature,' in *It is Written: Essays in Honour of Barnabas Lindas*, eds., D. A. Carson and H. G. M. Williamson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) 274.

² Munck, *Christ and Israel* 86.

As mentioned earlier, Paul understands that the Scriptures were not merely a historical record of past events. Instead, they were written ‘to teach us so that through endurance and the encouragement of the Scriptures we might have hope’ (Ro. 15:4). Paul views the Scriptural texts as the living word of God speaking in an on-going manner to an audience that is long removed from the time when the texts were written. Our study has demonstrated that there is an intensive interaction between his existential experience, the scriptural tradition and theological reflection. This confirms the observation of Dahl who writes, ‘For Paul, the Holy Scriptures are the words of God, of a God who through them speaks directly to the present. Conversely, present experience and events of the recent past belong within the Scriptural sphere. For Paul, there is an ongoing interplay between interpretation of Scripture and Christian existence in the present. Scripture helps to interpret events and experiences, and events and experiences help to reinterpret Scripture.’³ The study has confirmed the contention that Isaiah is one of the most significant scriptural voices that shapes Paul’s theology. In the light of this, we may also contend that the study of Paul’s theology should never be divorced from the study of his use of the Scriptures, in particular the book of Isaiah.

³ N. A. Dahl, *Studies in Paul: Theology for the Early Christian Mission* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1977) 124.

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