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WAS PAUL PROOFTEXTING? PAUL'S USE OF
THE OLD TESTAMENT AS ILLUSTRATED
THROUGH THREE DEBATED TEXTS

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Richard James Lucas Jr.

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APPROVAL SHEET

WAS PAUL PROOFTEXTING? PAUL'S USE OF
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THROUGH THREE DEBATED TEXTS

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To Tina,

my wife, best friend, confidante, mother of my children, and ministry partner;
it is hard to imagine doing just about anything without you, let alone this dissertation.
I continue to grow in deeper appreciation each day for the incomparable helpmeet that
God has given me in you. I love you dearly!

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
ACCS	Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture
ACNT	Augsburg Commentary on the New Testament
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
ANE	Ancient Near East
AST	<i>Asian Journal of Theology</i>
AYB	Anchor Yale Bible
BBR	<i>Bulletin for Biblical Research</i>
BCOT:WP	Baker Commentary on the Old Testament: Wisdom and Psalms
BDAG	W. Bauer, W. F. Arndt, F. W. Gringrich, and F. W. Danker, <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the NT and Other Early Christian Literature</i> , 3 rd ed.
BDF	F. Blass and A. DeBrunner, and R. W. Funk, <i>A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i>
BECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
BHS	<i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i>
BHT	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
BSac	<i>Bibliotheca Sacra</i>
BST	Bible Speaks Today
BZHT	Beiträge Zur Historischen Theologie
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBR	<i>Currents in Biblical Research</i>
CTR	<i>Criswell Theological Review</i>
EBS	Encountering Biblical Studies

<i>EBC</i>	<i>The Expositor's Bible Commentary</i> , rev. ed.
ECC	Eerdmans Critical Commentary
EKKNT	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
<i>EQ</i>	<i>Evangelical Quarterly</i>
<i>ETL</i>	<i>Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses</i>
<i>ExpT</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
Field	<i>Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt sive veterum interpretum graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta</i> , 2 vols. Edited Frederick Field
FOTL	Forms of the Old Testament Literature
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GKC	<i>Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar</i> . Edited and Enlarged by E. Kautzsch. Second English Edition by A. E. Cowley
<i>GTJ</i>	<i>Grace Theological Journal</i>
HALOT	L. Ludwig and W. Baumgartner, <i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i>
HTKNT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
HNTC	Harper's New Testament Commentaries
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
<i>IBS</i>	<i>Irish Biblical Studies</i>
ICC	International Critical Commentary
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JETS</i>	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament – Supplement
L&N	Johannes P. Louw and Eugene A. Nida, <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains</i> , 2 nd ed.
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
LSJ	Liddell-Scott-Jones, <i>Greek-English Lexicon</i>

LXX	Septuagint
<i>MAJT</i>	<i>Mid-America Journal of Theology</i>
MT	Masoretic Text
NA ²⁸	<i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> , Nestle-Aland, 28 th ed.
NAC	New American Commentary
NCB	New Century Bible
NCBC	New Cambridge Bible Commentary
NET	New English Translation
NETS	New English Translation of the Septuagint
NIBC	New International Biblical Commentary
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NIDOTTE	Willem A. VanGemeren, <i>New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis</i> , 5 vols.
NIGTC	New International Greek Text Commentary
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	Supplements to <i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NT	New Testament
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
OT	Old Testament
OTL	Old Testament Library
PNTC	Pillar New Testament Commentary
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i>
SBLSCS	Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies
<i>SBTJ</i>	<i>Southern Baptist Journal of Theology</i>
<i>SJT</i>	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series

STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
SWJT	<i>Southwestern Journal of Theology</i>
TDNT	G. Kittel and G. Friedrich (eds.), <i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i>
THOTC	Two Horizons Old Testament Commentary
TMSJ	<i>The Masters Seminary Journal</i>
TynBul	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
TS	<i>Theological Studies</i>
UBCS	Understanding the Bible Commentary Series
VTS	Vetus Testamentum Supplement
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WTJ	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>

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PREFACE

Many times I thought I would never have the occasion to write a preface during the process of writing this dissertation. It is only by God's grace that I have completed this project.

I dedicate this dissertation to my wife, Tina, for all the encouragement, admonishment, and sacrifice she provided to bring this dissertation to completion. I look forward to a marriage without school, something we have yet to experience. Our children too, Caleb Judson, Nathan Elliot, Jaci Beth, and Jacob Taylor, are an immense source of joy, and undeserved gifts. They provided ready excuses to take a break from my studies. I look forward to more time to be able to throw the football with Caleb, play animals with Nathan, dance with Jaci, and wrestle with Jake.

I am thankful to my parents for providing a loving home and persistent encouragement and support. They were faithful to put me under the preaching of the Word of God, and to diligently aid me in committing Scripture to memory from a young age. They worked tirelessly and sacrificed for me to go to college. I doubt they had any idea how many years of schooling would follow that first graduation. My brothers, Ken and Drew, I love you both more than I have probably ever communicated. Among brothers who are close in age a special bond is forged while growing up.

My in-laws as well have been helpful and encouraging in so many ways. I thank them for welcoming me into their family and allowing me to marry their only daughter! My father-in-law passed away during the course of my doctoral studies. I would have taken great delight in telling him (tongue-in-cheek) now that school is over, that, no, his daughter did not marry a professional student! His presence in our family is sorely missed, but we attempt to keep his memory fresh by recounting numerous stories

of our time with him. My mother-in-law has been one of my biggest cheerleaders throughout all of my seminary training. In addition to lifting us up regularly in prayer, she has been helpful to my family in many tangible ways. Her thoughtful words of encouragement always seem well-timed.

I am thankful for our church families during seminary, first Clifton Baptist Church in Louisville and then Christ Memorial Church in Williston these last three years. It has been a blessing to sit under the preached Word and be a recipient of their shepherding during these years. Many people have played a crucial role in completing this dissertation, but it is fair to say that I would not have been able to finish without Wes Pastor, who often seemed more committed to my graduation than I was! I'm thankful for the time he has helped to provide for me to finish this dissertation. Without his aid in this manner, I doubt I ever would have completed it.

Many others have proven to be treasured friends during my years at seminary. I'm sure that I'm leaving some out unintentionally, but I want especially to thank Heath Lambert, Nate McCann, Oren Martin, B. J. Walters, Matt Wireman, Trent Hunter, Akiya Johnson, Nate Harmon, and John Meade for the many hours we've spent together. More and more we are scattering away from Louisville, but the friendships that were forged or deepened during these years I pray will endure. Two other friends deserve special mention; Dan Wilkinson, my oldest friend (through "thick and thin"), provided timely encouragement, and Tim Raymond first taught me how to study the Bible during my first year in college. In many ways, I view this project as beginning with all the many hours he spent with me back as a young, uninformed, and often uncouth 18-year-old freshman. Tim was also the first one to encourage me to consider studying at Southern for seminary. I guess I liked it enough to hang around a few extra years.

All the NETS guys are a regular source of wisdom, encouragement and reason to persevere in ministry in New England. Steve Thiel, Nathan Piotrowski, Eric Abbey, Brad Parker, Derek Bass, Chris Bass, Don Willeman, Scott Terry, Craig Combs and Dave

Appenzeller have each played some role in me finishing this dissertation, whether it was taking on a heavier ministry role, serving as a dialogue partner, or even encouraging me to hurry up and get it done to be free to join them full time in this gospel work. Thanks are also due to Steve and Lisa Matteucci, who have been close family friends for a decade now. Their encouragement, prayers, and financial support of my ministry made completing this dissertation possible.

A special thanks to my dissertation committee. It is a tremendous honor to have Tom Schreiner serve as my supervisor. If he were not teaching at Southern Seminary, I would not have even come in 2003 for my MDiv studies. I wanted him to be my professor, but I never expected then that he would also become my pastor, doctoral supervisor, and friend. I can never hope to live up to the example he has modeled in his Christian conduct, family life, ministry effectiveness, or scholarly output, but he has provided an example worthy of attempted imitation.

I also want to thank the other members of my committee, Russell Fuller and Bill Cook. Both men exemplify the pastor-scholar, and are overflowing with ministry wisdom in every class they teach. I was pushed by both to work hard in my academic work, but I was also admonished by both of them to shepherd faithfully the flock of God. It is this rare combination of scholarly giftedness wrapped in real ministry experience among the faculty that has made Southern Seminary such an ideal place to study for the aspiring pastor. While they did not serve on my committee, I would be remiss not to also express deep appreciation for the other members of the faculty who have shaped my thinking and my life indelibly. Of special note are Bruce Ware, Steve Wellum, Peter Gentry, Stuart Scott, and Brian Vickers.

Two other professors from my time in college deserve to be mentioned. Since this dissertation concerns the use of the OT in the NT, it is fitting to thank the two men who first taught me Hebrew and Greek, Colin Smith and Rodney Decker respectively. But my reasons to thank them here expand far beyond their lingual instruction. Colin

Smith imparted in me, and so many of his students, an infectious love for the Bible. His command of its content never ceased to amaze, but even more impactful was his personal ministry to his students. Besides the many hours in his office and home, we took several field trips with him, including two weeks in Europe. All of these occasions were filled with numerous hours of teaching, talking and laughing. His influence on my life is hard to quantify.

Rodney Decker graciously allowed a college junior to enroll in his seminary level beginning Greek class meeting at 6:35 AM two days a week. But in my two years of Greek with him he taught me more than the language of the New Testament, but introduced me to the world of New Testament scholarship. It was under his tutelage that the seeds of pursuing a PhD in NT studies were first planted. In addition to graciously opening his home to me and my wife on several occasions, he also invited me on several field trips, one to examine some Greek manuscripts and the other to accompany him to an ordination counsel. These two examples demonstrate his passion for both scholarship and pastoral ministry...a passion he has helped to pass on to me. And even though I chose to attend Southern Seminary for my MDiv studies, Dr. Decker has always been very kind and generous with his time to answer my email questions and continue to encourage me in my studies.

The Lord saw fit to take Colin Smith home a few years ago at the age of 53, and Rod Decker passed away only a few months ago at the age of 61. I hope that my completion of this dissertation is but a small return on their investment in my life and a reminder that their legacy continues in the ministry of their students.

Since most of this writing was completed away from Southern's campus, I was heavily dependent on the distance education and inter-library loan team at the Boyce Centennial Library. Whitney Motley and Ben Ruppert and their team were so helpful in tracking down resources which were hard to find, mailing me scores of books, and scanning hundreds of pages. I will sorely miss having their regular assistance in future

research projects.

Thanks to my Savior, the Lord Jesus Christ - following all the other names mentioned above - “for there is no other name under heaven given among men by which we must be saved.” I can produce nothing apart from the undeserved, unmeasured grace of God. I pray that Jesus Christ would receive all the glory for any of my efforts in this project. May his name stand above all others!

Richard Lucas

Williston, Vermont

December 2014

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

The area of study which is collectively referred to as the New Testament Use of the Old Testament is vast¹ and ever developing.² While various attendant questions naturally arise from this area of study, one of particular importance concerns the relationship between the meaning of the OT passage in its original context, and its meaning as used by the NT writers.³ In 1978, Walt Kaiser announced a crisis in exegesis

¹Numerous helpful introductions could be referenced here, but besides the works cited below, though older, D. Moody Smith, "The Use of the Old Testament in the New," in *The Use of the Old Testament in the New and Other Essays: Studies in Honor of William Franklin Stinespring*, ed. James M. Efird (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1972), 3-65, is still quite useful. For more recent introductory articles, see Craig A. Evans, "The Old Testament in the New," in *The Face of New Testament Studies: A Survey of Recent Research*, ed. Scot McKnight and Grant R. Osborne (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2004), 130-45; Michael J. Vlach, "New Testament Use of the Old Testament: A Survey of Where the Debate Currently Stands" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Evangelical Theological Society, San Francisco, CA, November 17, 2011), 1-15; and Darrell L. Bock, "Scripture Citing Scripture: Use of the Old Testament in the New," in *Interpreting the New Testament Text: Introduction to the Art and Science of Exegesis*, ed. Darrell L. Bock and Buist M. Fanning (Wheaton, IL: Crossway Books, 2006), 255-76. The latter is an updated version of Darrell L. Bock, "Use of the Old Testament in the New," in *Foundations for Biblical Interpretation*, ed. David S. Dockery, Kenneth A. Mathews, and Robert B. Sloan (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1994), 97-114.

²A brief survey of some modern approaches and their respective exponents, such as intertextual (Richard Hays and Timothy Berkley), narrative (Tom Wright, Ross Wagner, Sylvia Keesmaat, and Francis Watson), and rhetorical (Christopher Stanley and John Paul Heil) can be found in Steve Moyise, *Paul and Scripture: Studying the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2010), 111-25.

³Lunde proposes the metaphor of a gravitational center and five orbiting questions. The gravitational center being "the relationship between the OT and the NT authors' intended meanings." His five orbiting questions are (1) Is *sensus plenior* an appropriate way of explaining the NT use of the OT? (2) How is typology best understood? (3) Do the NT writers take into account the context of the passages they cite? (4) Does the NT writers' use of Jewish exegetical methods explain the NT use of the OT? and (5) Are we able to replicate the exegetical and hermeneutical approaches to the OT that we find in the writings of the NT? Jonathan Lunde, "An Introduction to Central Questions in the New Testament Use of the Old Testament," in *Three Views of the New Testament Use of the Old Testament*, ed. Kenneth Berding and Jonathan Lunde (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2007), 7-41.

over this very issue because of what he saw as a capitulation in biblical scholarship to allow a variance in meaning of individual texts in the OT and their appropriation in the NT.⁴ The scholarly debate has not subsided since then, as demonstrated in the exchange of articles over this very issue between Peter Enns and Greg Beale.⁵

With the publication of the *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament*⁶ in 2007, a major step forward was taken in this field of study. Insights into individual passages which have been scattered across various articles, technical commentaries and monographs are all brought to bear on every quotation and allusion of the OT in the NT in a systematic fashion.⁷ And while the editors themselves indicate that a stated goal of their project was to demonstrate that the NT writers use the OT with the OT context in mind,⁸ the nature of the work demanded that discussions of even (so-called) hard texts be given limited attention.⁹

Detractors from a contextually-oriented approach consistently appeal to the phenomena in the NT itself as justification for their understanding of apostolic

⁴Walter C. Kaiser, Jr., “The Current Crisis in Exegesis and the Apostolic Use of Deuteronomy 25:4 in 1 Corinthians 9:8-10,” *JETS* 21 (1978): 3-18.

⁵Peter Enns, *Inspiration and Incarnation: Evangelicals and the Problem of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2005), 113-65; G. K. Beale, “Did Jesus and the Apostles Preach the Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts? Revisiting the Debate Seventeen Years Later in the Light of Peter Enns’ Book, *Inspiration and Incarnation*,” *Themelios* 32, no. 1 (October 2006): 18-43; Peter Enns, “Response to Professor Greg Beale,” *Themelios* 32, no. 3 (May 2007): 5-13; G. K. Beale, “A Surrejoinder to Peter Enns on the Use of the Old Testament in the New,” *Themelios* 32, no. 3 (May 2007): 14-25. Beale also published these articles in a slightly revised form in his, *The Erosion of Inerrancy in Evangelicalism: Responding to New Challenges to Biblical Authority* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2008), 85-122.

⁶G. K. Beale and D. A. Carson, eds., *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2007).

⁷In speaking of this *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament*, Beale later writes, “This is the first time in the history of biblical scholarship that this kind of material has been brought together in one volume.” G. K. Beale, *A New Testament Biblical Theology: The Unfolding of the Old Testament in the New* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic), 13.

⁸This sentiment was made explicit in an interview with both Greg Beale and Don Carson by Collin Hansen, “Two Testaments, One Story,” *Christianity Today* 52 (February 2008) (web-only), accessed February 8, 2008, <http://www.ctlibrary.com/ct/2008/februaryweb-only/106-52.0.html>.

⁹Most discussions of these types of passages in commentaries also receive little attention.

hermeneutics.¹⁰ Any overall approach to this issue has to be able to handle the data itself and explain how the NT is using the OT with reference to its meaning.

Thesis

This dissertation will contribute to the general field of the NT use of the OT by exploring the plausibility of a contextually oriented approach to three “hard cases.” My working thesis is that the NT authors demonstrate a respect for the OT context in their explicit quotations.¹¹ They will often organically develop the meaning of the OT passage they quote along biblical-theological lines, and intertwine their interpretation with the quotation, but not in a manner which disregards the original context nor the intended meaning of the OT author.¹² Their quotations of the OT demonstrate a hermeneutical orientation which is rooted in the original context of the passage cited. Organic integrity is maintained between the testaments as demonstrated by the way the authors of the NT appeal to the OT.

This thesis is tested by an examination of three hard cases from Paul, each from a different letter.¹³ The three passages are (1) Romans 11:26-27 (Isa 59:20-21 and

¹⁰Greg Beale distilled eight such examples from Peter Enns in Beale, “Revisiting the Debate,” 23, and ten from Richard Longenecker in G. K. Beale, “Did Jesus and His Followers Preach the Right Doctrine From the Wrong Texts? An Examination of the Presuppositions of the Apostles’ Exegetical Method,” *Themelios* 14, no. 3 (April 1989): 90.

¹¹A study of OT allusions would be worthwhile too, but usually it is the undisputed quotations that are at the center of discussion. For more on the role that allusions and “echoes” play in Paul’s utilization of the OT, see Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), as well as the substantial interaction with Hays’s work found in Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders, eds., *Paul and the Scriptures of Israel*, JSNTSup 83 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 42-96.

¹²For the purposes of this dissertation, to speak of “respecting the original context” is simply another way of saying to “represent accurately the (or at least ‘an’) intended meaning of the OT author.” While not in vogue in some sectors of biblical scholarship, I agree with those who maintain that the meaning of a given text is grounded in the intentionality of the original author. For the development and defense of this notion, see Kevin J. Vanhoozer, *Is There a Meaning in This Text? The Bible, the Reader, and the Morality of Literary Knowledge* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1998), 201-80.

¹³The use of test cases is well established in this area of study. Both Doug Moo and Moisés Silva examine Paul’s use of Hab 2:4 as a test case for their general approach, because it represents in their

27:9), (2) Ephesians 4:8 (Ps 68:18), and (3) 1 Corinthians 15:54-55 (Isa 25:8 and Hos 13:14).¹⁴ These three texts are cited frequently in the literature as examples of Paul's non-contextual use of the OT in his explicit quotations.¹⁵ Each of these test cases has significant textual divergences from both the MT *and* the LXX,¹⁶ so any appeal to an easy solution based on one of these sources over the other is not available. Not only is Paul's wording itself (in his quotations) at odds with the textual base that has been transmitted to the present day, but it appears on first reading that Paul's utilization of these passages is given a meaning which is completely opposite of the meaning in the OT context.¹⁷

The suitability of these three particular examples as test cases is further demonstrated by noting the manner in which the apostolic writer appeals to the OT. In each case he introduces the OT text with an introductory formula, therefore clearly

understanding an example that appears to be taken out of context by Paul at first reading, but after a more detailed examination is shown to be consistent with the meaning of the OT. See Douglas Moo, "The Problem of *Sensus Plenior*," in *Hermeneutics, Authority and Canon*, ed. D. A. Carson and J. D. Woodbridge (Leicester: InterVarsity; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1986), 208-9; Moisés Silva, "The Old Testament in Paul," in *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters*, ed. G. F. Hawthorne, R. P. Martin, and D. G. Reid (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1993), 640-41. As but one more among many other possible examples, Hos 11:1 in Matt 2:15 was used by John Sailhamer and Dan McCartney with Peter Enns as a test case for the accuracy of labeling apostolic hermeneutics as historical-grammatical exegesis. See John H. Sailhamer, "Hosea 11:1 and Matthew 2:15," *WTJ* 63 (2001): 87-96; and Dan McCartney and Peter Enns, "Matthew and Hosea: A Response to John Sailhamer," *WTJ* 63 (2001): 97-105. Individual examples of OT quotations in the NT have even been offered as test cases for whole theological systems, such as Walter C. Kaiser, Jr., "The Davidic Promise and the Inclusion of the Gentiles (Amos 9:1-15 and Acts 15:13-18): A Test Passage for Theological Systems," *JETS* 20 (1977): 97-111.

¹⁴Rom 11:26-27 and 1 Cor 15:54-55 are composite quotations, but they will be treated together in the ensuing discussion because Paul apparently merged them together to substantiate his respective argument.

¹⁵The discussion in the following chapters of these respective texts will document the scholarly debate surrounding their "contextual" use.

¹⁶Silva, "Old Testament in Paul," 630-32, provides a classification of the approximately one hundred quotations of the OT in Paul's letters into four categories with respect to their agreement with the MT and LXX. All five of the quotations under examination here (five are counted when the composite quotes are counted individually) are listed under his fourth category (Paul \neq LXX \neq MT), wherein Paul's citation differs from both the Hebrew and the LXX, whether or not these two agree.

¹⁷In Rom 11:26, will the Redeemer come *from* Zion (GNT) or *to* Zion (MT)? In Eph 4:8, did Christ *give* gifts *to* men (GNT) or *receive* gifts *among* men (LXX & MT)? In 1 Cor 15:55, is death being taunted to bring *victory* (GNT) or summoned to bring *plagues* (MT) and *punishment* (LXX)?

indicating an explicit OT citation.¹⁸ Also, these OT references are not merely asides in Paul's argument, but serve to ground the argument he is making in each of their respective NT contexts. For Paul's argument to hold weight to his reader, and for the citation of the OT text to be viewed authoritatively, it would seem as though Paul would likely be using the texts in a manner that was consistent with the OT context of the passage cited, yet on the face of it, this is evidently not the case for these three examples.

This examination does not in and of itself prove the thesis, but it serves as a model to guide the approach of similar hard cases in the NT. The assumption is that if a satisfying exegesis is offered of these passages, which yields a conclusion compatible with a contextual approach, then perhaps the same result could be found in other hard cases.

History of Modern Research

Numerous scholars have made contributions to the study of the NT use of the OT, but in the survey to follow, attention is given to those who have consciously dealt with the central question of the thesis, namely, whether the NT authors show a respect for the context of the OT passages they cite.¹⁹

Various classifications have been proposed to categorize the different approaches to how the meanings of the OT and the NT passages relate,²⁰ but for the

¹⁸The form of each introductory formula is different, yet clear: *καθὼς γέγραπται* in Rom 11:26; *διὸ λέγει* in Eph 4:8; and *τότε γενήσεται ὁ λόγος ὁ γεγραμμένος* in 1 Cor 15:54.

¹⁹Only works which deal with the NT in general or Paul in particular are the object of focus. A wider survey would also include influential works on the OT in the Gospels such as Krister Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew and Its Use of the Old Testament* (Lund: Gleerup, 1954; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1958); Robert H. Gundry, *The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel: With Special Reference to the Messianic Hope* (Leiden: Brill, 1967); R. T. France, *Jesus and the Old Testament: His Application of Old Testament Passages to Himself and His Mission* (London: Tyndale, 1971); and Douglas Moo, *The Old Testament in the Gospel Passion Narratives* (Sheffield: Almond, 1983).

²⁰Four schools are outlined in Darrell Bock, "Evangelicals and the Use of the Old Testament in the New," *BSac* 142 (1985): 209-23 and 306-19, although he later boils down the relationship between the intentions of the OT to the NT authors to only three categories in his "Scripture Citing Scripture," 269. And as the title indicates, three views are represented in Kenneth Berding and Jonathan Lunde, eds., *Three*

purposes of this dissertation two broad categories are delineated: those who concede a generally *non-contextual approach*, and those who espouse a more *contextual approach*.

Non-Contextual Approach

To label the approach of the following scholars as non-contextual is to describe them from the viewpoint of the thesis of this dissertation. In any case, for the most part these scholars would self-describe their understanding of the NT use of the OT in this way.

Barnabas Lindars. Lindars wrote in the wake of Dodd's critique of Harris's Testimony Book hypothesis,²¹ and while he maintains substantial agreement with Dodd that there was no single underlying testimony book, he offers significant modifications. He posits that a detailed examination of both the form and function of the OT quotations reveal a prehistory of interpretation before the NT writers themselves. In between the time of the resurrection and when the first NT authors wrote was a development of interpretation to bolster the NT apologetic that Jesus was the Messiah.²²

While it is known that testimony books were developed by Christians after the completion of the NT, modern readers do not have access now to any that predate its composition. The avenue by which one can get at this early interpretive tradition is through the use of the OT in the NT. Lindars writes, "When the quotations are subjected to detailed study, and both their text-forms and their functioning in their present contexts are analysed, it is hard to resist the conclusion that many of them belong to the final 'atomistic' stage of arbitrary selection."²³

Views on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2007).

²¹This hypothesis will be discussed more fully below.

²²Barnabas Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic: The Doctrinal Significance of the Old Testament Quotations* (London: SCM, 1961), 13-31.

²³Barnabas Lindars, "Second Thoughts – IV. Books of Testimonies," *ExpT* 75 (1964): 173.

Most of his *New Testament Apologetic*, his major contribution to the field of study, is concerned with uncovering successive layers of adaptation and reinterpretation through a study of the OT in the NT. He concludes that the “evidence of the Old Testament citations points to a process of selection and adaptation of proof-texts. This might suggest the existence of a testimony-book at a very early date, preceding the composition of the books of the New Testament.”²⁴ The NT authors essentially had a utilitarian approach to the OT, focusing only on what served their polemics. Lindars writes, “The New Testament writers do not take an Old Testament book or passage, and sit down and ask, ‘What does this mean?’ They are concerned with the keryma, which they need to teach and to defend and to understand for themselves.”²⁵

Joseph Fitzmyer. Fitzmyer acknowledges the presence of *testimonia* in light of the discovery of the text of 4QTestimonia, and thinks it led to the use of composite quotations in the NT.²⁶ However, this is not his primary contribution to the use of the OT in the NT.

The Jewish roots of the NT are well recognized, but comparisons with rabbinical writings to determine a common hermeneutic in their exegesis of the OT have been riddled with problems because of the difficulty of determining which writings are contemporary with the NT authors. But now, with the discovery of the Qumran scrolls, scholars have available to them Jewish writings which predate, or at least at the latest are

²⁴Barnabas Lindars, “Place of the Old Testament in the Formation of New Testament Theology: Prolegomena,” *NTS* 23 (1976): 59-66, which is reprinted with the same title in *The Right Doctrine From the Wrong Text? Essays on the Use of the Old Testament in the New*, ed. G. K. Beale (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1994), 137-45. Pagination here follows the reprint publication (141).

²⁵*Ibid.*, 143.

²⁶Joseph Fitzmyer, “‘4QTestimonia’ and the New Testament,” *TS* 18 (1957): 513-37, which is reprinted with the same title in his *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* (Missoula, MT: Scholars, 1971), 3-58.

contemporary with the NT.²⁷

Fitzmyer pursued an investigation of all the explicit quotations of the OT in the Qumran literature and then compares their methods of interpretation with what is seen in the NT.²⁸ In the final analysis he examines forty passages which quote the OT, and he assigns them all to one of four categories. (1) He lists seven passages in the *literal* or *historical* class, in which the OT is quoted in the same sense it was intended by the original OT writers. (2) Eleven passages he assigns to what he calls the *modernization* class, in which the OT text originally had reference to an event contemporaneous with that OT text, but which was nevertheless vague enough to be applied to some new event. (3) To the *accommodation* class he places twelve passages, which he understands to have modified or deliberately changed the OT context to adapt it to a new situation or purpose. Finally, (4) ten OT quotations are classified as an *eschatological* usage, which promised or threatened something that was to be done in the *eschaton*, an event still future to those using the quotation.

The second test passage is offered as an example of the *accommodation* category. Fitzmyer writes that Paul “atomizes the sense of the text in quoting Ps 68:19” in Ephesians 4:8.²⁹ “Here Paul completely disregards the original context of the Psalm in order to retain only the words ‘he went up’ and ‘he gave.’”³⁰

Fitzmyer paves the way for the scholars that follow with his conclusion that

²⁷Even after more than thirty years of research on these scrolls in 1981, Fitzmyer still thinks that their greatest contribution to NT studies is the example they provide to compare and contrast the type of OT interpretation found in each. Joseph Fitzmyer, “The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament after Thirty Years,” *Theology Digest* 29 (1981): 365.

²⁸Joseph Fitzmyer, “The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations in Qumran Literature and in the New Testament,” *NTS* 7 (1961): 297-333, which is reprinted with the same title in his *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* (Missoula, MT: Scholars, 1971), 3-58. Pagination here follows the reprint publication. The discussion that follows comes from this article.

²⁹*Ibid.*, 45.

³⁰*Ibid.*

“the exegetical practice of the New Testament writers is quite similar to that of their Jewish contemporaries”³¹ as illustrated in the Qumran literature, which he summarizes as a generally “free, sometimes figurative, extension or accommodation of the words to support a position already taken.”³²

Richard Longenecker. Longenecker’s main contribution to this area of study has been to distill the research done by so many other scholars, and then present it in an introductory fashion.³³ He also was a catalyst to raise awareness of the role of Second Temple Literature for apostolic hermeneutics to the evangelical world. Rather than focusing on just the Qumran literature, he also says that a proper historical investigation of the interplay between Christian and Jewish hermeneutics must also “give close attention to the Talmudic literature (Mishnah, Babylonian and Palestinian Gemaras, Midrashim, Tosephta, individual ‘Sayings’ collections, and related codifications), the Targums, the Jewish apocryphal texts (particularly apocalyptic writings), the Dead Sea Scrolls, and Philo.”³⁴

A fourfold classification of Jewish exegesis is proposed by Longenecker, to all of which he finds parallels in the NT. The four headings are: literalist, midrashic, pesher, and allegorical.³⁵ But the NT writers do not simply parrot Jewish exegesis, they are conscious of “interpreting the OT (1) from a christocentric perspective, (2) in conformity

³¹Ibid., 53.

³²Ibid., 58.

³³Richard Longenecker, *Biblical Exegesis in the Apostolic Period*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), xiii. The approach of Craig Evans would also be very similar. See Craig A. Evans, “The Function of the Old Testament in the New,” in *Introducing New Testament Interpretation*, ed. Scot McKnight (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1989), 163-93.

³⁴Longenecker, *Biblical Exegesis in the Apostolic Period*, 3.

³⁵Richard Longenecker, “Who Is the Prophet Talking About? Some Reflections on the New Testament’s Use of the Old,” *Themelios* 24 (1987): 6.

with a Christian tradition, and (3) along christological lines.”³⁶ A distinctive interpretation of the OT is produced because “in their exegesis there is the interplay of Jewish presuppositions and practices, on the one hand, with Christian commitments and perspectives, on the other.”³⁷

While acknowledging the contextualized nature of apostolic hermeneutics, Longenecker is quick to point out that a distinction must be made between what was normative in the first-century context, and what is descriptive for Christians today. In essence what Longenecker suggests is that only when the NT engages in more of a historical-grammatical exegesis can one follow their example, because “we cannot possibly reproduce the revelatory stance of pesher interpretation, nor the atomistic manipulations of midrash, nor the circumstantial or *ad hominen* thrusts of a particular polemic of that day – nor should we try.”³⁸

Peter Enns. Enns is in substantial agreement with Richard Longenecker on this issue. He does, however, add a few nuances. Enns prefers the term *christotelic* to describe his understanding of the apostolic hermeneutics, because he thinks it more readily preserves the notion that Christ is the goal in which the whole OT finds its completion.³⁹ As part of recognizing the interpretive environment of the NT authors,

³⁶Longenecker, *Biblical Exegesis*, 186.

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸Longenecker, “Who is the Prophet Talking About?,” 8. See also Richard Longenecker, “Can We Reproduce the Exegesis of the New Testament?,” *TynBul* 21 (1970): 3-38.

³⁹He first uses the term in Peter Enns, “Apostolic Hermeneutics and An Evangelical Doctrine of Scripture: Moving beyond a Modernist Impasse,” *WTJ* 65 (2003): 277. See also Peter Enns, *Inspiration and Incarnation: Evangelicals and the Problem of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2005), 154; and idem, “Fuller Meaning, Single Goal: A Christotelic Approach to the New Testament Use of the Old in Its First-Century Interpretive Environment,” in *Three Views on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament*, ed. Kenneth Berding and Jonathan Lunde (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2007), 167-217. Incidentally, Greg Beale likes the term “christotelic” and thinks it is an improvement over other terms such as “christocentric” to refer to a Christian approach to the OT; nevertheless he disagrees with the way Enns often defines the term. See Beale, “Revisiting the Debate,” 19.

Enns wants not only to concentrate on the interpretive *methods* they hold in common with their contemporary Second Temple interpreters, but also their interpretive *traditions*.⁴⁰ The NT was not the first attempt to perform interpretive activity on the OT, it was already in motion in Jewish communities of earlier times. Throughout the literature of Second Temple Judaism the reader finds biblical stories that have been retold many times and have acquired an established interpretive tradition. At times one finds these same interpretive traditions reflected in the NT.⁴¹ The apostolic writers seem to adopt these interpretive traditions as their own, and include them in their writings. Both the utilization of interpretive methods and traditions is simply a reflection of the incarnational nature of the Bible's message.

In an attempt to explain the nature of Paul's use of the OT when it appears to be out of context, Enns does not find an appeal to the wider context of the OT passage to be a helpful solution. He thinks those sort of approaches are just as subjective and arbitrary "while also obscuring the hermeneutical conventions that actually do explain what Paul is doing."⁴² Whether or not the NT writer is accurately representing the intention of the OT author in his quotations is not really an issue of concern. Rather it is a focus on the conviction that Jesus is the eschatological goal that drives the interpretive decisions of the NT authors.

Enns does disagree with Longenecker on the issue of the church's reproduction of the apostolic hermeneutic, because he thinks that Longenecker is too restrictive. His solution is to distinguish between hermeneutical goal and exegetical method, and

⁴⁰Enns dealt with this topic in his dissertation, which was subsequently published as Peter Enns, *Exodus Retold: Ancient Exegesis of the Departure from Egypt in Wis 15-21 and 19:1-9*, Harvard Semitic Monographs (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997). He also explores it in Peter Enns, "The 'Moveable Well' in 1 Corinthians 10:4: An Extra-biblical Tradition in an Apostolic Text," *BBR* 6 (1996): 23-38. See also, Enns, "Apostolic Hermeneutics," 270-73; and idem, *Inspiration and Incarnation*, 142-51.

⁴¹Enns lists seven such examples in *Inspiration and Incarnation*, 142-51.

⁴²Enns, "Fuller Meaning, Single Goal," 211.

encourage Christians to follow the apostles on the former, namely a christotelic reading of the OT, but to recognize the latter was a product of their first-century context.⁴³

Steve Moyise. Moyise affirms the need to situate the NT authors' use of the OT within its first century literary context,⁴⁴ but adds a layer of sophistication to the discussion with the application of literary criticism. He employs the notion of "trajectory" in analyzing the question of respecting a text's context when he writes,

A trajectory implies a beginning (with an initial direction), a path (which might be curved) and a destination (where it ends up). Texts are 'launched' (by authors, editors, publishers) and encounter a variety of readers in a variety of times and places. Modern historical critics have been primarily concerned with determining a text's origins in order to determine its meaning. However, New Testament interpreters (and those at Qumran) appear to be more concerned with the path (how it has led to them) and its goal (what is still to happen) than its origin (what it meant then).⁴⁵

In reliance on literary theories of intertextuality, Moyise attempts to reframe the debate concerning the original contextual meaning of a quotation. "A quotation will always mean something different in its new setting because it has been 'relocated.' This being so, the question to ask is not whether a given quotation has been taken out of context but what is the effect of such a quotation on a reading of the text?"⁴⁶ For Moyise, the reader plays an active role in determining the meaning of any text, "because texts can point in a number of directions, the reader is always *involved* in configuring these

⁴³Ibid., 216. See also Dan G. McCartney, "The New Testament's Use of the Old Testament," in *Inerrancy and Hermeneutic: A Tradition, a Challenge, a Debate*, ed. Harvie Conn (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1988), 101-16.

⁴⁴Steve Moyise, *The Old Testament in the New: An Introduction* (New York: Continuum, 2001), 9-20, 128-37. On p. 7 Moyise states that it is the purpose of his book to update the work by Hanson. See Anthony Tyrrell Hanson, *The Living Utterances of God: the New Testament Exegesis of the Old* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1983).

⁴⁵Steve Moyise, "Respect for Context Once More," *IBS* 27 (2006): 30.

⁴⁶Steve Moyise, "Does the NT Quote the OT Out of Context?" *Anvil* 11, no. 2 (1994): 141. See also Steve Moyise, "Intertextuality and the Study of the Old Testament in the New," in *The Old Testament in the New Testament: Essays in Honour of J. L. North*, JSNTSup 189, ed. Steve Moyise (Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 14-41.

different ‘voices’ in order to arrive at a coherent meaning.”⁴⁷

Contextual Approach

In contrast to the scholars surveyed above, all the following scholars argue for some form of contextually-rooted use of the OT in the NT.

C. H. Dodd. The contribution of C. H. Dodd to the study of the NT use of the OT has been substantial, even though the literary output itself is rather limited. Dodd’s work comes in the context of Rendel Harris’ testimony book theory, by which the latter argued for the existence of a collection of OT quotations which were widely used in the early church. While Dodd argued against the existence of any written testimony book, he did acknowledge a striking pattern to how certain segments of the OT were used in the NT. There was the repeated use of the same and neighboring texts in various books.⁴⁸

Oftentimes the NT authors would make selections from larger blocks of material from the OT, but the individual verses referenced were meant to be pointers to the whole context from which they are drawn, rather “than as constituting testimonies in and for themselves.”⁴⁹ Additionally, “detached sentences from other parts of the Old Testament could be adduced to illustrate or elucidate the meaning of the main section under consideration.”⁵⁰ He goes on to summarize, “In the fundamental passages it is the total context that is in view, and is the basis of the argument.”

Since this unique hermeneutical phenomenon can be found in the very earliest of the NT traditions, and is not likely the product of a committee, Dodd posits that the NT

⁴⁷Steve Moyise, “The Old Testament in the New: A Reply to Greg Beale” *IBS* 21 (1999): 57 (emphasis original).

⁴⁸C. H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures: The Substructure of New Testament Theology* (London: Nisbet, 1952).

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 126.

⁵⁰*Ibid.* See also, Robert Rendell, “Quotation in Scripture as an Index of Wider Reference,” *EQ* 36 (1964): 214-21.

authors learned their method from Christ himself.⁵¹

E. Earle Ellis. Ellis's work has focused primarily on Paul,⁵² and while he does not hide his debt to extra-biblical interpretive practices in examining a NT hermeneutic, he is quick to assert the unique role the OT itself played for the apostle.⁵³ Ellis has labeled Paul's approach to the OT as "grammatical-historical plus." He does not understand the apostle to be playing fast and loose with the grammar of the text, but that "Pauline exegesis, in its essential character, begins where grammatical-historical exegesis ends."⁵⁴

Ellis maintains that Paul did not commit eisegesis, even though he would describe a given quotation itself as a *midrash pesher*. Ellis understands these quotations as an example of "quotation-exposition," "which drew from the text the meaning originally implanted there by the Spirit and expressed that meaning in the most appropriate words and phrases known to him."⁵⁵ That there are textual discrepancies between the form of the quotation in the versions is not disputed, but Ellis seeks a rationale underlying both the "textual manifestation" and the "theological application." "Even where a variant text is apparently in view, Paul's textual aberrations in many cases have a hermeneutical purpose and often are closely tied to the immediate application of the citation."⁵⁶

⁵¹Dodd, *According to the Scriptures*, 127.

⁵²His work on intertextuality outside of the Pauline writings includes E. Earle Ellis, "How Jesus Interpreted His Bible," *CTR* 3, no. 2 (1989): 341-51; idem, "Jesus' Use of the Old Testament and the Genesis of New Testament Theology," *BBR* 3 (1993): 59-75; and idem, "How the New Testament Uses the Old," in *New Testament Interpretation: Essays on Principles and Methods*, ed. I. Howard Marshall (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977), 199-219.

⁵³E. Earle Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1957), 1.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, 147.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, 146.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, 1.

In those cases where the form of Paul's citation does not match the form the OT manuscript evidence that is available today, the interpreter must sometimes remain inconclusive as to its origin. But for the point Ellis is making, it does not matter if the form of the quotation is manufactured by Paul himself, or purposely selected by Paul from the available versions. "Because in selecting a particular version or in creating an *ad hoc* rendering Paul views his citation as thereby more accurately expressing the true meaning of the Scripture."⁵⁷

Walter Kaiser. Kaiser's chief argument is that scripture has a single intent, meaning that there is no discrepancy between the authorial intent of the OT or NT writer. There is also no discrepancy between the human and divine meaning of a given text.⁵⁸ He denies any sort of *sensus plenior* as a legitimate way to understand NT fulfillment. While the NT certainly does use the OT in a variety of ways,⁵⁹ Kaiser's focus is on the argumentative texts, that is, texts used to establish doctrine or fact. If the NT authors do not utilize the OT in a way that would be recognized as the original (that is, meaning in its OT context) intent, then those texts lose their apologetic value to the very Jews the apostles were attempting to convert.

A significant contribution Kaiser has made to this area of study is his emphasis

⁵⁷Ibid., 146.

⁵⁸Kaiser suggests several axioms along these lines for a "hermeneutical reformation." See Walter C. Kaiser, Jr., "The Single Intent of Scripture," in *Evangelical Roots: A Tribute to Wilbur Smith*, ed. Kenneth S. Kantzer (Nashville: Nelson, 1978), 123-41. Another vocal advocate of a single meaning approach can be found in Robert L. Thomas, "The Principle of Single Meaning," *TMSJ* 12, no. 1 (Spring 2001): 33-47. However, Thomas' own approach to the use of the OT in the NT does deviate in some significant ways from Kaiser. His rigorous adoption of a strictly literal-historical-grammatical hermeneutic has led him to create the curious category of "inspired *sensus plenior* application" (ISPA). This is a non-literal and non-reproducible hermeneutic that the apostles employed at times in their quotations from the OT. See Robert L. Thomas, "The New Testament Use of the Old Testament," *TMSJ* 13, no. 1 (Spring 2002): 79-98.

⁵⁹The sections of his primary work in this field are structured around five such uses, namely (1) apologetic, (2) prophetic, (3) typological, (4) theological, and (5) practical. See Walter C. Kaiser, Jr., *The Uses of the Old Testament in the New* (Chicago: Moody, 1985).

on an “informing theology” to the OT context itself. Even though he makes clear that no new meanings are introduced by the NT authors of OT texts, his understanding of revelation is not static. Because of the very nature of progressive revelation, there are interpretive trajectories in which texts are situated. This is the case even within the OT itself. The overarching promise plan of God is the backdrop to every text, but as for establishing meaning, only antecedent revelation can be determinative. He has called scholars back to spending more time in rightly understanding the OT texts first before declaring a discrepancy of meaning in the subsequent quotations.⁶⁰

Kaiser thinks that the focus on extrabiblical and non-canonical literature is misguided. The OT was the primary background to the NT authors, as evidenced by their frequent references to it. The assumption that the intertestamental methodologies were normative and fixed for the apostles does not correspond to what one sees evidenced in the NT. There was a process of relearning their understanding of the OT; it was not just that now they had new information to supplement their proper interpretations. It is the interpretations themselves (and I assume Kaiser would include the methodologies used at arriving at those interpretations) which were wrong and in need of correction (cf. Luke 24:25-27 and Gal 1:16-18).⁶¹

Darrell Bock. Bock suggests two complementary ways to read individual texts, namely “historical-exegetical” and “theological-canonical.” In the latter type of reading, “the progress of revelation may ‘refract’ on an earlier passage so that the force of the earlier passage is clarified or developed beyond what the original author could have

⁶⁰Walter C. Kaiser, Jr. writes, “For the past decades, NT scholars generally have not pursued OT studies as strenuously as they have studied extrabiblical literature, such as the rabbinic literature, the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Nag Hammadi (Gnostic) texts, and the like” (“Single Meaning, Unified Referents: Accurate and Authoritative Citations of the Old Testament by the New Testament,” in *Three Views on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament*, ed. Kenneth Berding and Jonathan Lunde [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2007], 89).

⁶¹Kaiser, *Uses of the Old Testament in the New*, 229-30.

grasped.”⁶² The progress of revelation reveals a larger canonical context in which a pattern of fulfillment emerges. He offers Genesis 3:15 as an example of this distinction.⁶³ In simply its “historical-exegetical” context the main point of this passage could arguably be that the creation becomes more hostile to humankind. Yet, in its “theological-canonical” context this passage is actually a revelation of the gospel, namely that Jesus, the seed of the woman, will ultimately defeat Satan, the serpent. Both are legitimate meanings of the text, and need not be seen in conflict. It is simply a matter of which type of reading is being utilized and how wide of a context is taken into consideration.

While Bock does not deny the concept of a *sensus plenior* (depending on how it is defined) in scripture, he asserts that the mere descriptive term is really no help as an interpretive concept. For assistance in explaining this “deeper sense,” Bock introduces a distinction from the discipline of linguistics. Three elements that contribute to meaning are (1) symbols, (2) sense, and (3) referent. In application to the NT use of the OT, the sense of a term is maintained, but the referents could be multiplied along the pattern of fulfillment through the Bible.⁶⁴ These concepts help explain “how a text can ‘deepen’ in meaning *without departing from its inherent sense*. This factor suggests that meaning remains unchanged at one level and fresh at another.”⁶⁵

G. K. Beale. Beale disagrees with those who frame this discussion in polar categories, of either a strict “grammatical-historical exegesis” or a “non-contextual

⁶²Darrell L. Bock, “Single Meaning, Multiple Contexts and Referents: The New Testament’s Legitimate, Accurate, and Multifaceted Use of the Old,” in *Three Views on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament*, ed. Kenneth Berding and Jonathan Lunde (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2007), 116. See also Bock, *Scripture Citing Scripture*, 269.

⁶³Bock, *Scripture Citing Scripture*, 269-70; and idem, “Single Meaning, Multiple Contexts and Referents,” 116-17.

⁶⁴Bock, “Single Meaning, Multiple Contexts and Referents,” 113-14. “The *symbols* are the alphabetic signs of a word”; “the *sense* is the dictionary definition of the word, its generic meaning in the context”; and the *referent* “is the specific thing, person, object, or concept referred to in context” (113).

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, 125 (emphasis original).

exegesis.” He postulates,

The New Testament authors may be using a *biblical-theological* approach that could be described as a canonical contextual approach. This approach is not a technical *grammatical-historical* one but takes in wider biblical contexts than merely the one being quoted, yet is not inconsistent with the quoted context. Were not the apostolic writers theologians, and can we not allow that they did not always interpret the Old Testament according to a grammatical-historical exegetical method, but theologically in ways that creatively developed Old Testament texts, yet did not contravene the meaning of the original Old Testament author?⁶⁶

The apostles had distinctive presuppositions which undergirded their exegetical method.⁶⁷ In summary, “The early church believed that through identification with Christ it was the continuation of the true Israel, living in the inauguration of the latter days. As such it was beginning to fulfill the OT prophecies and promises about eschatological Israel.”⁶⁸ This broad redemptive-historical perspective became the guiding framework in the interpretation of the OT by Jesus and the apostles, thus forming the wider canonical context. It was through this framework that the NT authors used typology as a means of progressive revelatory development of OT texts, but not in a manner which is inconsistent with the original context.⁶⁹

To the question of supposed similarities in the NT to the non-contextual Jewish interpretive methods of the day, Beale has a two-pronged response. First, he wants to challenge the assumption that all of the contemporary Jewish exegesis was non-contextual. In many cases they demonstrate a contextual awareness and an attempt to do what many might call “grammatical-historical exegesis.” At the very least, the wider

⁶⁶Beale, “Revisiting the Debate,” 21. Beale has elsewhere categorized his “biblical-theological approach” to be “canonical, genetic-progressive (or organically developmental, as a flower develops from a seed and bud), exegetical and intertextual” (*A New Testament Biblical Theology*, 15). See also G. K. Beale, *We Become Like What We Worship: A Biblical Theology of Idolatry* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2008), 34.

⁶⁷G. K. Beale, *Handbook on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament: Exegesis and Interpretation* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2012), 95-102.

⁶⁸Beale, “Did Jesus and His Followers Preach the Right Doctrine From the Wrong Texts?,” 91.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*

interpretive environment of Judaism contemporary with the NT was not monolithic.⁷⁰ Second, while Beale acknowledges the pervasive influence of Jewish exegetical methods, interpretations and theology in the NT,⁷¹ he offers a counter-proposal as a source for the apostles' hermeneutic. Beale states, "A good argument can be made that the interpretative method of the New Testament is rooted in the Old Testament's use of the Old Testament and that various early Jewish communities, including the early Jewish-Christian community, practiced an interpretative approach shaped by the Old Testament's exegetical method."⁷² In light of these considerations, Beale places the burden of proof on those who would deny the normativity of the apostles' hermeneutic for the church today.⁷³

Method

This dissertation will primarily be an inductive study of the three sets of OT quotations in Paul which are referenced above. As such, both methodologically and structurally, each of the chapters will generally follow the same three-step approach.⁷⁴ (1)

⁷⁰Beale, "Revisiting the Debate," 26-28.

⁷¹Beale, "Wright Doctrine from the Wrong Texts," 94.

⁷²Beale, "Revisiting the Debate," 29-30.

⁷³Beale, "Wright Doctrine from the Wrong Texts," 94.

⁷⁴S. Lewis Johnson, Jr, *The Old Testament in the New: An Argument for Biblical Inspiration* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1980) modeled a five-step approach. The editors of *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* encouraged (but apparently did not require) all their contributors to follow a six-step approach, which matches the approach of Johnson, except that they add an additional step to deal with any relevant uses in Jewish literature. See Beale and Carson, *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament*, xxiv-xxvi. Later Beale advocates and models a ninefold methodology to interpreting the use of the OT in the NT in *Handbook on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament*, 41-54, 133-48. Similarly, a seven-step approach is enumerated in Klyne Snodgrass, "The Use of the Old Testament in the New" in *The Right Doctrine from the Wrong Text? Essays on the Use of the Old Testament in the New*, ed. G. K. Beale (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 1994), 47-49. The three-step approach of this dissertation incorporates to one degree or another all of the steps mentioned in these works, but I have combined many of them under larger headings. I have done this for several reasons: (1) not all of the steps are equally applicable in each passage examined, (2) the rigid following of more steps lends itself to a reference work, but it hinders a smooth flow in a discursive work such as a dissertation, and (3) I wanted the flexibility in presentation to move subheadings around under larger sections depending on how I was building my argument in the respective chapter.

The first step will analyze the NT context. This step lays out the flow of the argument leading up to the quotation (especially the immediately surrounding verses), identifies the OT reference if it is questioned, and analyzes the author's textual use of the OT making special note of the modifications. (2) The second step is an analysis of the OT context. This step considers the immediate literary context of the passage(s) which is (are) quoted, and seeks to determine the relevance for Paul's purposes in the NT context. (3) The third step considers the function of the quotation (in the respective NT passage). This step brings together the analysis of the previous two steps and discerns the role that the quotation itself is serving in Paul's argument by noting its hermeneutical, theological and rhetorical use.

After following these three steps to examine each passage, the reader will be in a position to answer the question of whether or not Paul demonstrates a respect for the OT context in the passages that he quotes.

CHAPTER 2
ISAIAH 59:20-21 AND 27:9 IN ROMANS 11:26-27

Introduction

The end of Romans 11 is the climax of the argument that Paul has been making since the beginning of chapter 9, with ties to the rest of the book as well. So it is impossible to deal with the quotation in Romans 11:26-27 without some analysis of the context, both the immediate and larger context of the book. Many other tangential questions are raised by such analysis, however the focus of this study is to demonstrate the validity of the thesis, namely that Paul is not prooftexting, but that his use of the OT is contextually-rooted.

The structure of the following analysis will be first to examine the NT context, then the OT context, followed by an examination of the function of the quotation itself, before concluding with an evaluation of whether or not Paul is indeed respecting the context of the OT quotation in his citation.

New Testament Context

It is essential to establish the New Testament context of the quotation to understand properly what exactly Paul is hoping to accomplish in his appeal to the OT text in Romans 11:26-27. For the purposes of this dissertation, the examination will include the purpose of Romans as it relates to Jews and Gentiles, the place of Romans 9-11 in the larger argument of the book, the flow of the argument in Romans 9-11, a detailed analysis of Romans 11:25-26b, and then offer a textual analysis of the quotation itself.

The Purpose of Romans as it Relates to Jews and Gentiles

The Reformers, following Luther, primarily viewed Romans as a book about justification by faith and the individual's soteriological standing before God.¹ The majority position² now among scholars has swung to a corporate, ecclesiological concern, which is partly due to the influence of the New Perspective on Paul. James Dunn is representative in seeing the question about who constitutes the eschatological people of God as "the integrating motif" which "transcends the immediacy of several of [Paul's] purposes" in Romans.³ Even justification also serves this larger purpose in the letter. "Paul's treatment of the righteousness of God is primarily an exposition of the same Jew/Gentile theme, Paul's way of arguing that Gentiles are full recipients of the righteousness (= saving grace) of God, fully heirs of the promises to Abraham and Jacob as much as Jews are."⁴

The *people of God* issue has been underdeveloped in the study of Romans, but in many cases the pendulum has swung too far. Doug Moo offers this corrective,

To make the relationship between the two peoples – Jews and Gentiles – the theme of Romans, with the transformation of the individual a subordinate, supporting concept, is to reverse their relationship in the letter, to confuse background with foreground. The scholars who have put "people" questions at the center of Romans have overreacted to the neglect of these matters among some earlier interpreters.⁵

His solution is to understand the theme as "The gospel in its salvation-

¹D. A. Carson and Douglas J. Moo, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2005), 408. Variations of this theme have more modern proponents as well. See Ernest Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans*, trans. and ed. Geoffrey W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), 21ff.

²See Thomas R. Schreiner, *Romans*, BECNT (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 1998), 19n42, for substantiation of this assertion, including references to multiple scholars.

³James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, WBC 38a (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1988), lxii.

⁴*Ibid.*, lxiii

⁵Douglas J. Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 28.

historical context.”⁶ This is not meant to exclude either justification or the interplay of Jew and Gentile, but to recognize that they are both elaborations of the larger theme of “the gospel” that is worked out in the book of Romans.⁷

So, while Moo is right not to move the Jew/Gentile question to the foreground, it nevertheless occupies much of Paul’s concern in the letter, and is intimately tied to his understanding of the gospel message. Since the outset of the epistle Paul has made it clear that this gospel leading to salvation is for “*everyone* who believes, to the Jew first and also to the Greek” (1:16).⁸ The fact that “there is no partiality with God” (2:11) leads to Paul stating that “there is no distinction” (3:22) between Jew and Gentile for salvation is equally acquired by faith in Jesus Christ for *all* who believe. Abraham can be claimed as the father (4:11), of not just the Jew, but all who believe, because he was “made the father of many nations” (4:17, 18). And so the mark of acceptance into the Abrahamic Covenant is no longer focused on the physical act of circumcision, but circumcision of the heart by the Spirit is what delineates being a member of the people of God (2:28-29).

Yet at the same time, despite notions to the contrary, Paul does not obliterate all distinctions between Jew and Gentile. He takes up with special interest the concern of his “brothers,” that is his “kinsman according to the flesh” who Paul explicitly identifies

⁶Douglas J. Moo, *Encountering the Book of Romans: A Theological Survey*, EBS (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2002), 49. Earlier Moo offered a shorter answer, simply “The Gospel” (*Epistle to the Romans*, 29), but it is clear in context that he is not intending less by it. A fuller statement of this theme is offered by Naselli as “The Gospel in Its Salvation-Historical Context for Jews and Gentiles” (Andrew David Naselli, *From Typology to Doxology: Paul’s Use of Isaiah and Job in Romans 11:34-35* [Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2012], 11, emphasis added). Schreiner probes Paul’s thinking one step deeper and contends that even unity around the gospel was for the ultimate purpose of bringing glory to God. See Schreiner, *Romans*, 22-23.

⁷Moo, *Epistle to the Romans*, 29-30.

⁸The paradigmatic function of Rom 1:16-17 is well established by the commentators. As representative, these three commentators all refer to these two verses as the “theme” of the letter. See Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Romans: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 33 (New York: Doubleday, 1993), 253ff.; and John Murray, *The Epistle to the Romans: The English Text with Introduction, Exposition and Notes*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1968), 1:26ff.; Moo, *Epistle to the Romans*, 63ff.

as “Israelites” (9:3-4) beginning at chapter nine and running through the end of chapter eleven. Understanding the role of chapters 9-11 in the argument of Romans is critical to see the coherence of the book as a whole.

The Place of Chapters 9-11 in the Argument of Romans

Dunn is right to state that “these chapters are not an excursus, or an appendix to an argument already complete in itself.”⁹ The salvation-historical context of the gospel message demands dealing with the question of the role of ethnic Israel in God’s plans. These chapters are not merely an afterthought in Paul’s argument, but are raised by the very issues he has been addressing in the first eight chapters.¹⁰ If the gospel is “to the Jew first” (Rom 1:16), and nothing can “separate us from the love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord” (Rom 8:39), then why does it seem like the Jews have been abandoned? Schreiner clarifies the connection between these two truths in writing, “If God’s promises to Israel have not come to fruition, then how can one be sure that the great promises made to the church in Rom. 8 will be fulfilled?”¹¹ It is God’s very character to fulfill the gospel promise that is called into question.¹²

However, it is not only the preceding discussion in Romans which raises the questions that chapters 9-11 seeks to address. As Murray states, “They are the questions which the biblico-theological perspective derived from the whole of Scripture necessarily

⁹James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, WBC 38b (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1988), 519.

¹⁰It claims too much to state that “these chapters are the *purpose* for Paul writing the letter.” Tom Holland, *Romans: The Divine Marriage: A Biblical Theological Commentary* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2011), 296 (emphasis added).

¹¹Schreiner, *Romans*, 471.

¹²“While Rom 1-8 is primarily concerned with the justification of man – accomplished through faith in Christ on the basis of his atoning death – chaps. 9-11 move on to a more important topic still (anticipated in chaps. 1-8) – the justification of God.” Andreas J. Köstenberger, L. Scott Kellum, and Charles L. Quarles, *The Cradle, the Cross, and the Crown: An Introduction to the New Testament* (Nashville: B&H Academic, 2009), 537-38.

provokes.”¹³ For Paul to deal adequately with the gospel in its salvation-historical context for Jews and Gentiles, he must show how the message he is preaching coheres with the OT scriptures. Murray continues,

It is noteworthy to what an extent Paul appeals to the Old Testament in this part of the epistle. This appeal shows that the subjects with which he deals are those which have their roots in the Old Testament and are, therefore, to be understood in the light of the apostle’s interpretation and application.¹⁴

Of the over one hundred OT quotations in Paul’s letters,¹⁵ Romans has more than half, and chapters 9-11 contain some thirty citations.¹⁶ These three chapters are the greatest concentration of OT quotations in all of Paul’s canonical letters. It is in these chapters that Paul provides his most detailed discussion of the salvation-historical purpose of God as it relates to the past, present, and future salvation of Israel. And the quotation under investigation in this chapter (Rom 11:26-27) is the culmination and climax of his argument.¹⁷ To situate this quotation properly in its NT context, it is

¹³Murray, *Epistle to the Romans*, 2.xii.

¹⁴Ibid., 2.xii-xiii.

¹⁵Moisés Silva, “The Old Testament in Paul,” in *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters*, ed. G. F. Hawthorne, R. P. Martin, and D. G. Reid (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1993), 631, lists 107 citations. Steve Moyise, *Paul and Scripture: Studying the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2010), 131-32, comes up with 106 (but he only lists 104 on p. 3). Dietrich-Alex Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums: Untersuchungen zur Verwendung und zum Verständnis des Schrift bei Paulus*, BZHT 69 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1986), 21-23, catalogues 89, and Christopher D. Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture: Citation Technique in the Pauline Epistles and Contemporary Literature* (Cambridge: University Press, 1992), 83-251, analyzes only 74, but besides not considering the handful of texts in Ephesians and the Pastorals, they are using a more narrow set of criteria to identify only marked quotations (particularly Stanley).

¹⁶Determined by counting the relevant listings from Silva, *OT in Paul*, 631. Douglas J. Moo, “Paul’s Universalizing Hermeneutic in Romans,” *SBTJ* 11, no. 3 (Fall 2007): 62, identifies 35 quotations throughout Romans that have to do with the inclusion of the Gentiles, and hence the nature of the true people of God. This analysis is broader than just chaps. 9-11, but it is another way of seeing the prominence of this issue throughout the book, and hence understanding how these chapters are integral to the larger argument of Romans in general.

¹⁷Scott echoes the same idea in writing, “Romans 11:26-27 is perhaps the most important text about the restoration of Israel in the Pauline corpus, for it comes at the climax of Romans 9-11, the apostle’s only prolonged treatment of the problem of Israel.” James M. Scott, “‘And Then All Israel Will Be Saved’ (Rom 11:26),” in *Restoration: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Perspectives*, ed. James M. Scott (Boston: Brill, 2001), 489.

important to trace the flow of the argument in chapters 9-11.

The Flow of the Argument in Romans 9-11

While there are various ways to view the flow of the argument in Romans 9-11, the present purposes will be best served by seeing how these chapters are framed by the guiding question of 9:6a, which is then answered in three steps. The last part will then be a consideration of the salvation-historical twists stemming from the jealousy motif leading up to the quotation in 11:26-27 as another important piece to the flow of the argument in these chapters.

The guiding question. While the opening of Romans 9 does not explicitly state the reason for Paul's "great sorrow and unceasing anguish" (9:2), it is implied in verse 3, and also stated explicitly later (10:1; cf. 11:1).¹⁸ All of the blessings and promises granted to Israel (9:4-5) have not resulted in their salvation. The promised Jewish Messiah has arrived, but Israel has largely rejected Jesus and is therefore accursed, while the Gentiles are receiving the righteous status before God by faith (9:31-33). The church age has dawned, but in short order it is the Gentiles who are outnumbering the Jews, such that it seems like God has not kept his promise of salvation to his chosen people.

The question that naturally springs from Paul's very mention of all these ethnically inherited blessings (including being the race that birthed the Christ in Rom 9:5) combined with the obvious observation that so many Jews are "accursed" by God for rejecting Christ is, "has the word of God failed" (9:6a)? Those from Israel have always been the privileged people of God and received the attendant blessings from holding that status. But with the arrival of the Messiah, and the subsequent rejection by so many Jews,

¹⁸Thomas R. Schreiner, *Paul, Apostle of God's Glory in Christ: A Pauline Theology* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2001), 475.

the blessing of God has seemed to reside primarily on the Gentiles. In Paul's rhetorical strategy, this could call into question the very faithfulness of God to keep his promises to his people, namely Israel.¹⁹

The three steps in the argument to answer the guiding question. Paul's answer to the charge of God's unfaithfulness unfolds in three progressive steps²⁰ and occupies the next three chapters of Romans.²¹ The first step serves to define clearly the nature of the promise to Israel. Romans 9:6b clarifies that "not all who are descended from Israel belong to Israel."²² There is a subdivision within Israel.²³ Not all physical Israelites are spiritual Israelites. All of Abraham's physical children (τὰ τέκνα τῆς σαρκός) are not his spiritual children (τέκνα τοῦ θεοῦ / τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐπαγγελίας / σπέρμα).²⁴ God

¹⁹The centrality of Rom 9:6 for understanding all of chaps. 9-11 is stated well by Scott Hafemann, "The Salvation of Israel in Romans 11:25-32: A Response to Krister Stendahl," *Ex Auditu* 4 (1988): 43. He writes, "The main theme of Romans 9-11, therefore, is not the relationship between Jews and Gentiles, the nature of Paul's mission in the plan of God, the future of Israel, the scheme of salvation history, the identity of true Israel, nor even the nature of God's election and reprobation, *per se*. These are all penultimate concerns. The central issue in Romans 9-11 is whether God's faithfulness to himself and to his promised redemptive, saving activity can be maintained in spite of Israel's rejection of Jesus."

²⁰I recognize that those who do not see a future for ethnic Israel would likely see only a two-step response, but I am here assuming the results of the exegesis that will be argued for in the following pages.

²¹Moo makes this three-stage sequential argument explicit in Moo, *Encountering the Book of Romans*, 148, even stating that 9:30-10:21 is a "bit of an excursus." Rom 9:6-11:32 does have four easily discernible major sections, each concluding with a series of OT quotations, or a composite OT quotation (9:25-29; 10:18-21; 11:8-10; 11:26b-27), and each, apart from the first section, also introduced with a rhetorical question (9:30; 11:1,11). Moo, *Epistle to the Romans*, 554. However, for the present purposes and specifically as it relates to the salvation of Israel, Paul makes three substantial contributions to their past, present, and future salvation.

²²Moo, *Epistle to the Romans*, 573, and Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 539 follow John Piper, *The Justification of God: An Exegetical and Theological Study of Romans 9:1-23*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker), 47-48, in taking the οὐ with the second part of the sentence (contrary to most English translations) hence the translation "all who are of Israel, these are not Israel." But the basic meaning is not significantly affected either way. So, Schreiner, *Romans*, 493.

²³Paul is not using the term "Israel" here to refer to Jews and Gentiles together, but rather as a subset of larger ethnic Israel. He is essentially introducing the concept of the remnant he will develop later.

²⁴Most English translations read the ὅτι in Rom 9:7a as causal, but understanding it as introducing an object clause instead preserves the term σπέρμα in both vv. 7 and 8 as the narrower, spiritually significant use of the term, which fits Paul's use elsewhere (Rom 4:13, 16, 18; 9:29; 11:1; 2 Cor

chose Isaac, not Ishmael, and Jacob, not Esau (Rom 9:9-13). It is the promise, based on God's electing purpose, that determines who are the recipients of God's mercy, not ethnicity. This same principle also serves to explain how it is that God extends his "call" upon the Gentiles (Rom 9:24-26),²⁵ while only a remnant of the sons of Israel will be saved (Rom 9:27-29).²⁶

The second step in Paul's answer to the implicit charge of God's unfaithfulness to Israel comes as a response to the realization that Israel has been stubborn and disobedient so God has turned his favor to the Gentiles (Rom 10:18-21). In Romans 11:1a Paul asks, "Has God rejected his people?" Embedded in the question is the implied answer,²⁷ but Paul leaves no doubt with his customary emphatic response of *μὴ γένοιτο*. "God has not rejected his people whom he foreknew,"²⁸ for Paul himself is a present example of the reality that there are Israelites who currently trust in Christ and are therefore receiving the mercy of God (11:1-2).

11:22; Gal 3:16, 19, 29). See Schreiner, *Romans*, 494-95; Moo, *Epistle to the Romans*, 575n25; and Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 540.

²⁵"Paul now takes this point to its logical and (from the perspective of first-century Judaism) radical conclusion: physical descent from Abraham not only does not guarantee inclusion in the true people of God; it is not even necessary." Moo, *Epistle to the Romans*, 610.

²⁶Isa 10:20-23 (quoted in Rom 9:27-28) seems to say that only the remnant will be saved from Israel in the OT itself. This idea is emphasized by Leon Morris, *The Epistle to the Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), 371-72, which raises a question when compared with Paul's statement in 11:26 and his appeal to Isaiah again there. Anticipating the forthcoming exegesis of Rom 11:26 as a future mass conversion of ethnic Israel, one might claim this verse in Rom 9:27 as counter evidence, but I do not think there is an incompatibility between these passages. The point being emphasized in Romans 9 is simply that not all of physical Israel will be saved, hence only a remnant ("even though the number of the sons of Israel be as the sand of the sea"). And in Rom 11:26 the point is simply that there will be a time in the future when so many Israelites respond in faith that it can be said that "all Israel" will be saved. But the salvation mentioned there is only the majority of Israelites living at that time, not throughout history. Even though it is (diachronically speaking) "all Israel," comparably it is "only a remnant" (synchronically speaking). See Schreiner, *Romans*, 622.

²⁷*μὴ* with the indicative.

²⁸Paul is not here distinguishing precisely between physical and spiritual Israel, but is merely referring to them as a collective whole, borrowing the wording of *λαός* from the LXX of Isa 65:2 in Rom 10:21 (cf. also Rom 9:25-26; 15:10). See C. E. B. Cranfield, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans: Commentary on Romans IX-XVI and Essays*, ICC (London: T&T Clark, 1975), 545, and Murray, *Epistle to the Romans*, 2.67-68.

Paul goes on to develop the theme of the remnant, which he explicitly introduced in Romans 9:27 (ὕπολειμμα). God has always had a group of Israelites he has preserved within larger Israel who are faithful, as is exemplified by the seven thousand who did not bend the knee to Baal in Elijah's day (Rom 11:2-5; cf. 1 Kgs 19). "So too at the present time there is a remnant (λείμμα), chosen by grace (Rom 11:5)." God is not unfaithful to his covenant people because he has not rejected his people altogether, it is only a partial rejection. Even though οἱ λοιποὶ were hardened, God has still saved ἡ ἐκλογὴ remnant (Rom 11:7).

While Paul does not assign a numerical value to each group, it seems quite clear that the majority of Israelites are the ones experiencing God's hardening (quantitatively speaking). This is what has prompted the question in the first place harking back to the opening verses of chapter nine. It is corporate Israel "who pursued a law that would lead to righteousness," but "did not succeed in reaching that law" (Rom 9:31), and who are described as "a disobedient and contrary people" (Rom 10:21). Because the elect remnant is numerically less than the hardened majority, Paul can say collectively that "Israel failed to obtain what it was seeking" (Rom 11:7). The rest of chapter eleven is concerned to address the destiny of οἱ λοιποὶ of verse 7, this remaining unbelieving group of ethnic Israel that was not chosen to be included in the remnant by grace, but were hardened.²⁹ It is here that Paul begins to take his third step in answering the concern about God's unfaithfulness toward his people, which culminates in Romans 11:26-27.

Reminiscent of the rhetorical question of Romans 11:1, Paul again asks if this hardening has led to an irrevocable fall for Israel, which he quickly follows up with the

²⁹Moo could be right when he argues that the focus of vv. 11-15 is not just the hardened remainder, but Israel corporately, skipping over vv. 7b-10, referring to v. 7a. Although I think that unlikely in the flow of the argument, it still would not necessarily affect the main thrust of my interpretation of the rest of chap. 11. See Moo, *Epistle to the Romans*, 686.

same emphatic negative response as before.³⁰ God did not harden Israel with the purpose of leaving them in a fallen state, excluded from the promised blessings of salvation. God had other purposes for their hardening, which will be explored below, but in this section Paul offers the third step in his answer to the question looming over these chapters. God's faithfulness to his people will be upheld because Israel's present state of unbelief and exclusion will not persist to the end. Running through this section is the nagging idea that for Israel there is the hope of a change of circumstances. The current state of affairs will not be the final reality for Israel.

Paul hints at this idea before making it explicit, but each time the references to a future salvation for Israel become clearer. Three times in this section (vv. 11-24) Paul makes an *a fortiori* argument ("how much more"), arguing from the lesser to the greater in reference to the work that God has already done with the Gentiles and the work he will do in the future with Israel.³¹ The spiritual restoration of Israel in the future is spoken of as "their fullness" (v.12), "their acceptance" (v. 15), and their "engrafting" (vv. 23-24).³²

The fullness (πλήρωμα) of Israel most probably refers to the "full number" of Jews who will be saved. While the contrast in verse 12 of πλήρωμα with παράπτωμα and ἥττημα might lend toward a qualitative reading of the term,³³ the parallel occurrence of πλήρωμα in Romans 11:25 tips the scales to understanding Paul to be using the term

³⁰"Virtually all commentators agree that the question, "Have they stumbled so as to fall?" (μὴ ἔπταισαν ἵνα πέσωσιν); asks whether Israel's failure to obtain salvation is irrevocable and irreversible." Schreiner, *Romans*, 593.

³¹Paul uses a similar syntactical structure each time too. All three instances are in the form of a conditional sentence introduced with εἰ, and in vv. 12 and 24 followed by πόσω μᾶλλον. Verse 15 has slightly different wording (εἰ . . . τίς), but the lesser-to-greater idea is still present.

³²Rom 11:16 could be another reference indicating a greater salvation for Israel in the future, especially if the firstfruits of the dough is taken to be the present believing Jewish remnant. In this case, the salvation of the remaining unbelieving majority of Israel as a whole is clearly meant by the consecration of the "whole lump." So, Hafemann, "Salvation of Israel," 51; Cranfield, *Romans 9-16*, 563-55; Moo, *Encountering the Book of Romans*, 170.

³³Murray, *Epistle to the Romans*, 2.78-79.

quantitatively.³⁴ But these ideas are not mutually exclusive; the “fullness” of Israel’s experience of the kingdom blessings “is attained through a numerical process.”³⁵ Israel as the saved people of God currently only exists as the small remnant, but one day they will experience the fullness of God’s salvation by the “full inclusion”³⁶ of the hardened majority.

Paul goes on to describe the future “acceptance” (πρόσλημψις) of Israel as nothing less than “life from the dead” (11:15). The similar language of acceptance by God in Romans 14:3 and 15:7³⁷ and also the strong emphasis in this passage on God’s sovereignty in salvation (cf. 11:7-10 with “their rejection” in 11:15) indicate that this is not speaking of Israel’s acceptance of the gospel³⁸ but of God’s acceptance of Israel. The reconciliation that the Gentiles received when Israel was rejected will one day be theirs again as Israel experiences God’s acceptance. The overturning of God’s previous rejection of Israel will result in nothing less than a resurrection from the dead (ζωή ἐκ νεκρῶν). Following the lesser-to-greater argument in the verse, this resurrection must be something greater than “the reconciliation of the world” that occurred when Israel was rejected. A simple statement of Israel’s restoration and salvation³⁹ does not do justice to the language here. This resurrection must have implications for the whole world, and therefore most likely refers to the literal resurrection that will be the climax of this age

³⁴Schreiner, *Romans*, 598.

³⁵Moo, *Epistle to the Romans*, 690.

³⁶This is the translation of πλήρωμα in the NRSV and the ESV.

³⁷Paul uses a different word in these two references (προσλαμβάνομαι), but in Louw and Nida’s groupings, they share the same semantic domain (Domain 34, “Association”). Johannes P. Louw and Eugene A. Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains*, 2nd ed. (New York: United Bible Societies, 1989); προσλαμβάνομαι appears in sub-domain G, “Welcome, Receive” (34.53) and πρόσλημψις appears in sub-domain C, “Belong To, Be Included in the Membership of, Be Excluded From” (34.34).

³⁸As argued by Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 612.

³⁹As argued by Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 613; Holland, *Romans*, 375-76.

following the salvation of both the full number of Gentiles *and* Jews.⁴⁰

The third reference to Israel's hope of a future change of circumstances comes in the midst of the olive tree illustration spanning Romans 11:16-24. It will be explored more in the next section, but suffice it to say that even though some of the branches of Israel were broken off (11:17), they will not stay cut off from the tree forever. God is able to "engraft them again" (πάλιν ἐγκεντρίσαι αὐτούς) if they do not continue in their unbelief (11:23).⁴¹ Paul means this not simply as a statement of what is possible for Israel, but also what is the expected action. If God would bring in Gentiles, who do not naturally belong, to receive the promised salvation, how much more confident the reader should be to expect God to bring back the missing majority of Israel, who are the original branches (11:24).

Paul's final answer to the charge of whether or not God has been faithful to keep his word in reference to the promises given to Israel is not left to the subtlety of speaking of "their fullness" (11:12), "their acceptance" (11:15), and their "engrafting" (11:23-24). The unambiguous full statement comes in Romans 11:26, "all Israel will be saved." What was hinted at previously in this section is now made explicit. God's faithfulness will be demonstrated ultimately by restoring Israel to himself. The people of God will not always consist of merely a small number of Jews. The final fulfillment of God's covenantal promises awaits a future time when the hardening is lifted from Israel, and so many Israelites turn to faith in Christ such that it can be said that "all Israel" is saved.

Naselli summarizes the three step argument of this section well, when he

⁴⁰Cranfield, *Romans 9-16*, 562-63; Schreiner, *Romans*, 598-99; Moo, *Epistle to the Romans*, 694-96; Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 658.

⁴¹Schreiner (*Romans*, 612) notes a helpful clarification: "When Paul says that 'God is able to graft them in again' (v. 23b), he is not emphasizing God's ability to do so – that is taken for granted. The point is that God is *willing* to do so; he has not cast off Israel forever" (emphasis original).

writes,

Thus, in Rom 9:6-11:32, Paul vindicates God's righteousness in his past, present, and future dealings with Israel. (1) God's past covenantal promises do not contradict the new twist in salvation history in which God is saving some Israelites and many Gentiles. (2) God is presently fulfilling his covenantal promises by saving some Israelites. (3) God will fulfill his covenantal promises when "all Israel will be saved" (11:26). Therefore, the word of God has not failed (9:6a).⁴²

Before moving to a more detailed analysis of the verses immediately preceding the quotation under examination (Rom 11:25-26b), it is critical to consider more closely the salvation-historical twists in Romans 11, which stem from the jealousy motif running through this section of the letter. It is this concept that is actually central to Paul's argument in this section, is at the core of the "mystery" revelation, and is also the explanation behind the uniqueness of Paul's modified quotation in Romans 11:26-27.

Salvation-historical twists stemming from the jealousy motif. There is one last piece to understand properly the flow of the argument, especially in chapter eleven. One of the emphases in this section is not just *that* Israel will be saved, but *how* they will be saved. Part of the explanation for the hardening that has come upon Israel is that it serves a larger purpose in God's redemptive plan.⁴³ Paul's rhetorical question in 11:11 asks if the divine purpose (ἵνα)⁴⁴ in the hardening was to leave Israel in desolation. In the negative response an alternate purpose is given, that is "to make [Israel] jealous" (εἰς τὸ παραζηλῶσαι αὐτούς) through salvation coming to the Gentiles. As is made clear in verse 14, Paul is connecting Israel's jealousy with her salvation. God's hardening of Israel was never meant to be permanent, but served a purpose in ultimately leading to their eventual

⁴²Naselli, *From Typology to Doxology*, 23.

⁴³Israel's hardening is a result of the "historical outworking of the principle of election and reprobation" that Paul established in Rom 9:14-23 (cf. 11:7). O. Palmer Robertson, *The Israel of God* (Phillipsburg, NJ: Presbyterian and Reformed, 2000), 178.

⁴⁴"It seems in this context, where an all-embracing conception of God's sovereignty is present, that the idea of *purpose* is primary." Schreiner, *Romans*, 593 (emphasis added).

salvation. The temporary hardening allowed a time for the Gentiles to come to faith, and so save all of God’s chosen people, Jew *and* Gentile. In this way, Israel’s hardening was the first in a three-stage process that culminates in Israel’s final salvation.⁴⁵ Israel was rejected by God, which led to the inclusion of the Gentiles, which in turn will lead to the inclusion of Israel. This “three stage process by which God’s blessing oscillates between Israel and Gentiles is at the heart of this entire section”⁴⁶ (see table 1).⁴⁷

Table 1. Salvation-historical twists in Romans 11:11-32: Israel → Gentiles → Israel

vv.	Rejection of Israel →	Inclusion of Gentiles →	Inclusion of Israel
11	through their trespass	salvation has come to the Gentiles,	so as to make Israel jealous
12	if their trespass means	riches for the world,	how much more will their full inclusion mean!
	if their failure means	riches for the Gentiles,	
15	if their rejection means	the reconciliation of the world,	what will their acceptance mean but life from the dead?
17	if some of the branches were broken off,	and you, although a wild olive shoot, were grafted in among the others and now share in the nourishing root of the olive tree,	

⁴⁵Moo points out in reference to this three-stage process that “a key issue is whether Paul envisions this sequence as a repeated historical pattern or as a single movement spanning the course of salvation history” (*Encountering the Book of Romans*, 167). Those who do not see a future mass conversion for ethnic Israel in Romans 11 would argue for the former. However the latter is the best way to see this sequence, because as the reader has seen in the previous discussion about Rom 11:12,15, 23-24, Israel is still awaiting the last stage in this salvation-historical process.

⁴⁶Moo, *Epistle to the Romans*, 684.

⁴⁷Table reproduced from Naselli, *From Typology to Doxology*, 18-19. Cf. also figures 1 and 2 in J. R. Daniel Kirk, “Why Does the Deliverer Come ἐκ Σιῶν (Romans 11.26)?” *JSNT* 33, no. 1 (2010): 90.

Table 1 continued

19	“Branches were broken off	so that I might be grafted in.”	
20	They were broken off because of their unbelief,	but you stand fast through faith.	
21	God did not spare the natural branches		
22	the severity of God: severity toward those who have fallen	the kindness . . . of God: . . . God’s kindness to you	
23			even they, if they do not continue in their unbelief, will be grafted in, for God has the power to graft them in again.
24		if you were cut from what is by nature a wild olive tree, and grafted, contrary to nature, into a cultivated olive tree,	how much more will these, the natural branches, be grafted back into their own olive tree.
25-26	a partial hardening has come upon Israel,	until the fullness of the Gentiles has come in.	And in this way all Israel will be saved
28	As regards the gospel, they are enemies of God	for your sake	But as regards election, they are beloved for the sake of their forefathers.
30	because of their disobedience	you were at one time disobedient to God but now have received mercy,	
31	so they too have now been disobedient	in order that by the mercy shown to you	They also may now receive mercy.
32	For God has consigned all to disobedience,	that he may have mercy on all.	

As alluded to above, the mechanism (so to speak) which initiated this salvation process, with its redemptive-historical twists, was God’s provocation of the Jews to jealousy by using the Gentiles. The origin of this jealousy motif for Paul is found in Deuteronomy 32, which is quoted in Romans 10:19.⁴⁸ In the Song of Moses Israel will provoke God to jealousy with what is “no god,” i.e., “idols” (Deut 32:21a), so God will in turn provoke Israel to jealousy with those who are “no people,” i.e., the Gentiles (Deut 32:21b). It is the LXX of the second half of this verse (with slight modification)⁴⁹ that Paul quotes in Romans 10:19. In the context of Deuteronomy God is foretelling the defeat of Israel by the Gentiles, most likely referring to the destruction that came from the hands of the Assyrians or Babylonians.⁵⁰ It does not appear that what is in view is the *salvation* of the Gentiles, but the *judgment* by the Gentiles as the means of provoking Israel (cf. Deut 32:23-27). Israel is provoked because God will deal with the Gentiles in a favorable way, while his chosen people are punished. However, Paul does find in the LXX of Deuteronomy 32:43⁵¹ an affirmation of the inclusion of the Gentiles in the

⁴⁸Richard H. Bell, *Provoked to Jealousy: The Origin and Purpose of the Jealousy Motif in Romans 9-11*, WUNT 63 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994), 200-285.

⁴⁹The third person pronouns (αὐτοῦς) referring to Israel are twice changed to second person (ὤμᾱς), which for Paul turns the words into a direct address to Israel.

⁵⁰Even in Deuteronomy the rejection of Israel is not the final note sounded. God is faithful (32:4) to this specially chosen nation of Israel (32:7-14), so he “will vindicate *his people* and have compassion on *his servants*” (32:36) when he avenges Israel’s enemies (32:43). “Far beyond the catchword ἔθνος, the larger context of Deuteronomy 32:21 makes it a particularly fitting text to address the burning issue that consumes Paul throughout Romans 9-11: the vindication of God’s faithfulness to Israel.” J. Ross Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News: Isaiah and Paul “In Concert” in the Letter to the Romans*, Supplements to Novum Testamentum 101 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 198. See also Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), 164.

⁵¹The textual history of this verse is complicated. The ESV (in the tradition of the NRSV) is following the DSS and so omits this line (εὐφράνθητε ἔθνη μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ) from the verse. For additional discussion on the textual history of this verse, see John William Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy*, SBLSCS 39 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 533-35; Bell, *Provoked to Jealousy*, 259-62; Francis Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith* (New York: T&T Clark, 2004), 450-52. For a table comparing the LXX, MT and 4QDeut32, see Gareth Lee Cockerhill, “Hebrews 1:6: Source and Significance,” *BBR* 9 (1999): 53-55. Deut 32:43 is also quoted in Heb 1:6.

people of God, which he quotes in Romans 15:10.⁵² Also, Paul has already found in other negative “people”⁵³ statements from the OT (Hos 2:23 and 1:10 [2:1 in the LXX] quoted in Rom 9:25-26) the salvation of the Gentiles (Rom 9:24).⁵⁴ So Paul is probably utilizing Deuteronomy 32:21 for his argument in Romans 10:19 to prove that the gospel has gone into all the world because it has also come to the Gentiles.⁵⁵ In either case, it is clear that in chapter eleven, Paul is describing Israel’s jealousy over the Gentiles because of their inclusion in salvation (Rom 11:11). But God is not provoking Israel to jealousy as merely a means of punishment for their transgression, but as a means to bring them salvation as well (Rom 11:14).⁵⁶

Paul viewed his own ministry as playing a role in this task of saving both groups. Even though he was an apostle to the Gentiles (Rom 11:13), he did not cease to be concerned for the salvation of Israel.⁵⁷ In fact it was the burning desire for his ethnic people that stimulated the discussion in these chapters in the first place (Rom 9:1-5; 10:1). He hoped his own mission to the Gentiles would stimulate the salvation for some

⁵²Bell, *Provoked to Jealousy*, 272.

⁵³Two notes of clarification are needed here: (1) while the underlying Hebrew word for both sets of texts in Hosea and Deuteronomy is אֵין, the Greek word is different between these texts, with λαός being used in Rom 9:25-26 and ἔθνος in Rom 10:19; and (2) while Paul is using both OT texts to speak of Gentile inclusion, the original referents for the “no people” statements are different as well, with Hosea clearly referring to Israel and Deuteronomy, the Gentiles.

⁵⁴Moo posits that it was probably the catch phrase “no people” that drew Paul’s attention to Deut 32 in the first place. Moo, “Paul’s Universalizing Hermeneutic,” 67-68.

⁵⁵Schreiner, *Romans*, 573; Moo, *Epistle to the Romans*, 668; Murray, *Epistle to the Romans*, 62; Cranfield, *Romans 9-16*, 539.

⁵⁶Bell does note a slight shift in meaning for παραζήλοῦν between Romans 10 and 11 as well. In Rom 10:19 he claims it has the nuance of “to provoke to jealous anger,” whereas in Rom 11:11, 14 it has a slight change to “provoke to emulation.” Bell, *Provoked to Jealousy*, 39-43, 154-57. But the distinction might have more to do with the context and the result of the provocation to jealousy rather than a strict lexical difference.

⁵⁷After all, his missionary call did include being a chosen instrument to bring the gospel to both Gentiles and the sons of Israel (Acts 9:15).

of the Jews (Rom 11:14).⁵⁸ But as Schreiner helpfully notes, the Gentiles are not merely serving as a means for Israelite salvation. He writes, “The emphasis on the benefits for the Gentiles in verse 12 precludes Gentiles from supposing that Paul’s ministry to the Gentiles is conceived only in instrumental terms; his ministry to the Gentiles is not only designed to provoke Israel to jealousy but also brings great riches to the Gentiles.”⁵⁹ God has brought salvation to the Gentiles *through* Israel and to Israel *through* the Gentiles (cf. Rom 11:30-31).

The interconnected relationship between the salvation of both the Jews and the Gentiles is also clearly taught through the use of an extended metaphor of an olive tree. Starting in Romans 11:13 and continuing through at least verse 32, Paul is directly addressing the Gentiles (ὕμῖν δὲ λέγω τοῖς ἔθνεσιν).⁶⁰ He adopts the metaphor of the olive tree (ἐλαία) as exemplifying the people of God to explain the relationship of the Gentiles to Israel. He calls the Gentiles a wild olive branch (ἀγριέλαιος) (Rom 11:17, 24), whereas Israel is the cultivated olive branch (καλλιέλαιος) (Rom 11:24).⁶¹ The olive tree root (ρίζα τῆς ἐλαίας) (Rom 11:17-18) completes all the components of the metaphor, which most likely represents the patriarchs, and the covenantal promises they received (Rom

⁵⁸The fact that Paul says “some of them” could be raised as an objection to the interpretation that Paul is teaching a mass conversion of ethnic Israel. “There will always be some of Abraham’s physical descendants who are included in the true ‘seed.’ That is all that the promise envisaged.” N. T. Wright, *Romans*, in vol. 10 of *The New Interpreter’s Bible*, ed. Leander E. Keck (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2002), 682. However, “when Paul uses τινές in Rom. 11.14, he is *not necessarily* referring to a small number; rather, he is referring to an indeterminate number.” Bell, *Provoked to Jealousy*, 161. In fact, the use of τινες τῶν κλάδων three verses later in Rom 11:17 seems to pretty clearly refer to the majority of Jews in context. But this could simply be an expression in Rom 11:14 of a sort of missionary modesty on Paul’s behalf. See Moo, *Epistle to the Romans*, 692.

⁵⁹Schreiner, *Romans*, 594.

⁶⁰The continuation of this direct address to the Gentiles is supported by the second person references through to v. 32 (vv. 17-24 in the singular; vv. 25-32 in the plural).

⁶¹Or also simply referred to as the branches (κλάδος) in Rom 11:16-19 when it is assumed that Israel was naturally (κατὰ φύσιν) present first in the olive tree (Rom 11:21).

11:28).⁶²

In summary fashion, the image that emerges from the metaphor is as follows. The people of God were formed beginning with the patriarchs, and Israel naturally grew up from them. But because of disobedience and unbelief “some” (Rom 11:17) of these natural branches were broken off. The ones who are broken off are the hardened remainder (Rom 11:7). They were broken off in order to make room for the Gentiles to be grafted in (Rom 11:19). So, for a time at least, the olive tree root has growing up from it both the elect remnant of the Israelites, and now “among them” (Rom 11:17) the Gentiles who have responded in faith (Rom 11:20) to the Messiah, so together they now form the people of God. But as discussed above, Romans 11:23-24 teaches that there is still room for the natural branches to be grafted back into the olive tree, and hence complete the cycle.⁶³ The final purpose in God’s hardening of Israel is not complete until both the Gentiles and Israel are receiving the promised blessings of salvation.

This three-stage process of Israel’s rejection, the Gentiles’ inclusion, and finally Israel’s inclusion not only frames this whole section of Romans 11, but is also the structure of Paul’s mystery statement in Romans 11:25-26. The detailed analysis of the respective verses will examine this mystery statement first.

Detailed Analysis of Romans 11:25-26b

The basic message of these verses seems clear enough on a first reading, yet almost every phrase has been vigorously debated.⁶⁴ Each of them will be analyzed in

⁶²A good case can be made for the “root” being Christ. See Svetlana Khobnya, “‘The Root’ in Paul’s Olive Tree Metaphor (Romans 11:16-24),” *TynBul* 64 (2013): 257-73.

⁶³The metaphor is speaking in corporate categories. The individual Jews whom God has hardened will not be brought back into divine favor, but that hardening on Israel as a whole is reversed by the fact that God elected many at the end.

⁶⁴For a helpful overview of all the exegetical options that have been proposed for Rom 11:25-27, see François Refoulé, “. . . *Et Ainsi Tout Israël Sera Sauvé*”; *Romains 11, 25–32*, *Lectio Divina* 117 (Paris: Cerf, 1984), 25-65.

turn, while drawing conclusions along the way.

Mystery (11:25a). *Μυστήριον* is used by Paul a total of twenty one times,⁶⁵ and two of them are found in the book of Romans. The other usage of the word, in the closing doxology of Romans 16:25, provides a good insight into the basic meaning of the term. It is a revelation of a previously hidden idea in the eternal plan of God, which is now disclosed.⁶⁶ “According to Paul the mystery of God has been disclosed particularly in the gospel of Jesus Christ.”⁶⁷

Here Paul does not mean to disclose every part of the hidden plan of God, but a certain aspect of it (“*this* mystery”).⁶⁸ The demonstrative points forward to the content of the dependent clause introduced by ὅτι.⁶⁹ Strictly speaking, according to the syntax three separate clauses describe “this mystery”:⁷⁰ (1) “a hardening in part has come on Israel,” (2) “until the fullness of the Gentiles comes in,” (3) “and in this way all Israel will be saved.”

Yet syntax alone does not answer what is the focal point of Paul’s mystery, because the argument does not seem to assign equal weight to all three clauses.⁷¹ Paul has

⁶⁵That number includes 1 Cor 2:1, which has a textual variant.

⁶⁶Schreiner, *Paul*, 477.

⁶⁷Schreiner, *Romans*, 613.

⁶⁸For how Paul came to know this mystery, see Markus N. A. Bockmuehl, *Revelation and Mystery in Ancient Judaism and Pauline Christianity*, WUNT 2 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1990), 174.

⁶⁹D. A. Carson, “Mystery and Fulfillment: Toward a More Comprehensive Paradigm of Paul’s Understanding of the Old and the New,” in *Justification and Variegated Nomism: A Fresh Appraisal of Paul and Second Temple Judaism*, vol. 2, *The Paradoxes of Paul*, ed. D. A. Carson, Peter T. O’Brien, and Mark A. Seifrid (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2004), 419; Cranfield, *Romans 9-16*, 574; Wright, *Romans*, 687.

⁷⁰Robert Jewett, *Romans: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007), 699; Colin G. Kruse, *Paul’s Letter to the Romans*, PNTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), 442; Moo, *Epistle to the Romans*, 716; Schreiner, *Romans*, 614; Schreiner, *Paul*, 477; contra Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 678, who though he makes a great effort to survey much extra-biblical literature in an effort to define “mystery,” he does not even acknowledge the clear syntactical answer that Paul provides in the verse.

⁷¹Contra Cranfield, *Romans 9-16*, 575, who thinks it is “a mistake to try to give any particular

already plainly taught that a hardening has come on the non-elect of Israel in Romans 11:7b-10, which was supported by the OT. The salvation of all Israel would be no surprise “since this was an expectation widely held among Jews in Paul’s day.”⁷² Even that there would be inclusion of the Gentiles in the people of God is taught in more than one place in the OT.⁷³

What is new for Paul and his audience, having not previously been revealed, “is the *sequence of salvation* for Jews and Gentiles.”⁷⁴ It was thought that the salvation of the Jews would bring in the salvation of the Gentiles, not the other way around. “Wholly novel was the idea that the inauguration of the eschatological age would involve setting aside the majority of Jews while Gentiles streamed in to enjoy the blessings of salvation and that only when that stream had been exhausted would Israel as a whole experience these blessings.”⁷⁵

The salvation of “all Israel” is clearly the climactic statement of the three parts of the *μυστήριον*,⁷⁶ but Paul is not emphasizing merely *that* Israel will be saved, but *how*⁷⁷

word or phrase a special emphasis apart from recognizing that it is [the third clause] which is the high-point of the whole.”

⁷²Moo, *Epistle to the Romans*, 716.

⁷³Gen 12:2-3; Jer 16:19-20; Isa 14:1; 42:6; 49:6; Psa 67:2; 117:1. See also Bockmuehl, *Revelation and Mystery*, 173n78.

⁷⁴Michael G. Vanlaningham, “Romans 11:25-27 and the Future of Israel in Paul’s Thought,” *TMSJ* 3, no. 2 (Fall 1992): 147 (emphasis original). Carson, “Mystery and Fulfillment,” 421, concurs in asking, “What elements of that clause would not have been found in Scripture by first-century readers of the Old Testament before Christian interpretation intruded. Doubtless the most striking such element is the sequence.”

⁷⁵Moo, *Epistle to the Romans*, 716-17. Schreiner, *Romans*, 614, also agrees with Moo that the focal point of the mystery is the “timing and manner of Israel’s salvation,” that it would occur *after* Gentile inclusion. While I describe the core of the mystery slightly differently, Kruse is getting at the same idea when he writes, “The essential point of the mystery is not found in any one of the three aspects, but rather in the whole sequence of these interdependent events. What is surprising about this mystery is that it constitutes a reversal of Jewish expectations – the entry of the Gentiles into salvation would *precede* that of Israel, and not vice versa.” *Romans*, 442 (emphasis original).

⁷⁶Schreiner, *Romans*, 615.

⁷⁷The third clause is introduced by *οὕτως*, which, as I will argue, is being used as an adverb of manner.

they will be saved. “Israel will be saved in an unexpected manner, *after* the full number of the Gentiles has been won, and *through* the Gentile mission.”⁷⁸ The nature of the mystery involves the interdependence of the salvation of the Gentiles and Israel.⁷⁹ In this sense, Carson observes that

some scholars argue that the essential content of the *μυστήριον* in this passage is the second element, “until the full number of the Gentiles has come in.” After all, within Romans 9-11 there are biblical texts that support the first and third elements, but not that support the second. In other words, it is argued that although Paul can cite Scriptures justifying the inclusion of large numbers of Gentiles, he has not cited anything to support the *order* of events surrounding their inclusion.⁸⁰

As was stated above, Gentile inclusion was not a foreign concept in the OT, but what was not clear was the role they would play in the salvation of Israel. The salvation-historical twists in Romans 11:11ff. are all compressed into this one mystery statement. And as I will argue, the following OT quotation, with Paul’s interpretive modifications, is not merely grounding the final salvation of Israel, but the manner of that salvation as it includes the Gentiles. This is the uniqueness and focal point of Paul’s new revelation.

Partial hardening (11:25b). The reason for this inversion of soteriological sequence is because of this *πάρωσις ἀπὸ μέρους τῷ Ἰσραὴλ γέγονεν*. A hardening of Israel was already introduced in verse 7,⁸¹ but what is of considerable debate is the phrase *ἀπὸ μέρους*. Should this prepositional phrase be construed adjectivally, adverbially, or

⁷⁸E. P. Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983), 194 (emphasis original).

⁷⁹Ben L. Merkle, “Romans 11 and the Future of Ethnic Israel,” *JETS* 43, no. 4 (December 2000): 719.

⁸⁰Carson, “Mystery and Fulfillment,” 420. Some would argue that all the essential elements of the mystery are found in the OT citations from Romans 9-11. See Otfried Hofius, “‘All Israel Will Be Saved’: Divine Salvation and Israel’s Deliverance in Romans 9-11,” *Princeton Seminary Bulletin* supp. 1 (1990): 37-39. As individual statements viewed in isolation from each other, this is correct. But it misses the point for how Paul puts them together, namely that one leads to the other.

⁸¹Rom 11:25 uses the noun *πάρωσις*, whereas the cognate verb *παρώω* is found in 11:7.

temporally? The one possible temporal use of ἀπὸ μέρους is in Romans 15:24, but a quantitative sense fits the other three Pauline uses.⁸² The hardening might have a partial duration, but that concept is not found in this phrase by itself.⁸³

Most commentators are split between the adjectival and the adverbial understanding. If taken adverbially, it would be said to modify the verb γέγονεν, and be translated something like, “a hardening has come *partially* on Israel.”⁸⁴ The arguments in favor of this rendering are that the other four Pauline usages all appear to be adverbial, and also the close relationship that exists between prepositional phrases and adverbs.⁸⁵ On the other hand, an adjectival understanding seems more likely because of the word order.⁸⁶ Therefore it either modifies πώρωσις and should be rendered something like, “a *partial* hardening has come on Israel,”⁸⁷ or it modifies Ἰσραήλ and should be rendered as, “hardening has come *on part* of Israel.”⁸⁸

At the end of the day, it is frankly hard to decide which word ἀπὸ μέρους modifies,⁸⁹ and I also doubt it really matters,⁹⁰ or at least it is only a secondary

⁸²Rom 15:15; 2 Cor 1:14; 2:5.

⁸³Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 621, while overall he advocates no difference in meaning whatever the prepositional phrase is understood to modify, he does assert that, “such a hardening is partial, because it is *also* temporary” (emphasis added). I agree that the hardening is temporary, but that notion is not found with ἀπὸ μέρους, but in ἄχρι οὗ or the fact that all Israel will be saved, hence the re-grafting. It is the combination of each part of the mystery statement that brings out the temporary nature of Israel’s hardening. Here there is something to preserve by seeing the numerical limitation of the hardening, because it was not temporary for the elect Jews who are already members of the church.

⁸⁴This rendering is adopted by Cranfield, *Romans 9-16*, 575; Moo, *Epistle to the Romans*, 717.

⁸⁵Stanley E. Porter, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament*. 2nd ed. (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 139.

⁸⁶R. C. H. Lenski, *The Interpretation of St. Paul’s Epistle to the Romans* (Columbus, OH: Lutheran Book Concern, 1936), 719.

⁸⁷Schreiner, *Romans*, 617 tentatively adopts this position. Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 679, also reads this prepositional phrase in this way, but describes it as an adverbial rendering, perhaps because it is modifying the verbal idea in πώρωσις.

⁸⁸Käsemann, *Romans*, 313.

⁸⁹Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 621.

consideration for the interpretation of its meaning in this verse. A more reliable guide to the proper understanding of the nature of this hardening is found by the comparison with Romans 11:7.⁹¹ Here, as the reader has already seen, “the remainder,” which is the majority of corporate Israel (in contrast with the elect “remnant”), was hardened. That hardening was thoroughgoing in the sense that they were completely under the judgment of God, and had been cut off from the blessing that the remnant of Israel received.⁹² So in that sense, the partial nature of the hardening refers to its extent to only part of Israel.⁹³ This hardening remains while Israel continues in unbelief (11:20). Paul has already said that it is not irreversible (11:11), but the condition is faith and the removal of sin. The question of the timing for the duration of this hardening is taken up in the next phrase.

Until (11:25c). The partial hardening of Israel is said to happen ἄχρι οὗ τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν ἐθνῶν εἰσέλθῃ. Though formally a preposition, ἄχρι οὗ is here being used idiomatically as a conjunction.⁹⁴ There are two basic ways that this construction is understood, either with a temporal termination in view, or with a temporal progression as the goal. A good case can be made for understanding this phrase to mean that the hardening of Israel continues “right up to” the fullness of the Gentiles, with no implied change of condition afterwards. In this sense it has an eschatological termination.⁹⁵ The

⁹⁰This opinion concurs with Schreiner, *Romans*, 617, who writes that it matters little where the words are grouped syntactically, “the meaning remains the same in any case.”

⁹¹The comparison with Rom 11:7 is key for Wright as well. He states, “Paul is here referring to the ‘hardening’ coming upon *one part* of Israel, as in 11.1-7, especially verse 7.” N. T. Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2013), 2:1239 (emphasis original).

⁹²For a defense of God’s justice in treating his people Israel in this way, see the discussion in Travis Arin Laney, “A Partial Hardening Has Come upon Israel: Divine Hardening and Its Implications for Jewish Evangelism” (PhD diss., The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2009), 81-83.

⁹³“However one takes the syntax, it is clear that Paul is placing a numerical limitation on Israel’s hardening.” Moo, *Epistle to the Romans*, 717n28.

⁹⁴BDAG, s.v. ἄχρι, 160.1.b. With the relative, ἄχρι οὗ = ἄχρι χρόνου ᾧ.

⁹⁵Merkle, “Romans 11 and the Future of Ethnic Israel,” 715-16; O. Palmer Robertson, “Is there

other way to read the phrase recognizes a temporal progression, in that once the goal is reached, there is a change of condition, and hence a reversal of the present situation.⁹⁶

Once again grammar is not the final arbiter for resolving this dispute,⁹⁷ but the context clearly points the reader to understand a reversal of the hardening once “the fullness of the Gentiles has come in.” All throughout Romans 11:11ff. are implicit statements that a reversal of the hardening will one day happen, even to the point of calling it a re-grafting (Rom 11:24). Additionally, if “fullness of the Gentiles” means (as I will argue next) their full number, that means that the hardening is continuing through the whole time of Gentile conversion. In what way would all Israel be saved, if there was no change in condition for Israel? This change must happen *after* the elect of the Gentiles come to messianic salvation, otherwise Israel, “the remainder,” is simply left in their hardened state experiencing the harshness of God.

One last piece of evidence will strengthen this understanding. Luke 21:24 parallels Romans 11:25 both lexically and contextually. It reads, “They will fall by the edge of the sword and be led captive among all nations, and Jerusalem will be trampled underfoot by the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled.” Here one finds the

a Distinctive Future for Ethnic Israel in Romans 11?” in *Perspectives on Evangelical Theology*, ed. Kenneth S. Kantzer and Stanley N. Gundry (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1979), 219-21. Wright, *Romans*, 688. John Calvin, *Commentaries on The Epistle of the Apostle Paul to the Romans*, ed. and trans. John Owen (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2003), 436, fits this understanding as well. Lenski, *Romans*, 721, writes that it makes no difference which way ἄχρι οὗ is read, but in his explanation it certainly fits what I have described as the temporal termination view.

⁹⁶See Moo, *Epistle to the Romans*, 717n30, for the textual evidence which leans towards reading it this way in the majority of the instances. Schreiner, *Romans*, 618, also sees a lifting of the hardening implied by the use of the word “until.”

⁹⁷After arguing strongly in favor of the phrase being interpreted as implying *a terminus ad quem*, Robertson seems to concede the point that the wording of the phrase itself is not determinative, when he writes, “At the least, ‘hardening until’ does not by itself indicate whether God will in the future deal with ethnic Israel in a new and distinctive manner” (*Israel of God*, 180). Sam Storms also makes a similar concession. He does argue for a temporal termination understanding of this phrase, but he admits that it is not its more frequent sense. He simply argues for the possibility of this reading, which he ends up favoring because of what he understands to be the contextual argument in Rom 11 as a whole. He also states that were it not for this larger evidence, “one would be unwise in arguing for [the Historical Remnant] view based solely on what is an admittedly rare sense of ‘until’ in verse 25” (*Kingdom Come: The Amillennial Alternative* [Fearn, Scotland: Mentor, 2013], 323).

same phrase ἄχρι οὗ utilized in a conceptually similar context. If a change of condition was not implied once the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled, then Jerusalem would simply be left in desolation. Surely this does not compute with the Lord's salvation of Zion (however that term is interpreted). So this phrase denotes the temporal reference for when the hardening on Israel will be lifted and they receive salvation.

Fullness of the Gentiles (11:25c). As discussed previously, the word πλήρωμα is used in reference to a future “fullness” of Israel in Romans 11:12. Here the same word is used again in reference to the Gentiles. Some seek to understand this word in a qualitative sense, interpreted as an increased extension of blessings to the Gentiles,⁹⁸ or perhaps the announcement of the gospel to the nations.⁹⁹ But this does not fit the language of coming in (εἰσέρχομαι), in the sense of conversion.¹⁰⁰ The quantitative reading makes the most sense here in reference to the Gentiles, and also as a contrast for the small number of the elect remnant that the restoration of the fullness of Israel (11:12) will experience in the future.¹⁰¹ Therefore, “the full number of the Gentiles refers to the full number of the elect from among the Gentiles called by God.”¹⁰²

And so (11:26a). After stating the first two parts of the revealed mystery,

⁹⁸Murray, *Epistle to the Romans*, 2:93-95.

⁹⁹Wright, *Romans*, 688.

¹⁰⁰Schreiner, *Romans*, 617.

¹⁰¹This does not rule out the very likely possibility of both a quantitative and a qualitative reading being understood together. Even Murray, *Epistle to the Romans*, 2:93, still sees a quantitative aspect functioning. I contend that the idea of “full number” is primary. This idea also had a background in Jewish apocalyptic literature, of which Paul was likely aware. Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 691; Schreiner, *Romans*, 617; and Moo, *Epistle to the Romans*, 719, all reference 4 Ezra 4:35-37 (among other passages), “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 our reward?’ And Jeremiel the archangel answered them and said, ‘When the number of those like yourselves is completed; 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.’”

¹⁰²Kruse, *Romans*, 443.

namely that a partial hardening has come upon Israel until the fullness of the Gentiles comes in, the beginning of verse 26 follows that by stating *καὶ οὕτως πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ σωθήσεται*. This first clause has been called “the storm center in the interpretation of Rom. 9-11 and of NT teaching about the Jews and their future.”¹⁰³ Three basic options for understanding *καὶ οὕτως* have been proposed, namely whether the phrase is temporal,¹⁰⁴ logical,¹⁰⁵ or modal.¹⁰⁶

While evidence for the temporal reading is perhaps not quite as sparse in Greek literature as once thought,¹⁰⁷ it still lacks wide attestation, particularly in the NT.¹⁰⁸ The logical reading, while better attested than the temporal one, is still quite rare.¹⁰⁹ By far the normal rendering of *οὕτως* indicates manner, and there appears to be no good reason not to read it this way here. In fact, it strengthens the interpretation I offered for the content

¹⁰³Moo, *Epistle to the Romans*, 719.

¹⁰⁴Käsemann, *Romans*, 313; Charles Horne, “The Meaning of the Phrase ‘And Thus All Israel Will Be Saved’ (Romans 11:26),” *JETS* 21, no. 4 (December 1978): 332; Bruce Corley, “The Jews the Future, and God: Romans 9-11,” *SWJT* 19, no. 1 (Fall 1976): 53-4.

¹⁰⁵C. H. Dodd, *The Epistle of Paul to the Romans* (New York: Harper, 1932), 182. Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 623; Hofius, “‘All Israel Will Be Saved’,” 34-35. Murray, *Epistle to the Romans*, 2:96.

¹⁰⁶Moo, *Epistle to the Romans*, 719-20; Schreiner, *Romans*, 620-21; Wright, *Romans*, 690-91; Merkle, “Romans 11 and the Future of Ethnic Israel,” 716.

¹⁰⁷Fitzmyer’s oft quoted statement, “A temporal meaning of *οὕτως* is not found in Greek,” (*Romans*, 622) needs to be tempered with more recent studies. See Peter W. van der Horst, “‘Only Then Will All Israel Be Saved’: A Short Note On The Meaning Of *καὶ οὕτως* in Romans 11:26,” *JBL* 119, no. 3 (2000): 521-25; and Scott, “‘And Then All Israel Will Be Saved’ (Rom 11:26),” 489-527.

¹⁰⁸BDAG, LSJ, L&N, and *TDNT* do not list a single example of a temporal usage. Even van der Horst is not necessarily arguing for a temporal reading of *καὶ οὕτως* in Rom 11:26, he just does not want it automatically excluded from the discussion. He also notes, “The modal and the temporal senses are not necessarily mutually exclusive.” Van der Horst, “Only Then Will All Israel Be Saved,” 524n17. In this statement he is not too far off from Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 681, who while agreeing that the basic sense of *οὕτως* is modal, maintains that “some temporal weight cannot be excluded from *καὶ οὕτως*. The distinction by Moo, *Epistle to the Romans*, 720, seems both warranted and helpful, “*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” (emphasis original). Sanders also points out that even though the emphasis is on the manner of Israel’s salvation, “nevertheless a temporal sequence is implied.” Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People*, 205n85. This is no doubt partly due to the temporal nature of the preceding clauses.

¹⁰⁹According to Moo’s analysis, out of the 74 occurrences in Paul, only 4 likely have this “logical” meaning, the rest are all “modal”; see Moo, *Epistle to the Romans*, 720n41.

of the mystery. Israel's partial hardening has presently led to the salvation of the full number of the Gentiles, and in this manner, namely the Gentiles provoking Israel to jealousy (Rom 10:19, 11:11,14), all Israel will be saved.¹¹⁰ This inverted sequence of salvation for the Jews and Gentiles leads to Israel also being shown mercy by God (Rom 11:31). This is the way that all Israel is saved.

All Israel (11:26a). Much of the debate over the last several phrases actually culminates with how πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ is understood. Again, three main views predominate the explanations of this phrase:¹¹¹ (1) all *spiritual* Israel,¹¹² that is all of the elect, both Jews and Gentiles and hence the whole church;¹¹³ (2) all *the elect remnant of Israel*, that is the

¹¹⁰Some who agree that καὶ οὕτως denotes manner also posit that it is correlative with καθὼς. See Peter Stuhlmacher, "Zur Interpretation von Römer 11:25-32," in *Probleme biblischer Theologie: Gerhard von Rad zum 70 Geburtstag*, ed. Hans Walter Wolff (Munich: Kaiser Verlag, 1971), 559-60. In reply, Wright correctly states that "the phrase καθὼς γέγραπται is such a standard formula that the apparent sequence οὕτως . . . καθὼς is likely to be a coincidence" (*Romans*, 691). However, the meaning is little affected, because as I will argue, the quotation that follows also demonstrates the manner in which "all Israel" will be saved.

¹¹¹For a recent survey of all the views, including two other less prominent ones, see Christopher Zoccali, "'And so all Israel will be saved': Competing Interpretations of Romans 11.26 in Pauline Scholarship," *JSNT* 30, no. 3 (2008): 289-318.

¹¹²Wright describes this use of πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ as a "polemical redefinition" (*Romans*, 690); idem, *Climax of the Covenant: Christ and the Law in Pauline Theology* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1991), 250; idem, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God*, 2:1242-44. Cf. also N. T. Wright, "Romans and the Theology of Paul," in *Pauline Theology III: Romans*, ed. David M. Hay and E. Elizabeth Johnson (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 61.

¹¹³Wright, *Climax of the Covenant: Christ*, 250; idem, *Romans*, 689-90; Calvin, *Romans*, 437; Karl Barth, *The Epistle to the Romans*, trans. Edwyn C. Hoskyns (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), 416; Hervé Ponsot, "Et Ainsi Tout Israel Sera Sauvé: Rom., XI, 26a," *RB* 89 (1982): 406-17; Thomas R. Wood, "The Regathering of the People of God: An Investigation into the New Testament's Appropriation of the Old Testament Prophecies Concerning the Regathering of Israel" (PhD diss., Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, 2006), 597; Robertson, *Israel of God*, 187-89. This is a change from his previous view (see n. 113). It also appears to be the view of Augustine, see Gerald Bray, ed., *Romans*, ACCS (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1998), 298. See also Jason A. Staples, "What Do the Gentiles Have to Do with 'All Israel'? A Fresh Look at Romans 11:25-27," *JBL* 130, no. 2 (2011): 388, who writes, "Since 'all Israel' includes both houses of Israel and the northern house is indistinct from the nations, 'all Israel' must include both Jews and Gentiles." While ultimately disagreeing with this position, Schreiner, *Romans*, 614-15, writes, "It is not at all impossible that in Rom. 11:26 'Israel' refers to the church composed of both Jews and Gentiles."

believing Jews from within the nation of Israel throughout history;¹¹⁴ and (3) all *ethnic* Israel, that is the corporate nation of Israel as a racially defined people,¹¹⁵ living when the hardening is reversed, and the full number of Gentiles has been saved.¹¹⁶

All three of these usages for the term “Israel” can be found in Paul and so are plausible options. “The Israel of God” in Galatians 6:16 is most likely referring to the whole church, both Jews and Gentiles.¹¹⁷ In Romans 9:6 Paul distinguished between the elect remnant of Israel within the larger group of ethnic Israel without an adjectival qualifier. And the reader has already seen multiple uses of Israel to refer to the nation as a

¹¹⁴Merkle, “Romans 11 and the Future of Ethnic Israel,” 709-21; Kruse, *Romans*, 443, 448-51; Robertson, “Is there a Distinctive Future for Ethnic Israel in Romans 11?,” 209-27; Herman N. Ridderbos, *Paul: An Outline of His Theology*, trans. John Richard de Witt (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975), 354-61; and Geerhardus Vos, *The Pauline Eschatology* (1930; repr., Phillipsburg, NJ: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1991), 87-88; Charles M. Horne, “The Meaning of the Phrase, ‘And Thus All Israel Will Be Saved’ (Romans 11:26),” *JETS* 21, no. 4 (December 1978): 329-34; Refoulé, “. . . *Et Ainsi Tout Israël Sera Sauvé*,” 179-81; Storms, *Kingdom Come*, 303-34; Zoccali, “Competing Interpretations of Romans 11.26,” 303-14. William Chi-Chau Fung, “Israel’s Salvation: The Meaning of ‘All Israel’ in Romans 11:26” (PhD diss., The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2004), 164-71. Even though he finally decides against this position, Moo, *Epistle to the Romans*, 723, concedes, “We must note, however, that the interpretation that takes the phrase to refer to the elect among Israel throughout time deserves consideration as a serious alternative.”

¹¹⁵Murray, *Epistle to the Romans*, 2:96-98; Cranfield, *Romans 9-16*, 576-77, Morris, *Romans*, 421; Käsemann, *Romans*, 313-14; Robert Mounce, *Romans*, NAC 27 (Nashville: Broadman & Holman Publishers, 1995), 224-25; William Sanday and Arthur Headlam, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 5th ed. (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1902), 335; Schreiner, *Romans*, 615; Moo, *Epistle to the Romans*, 722; Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 681; Vanlaningham, “Romans 11:25-27,” 163; William L. Osborne, “The Old Testament Background of Paul’s ‘All Israel’ in Romans 11:26a,” *Asian Journal of Theology* 2, no. 2 (1988): 282-93; Bruce W. Longenecker, “Different Answers to Different Issues: Israel, the Gentiles, and Salvation History in Romans 9-11,” *JSNT* 36 (June 1989): 95-123.

¹¹⁶This definition assumes a synchronic reading of πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ, but some have argued that it should be diachronic, namely the whole nation throughout history as opposed to at one particular time. See Hofius, “‘All Israel Will Be Saved’,” 35-36; Bell, *Provoked to Jealousy*, 141-43. However the synchronic understanding makes the most sense of the time marker in the previous phrase, Israel’s hardening remains “*until* the fullness of the Gentiles has come in.”

¹¹⁷Gregory K. Beale, “Peace and Mercy Upon the Israel of God: The Old Testament Background of Galatians 6:16b,” *Biblica* 80, no. 2 (1999): 204-23; Andreas J. Köstenberger, “The Identity of the Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ θεοῦ (Israel of God) in Galatians 6:16,” *Faith and Mission* 19, no. 1 (Fall 2001): 3-24; Christopher W. Cowan, “Context is Everything: ‘The Israel of God’ in Galatians 6:16,” *SBJT* 14, no. 3 (Fall 2010): 78-85; Thomas R. Schreiner, *Galatians*, ZECNT (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2010), 380-86, 398-99; Douglas J. Moo, *Galatians*, BECNT (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2013), 400-403. Contra S. Lewis Johnson, Jr., “Paul and ‘The Israel of God’: An Exegetical and Eschatological Case-Study,” in *Essays in Honor of J. Dwight Pentecost*, ed. Stan Toussaint and Charles Dyer (Chicago: Moody, 1986), 183-94.

corporate whole in Romans 11.

While all three referents are possible, only the last one seems likely for this passage. The immediate context bears this out quite clearly. Paul has used the term “Israel” ten times so far in Romans 9-11, and every one of them is a clear reference to ethnic Israel, in distinction from the Gentiles.¹¹⁸ This distinction is maintained as recently as the previous two clauses, and immediately afterwards in the explanatory paragraph of Romans 11:28-32.¹¹⁹ A shift in meaning between the two uses of the exact same word from 11:25c to 11:26a is simply not warranted.¹²⁰ And the qualifier *πᾶς* does not give license to read this phrase as both Jew and Gentile, for that would not have been the most familiar usage to Paul.¹²¹

¹¹⁸Starting in Rom 11:13 and continuing through v. 32 (note the second person references throughout), Paul is directly addressing the Gentiles (*ὑμῖν δὲ λέγω τοῖς ἔθνεσιν*), and one of his goals is to stem Gentile pride in thinking they have a privileged right to the blessing of being in the people of God over Israel (cf. Rom 11:17-24). It would undercut Paul’s “rhetorical situation” to blur the distinction between Jew and Gentile here in Rom 11, by assigning the Gentiles the title of true “Israel,” like he does in Gal 6:16. Moo, *Epistle to the Romans*, 721.

¹¹⁹Note the contrast between *ἡμεῖς* (Gentiles) and *οἱ* (Israel) in vv. 30-31. Also, Waymeyer persuasively argues that only the third view, “all Israel” as the ethnic nation, can account for the dual status of Israel in Rom 11:28 as simultaneously enemies according to the gospel and beloved because of the fathers. Matt Waymeyer, “The Dual Status of Israel in Romans 11:28,” *TMSJ* 16, no. 1 (Spring 2005): 57-71.

¹²⁰In an earlier work, Wright strongly protests this argument in writing, “It is impermissible to argue that ‘Israel’ cannot change its referent within the space of two verses, so that ‘Israel’ in v.25 must mean the same as ‘Israel’ in v.26: Paul actually began the whole section (9.6) with just such a programmatic distinction of two ‘Israels’”(*Climax of the Covenant*, 250). But even in Rom 9:6, both uses of Israel are still referring to only ethnic Israelites, not Jew and Gentile together. It is not that it is impermissible to change the referent, but there must be warrant for doing so. Wright finds that warrant partly in the OT quotation that follows, but I disagree with Wright there as well, as will be demonstrated. However, in Wright’s most recent work (*Paul and the Faithfulness of God*, 2:1244), he seems to change his tact slightly. There he agrees that “no ‘significant semantic shift’ is required between vv. 25 and 26” because “‘Israel’ in verse 25 consists of the whole people of God,” both Jews and Gentiles, “so ‘all Israel’ in verse 26 must reflect that double existence.” This argument is more consistent, but still problematic. While the olive tree metaphor does refer to the whole people of God, which primarily consisted of ethnic Jews before the coming of the Messiah, there still remains through this whole section a contrast between Jews and Gentiles. It is reflected throughout the olive tree metaphor (in fact the metaphor is predicated upon this distinction), in the summary paragraph after the quotation (Rom 11:28-32), and is even present in Rom 11:25 itself. Wright too closely identifies the olive tree with Israel. In other words, to use the components of the metaphor, he confuses the natural branch (Israel) with the root (the Abrahamic promise centered in Jesus and hence the whole people of God).

¹²¹*πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ* is a standard Septuagintal translation of the frequently occurring Hebrew phrase

This same reasoning excludes understanding this reference to all Israel as the elect remnant. The Israel in 11:25c was not *believing* Israel, but *hardened* Israel, the “remainder,” not the “remnant” (cf. Rom 11:7).¹²² This again would require an unwarranted shift in meaning for the exact same term in a context that is describing corporate Israel.

The difference between the last two views could seem subtle; after all, the salvation of “all Israel” “is still the salvation of only a remnant of Israel throughout history.”¹²³ Even a majority of ethnic Israelites being saved at the end of this age, still only constitutes a small number of all the Jews of all time. In that sense, only a remnant of elect Israelites are ever truly saved and brought into the church. However, what sets the third view apart is the understanding that there will be a *future mass conversion* of ethnic Israelites when the hardening is removed, such that it can reasonably be considered that “all Israel” has been saved.¹²⁴ Paul “insists throughout Rom. 11 that more Israelites,

כל־יִשְׂרָאֵל. Osborne, “The Old Testament Background of Paul’s ‘All Israel’ in Romans 11:26a,” 282-93, brings this out well. BDF recognizes that the phrase normally means, ‘the whole of Israel,’ F. Blass, and A. DeBrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, trans. and ed. Robert W. Funk (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961), 275.

¹²²This point is also relevant in arguing against the “all *spiritual* Israel” position of Wright. Paul is bringing into focus the salvation of corporate Israel, those who were previously the non-elect *λοιποὶ* (Rom 11:7). Wagner explains, “The strongest objection to Wright’s reading, however, is that by denying that the solution Paul offers to the problem of Israel’s rejection of the gospel is essentially a *temporal* one—partial hardening now, fullness later—Wright leaves out ‘the rest’ of Israel who have temporarily been rendered insensible: once ‘the fullness of the Gentiles comes in,’ the show is over; those who are hardened can expect only judgment.” And a little later he concludes, “In Romans 11 Paul anticipates a massive turning of Jews to Christ *as a result of* and *subsequent to* the entrance of the full number of Gentiles.” Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News*, 279n194 (emphasis original).

¹²³Schreiner, *Romans*, 622.

¹²⁴While usually not thought to include by necessity or experientially every individual Jew without exception, Bell (*Provoked to Jealousy*, 136-39) argues precisely that. Cf. also Jewett, *Romans*, 702. But that is not the normal meaning of *πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ* in the LXX. See n. 120, and also Moo, *Epistle to the Romans*, 722n55; and Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God*, 2:1240n673. Robertson (“Is there a Distinctive Future for Ethnic Israel in Romans 11?,” 223) and Merkle (“Romans 11 and the Future of Ethnic Israel,” 717n38) both argue that if *πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ* is supposed to be understood as the majority of the nation (as opposed to merely the elect remnant), then every individual Jew must be saved. If this is not the case, they contend, then the principle of hardening is still in operation upon those who have not come to saving faith. This is an attempt at *reductio ad absurdum*, but it pushes the language of the biblical authors too far. The point is simply that the majority of Israel (and hence it can be said, the nation as a whole) was

a preponderance of Israel even, must be brought in so as to confirm God's faithfulness to his electing grace."¹²⁵

Thematically both of the alternative options miss the central thrust of this whole passage. There is nothing climatic to stating that elect Jews will be saved (*σωθήσεται*).¹²⁶ The argument of Romans 11:1-10 is that there is an elect Jewish remnant currently being saved, but verses 11-24 go beyond that, and implicitly speak of a mass ethnic revival of Jews. And what was perhaps implied before is clearly stated by the phrase "all Israel will be saved" (Rom 11:26a) and then confirmed when the following quotation speaks of God fulfilling his covenant with his people by taking away the sins from Jacob (Rom 11:26d-27).

As it is written (11:26b). To clarify his meaning, Paul goes on to utilize a composite OT quotation, much as he's done in the passages leading up to this one (Rom 9:25-29; 10:21-22; 11:8-10). To introduce these quotations he uses a familiar formula, *καθὼς γέγραπται* (11:26).¹²⁷ The function that the quotation plays in Paul's argument is important to the thesis, but first a textual analysis of the quotation is necessary.

Textual Analysis of the Quotation in Romans 11:26b-27

While somewhat tedious in nature, a textual analysis of the quotation itself provides the necessary backdrop to discern whether or not Paul is in fact using the OT in a contextually-rooted manner. Most commentaries do not devote much space to this type

hardened and in the future that hardening will be lifted and the majority will be saved. Having said that, there is nothing in this view that precludes a numerically all inclusive revival, but it is not required by Paul's language.

¹²⁵Kirk, "Why Does the Deliverer Come *ἐκ Σιών*," 95.

¹²⁶The future tense-form also confirms that the salvation is a future reality, not one already taking place throughout the current age.

¹²⁷Paul has utilized this precise introductory formula 14 times in Romans, 5 of them in chaps. 9-11 (9:13, 33; 10:15; 11:8, 26).

of analysis, but here I will proceed by attempting to answer four questions: (1) What passages are being quoted? (2) What textual modifications have been made? (3) What accounts for the modifications? and (4) Is there significance in the modifications?

What passages are being quoted? Since Romans 11:26-27 contains a composite quotation it is necessary to determine what passages are actually being cited as a preliminary step in figuring out the basis for a contextually rooted interpretation of the OT. There is no debate that Isaiah 59:20-21 forms “the backbone”¹²⁸ of the quotation that Paul draws from in Romans 11:26-27. However, the last line of Paul’s quotation (Rom 11:27b) does not match Isaiah 59:21. Some have proposed that the citation is derived from Jeremiah 31:33-34 [38:33-34 LXX].¹²⁹ While these authors do not elaborate on this identification over alternatives, perhaps the main reason for considering Jeremiah 31 as the source, is in understanding both the *διαθήκη* in Isaiah 59:21a (LXX) and in Romans 11:27a as the new covenant of Jeremiah 31:33.¹³⁰ There are also some similar themes shared between these passages, such as God forgiving *τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν* (Jer 38:34 LXX).¹³¹

Despite these similarities, it “goes well beyond the evidence”¹³² to speak of

¹²⁸Wright, *Romans*, 692.

¹²⁹Holland, *Romans*, 386, writes, “Paul goes on to quote from Jer 31:33 (Rom 11:27)”; Murray, *Epistle to the Romans*, 2.98-99, highlights the next verse in Jeremiah, writing that “the last part [of the quotation is] derived from Jeremiah 31:34.” Neither author mentions alternative options. Wright also includes it in a list, positing that “the quotations used by Paul here come from Isaiah 2.3, 27.9, 59.20 f. and Jeremiah 31.34” (*Climax of the Covenant*, 250).

¹³⁰Though most agree that Paul is referring to the New Covenant, it is disputed by some. I will take this up again in the section dealing with the function of the quotation.

¹³¹Paul does use a plural (*τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν*) in Rom 11:27b, whereas Isa 27:9 (LXX) has a singular (*αὐτοῦ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν*). Note also the position of the pronoun in Romans and Jeremiah at the end of the phrase.

¹³²Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News*, 290n221. Here Wagner is refuting Wright’s reference to “the quotation from Jer 31:33 that appears in [Rom] 11:27” from Wright, “Romans and the Theology of Paul,” 61. Wright later accepts that correction from Wagner (*Paul and the Faithfulness of God*, 2:1247n697), but maintains that “we would be right to hear the strong echo of Jeremiah 31 alongside or

verse 33 or 34 of Jeremiah 31 as being a quotation in Romans 11:27b. Moo is right to state that, “The verbal similarity to Isa. 27:9 is much closer.”¹³³ The last line of the quote in Romans 11:27b contains five words: ὅταν ἀφέλωμαι τὰς ἀμαρτίας αὐτῶν. Those exact same five words are found in the LXX of Isaiah 27:9, and while there are some slight variations from αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀμαρτίαν in Romans 11:27b that might seem to more closely parallel Jeremiah 38:34 (LXX), references to sin are quite common in the Bible, whereas the precise verb and form of ἀφέλωμαι is found only in Isaiah 27:9.¹³⁴ For these reasons I agree with the majority of scholars who maintain that Paul’s quotation in Romans 11:26-27 is taken from a combination of both Isaiah 59:20-21 and 27:9.¹³⁵ However, it is probably accurate to see at least an allusion to Jeremiah 31,¹³⁶ because for both Paul¹³⁷ and Isaiah,¹³⁸ the covenant in view is the same covenant that Jeremiah refers to as the new covenant. Of the various descriptions of this covenant in the OT, the most definitive

within the quotation from Isaiah 27” (2:1248). Before admitting this correction, Wright seems to have already backed off of referring to Paul’s *quotation* of Jer 31 here in Rom 11 toward seeing it as more of an allusion. More than a decade earlier he wrote that the “language of covenant renewal [is] replete with echoes of . . . Jeremiah 31.” A few sentences later he adds that in the quotation in Rom 11:26-27, Paul moves from Isa 59:20-21 “to Isa 27:9, with strong overtones of Jer 31:33-34 (38:33-34 LXX)” (*Romans*, 692).

¹³³Moo, *Epistle to the Romans*, 729n76.

¹³⁴And of course both clauses are introduced with the same temporal conjunction ὅταν.

¹³⁵Jewett, *Romans*, 702-6; Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 682-84; Moo, *Epistle to the Romans*, 727-28; Cranfield, *Romans 9-16*, 578; Mark A. Seifrid, “Romans,” in *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament*, ed. G. K. Beale and D. A. Carson (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 673; Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News*, 280ff.; Shiu-Lun Shum, *Paul’s Use of Isaiah in Romans* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 235-36; Gleason L. Archer and G. C. Chirichigno, *Old Testament Quotations in the New Testament: A Complete Survey* (Chicago: Moody, 1983), 127.

¹³⁶So Schreiner, *Romans*, 619. Contra both Moo, *Epistle to the Romans*, 728n76, and Shum, *Paul’s Use of Isaiah in Romans*, 236n168, who prefer not even to see an allusion to Jeremiah 31:33-34. However for Moo, he does not understand the διαθήκη reference in Rom 11:27 to be the new covenant, a point I will dispute below. And for Shum, he actually makes a strong case for understanding it as the new covenant, which no doubt has Jer 31 as a backdrop.

¹³⁷Jason C. Meyer, *The End of the Law: Mosaic Covenant in Pauline Theology* (Nashville: B&H Publishing Group, 2009), 184-87; Shum, *Paul’s Use of Isaiah*, 237; Seifrid, “Romans,” 677.

¹³⁸Peter J. Gentry and Stephen J. Wellum, *Kingdom through Covenant: A Biblical-Theological Understanding of the Covenants* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2012), 454, 772; Paul R. Williamson, *Sealed with an Oath: Covenant in God’s Unfolding Purpose* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 2007), 42, 158, 163-64.

is probably Jeremiah 31, so it would have been natural for any reference to the new covenant to draw a mental connection to this passage.

A more difficult decision is determining whether or not Paul is quoting or alluding to another reference in the textual modification of the first line of the quote. The details of the textual change and the motivations for it will be explored below, but for the purposes here it is enough to note that the wording in the first line of the quotation deviates from the LXX (and MT). The preposition is replaced resulting in the reading ἐκ Σιών in Romans 11:26c, instead of ἔνεκεν Σιών from Isaiah 59:20a LXX. If the change is original with Paul and he intends it to have interpretive significance, then the question that follows is whether or not Paul is referencing another passage for this change. “Since a conflation of texts already exists, it is possible that the alteration stems from yet another source.”¹³⁹ Various proposals of references that contain the phrase ἐκ Σιών in the LXX have been proposed. Psalm 13:7 LXX (14:7 MT) is one likely proposal.¹⁴⁰ It parallels Isaiah 59 in calling for the salvation of the Lord to come to his people, who are also referred to as “Jacob” here. If the intent of Romans 11:26c is to describe the “salvation” coming “for Israel”¹⁴¹ but *out of Zion*, then this passage is at least a plausible source from which Paul could have drawn.

However another suggestion has received prominence by some scholars,

¹³⁹Schreiner, *Romans*, 619.

¹⁴⁰Ibid.; Seifrid, “Romans,” 674; cf. also Carlos Osvaldo Cardoso Pinto, “The Contribution of the Isaiah Quotations to Paul’s Argument in Romans 9-11” (PhD diss., Dallas Theological Seminary, 2003), 168, who lists this reference with both Isa 59:20-21 and 27:9 in a chart proposing possible source texts for the quotation in Rom 11:26-27. These authors single out Ps 13:7 LXX as a possible source for the alteration, while others list it among other texts from the LXX that contain the phrase ἐκ Σιών. These other suggestions can be found in Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News*, 284-85; Cranfield, *Romans 9-16*, 577; Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 682; cf. also Christopher D. Stanley, “‘The Redeemer Will Come ἐκ Σιών’: Romans 11:26-27 Revisited,” in *Paul and the Scriptures of Israel*, ed. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders, JSNTSup 83 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 135.

¹⁴¹This is how the ESV and NRSV translate the construct phrase לְיִשְׂרָאֵל תְּשׁוּעָה (τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ Ἰσραηλ is a genitive relationship in the LXX), but the intent is still the same with the translation simply rendered more generically as “the salvation of Israel.”

namely Isaiah 2:3.¹⁴² For Wright, Paul has explicitly “combined Isaiah 59.20 f. with Isaiah 2.3”¹⁴³ and in his explanation it is this combination that confirms that “the restoration of Israel *has already happened*”¹⁴⁴ and is therefore now going out to the nations as a consequence of this restoration. Similarly, Bruno places a strong emphasis on the role that Isaiah 2:3 plays in Paul’s interpretive quotation.¹⁴⁵ He seeks to justify his appeal to Isaiah 2:3 by using the seven criteria laid out by Richard Hays for judging echoes and allusions of the OT in the NT.¹⁴⁶ Of these criteria, Bruno finds that the fourth and seventh best substantiate his case, namely the *thematic coherence* between the texts in question and the *satisfaction* of reading these texts together and illuminating the surrounding discourse.¹⁴⁷ Much of Bruno’s article is spent developing the argument that each of these three passages (Isa 59, 27, 2) all have common themes among them, and

¹⁴²The wording of Isa 2:1-4 and Mic 4:1-3 are same. For discussion on this parallel, see Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1-39: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 19A (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 190-91; John N. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah: Chapters 1-39*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986), 115-16.

¹⁴³Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant*, 250.

¹⁴⁴Wright, “Romans and the Theology of Paul,” 61 (emphasis original). Cf. “[I]n the events concerning the Messiah, and in the outpouring of the spirit, Paul sees precisely the fulfillment of Israel’s ancient hope. It is as a consequence of *that* that Gentiles are now coming in.” Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God*, 2:1250n709 (emphasis original).

¹⁴⁵While mentioning others who have made reference to Isa 2:3 as a possible allusion, Bruno admits that “none have placed as strong an emphasis on Isaiah 2 as found here [in his article].” Christopher R. Bruno, “The Deliverer from Zion: The Source(s) and Function of Paul’s Citation in Romans 11:26-27,” *Tyndale Bulletin* 59, no. 1 (2008): 125.

¹⁴⁶Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*, 29-33. While admittedly not a systematic distinction, Hays does generally distinguish between allusions and echoes by noting that he reserves the former term for more obvious intertextual references which include authorial intention, and the latter term for more subtler ones which do not depend on conscious intention (p. 29). Bruno, however, is quite clear that he believes “that Paul intentionally alludes to Isaiah 2:3 together with Isaiah 59:20-21 and Isaiah 27:9” (“The Deliverer from Zion,” 123).

¹⁴⁷Bruno, “The Deliverer from Zion,” 124-25. In reference to the other five tests, he concludes that the first test of *availability* is easily passed because “it is extremely likely that [Paul] would have had access to the entire book of Isaiah during some part of his life.” The second test of *volume* is inconclusive because the echo/allusion only consists of two words. Likewise, the third criterion of *recurrence* does not help Bruno because Paul cites Isa 2:3 nowhere else. However, he does find some assistance from the fifth and sixth criteria. *Historical plausibility* is likely for Bruno because of Paul’s careful thematic reading of Isa 1-2, and he also finds a few examples in the *history of interpretation* of finding an allusion to Isa 2:3.

should be read in a complementary manner.¹⁴⁸ He comes to similar conclusions as Wright, by stating that, “In citing these passages, Paul is intentionally drawing on contexts that refer to an inclusion of the Gentiles when the promises to Israel are fulfilled.”¹⁴⁹ So for both Wright and Bruno, the combination of Isaiah 2:3 with Isaiah 59:20 in Paul’s mixed citation of Romans 11:26 is important for their overall argument, especially as it relates to the fulfillment of God’s promises to Israel and his subsequent ingathering of Gentiles into the people of God.¹⁵⁰

Not all are convinced that an allusion to Isaiah 2:3 as a cause for the rewriting of the verse is necessary to bring Gentiles into view. Kirk admits that Romans 11 and Isaiah 2 share the thematic link of Gentile inclusion, and that this fact would make “Isa. 2.3 a more likely candidate for an allusion than other scriptural contenders.”¹⁵¹ Nevertheless he disputes the likelihood of a purposeful allusion to Isaiah 2:3 because of several factors.

First, the purported allusion is only two words long. Second, the allusion to these two words is created by changing only one word of the text of Isa 59.20. Third, the text alluded to does not read ἐκ Σιων but rather ἐκ γὰρ Σιων (thus lowering the audibility of such an allusion slightly). Fourth, the purported allusion comes in the middle of a sentence that otherwise derives from Isa. 59.20. The high level of concurrence with Isa. 59.20 combined with the slight correspondence to Isa. 2.3

¹⁴⁸Ibid., 131, for a summary of the common themes of these three texts.

¹⁴⁹Ibid.

¹⁵⁰Wright seems to have had an evolution in how he understands the source of the textual change in the first line of the quotation. Both of the works in which he argues strongly for the influence of Isa 2:3 in Paul’s version of the quotation come from 1991 and 1995 respectively. In his 2002 Romans commentary, he locates Deut 33:2 (by analogy to how previously κύριος ἐκ Σινα ἤκει) as a possible source for the change of the preposition. He does not mention Isa 2:3, except to possibly dispute it as a thematic parallel. Wright maintains that the quote does not have “much to do with the ‘pilgrimage of the nations to Zion,’ anticipated in some biblical and post-biblical prophecy (e.g., Isa 2:2-3; Ps. Sol. 17:26-46). At most, it would be an ironic reversal of that whole idea” (*Romans*, 692). And now most recently in his 2013 work (*Paul and the Faithfulness of God*), Wright notes three options as a possible source, Isa 2:3, Deut 33:2, and Ps 14:7 (the first time in his writings he referenced this as a possibility). He concludes that “perhaps it is all three” drawing on all three parts of the Hebrew canon (2:1249-50). In any case, by his own admission, Wright’s conclusion about how the textual change functions remains unchanged.

¹⁵¹Kirk, “Why Does the Deliverer Come ἐκ Σιών,” 85.

mitigates the likelihood of an intentional allusion to the additional verse.¹⁵²

Kirk is content to conclude “that Paul himself changed the preposition without invoking another text,”¹⁵³ and while he may be correct, I am not entirely convinced that no other passages at least influenced this change by Paul. But the weight that both (early) Wright and especially Bruno assign to their suggested allusion to Isaiah 2:3 seems to claim too much by itself.¹⁵⁴ It is difficult to give a definitive answer as to a source for the prepositional change. And both of the proposed sources that are examined here (Ps 13:7 and Isa 2:3) lead Paul to be claiming pretty different ideas with his citation according to most of the above scholars. In this respect the caution of Kirk should be well received, the wording change is so slight that it is hard to pinpoint a precise OT textual source. If there is significance to be derived from this change, as I will argue there is, it should not (or at least does not have to) depend entirely on locating the one source text for Paul’s allusion and then bringing that whole context into the meaning of the quote. While Paul is principally drawing on the LXX of Isaiah 59:20-21a and 27:9, Seifrid is right to remind the reader that Paul’s “wording here is his own, a theological distillation rich in echoes and nuance.”¹⁵⁵

In attempting to discern what passages are cited or alluded to by Paul, a preliminary discussion concerning the main textual divergence from the LXX (and MT) from Paul’s citation has already begun. A more thorough examination of both this change and the others should set the foundation for more accurately understanding Paul’s

¹⁵²Ibid.

¹⁵³Ibid., 86.

¹⁵⁴Other scholars raise Isa 2:3 as a source for a possible allusion here, but they do not allow it to have the interpretive force that Wright and Bruno give to it. For instance, Hans Hübner, in his discussion of the reference considers it “nur als vage Möglichkeit” (*Gottes Ich und Israel: Zum Schriftgebrauch des Paulus in Römer 9-11*, FRLANT 136 [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984], 115). Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News*, 284-85, includes it in a list of four references (one of them being Ps 13:7 LXX). However, in explicitly countering Wright’s use of the passage, he deems it “highly speculative” (p. 285n206), and later he refers to Isa 2:1-4 as “a text that Paul never quotes” (p. 291n224).

¹⁵⁵Seifrid, “Romans,” 673.

meaning in Romans 11.

What textual modifications have been made? For the most part Paul’s citation follows the LXX, even over the MT. When describing textual modifications, this dissertation is particularly interested in divergences from the LXX in Romans 11:26-27, although reference to the Hebrew text will also be noted when it is considered illuminating. Christopher Stanley in his detailed work on Paul’s citation technique discusses seven textual changes in Romans 11:26-27 from the LXX of Isaiah 59:20-21 and 27:9 (see table 2 for an attempt to display them).¹⁵⁶

The first change is an omission of the initial *καί* of the quotation in Isaiah 59:20a in Romans 11:26c. The second change, as referenced previously, is the substitution of *ἐκ* for *ἐνεκεν* in the same line. This is also a divergence from the MT, which reads *לְפָנָי*. One could conceive of how the LXX could render *לְפָנָי* as *ἐνεκεν*, if the *lamed* preposition was understood as a *lamed* of interest instead of a spatial use. However, besides not being the most natural reading of the Hebrew,¹⁵⁷ it does not fit the Isaiah translator’s established pattern, because “the preposition *ἐνεκεν* translates several Hebrew words in the LXX of Isaiah . . . , but never *לְ*.”¹⁵⁸ The third change is like the first, an omission of the *καί* to begin the second line of the quotation in Isaiah 59:20b in Romans 11:26d.

Next is probably the most obvious change, namely that two different texts from Isaiah are conflated to create the quotation in Romans 11:26c-27b. The third line of

¹⁵⁶Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, 166-71. This section is heavily indebted to Stanley’s analysis.

¹⁵⁷With verbs of motion, such as *בָּוֵא* in Isa 59:20, a spatial reading of *לְ* would be most common marking the object of the motion *toward* and of motion *to*. See Bruce K. Waltke and M. O’Conner, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 205.

¹⁵⁸Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, 167n283. Cf. also Stanley, “The Redeemer Will Come *ἐκ* Σίτων,” 135n47.

Table 2. Textual modifications of the LXX of Isaiah 59 and 27 in Romans 11:26-27

Key: single underline no textual modification
double underline textual change, but not omitted
italic textual omission

Isa 59	LXX	Rom 11	NA ²⁸
20a b 21a	<p><i>καὶ ἤξει ἔνεκεν Σιων ὁ ῥυόμενος</i> <i>καὶ ἀποστρέψει ἀσεβείας ἀπὸ Ἰακωβ</i> <i>καὶ αὕτη αὐτοῖς ἢ παρ' ἐμοῦ διαθήκη</i> <i>εἶπεν κύριος τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐμὸν ὃ ἐστὶν</i> <i>ἐπὶ σοὶ καὶ τὰ ῥήματα ἃ ἔδωκα εἰς τὸ</i> <i>στόμα σου οὐ μὴ ἐκλίπη ἐκ τοῦ στόματός</i> <i>σου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ σπέρματός</i> <i>σου εἶπεν γὰρ κύριος ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καὶ εἰς</i> <i>τὸν αἰῶνα</i></p>	26c 26d 27a	<p><i>ἤξει ἐκ Σιών ὁ ῥυόμενος,</i> <i>ἀποστρέψει ἀσεβείας ἀπὸ Ἰακώβ.</i> <i>καὶ αὕτη αὐτοῖς ἢ παρ' ἐμοῦ διαθήκη,</i></p>
Isa 27	LXX	Rom 11	NA ²⁸
9c	<p><i>διὰ τοῦτο ἀφαιρεθήσεται ἡ ἀνομία Ἰακωβ</i> <i>καὶ τοῦτό ἐστιν ἡ εὐλογία αὐτοῦ</i> <i>ὅταν ἀφέλωμαι αὐτοῦ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν</i> <i>ὅταν θῶσιν πάντας τοὺς λίθους τῶν</i> <i>βωμῶν κατακεκομμένους ὡς κονίαν</i> <i>λεπτὴν καὶ οὐ μὴ μείνη τὰ δένδρα αὐτῶν</i> <i>καὶ τὰ εἰδῶλα αὐτῶν ἐκκεκομμένα ὡσπερ</i> <i>δρυμὸς μακρὰν</i></p>	27b	<p><i>ὅταν ἀφέλωμαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν</i></p>

Isaiah 27:9 LXX¹⁵⁹ replaces everything in Isaiah 59:21 after the first line. The last three changes all have to do with the last three words of this line from Isaiah 27:9c. The singular words τὴν ἁμαρτίαν are converted into the plural τὰς ἁμαρτίας. Similarly the modifying pronoun αὐτοῦ was converted from the singular to the plural αὐτῶν.¹⁶⁰ Lastly

¹⁵⁹The syntax is different between the MT and the LXX. By beginning with the conjunction ὅταν, the LXX clearly identifies Isa 27:9c as a separate clause and hence the third line. But the underlying Hebrew that it translates is part of a construct phrase. The MT reads: *וְהָיָה כִּי-יִפְרֹץ-הַסֵּרַח מִן-יִשְׂרָאֵל*, whereas the LXX reads: *καὶ τοῦτό ἐστιν ἡ εὐλογία αὐτοῦ ὅταν ἀφέλωμαι αὐτοῦ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν.*

¹⁶⁰Stanley (“The Redeemer Will Come ἐκ Σιων,” 122) enumerates just five Pauline differences from the primary LXX, but he is not counting the conflation of the two texts in Isaiah. He is also counting the pluralization of ἁμαρτίαν and its modifiers as one change (“his sin” vs. “their sins”), but

there is a shifting of the possessive pronoun from before the noun to the final position.

It is also helpful to note that in addition to these textual modifications from the LXX, there were already some divergences from the MT in the LXX that Paul retained (see table 3).¹⁶¹

Table 3. Textual divergences between the MT and the LXX cited in Romans 11:26-27

Key: single underline textual divergence with a different word
dotted underline textual divergence of the same word(s), but different form
 [brackets] represented in both the MT and LXX, but not cited in Romans 11:26-27
italic textual omission in LXX (and GNT)

Isa	MT	Isa	LXX
59:20a 59:20b 59:21a 27:9bc	<p>וּבֹא לְצִיּוֹן גּוֹאֵל וְלִשְׁבֵי פֶשַׁע בֵּיעֶקֶב נֶאֱמַר יְהוָה וְאֲנִי זֹאת בְּרִיתִי אִתְּכֶם [זֶה כָּל-פְּרִי] הַסֵּהר חֲטָאֵת</p>	59:20a 59:20b 59:21a 27: 9b 27:9c	<p>καὶ ἦξει <u>ἐνεκεν</u> Σιων ὁ ῥυόμενος καὶ ἀποστρέψει ἀσεβείας ἀπὸ Ιακωβ καὶ αὕτη αὐτοῖς ἢ παρ' ἐμοῦ διαθήκη [καὶ τοῦτό ἐστιν ἡ εὐλογία αὐτοῦ] <u>ὅταν ἀφέλῳμαι</u> αὐτοῦ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν</p>
Isa	NASB	Isa	NETS ¹⁶²
59:20a 59:20b 59:21a 27:9b 27:9c	<p>A Redeemer will come <u>to</u> Zion, And <u>to those who turn from</u> <u>transgression in</u> Jacob, <i>declares the LORD.</i> As for Me, this is My covenant with them, [says the LORD:] [And this will be the full price of] <u>the pardoning of</u> his sin:</p>	59:20a 59:20b 59:21a 27: 9b 27:9c	<p>And the deliverer will come <u>for</u> Sion's <u>sake</u>, and <u>he will turn away impiety from</u> Iakob. And this is the covenant to them from me, [said the Lord,] [And this is his blessing,] <u>when I remove</u> his sin,</p>

the pronoun could have remained singular if the antecedent remained singular (i.e. “his sins”), so I describe them as separate changes.

¹⁶¹For more details on this section, see Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News*, 282-83.

¹⁶²The NETS translation of Isa 59:20a reads, “the one who delivers,” and in Isa 59:20b it reads, “and he will turn impiety away from Iakob.” I adjusted both slightly for the sake of comparison.

The second line¹⁶³ of the quotation (Isaiah 59:20b/Romans 11:26d) uses the transitive finite verb, ἀποστρέψει, whereas the MT has the intransitive participle, לְשָׁבִי, functioning as an indirect object.¹⁶⁴ The object of this verb also varies in number. In the MT, עֲשֶׂה is singular, but the LXX translates it with the plural, ἀσεβείας. Also in the same line, the preposition preceding “Jacob” varies in meaning. The MT reads ב, but the LXX uses ἀπό.¹⁶⁵ The LXX also does not have any phrase in Isaiah 59:20b representing מִן הַהֵן. In reference to the third line of the quotation (Isa 59:21a), the LXX reading is “certainly not an obvious translation for”¹⁶⁶ the MT, but all the constituent parts are represented, which Paul adopts as well. A more significant variation occurs in the fourth line of the quotation from Isaiah 27:9. While the MT uses an infinitive in a construct phrase, the LXX translates it with a temporal clause beginning with ὅταν followed by the finite verb ἀφέλωμαι. The following clause in the LXX (which is not part of the quotation) is also temporal and likewise begins with ὅταν, which more closely represents the Hebrew בְּשׁוּבוֹ. But in the line that is quoted by Paul (Isa 27:9c),¹⁶⁷ the LXX syntax diverges from the MT.

¹⁶³The change in the first line was already noted above, namely לְעֵינַי to ἕνεκεν Σιων. Other than this textual divergence of the preposition, the LXX replicates the MT well, even to the point of maintaining the same syntactical word order.

¹⁶⁴The Hexaplaric Revisers characteristically attempt to more closely resemble the Hebrew text by translating the verb as τοῖς ἀποστρέψασιν/ἀποστρέφουσιν.

¹⁶⁵Again, there is effort on the part of later Jewish translators to correct the LXX here to ἐν.

¹⁶⁶Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News*, 283.

¹⁶⁷I have labeled the portion that is quoted from the MT as Isa 27:9c to correspond to the syntax of the LXX which breaks it up into two clauses. In Hebrew, Isa 27:9bc forms one clause, the second in the verse. Some have pinpointed the wrong portion of Isa 27:9 in the MT as the portion that the LXX translates and that Paul quotes. For instance, see Archer and Chirichigno, *Old Testament Quotations in the New Testament*, 127. Also, Carraway indicates in his comparison table of these passages that Rom 11:27b and Isa 27:9c correspond with the first clause of the MT of this verse, what would be Isa 27:9a (לְכֹן בְּזִמְתָּ (יִכְפֹּר עֵוֹן יַעֲקֹב). Despite the verbal parallels with Isa 59:20b, this is surely incorrect. He also curiously does not acknowledge that the quote contains the first line of Isa 59:21 either. See George Carraway, *Christ Is God Over All: Romans 9:5 In the Context of Romans 9-11* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 175.

Establishing what textual modifications have been made is an important preliminary step, but it leads naturally into asking what actually accounts for these modifications.

What accounts for the modifications? A definitive answer is not always possible, but of particular interest is determining what role Paul had in modifying the text. Each of the modifications described above will now be evaluated.

While I judge that Stanley is much too skeptical that many of the textual changes in the quotation originated with Paul, even he concedes that “in view of Paul’s usual practice of dropping initial particles, it seems likely that the omission of *καί* in Rom 11.26 goes back to Paul himself.”¹⁶⁸ On this basis he is also willing to acknowledge that the omission of the second *καί* for the second line of the quotation might also be traced back to Paul.¹⁶⁹

A much more difficult determination is figuring out what accounts for the prepositional change from *ἐνεκεν* in the LXX to *ἐκ* in Paul’s quotation. Various theories have been put forward that seek to argue that the change is pre-Pauline.¹⁷⁰ Schaller¹⁷¹ has proposed that originally the text had the preposition *εἰς* (which was itself a “hebraisierende Rezension”¹⁷² of *ἐνεκεν*), but was corrupted in the course of transmission resulting in the form that Paul used, namely *ἐκ*. In a handwritten manuscript, it is easy to

¹⁶⁸Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, 166.

¹⁶⁹Ibid., 168.

¹⁷⁰A short summary of these various proposals can be found in Eusebio González, “Interdependencia entre judíos y gentiles en Rm 11,25-27,” *Scripta Theologica* 43, no.1 (2011): 134-36.

¹⁷¹Berndt Schaller, “*ἩΕΙ ΕΚ ΣΙΩΝ Ο ΠΥΟΜΕΝΟΣ*: Zur Textgestalt von Jes 59:20f. in Röm 11:26f.,” in *De Septuaginta: Studies in Honor of John William Wevers on his 65th Birthday*, ed. Albert Pietersma and Claude E. Cox (Mississauga, ON: Benben Publications, 1984), 201-6. His argument has also been followed in part by Florian Wilk, *Die Bedeutung des Jesajabuches für Paulus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 39-40.

¹⁷²Schaller, “*ἩΕΙ ΕΚ ΣΙΩΝ Ο ΠΥΟΜΕΝΟΣ*,” 205.

understand how such an error could have occurred by confusing the *iota* and a *lunate sigma* together as a *kappa* (IC →K).¹⁷³ But besides being purely hypothetical and lacking any manuscript evidence to attest to this conjectured reading, “ןִצִּיֹן is never translated by εἰς Σιων in the entire LXX. In the other three places where it appears in Isaiah (41.27, 51.16, 52.7), ןִצִּיֹן is rendered simply by Σιων, without any preposition or article.”¹⁷⁴

While Schaller proposed that the divergent readings between the LXX and NT could possibly be accounted for by a common Greek preposition, de Waard¹⁷⁵ goes one step farther back and argues that they share a common Hebrew reading, namely ןִצִּיֹן לֵאֲנִי which is found in 1QIsa^a. In the Hebrew manuscript tradition, לֵאֲנִי and לֵעֵל were often confused, so he concludes that “it is clear the LXX reading ἐνεκεν goes back to a Hebrew text, which read לֵאֲנִי (= לֵעֵל) instead of לֵאֲנִי. The reading ἐκ Σιων in Rom 11,26 could be based on the same reading, if we take ἐκ as a causative . . . in the sense of ‘because of.’”¹⁷⁶ While it is certainly a creative hypothesis, I agree with Wagner’s conclusion that “it appears to be a desperate measure to link Paul’s citation with a known textual precursor.”¹⁷⁷ “It is difficult to imagine why any translator would have rendered an original לֵאֲנִי in a sense other than the obvious ‘to’ (εἰς, πρὸς, etc.) in the context of Isa 59.20.”¹⁷⁸ In any case, a causative ἐκ is not only rare, but would be very unusual with a place-name like Zion.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷³Ibid., 204.

¹⁷⁴Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, 167n283.

¹⁷⁵Jan de Waard, *A Comparative Study of the Old Testament Text in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the New Testament*, STDJ 4 (Leiden: Brill, 1965), 11-13.

¹⁷⁶Ibid., 12-13.

¹⁷⁷Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News*, 284n205.

¹⁷⁸Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, 168n286. He goes on to state additionally, “It is also worth noting that neither לֵאֲנִי nor לֵעֵל appears with ןִצִּיֹן anywhere else in Isaiah, and that nowhere in the entire LXX does ἐκ Σιων translate the Hebrew ןִצִּיֹן לֵעֵל/לֵאֲנִי.”

¹⁷⁹Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News*, 284n205.

Besides these text critical suggestions for a pre-Pauline explanation for the change from ἔνεκεν to ἐκ,¹⁸⁰ Stanley’s own proposal is that this textual modification is a “Jewish adaptation” done by “a conservative Diaspora Jew” who amended the text (consciously or unconsciously) for linguistic and theological reasons. The use of ἐκ Σιων, which resonated with many texts in the Septuagint, was much more serviceable to express their desire for Yahweh to come “out of Zion” into the pagan nations and return them to their land than ἔνεκεν Σιων.¹⁸¹ But this solution bears the same nagging problems as the prior ones, lack of evidence. All of the LXX manuscripts that contain the reading ἐκ Σιων are most likely dependent on Romans 11:26, a point that Stanley acknowledges.¹⁸² So why go to such lengths to posit it was pre-Pauline? What is known is that the change was made in Romans 11:26 with Paul as the author, which leads Shum to simply ask in response to Stanley’s hypothesis, “Couldn’t that ‘conservative Diaspora Jew’ actually be Paul himself?”¹⁸³ Because of the lack of any plausible counter evidence, the simplest and most likely solution is that this textual modification, like so many others in the Pauline corpus, originated with Paul.¹⁸⁴

The merger of Isaiah 59:20-21 with Isaiah 27:9 is also given a similar explanation by Stanley as the last modification. While he admits that it is possible that the combination originated with Paul, he maintains that “it seems more likely that Paul has

¹⁸⁰For additional conjectures see Stanley, “The Redeemer Will Come ἐκ Σιων,” 133-35n44. Koch likewise posits that the change predates Paul, but rather than giving it a Jewish origin, states that it is a “vorpaulinisch-christologischen Interpretation” (*Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums*, 177).

¹⁸¹Ibid., 134-36.

¹⁸²Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, 167.

¹⁸³Shum, *Paul’s Use of Isaiah in Romans*, 238-39. Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News*, 285n208, makes the same point.

¹⁸⁴This is a conclusion shared by many scholars, see Kirk, “Why Does the Deliverer Come ἐκ Σιών,” 86; Bruno, “The Deliverer from Zion,” 122; Wright, *Romans*, 692; idem, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God*, 2:1249-51; Shum, *Paul’s Use of Isaiah in Romans*, 239; Seifrid, “Romans,” 674; Schreiner, *Romans*, 619n19; Moo, *Epistle to the Romans*, 728; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 624; Jewett, *Romans*, 703; Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 682; Holland, *Romans*, 385; Meyer, *The End of the Law*, 186.

appropriated a traditional proof-text from either the Jewish synagogue . . . or Jewish Christian apologetics.”¹⁸⁵ But yet again, there is no evidence of such a pre-existing set of proof-texts that combined these two passages. It is speculation on Stanley’s part. “The primary hindrance to a Pauline origin” for him is the emphasis given to the word *διαθήκη*, which he claims “plays a surprisingly limited role in Paul’s theology.”¹⁸⁶ But this argument too is rather specious. How does the merging of these texts place undue emphasis on the “covenant” concept? If anything it further defines the covenant as a taking away of sins, which certainly is in line with Paul’s larger concerns in the first half of the book of Romans. And while it is true that the word *διαθήκη* itself does not occur often in Paul’s writing, Shum is right to note that it functions as an underlying presupposition for much of Paul’s theology.¹⁸⁷ The word need not be there for the concept to be present.¹⁸⁸ The guiding concern for all of Romans 9-11 is whether or not God is faithful to his covenant promises to his people. Stanley’s chief reason for locating the textual modification in a pre-Pauline community simply does not hold up. So, once again, a Pauline origin is the more plausible solution for the text form that is present in Romans 11:26-27.¹⁸⁹

The last set of modifications from the LXX in Paul’s quotation is the set of

¹⁸⁵Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, 170. See also Stanley, “The Redeemer Will Come ἐκ Σιων,” 126, in which he claims that Paul took his quotation “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.”

¹⁸⁶Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, 169.

¹⁸⁷Shum, *Paul’s Use of Isaiah in Romans*, 237.

¹⁸⁸Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News*, 280-81n196.

¹⁸⁹Again, the conclusion that it was Paul who combined these two texts from Isaiah is shared by many. See Reidar Hvalvik, “A ‘Sonderweg’ for Israel: A Critical Examination of a Current Interpretation of Romans 11.25-27,” *JSNT* 38 (1990): 95; Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums*, 177; Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News*, 280-81n196; Shum, *Paul’s Use of Isaiah in Romans*, 239; Bruno, “The Deliverer from Zion,” 120-22; Jewett, *Romans*, 705; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 625; Cranfield, *Romans 9-16*, 578; Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God*, 2:1246-48.

changes with the last three words of the quotation (Isa 27:9c/Rom 11:27b). Converting the pronoun from the singular *αὐτοῦ* to the plural *αὐτῶν* is the simplest to explain, as it “was needed to produce a smooth reading alongside the *αὐτοῖς* of Isa 59:20-1. In other words, the adaptation was required to knit the two biblical passages together into one.”¹⁹⁰ The conversion of *τὴν ἁμαρτίαν* from the singular to the plural could be explained along the same lines, namely that it was a consequence of the combining of two texts. The LXX already pluralized *ἡ ψῆ* to *ἀσεβείας* in Isaiah 59:20b, so it seems likely that Paul would also pluralize its synonym from Isaiah 27:9c. However Stanley, yet again, is unconvinced the change is Pauline because “the use of the plural form of *ἁμαρτία* is uncommon in Paul, and the idea of ‘taking away sins’ finds little place in his theology.”¹⁹¹ But both of these arguments have been adequately rebutted by Shum and Wagner. In their analyses the opposite is actually the case, since for Paul the singular *ἁμαρτία* is more of a semi-personal cosmic power directed against God, whereas here Paul probably has in mind the specific sin acts of disobedience that need to be removed from Israel (Rom 11:26d, 30-32). So the change is actually a better fit for Paul’s immediate context in Romans 11.¹⁹² The last variation, shifting the possessive pronoun to the final position cannot be given definitive explanation. The change does bring it closer to the word order in the MT.¹⁹³ It

¹⁹⁰Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, 170. He also writes, “The conversion of the pronoun from singular to plural in the final clause (‘his’ to ‘their’) is an obvious result of the conflation (to conform to the preceding *αὐτοῖς*), and should be assigned to whoever brought the two texts together in the first place” (“The Redeemer Will Come *ἐκ Σιων*,” 123). Because of Stanley’s prior decision that Paul was not the one who combined the two texts, he does not attribute this change to him either. Nevertheless Stanley’s reasoning is sound that one modification necessitated the other. So, since his prior conclusion was already found wanting, this change too is most likely attributable to Paul.

¹⁹¹Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, 170; cf. Stanley, “The Redeemer Will Come *ἐκ Σιων*,” 123.

¹⁹²Shum, *Paul’s Use of Isaiah in Romans*, 237-38; Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News*, 283-84n203. Shum states more clearly than Wagner that the change comes from Paul. Wagner is content to prove that the change is compatible with Pauline usage and so cannot be used as evidence against that conclusion.

¹⁹³Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums*, 109.

also matches more closely the phrase τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν from Jeremiah 38:34 (LXX), although it is hard to assign intentionally to that coincidence. It seems best to agree with Stanley in this instance by recognizing that “shifts in word order are common throughout the manuscript tradition of antiquity . . . [and that t]he change has no evident effect on either the meaning or the rhetorical impact of the verse.”¹⁹⁴

The above analysis has determined that the majority of the modifications originate with Paul himself in forming the quotation. But does a Pauline origin also entail that there is interpretive significance that can be derived from the modifications?

Is there significance in the modifications? This question “tends to entail a degree of circularity.”¹⁹⁵ If, as some argue, Paul inherits a modified text and does not create these modifications, it is hard to assign any substantial degree of significance to the particular changes in his quotation. If these changes are pre-Pauline, it is often not possible to determine if Paul was even aware of the fact that there are textual modifications. He might just be utilizing the only form of the text that he knows, in which case there is likely no intentionality with Paul in the deviations from the original text. This process happens in reverse too, where an interpreter has determined there is no significance to the change, and therefore concludes that it was not intentionally altered by Paul. However, on the other hand, if Paul is the one making these modifications, they are probably not accidental. He is altering the text for a reason, and so it is part of the interpretive process to figure out the significance of these textual modifications. In this way intentionality and significance are tied together.

A helpful illustration is found in considering the prepositional change in the first line of the quotation (Isa 59:20a/Rom 11:26c) from ἐνεκεν in the LXX (ἵ in the MT)

¹⁹⁴Stanley, “The Redeemer Will Come ἐκ Σιων,” 123n19.

¹⁹⁵Kirk, “Why Does the Deliverer Come ἐκ Σιων,” 83. Kirk’s discussion of the connection between intentionality and significance for the textual alterations was helpfully informative for this section.

to ἐκ. Before Stanley even discusses the various theories for what might have transpired in the transmission history to result in this change, he notes that “there is nothing in the present context to indicate that Paul attributed any significance to the preposition ἐκ in his quotation from Isa 59.20.”¹⁹⁶ In fact, Stanley and Koch both maintain that the unaltered LXX text with the preposition ἐνεκεν would have been more suitable for Paul’s present argument.¹⁹⁷ Neither of them entertains the notion that the altered text more closely aligns with Paul’s point, because Paul is not the one responsible for the change.¹⁹⁸ The lack of significance is clearly linked to the lack of authorial intention for a change by Paul.

Hvalvik has laid down as a methodological rule when interpreting the OT quotes in Paul’s letters that “a variation over against MT or LXX should not be emphasized unless it can be demonstrated that Paul consciously has altered the text.”¹⁹⁹ To this I would add that the reverse is also the case, namely, that when an alteration is judged to originate with Paul, it is right to emphasize it, especially when it can be demonstrated to be consistent with the context.²⁰⁰ For this reason, in describing the function of the quotation in Paul’s argument, I will demonstrate the interpretive

¹⁹⁶Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, 166.

¹⁹⁷Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, 166n280; Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums*, 177n34. Similarly Schaller writes, “Dass das Heil vom Zion kommt, spielt in diesem Zusammenhang keine Rolle” (“ἩΕΙ ΕΚ ΣΙΩΝ Ο ΠΥΟΜΕΝΟΣ: Zur Textgestalt von Jes 59:20f. in Röm 11:26f.,” 203, emphasis added).

¹⁹⁸Stanley’s position is a little more nuanced, in that he is more concerned with how Paul interacts with the interpretive tradition that is already inherent in the modified text from which he draws, not necessarily the biblical text itself. He thinks that “Paul makes no effort to recast this part of the tradition, [so] one can only presume that he shared the view of his compatriots” (“The Redeemer Will Come ἐκ Σιων,” 138).

¹⁹⁹Hvalvik, “A ‘Sonderweg’ for Israel,” 94. In the particular case of the prepositional change in the first line of the quotation, Hvalvik does not attribute it to Paul, therefore he does not find any real significance. But he does see other alterations in this quote having a Pauline origin, such as the combinations of texts from Isaiah.

²⁰⁰The role of consistency with the present context in understanding the quotation resonates with Hvalvik’s second methodological rule. He writes, “In an unaltered quotation a Pauline accent is made probable only when it corresponds to an explicit concern in the context” (“A ‘Sonderweg’ for Israel,” 94).

significance of the various textual modifications that have already been analyzed and attributed to Paul.²⁰¹

But before turning to the final step of understanding the function that these verses served in Paul's context, one first needs to determine the role they played in the original context of Isaiah. If the reader is to judge whether or not Paul was using these verses from Isaiah in a contextually rooted manner, it is necessary to establish the original context of the verses in question. It is to the OT context that the reader is now directed.

Old Testament Context

Isaiah is clearly a favorite OT source for Paul, evidenced by the fact that he quotes from it more than any other OT book in his letter to the Romans.²⁰² The goal in this section is not to survey the whole prophecy, but to discern why Paul might have selected these particular verses (Isa 59:20-21; 27:9) to substantiate his argument in Romans 11. To adequately do that, one must understand how they functioned in their immediate context.

Isaiah 59:20-21

The main part of the quotation comes from Isaiah 59:20-21b, which serves both as the conclusion of chapter 59 and also as the hinge point for the following chapter. A survey of these chapters as they both lead into and out of the portion cited by Paul will prove insightful to discerning its relevance for Romans 11.

The sin and redemption of Israel in Isaiah 59. Isaiah 59 opens with a bold

²⁰¹“Paul's reading is probably theologically motivated, since his entire citation of the text is highly interpretive. In this case, then, Paul's variation is theologically significant” (Seifrid, “Romans,” 674).

²⁰²J. Ross Wagner, “Isaiah in Romans and Galatians” in *Isaiah in the New Testament*, ed. Steve Moyise and Maarten J. J. Menken (London: T&T Clark, 2005), 117.

declaration that the blame for the problem of Israel's present state does not rest with God. "The Lord's hand is not shortened, that it cannot save, or his ear dull, that it cannot hear."²⁰³ Isaiah locates the accusation squarely on Israel for the separation with God because of their sins and iniquities (vv. 2-3).²⁰⁴ Israel's sins are then elaborated on in more detail in verses 4-8,²⁰⁵ and the picture that is painted is dire indeed. In fact Paul quotes from Isaiah 59:7-8 in Romans 3:15-17 as part of his litany of scriptural proofs demonstrating the universal sinfulness of man.²⁰⁶ But there are some in Israel who realize their desperate situation and so in verses 9-13²⁰⁷ they respond in a "communal lament."²⁰⁸ Their weeping has a frank recognition that while they hope for salvation it is far from them (v. 11). Israel is in a desperate state of spiritual blindness and rebellion that they can not climb out of on their own. And so starting in verse 15b the situation takes a turn, when the Lord himself decides to intercede²⁰⁹ on behalf of his people and bring them salvation because there was no one else who could come to their aid (v. 16). He dons the garments of a warrior for both salvation and vengeance (v. 17). The vengeance is enacted

²⁰³The LXX phrases the same idea as a rhetorical question, implying a negative response: "μή οὐκ ἰσχύει ἡ χεὶρ κυρίου τοῦ σῶσαι ἢ ἐβάρυνεν τὸ οὖς αὐτοῦ τοῦ μὴ εἰσακοῦσαι."

²⁰⁴Note the use of the second person plural pronouns in vv. 2-3. The switching between the different personal pronouns follows the movement of the narrative in this chapter. See J. Alec Motyer, *The Prophecy of Isaiah: An Introduction and Commentary* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1993), 484.

²⁰⁵Here the pronouns switch to third person plurals.

²⁰⁶"For Paul, the majority of Israel in his own day are still rebellious and in need of God's deliverance. They are stuck, as it were, in Isaiah 59:7-8, and the redemption promised in Isaiah 59:20-21 remains as yet a hope unfulfilled" (Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News*, 288n216).

²⁰⁷These verses shift to first person plural pronouns in the MT. The LXX continues with third person pronouns through the middle of v. 11.

²⁰⁸Barry G. Webb, *The Message of Isaiah: On Eagles' Wings*, BST (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1996), 227.

²⁰⁹The same Hebrew word, *נָסַע*, is also used in Isa 53:6, 12. There is also the thematic connection between the passages. In chap. 53 the Servant intercedes on behalf of Yahweh's people by bearing their sin. "Although the intervening arm is depicted differently here than in chap. 53, its function is exactly the same in both places: God's redemptive activity on behalf of a helpless people" (John N. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah: Chapters 40-66*, NICOT [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998], 528).

against his enemies according to their deeds (v. 18) and brings universal fear of his name and glory (v. 19). And the salvation is brought about by Yahweh coming as a Redeemer to Zion. But repentance is still the condition of salvation, because it is only for “those in Jacob who turn from transgression” (v. 20).²¹⁰ The salvation that Israel was awaiting has come, because the barrier of their iniquities has been removed. The covenant that God made with his people stands firm, and will remain with his people forever as demonstrated by the gift of both his Spirit and his words (v. 21). Israel had to be made clean for God’s Spirit to take up residence, but there was another purpose for these gifts. Israel is called to be God’s servant to the world, and so they perform “God’s revelatory purposes”²¹¹ in drawing the whole world to the Lord. This leads to the result of Israel’s redemption in chapter 60, namely the drawing in of the nations.

The drawing in of the Gentiles in Isaiah 60. “The promise of imminent deliverance in Isaiah 59:19-21 gives way to the vivid depiction in Isaiah 60 of redemption realized.”²¹² Israel,²¹³ in its redeemed state, is commanded to shine forth the light that has come upon them because of the residing glory of the Lord (v. 1). Despite the darkness covering all the peoples (ἔθνη LXX) of the earth, upon seeing that light (v. 2), the nations (ἔθνη LXX), including their kings,²¹⁴ will come to join Israel. They will come from every corner of the earth²¹⁵ bringing presents and praises to the Lord (vv. 6-7).²¹⁶ Those who

²¹⁰Claus Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66: A Commentary*, trans. David M. G. Stalker (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1969), 352.

²¹¹Oswalt, *Isaiah 40-66*, 532.

²¹²Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News*, 290.

²¹³The LXX, Targum, and Vulgate add “Jerusalem” to make explicit the subject of address in Isa 60:1.

²¹⁴Mentioning both “nations” and “kings” represents “the two aspects of organized life – the ruled and the rulers, [and hence] signify total response” (Motyer, *Prophecy of Isaiah*, 494).

²¹⁵“Midian, Ephah, Sheba, Kedar and Nebaioth are names assembled impressionistically to create the sense of a world-wide surge to Zion. Midian is in the far south, Ephah to the east of the Persian

were foreigners will join in with the task of all the citizens of Zion, even building their walls (v. 10).²¹⁷ There is no other option for the nations but to recognize the holiness of God among his people in Zion, otherwise they will perish (vv. 12-14). There is a complete transformation of the relationship of Zion with the converted gentiles. Whereas Israel was previously forsaken and hated (v. 15) they now share the most loving and personal care with their old enemies, described with the metaphors of sucking “the milk of the nations” and nursing “at the breast of the kings” (v. 16).²¹⁸ This new reality of harmony between Jew and gentile is a result of the saving work of the “Mighty One of Jacob” (v. 16). Yahweh came as a Redeemer and Savior for Israel, and that in turn resulted in the drawing in of the gentiles into that salvation.

Isaiah 27:9

Paul did not reproduce most of Isaiah 59:21 in his quotation (see table 2), choosing instead to contribute a line from Isaiah 27.²¹⁹ A survey of this chapter will help situate the line that was included in the conflated quotation.

Chapters 24-27 of Isaiah are often referred to as “the little apocalypse.”²²⁰

After Isaiah described the judgment on the whole earth in chapter 24, victory over God’s

Gulf, Sheba in the deep south, Kedar and Nebaioth to the east in the northern reaches of the Arabian desert” (Ibid., 495).

²¹⁶The LXX renders the last line of v. 6, “τὸ σωτήριον κυρίου εὐαγγελιοῦνται.”

²¹⁷V. 10 uses the expression בְּיַיְנוּכָר. “The presence of the same phrase in 56:3, 6 makes plain that the persons referred to here are not to be considered as slaves but as those who have joined themselves to the covenant” (Oswalt, *Isaiah 40-66*, 546).

²¹⁸Motyer, *Prophecy of Isaiah*, 497.

²¹⁹“Die Kombination von Jes 59,21a mit Jes 27,9ab ist offensichtlich veranlaßt durch das Stichwort ‘Jakob’, durch die entsprechende Satzstruktur (Jes 27,9: καὶ τοῦτό ἐστιν ἡ εὐλογία αὐτοῦ, ὅταν) und durch die gleiche Thematik der Sündenvergebung” (Ulrich Wilckens, *Der Brief an die Römer*, vol. 2, *Röm. 6-11*, EKKNT 6 [Zürich: Benziger; Neukirchener-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1987], 2:256n1153).

²²⁰Bryan E. Beyer, *Encountering the Book of Isaiah: A Historical and Theological Survey* (Grand Rapids, Baker Academic, 2007), 112.

enemies in chapter 25, and Judah's song of deliverance in chapter 26, he goes on to elaborate on the future redemption of Israel in chapter 27.²²¹ The structure of this chapter²²² "begins with the future (2-6), swings back to the present (7-11), and ends by returning to the future (12-13)."²²³ Isaiah returns to the metaphor of the vineyard to describe Israel (v. 2), as he did in Isaiah 5:1-7. In both descriptions, God is taking meticulous care of the vineyard (Isa 5:1-2, 4; 27:3-4), yet instead of the previous disaster which consisted of a bad yield (Isa 5:2, 4), and the subsequent destruction of the vineyard/Israel by God (Isa 5:5-7), this time God maintains his careful protection and preservation (Isa 27:4-5), and the result is that Israel was able to take root and grow, filling the whole world with its plentiful yield (Isa 27:6).²²⁴

This glorious picture of Israel in Isaiah's vision is not yet a reality, and so verse 7 brings the reader back to present situation. This middle section of the chapter (vv. 7-11) describes the means of achieving the desired redemption. The reason that Israel could take root and grow is because the judgment that God brought on them was not as severe as that of the nations (v. 7). Yes, Israel faced the punishment of God's "fierce breath in the day of the east wind,"²²⁵ nevertheless it was measured (v. 8), only bringing upon them what was needed for their purification (v. 9). Verse 9 provides the explanation for Israel's judgment of exile.²²⁶ Only by the Lord's chastening will "Jacob's guilt be

²²¹Ibid., 117.

²²²Isa 27:1 is better understood as the climax of chap. 26, rather than introducing chap. 27. See Oswalt, *Isaiah 1-39*, 490.

²²³Webb, *Message of Isaiah*, 112. Note the use of key terms to mark the time references. The first section is bracketed by the phrases "in that day" (v. 2) and "in days to come" (v.6). Likewise, the conclusion of the chapter repeats "in that day" in both vv. 12 and 13.

²²⁴For more on the comparison between the vineyards in Isa 5 and 27, see Webb, *Message of Isaiah*, 113; and Beyer, *Encountering the Book of Isaiah*, 119.

²²⁵The reference to the east wind is a description of destruction. See Oswalt, *Isaiah 1-39*, 498.

²²⁶Motyer, *Prophecy of Isaiah*, 224; Oswalt, *Isaiah 1-39*, 498. V. 9 begins with לְכֹן בְּזִמְתָּ in the MT, and διὰ τοῦτο in the LXX. Exile was the means of achieving the removal of Israel's sin.

atoned for.” The removal of Israel’s sin is necessary to have that previously described peace with God (v. 5). The “full fruit” of atonement is demonstrated by destroying the idols that competed for sole loyalty to the Lord. “This fruit must be both the cause and the result of the sin’s removal. On the one hand, smashing the idols is necessary if forgiveness is to be received; on the other hand, the announcement of forgiveness supplies the motivation to do the smashing.”²²⁷ Whether verses 10-11 describe the desolated city of Jerusalem during the exile,²²⁸ or the world wide city of the nations under the judgment of God,²²⁹ they are in that state because God has “shown them no favor.”

The chapter ends like it began, with a look to the future deliverance (“in that day”), again using an image of harvesting in verse 12. The Lord will sift out the “people of Israel” “one by one” who escape God’s judgment, like the grain that is separated after the threshing. The complete boundaries of the Promised Land (“from the river Euphrates to the Brook of Egypt”)²³⁰ will finally be inhabited only by those whom the Lord has saved. This day of salvation would be heralded with the sound of “a great trumpet” (v. 13), which would also bring in all the exiles “who were lost in the land of Assyria and those who were driven out to the land of Egypt” in order to worship the Lord “on the holy mountain at Jerusalem.”²³¹ This trumpet is no doubt the Jubilee trumpet (Lev 25:9), which announced the freedom of the captives and sounded on the Day of Atonement, and hence provides another connection between verse 9 and 13.²³² The removal of the sins of

²²⁷Oswalt, *Isaiah 1-39*, 499.

²²⁸John D. W. Watts, *Isaiah 1-33*, WBC 24 (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1985), 350-51.

²²⁹Oswalt, *Isaiah 1-39*, 499; Motyer, *Prophecy of Isaiah*, 224-25.

²³⁰These geographical markers represent the northeastern and southwestern boundaries of the land promised to Israel (Gen 15:18)

²³¹C. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch, *Isaiah*, Commentary on the Old Testament, vol. 7, trans. James Martin (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969), 460-61, argue that v. 12 describes the salvation within the land of Israel, and then in v. 13 the salvation from those who were banished outside of it.

²³²Motyer, *Prophecy of Isaiah*, 225.

Israel through atonement will lead to the final salvation of all of God's chosen people.

The Relevance of These Passages for Paul's Purposes in Romans 11

Interpreters draw very different conclusions about Paul's intent in Romans 11, and the meaning of *πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ* (Rom 11:26), partly due to how they understand the meaning that Paul intends to derive from his quotations from Isaiah. What features in Isaiah 59 and 27 drew Paul to these passages to buttress his concerns in Romans 11? Some scholars highlight the relevance of Isaiah 59 and 27 for Paul by comparing the common themes between these two Isaianic texts. Wagner, for instance, focuses on the shared concerns of Paul and Isaiah for the final restoration of Israel when he writes:

Although they share few words in common, Isa. 27:9 and Isa. 59:20-21 correspond closely both in syntactical structure and in their basic motifs. Moreover, their larger literary settings (Isaiah 24-27; 59-60) tell similar stories about Israel's future deliverance by God. In both passages, God comes in person to reign in Zion (24:23; 25:6-10; 59:16-21; 60:1-3), cleansing his people from their wickedness (26:16-19; 27:9-11; 59:1-15; 60:21), delivering them from their oppressors, and bringing the exiles home to Zion (27:12-13; 60:4-22). In Isaiah's visions, the ultimate restoration of Israel is the gracious work of their God, who comes in person to remove their sins and reconcile them to himself.²³³

Bruno, however, thinks that "in citing these passages [from Isaiah], Paul is intentionally drawing on contexts that refer to an inclusion of Gentiles when the promises to Israel are fulfilled."²³⁴ He argues that in Isaiah 59 and 27 (and 2) "there is a clear inclusion of the Gentiles when the YHWH acts to fulfil his covenant with Israel."²³⁵ As support for this statement he charts out the common themes from each of the texts in Isaiah that he understands Paul to be referencing. Specifically in Isaiah 59:18-19 and Isaiah 27:12-13 he locates an "accompanying blessing for the Gentiles" when God comes to save Israel. In other words, the salvation for Israel and the Gentiles does not happen in

²³³Wagner, "Isaiah in Romans and Galatians," 126.

²³⁴Bruno, "The Deliverer from Zion," 131. He intends the contexts of Isa 59, 27 and 2.

²³⁵Ibid.

two stages, but are bound up *together* in the one work of salvation for God’s people.²³⁶ For Bruno, that’s why Paul cannot be intending a future conversion of the ethnic nation of Israel in Romans 11:26 (παῖς Ἰσραὴλ σωθήσεται) distinct (and at a different time) from the Gentiles.²³⁷ In both Isaiah and Paul the salvation of the Gentiles accompanies the salvation of the Jews.

However it is my contention that Bruno misreads the evidence from Isaiah and hence claims too much. In his actual discussion of Isaiah 59 the only explicit textual appeal he makes to the accompanying blessings to the Gentiles in the salvation of Israel is in reference to Isaiah 59:19 in a footnote. He writes, “In 59:19, both the fear of YHWH and the glory of YHWH extend from the east to the west. In other words, the fear and the glory of YHWH will cover the whole earth when he accomplishes the judgment on his enemies. Thus, there is a benefit extended to the nations when YHWH works to save Israel.”²³⁸ He seems to imply that there are two aspects that emanate out in the Lord’s coming, the fear and the glory. Some might claim that the former is negative (i.e. judgment) and the latter positive (i.e. salvation) for the nations of the world, but this misreads the syntax of the verse. The one verb יִירָא has two objects, אֶת־שֵׁם יְהוָה and אֶת־כְּבוֹדוֹ.²³⁹ Therefore it is more accurate to say, “God’s ‘name’ and ‘glory,’ both hypostases for God himself . . . will be feared.”²⁴⁰ While it is true that “fear” can have both negative and positive connotations at times, the context in Isaiah 59:18-19 makes it

²³⁶Ibid., 126. In speaking of the saving work in Isa 59, Bruno writes, “There will be some from ethnic Israel and the Gentile world who *together* benefit from YHWH’s saving action and share in his everlasting covenant” (emphasis added).

²³⁷Ibid., 132.

²³⁸Ibid., 126n22. In this same footnote he writes, “The nations witnessing the saving action of YHWH is a prominent theme in Isa. 56-66,” which of course is accurate, but even this language tacitly acknowledges that it is only after God has saved Israel that the nations have something to witness. The salvation of the Gentiles comes because of and after the salvation of Israel.

²³⁹Note the repetition of the direct object markers. The syntax in the LXX matches as well.

²⁴⁰Oswalt, *Isaiah 40-66*, 529.

much more likely that this “fear is a terror of retribution.”²⁴¹ The Lord is coming to bring “wrath” and “repayment” to his enemies (v. 18). And the וּ clause (γάρ LXX) in the second half of verse 19 only strengthens this reading.²⁴² The reason all the world will fear the Lord is because “the wrath of God against sin will be like a stream thundering through a narrow canyon, pushed on by a roaring wind; and those who choose to ally themselves with sin, no matter where they are in the world, will have good cause to be terrified.”²⁴³ What is in view for the nations in Isaiah 59:18-19 when the Lord comes to redeem Israel is fear of judgment, not salvation.

Bruno also finds in Isaiah 27 a salvation of Israel that includes the Gentiles. He locates “an invitation for people from all nations to become part of Israel”²⁴⁴ in the closing verse of the chapter. In reference to verse 13, Bruno writes,

Although the reference to Assyria makes it possible that this is a reference to the return from exile of ethnic Israelites, other factors make it more likely that this is a reference to foreigners joining themselves to Israel. If the prophet was referring only to ethnic Israelites returning from exile, Assyria and Babylon would be the most likely referents. By referring to Egypt, which lay just outside of the western border of the promised land, and Assyria, which lay just outside of the eastern border, the implication is that those from outside Israel will join with the people of God ‘in that day’ when the trumpet is blown and YHWH wins the victory.²⁴⁵

While this is a plausible reading of the verse, I do not think it necessary, or even most likely. He argues that if Isaiah intended only ethnic Israelites, then he would have paired Babylon with Assyria, instead of Egypt as the locations from which the exiles came. This reasoning seems to neglect a consideration of the date of Isaiah’s prophecy. The Babylonian exile is still over a hundred years into the future. And while Isaiah does

²⁴¹Ibid., 530.

²⁴²The LXX rendering is even more explicit: “ἤξει γὰρ ὡς ποταμὸς βίαιος ἡ ὀργὴ παρὰ κυρίου ἤξει μετὰ θυμοῦ.” It is “anger” “with wrath” that is coming from the Lord.

²⁴³Oswalt, *Isaiah 40-66*, 530.

²⁴⁴Bruno, “The Deliverer from Zion,” 130.

²⁴⁵Ibid., 130-31n42.

prophesy a warning of that impending judgment by Babylon (Isa 39), the people of Israel had two great foes from whom they needed to be brought out: Assyria in their day, and Egypt in the day of their forefathers. “Egypt and Assyria are mentioned inasmuch as they were the two great powers that had held the people of God captive and away from the land of promise.”²⁴⁶ They are representative of the forces that will hold the exiles captive. So it is from Assyria and from Egypt, therefore, that Israel will again be regathered when the final trumpet sounds “in that day.” The focus of God’s saving activity in Isaiah 27 is Israel, not the nations.²⁴⁷

Bruno also claims, without more argumentation, that “both Jews and Gentiles have their sins forgiven in Isaiah 27:9,”²⁴⁸ which is the actual portion included in Paul’s quotation. Perhaps Bruno intends this as a summary statement based on his analysis of Isaiah 27:13. Nevertheless, even in the immediate context of verses 7-9, it is clear that a contrast is set up between the nations and Israel/Jacob. Not only was God’s treatment of the nations more severe, but it did not serve the same purpose for the nations as it did with Israel. The measured judgment of Israel was for the purpose of cleansing them from idolatry and removing their sins through the exile. There is no hint here that Gentiles are in view from this verse when “the guilt of Jacob will be atoned for” (Isa 27:9).

There is an “accompanying blessing for the Gentiles” but what is lacking in Bruno’s treatment of the Isaiah texts is a more precise description about how they are related. The salvation of Jews and Gentiles do not just happen to occur at the same time, one is the means of the other. This critique is echoed by Kirk, when he writes “that where Bruno’s recent study missteps is in recounting the elements of Isa 59-60 without duly

²⁴⁶Edward J. Young, *The Book of Isaiah: The English Text, with Introduction, Exposition and Notes*, vol. 2, *Chapters 19-39* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969), 252.

²⁴⁷Perhaps Gentile salvation is in view in Isa 27:6 when the vineyard of Israel grows to fill the whole earth. But even then, the salvation of the Gentiles envisioned here is by means of and subsequent to the salvation that God has already brought to Israel (similar to Isa 60:1ff.).

²⁴⁸Bruno, “The Deliverer from Zion,” 131.

noting how the narrative unfolds, and how various elements lead into others.”²⁴⁹

Both of the above proposals (by Wagner and Bruno) for the relevance of these Isaiah texts for Paul’s purposes in Romans 11 are not quite on target. The quote from Wagner is right to stress the emphasis on the final restoration of Israel, but it neglects to mention the role that it plays in the salvation of the Gentiles. Kirk’s conclusion is again helpful here:

Paul is not simply evoking a passage that speaks of God’s faithfulness to deliver Israel in the face of Israel’s sin, he is evoking a narrative of salvation that addresses the particular question of how God’s eschatological salvation of Israel is tied to the gathering of the nations to worship Israel’s God. This means that Paul is citing a passage that speaks to the very question with which he is wrestling in Rom. 11, namely, how do Jews and Gentiles each come to be implicated in the saving work of Israel’s God?²⁵⁰

Bruno’s reading of the Isaiah texts errs in the other direction by emphasizing that the salvation of the Gentiles is cotemporal with Israel. Besides not being the teaching of these passages from Isaiah, it would not answer the challenge with which Paul is wrestling in his own experience. The majority of Israel is hardened, while the Gentiles are streaming in to partake of the covenant promises. The mystery that Paul is revealing in Romans 11:25-26 indicates that a final, complete salvation awaits Israel, but it will come by means of the Gentiles. Isaiah 59 is chosen as scriptural support of the mystery because it is a clear statement of God’s act to deliver his people, and because it is a pivotal verse that deals with the relationship between the salvation of Israel and of the Gentiles. Yet with Paul’s modifications to the text, the story it tells is transformed to accommodate his place in redemptive history. A look at how Paul is actually utilizing this OT quote is the final step before a fair adjudication can be made about whether or not this means Paul was employing a non-contextually rooted hermeneutic of the OT.

²⁴⁹Kirk, “Why Does the Deliverer Come ἐκ Σιῶν,” 86.

²⁵⁰Ibid., 86-87. Kirk is only specifically addressing Paul’s use of Isa 59 here.

Function of the Quotation in Romans 11:26cd-27

Now that the NT and OT context have been examined in some detail, the actual function of the quotation itself can now be analyzed. Seifrid's claim that "Paul's citation of Scripture here [is] perhaps the most interpretive and theologically dense reading of Scripture in the entire letter"²⁵¹ serves to remind the reader to pay careful attention to the interpretive changes that Paul brings to these Isaiah texts.

The function that the quotation serves in Paul's argument will be demonstrated by first recognizing that it supports the whole mystery statement, then discerning the interpretive significance of the prepositional change in the first line of the quotation, and then lastly the rationale for combining a line from Isaiah 27:9.

Supporting the Whole Mystery Statement in Romans 11:25-26b

A key error some make is in locating the purpose of the quotation as support for only the last clause of the mystery statement (*καὶ οὕτως πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ σωθήσεται*). Jewett, following Wilk, explicitly states "that the citation confirms 11:26a but not 11:25."²⁵² Therefore, even though his previous analysis led him to rightly understand that the mystery contains the three elements discussed above (Rom 11:25-26a),²⁵³ when it comes to the scriptural proof, he only sees it as "providing confirmation of Paul's disclosure of the mystery of *Israel's future salvation*."²⁵⁴ This is one of the reasons that the identity of "all Israel" gets so tightly linked to the function of the quotation. If the quotation does not have Gentiles in view at all, but rather Jews who are still in spiritual exile, then there is no reason to understand "all Israel" to be anything other than just

²⁵¹Seifrid, "Romans," 672.

²⁵²Jewett, *Romans*, 702n84. Cf. Wilk, *Die Bedeutung des Jesajabuches für Paulus*, 67, who writes, "Daher bezieht sich das Zitat v. 26c-27 nur auf v. 26a, nicht auch auf v. 25e."

²⁵³Jewett, *Romans*, 699.

²⁵⁴*Ibid.*, 702 (emphasis added).

ethnic Israel. On the other hand, if the quotation is meant to demonstrate that God’s redemption is for both Jews and Gentiles *together*, then it makes sense that Paul intends “all *spiritual* Israel” by *πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ*. A better approach is to see that the quotation supports the whole mystery statement, and not just the last element.²⁵⁵ There is a thematic connection between each of the elements of the mystery and the constituent parts of the quotation.

Carson notes that the scripture quotation immediately following Romans 11:26a “touches as much on the sin and godlessness of Israel (and thus Israel’s hardening) as on the fact that ‘all Israel will be saved.’”²⁵⁶ This indicates that Paul saw a connection in the quotation of not just the restoration of Israel, but also the means of achieving that restoration. But the means of reaching Israel’s final salvation involved more parts than just the *simple* overcoming of the hardening effects of sin. As the previous analysis showed, the core concept of the mystery is that the Gentiles would play a role in Israel’s coming to saving faith. Through the provoking to jealousy that Paul has been describing throughout the second half of Romans 11, the Gentiles would be instrumental in Israel’s restoration. The recent work by Eusebio González is the most extensive in demonstrating how the structure of Romans 11:25-27 ties together both the mystery and the supporting quotation. He sees a chiasmic structure at the heart of the connection (see table 4).²⁵⁷

²⁵⁵Kirk, “Why Does the Deliverer Come ἐκ Σιῶν,” 82. Bruno (“The Deliverer from Zion,” 133n49) agrees that “it is best to see the Isaiah citation as a support for the whole process of vv. 25-26, and not simply as support for 26a.” By “process” he means the partial hardening of Israel and the entering in of the Gentiles as the means of bringing about the salvation of “all Israel” (whether that be defined as the elect remnant or all believers). The difference is that he understands all the components of this process to be happening concurrently, not sequentially. That is why his analysis excludes consideration of *πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ σωθήσεται* as a future mass conversion of ethnic Israelites. Cf. Wright, *Romans*, 691; idem, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God*, 2:1240-41.

²⁵⁶Carson, “Mystery and Fulfillment,” 419.

²⁵⁷Slightly adapted from González, “Interdependencia entre judíos y gentiles en Rm 11,25-27,” 127, 137.

Table 4. Chiastic parallelism between the contents of the mystery and the quotation

Paul's Mystery		Scripture Quotation	
11:25a Intro	Lest you be wise in your own sight, I do not want you to be unaware of this mystery, brothers:	11:26b Intro	as it is written:
11:25b A	a partial hardening has come upon Israel,	11:26c B'	“The Deliverer will come from Zion,
11:25c B	until the fullness of the Gentiles has come in,	11:26d A'	he will banish ungodliness from Jacob,
11:26a C	and in this way all Israel will be saved,	11:27ab C'	and this will be my covenant with them, when I take away their sins.”

The correspondence between the content of each part supports this structural analysis.²⁵⁸ While the terminology used in A is “hardening” and in A' it is “ungodliness,” they are both referring to the unbelief of the Jews (referenced explicitly as “Israel” in A and “Jacob” in A') to the Gospel message. Both B and B' describe the benefit that comes toward the Gentiles as a result of the Jewish unbelief. In B the movement is from the perspective of the Gentiles “entering in” (εἰσελθῆναι) to salvation, while in B' the movement is from God's perspective “going out” (ἔξελθῆναι) of Zion, and hence to bring salvation to the Gentiles.²⁵⁹ Both C and C' begin with the conjunction “and” (καί) indicating a conclusion to the thought of A-B / B'-A',²⁶⁰ that is, after the sin of Israel serves as an

²⁵⁸The analysis in this paragraph is heavily indebted to González, “Interdependencia entre judíos y gentiles en Rm 11,25-27,” 127-28 (it consists of mostly a personal translation with some slight additions).

²⁵⁹The next section will defend this interpretation of Rom 11:26c in more detail.

²⁶⁰This very well could be the reason, and hence significance, for Paul retaining the καί from the LXX of the third line of the quotation. He wanted to maintain symmetry to his mystery statement, and bring his interpretation of the first two lines to a conclusion. As noted previously, it was not uncommon for Paul to drop the initial καί of a quotation, but why also remove the second, but retain the third? Cf. Seifrid

advantage to the Gentiles it will conclude with a final salvation for Israel. This is the same process of Israel's Rejection → Gentile Inclusion → Israel's Inclusion that has been seen pulsing through most of this chapter. This final salvation of Israel is expressed in C simply with the verb *σωθήσεται*, while in C' it is expressed with the specific content of that salvation, namely a covenant consisting of the forgiveness of sins. González concludes, “La estructura del pasaje se organiza, por tanto, en forma quiástica (A-B / B'-A') en referencia al pecado de Israel y al beneficio que éste produce en los gentiles, mientras que la salvación de Israel, que es el mensaje principal, ocupa el lugar conclusive (C-C').”²⁶¹

The plausibility of this structure is reinforced if it is kept in mind that Paul is not simply using a direct quote from scripture, but he has modified it in significant ways to suit his purpose of revealing and supporting his lines of thinking in the mystery statement.²⁶² A final look at the two most significant modifications, namely the change to *ἐκ* Zion and the combination of Isaiah 27:9 with Isaiah 59:20-21, will bear this out.

The Significance of *ἐκ* Zion

The textual modification that probably has generated the most discussion among scholars in this citation is the prepositional change in the first line of the quote in which the Redeemer is no longer coming *to* Zion (MT) or *for the sake of* Zion (LXX), but *out of* Zion (NT). As was determined above, this textual change is both intentional on Paul's behalf and also significant for him interpretatively. For many interpreters they understand the significance of the change of this one word to set the framework for all four lines of the quotation. The interpretive effect of *ἐκ* Σιων on the quotation therefore

comments to a similar effect, “The absence of the LXX's *καί* (“and”) at the beginning of the [second] clause, which is perhaps intentional on Paul's part, sets apart the following third clause for particular emphasis” (“Romans,” 674).

²⁶¹González, “Interdependencia entre judíos y gentiles en Rm 11,25-27,” 127-28.

²⁶²Ibid., 133.

generates “either/or” options or a “both/and” reading.²⁶³

Either/or options. *Either* the change is meant to reaffirm God’s commitment to ethnic Israel despite their status in spiritual exile, *or* the modification of Isaiah’s words bring the Gentile mission into view to affirm that Gentiles will be saved with the Jews. The former emphasizes that Paul’s purpose is the salvation of ethnic Israel, and the latter stresses that Paul’s point in quoting this text is to communicate that Gentiles are now included in the people of God.

The first of these options I have labeled the Diaspora view because its proponents contend that “the variant ἐκ Σιων reflects a fundamental interpretive shift, in which the events narrated in these verses are viewed from the standpoint of the Diaspora.”²⁶⁴ Stanley illuminates the connection between these two ideas in writing, “The Jews of the Diaspora were looking forward to the day when Yahweh would come forth ‘out of Zion’ to rescue his dispersed children from their pagan overlords and return them to their land.”²⁶⁵ Therefore, because “the Redeemer comes ‘from Zion’ for Israel [it] implies that Israel is in exile.”²⁶⁶ This change is purposeful on Paul’s part in moving away from the LXX to emphasize that the Jews of his day are in a “*new* exile,” analogous to the old, but this one is spiritual in nature, not physical.²⁶⁷ The Jews are in captivity to

²⁶³This terminology originates from Kirk, “Why Does the Deliverer Come ἐκ Σιων,” 88.

²⁶⁴Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News*, 284.

²⁶⁵Stanley, ““The Redeemer Will Come ἐκ Σιων,”” 135.

²⁶⁶Seifrid, “Romans,” 674.

²⁶⁷“Paul, then, does not speak of Israel’s exile as a continuing reality that ended with Jesus’ resurrection, as some interpreters now claim. He speaks rather of a *new* exile in the present, in which only a remnant of the nation believes the gospel, and that shall end only when the Redeemer comes from Zion to restore ‘Jacob’ (Rom 9:27-29; 11:1-10, 26-27). The pattern of disobedience, judgment, and mercy in the past is being repeated in Israel’s present unbelief” (Mark A. Seifrid, “The Gospel as the Revelation of Mystery: The Witness of the Scriptures to Christ in Romans,” *SBJT* 11, no. 3 [Fall 2007]: 100, emphasis original). Cf. also Elisée Ouoba, “Paul’s Use of Isaiah 27:9 and 59:20-21 in Romans 11:25-27” (PhD diss., Wheaton College, 2011). He argues that the themes of exile and restoration provide the hermeneutical framework for Paul’s reading of scripture in Rom 11:25-27.

their sin, not the surrounding nations. So, the Zion from which the Lord now comes is not earthly Zion, but heavenly Zion, drawing on the tradition which is also found in Hebrews 12:22 and Galatians 4:26.²⁶⁸ Linking Zion to heaven also locates this salvation at the time of the *parousia*. While “the Redeemer” in the OT was Yahweh, Paul clearly intends the reference to be to Jesus Christ. The majority of Israel in its present state is being hardened, so this cannot be a reference to the incarnation for proponents of this view, but to the second coming when Jesus will again come from heaven to redeem his people.

In this view it is not so much that the LXX’s reading is completely abandoned; it is just changed to add a nuance to Isaiah’s prophesy. The Redeemer is still coming *for the sake of* (ἕνεκεν) Israel (not the Gentiles).²⁶⁹ It is just that the Jews are not in (heavenly) Zion; they are dispersed among the pagans (spiritually speaking), so the Lord has to go out and get them to cleanse them from their sin. “In this line of interpretation, although the change to ἐκ Σιῶν gives a somewhat different perspective on what it might take to save all Israel, now that Israel is scattered, the change is not significant for Paul’s purpose.”²⁷⁰

There are several problems with this reading of the quotation. It introduces the concept of Diaspora, which is foreign to the context, both in Isaiah 59²⁷¹ and also in

²⁶⁸Some scholars understand ἐκ Σιῶν to be indicating a reference to heavenly Zion, but they do not make the explicit connection to the notion that Israel is therefore in a spiritual Diaspora, but it seems implied in their view. See Jewett, *Romans*, 704; Käsemann, *Romans*, 314; Schreiner, *Romans*, 619-20; Moo, *Epistle to the Romans*, 728, Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 682. However both Holland, *Romans*, 385-87, and Seifrid, “Romans,” 674, explicitly affirm and also tie together both notions of the heavenly Zion and Israel in spiritual Diaspora.

²⁶⁹“[Paul] announces the mystery of the Redeemer who comes from Zion for Israel and *not* for the Gentiles” (Seifrid, “The Gospel as the Revelation of Mystery,” 97, emphasis original).

²⁷⁰Kirk, “Why Does the Deliverer Come ἐκ Σιῶν,” 84.

²⁷¹A point that seems to be tacitly acknowledged by appealing to various texts outside of Isaiah to associate ἐκ Σιῶν with the Diaspora. See Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News*, 284-85; Stanley, “The Redeemer Will Come ἐκ Σιῶν,” 135. Even then, Fung has sought to demonstrate that there is no mention of a Diaspora situation in any of these other texts that Wagner appeals to in his attempt to explain ἐκ Σιῶν, including Ps 14 (which was written by David, hundreds of years before the exile). Fung, “Israel’s Salvation,” 76-77.

Romans 11. This view also describes the means of Israel's salvation apart from the role of the Gentiles (displacing it with the second coming) and so does not do justice to how the quotation supports the whole mystery statement, not just the last line. More problems will become apparent in discussing the strengths of the other interpretive approaches.

The second of these *either/or* options I have labeled the Gentile mission view because they believe that the textual modification describes the Redeemer going ἐκ Σιῶν *to the Gentiles*. They derive this notion from a strong appeal to Isaiah 2:3 as part of the quotation,²⁷² in which the Torah is said to go “ἐκ . . . Σιῶν.” In Isaiah 2:2-4 the word of the Lord goes out to instruct the nations and bring them in once the glory of the Holy Mountain is revealed in Israel's salvation. At this stage in salvation-history, Christ is that Word of the Lord, replacing the Torah (Rom 10:14-18). “This shift is the result of what God has done to fulfil his promises to Israel through Christ. The OT promises of salvation have been fulfilled through Christ; therefore, Paul views Isaiah 59 as an already fulfilled prophecy that is continuing to be applied to the people of God during his ministry (and beyond).”²⁷³ Wright firmly maintains that there is no reversal in the sequence of salvation between the Jews and Gentiles. The reason that the gospel is currently going out to the Gentiles is because, “for Paul, the restoration of Israel *had already happened* in the resurrection of Jesus, the representative Messiah.”²⁷⁴ Bruno

²⁷²Another means of arguing that this prepositional change indicates that a Gentile mission is in view, yet does not appeal to Isa 2, is suggested in Archer and Chirichigno, *Old Testament Quotations in the New Testament*, 127-28. They write, “It would seem more likely that the Redeemer would come to Zion for the purpose of cleansing God's people from sin – if those people are actual Jews already in the Holy Land. But if to all believers (as members of spiritual Israel) the world over, then it would be appropriate to speak of the Redeemer's coming out of Zion, as the center of authoritative revelation.”

²⁷³Bruno, “The Deliverer from Zion,” 128. He continues later in the same paragraph, “For Paul, the defeat of YHWH's enemies ultimately entails the defeat and removal of sin. Thus, the prophecy of a redeemer coming to Zion and removing the sin of Jacob was fulfilled in Christ, and now the message of Christ is going out from its source among the Jews.”

²⁷⁴Wright, “Romans and the Theology of Paul,” 61 (emphasis original). See his comments to the same affect in Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God*, 2:1250n709. Cf. these similar statements made by Seifrid, “Interpreters often suppose that here Paul, under the force of circumstances, inverts the scriptural order of the pilgrimage of the nations and the deliverance of Zion. It is more likely, however, that

adds, “the end-time pilgrimage of the nations to Zion has already begun, but it is happening in an unexpected manner.”²⁷⁵ But this unexpected manner is not a reversal of the order, as described in the mystery statement (Rom 11:25-26a), but a maintaining of the same sequence, namely Israel first, then the Gentiles. But in the explanation of this view, the first stage of that sequence has already been fulfilled, and the Gospel going out to the Gentiles in the current age is confirmation of this fact because this movement is “consequent upon the restoration of Israel.”²⁷⁶

The working assumption is that the only reason that the message is going out to the Gentiles for their salvation is because Israel (typified in the Messiah) has already been restored. The Redeemer has already *come to Zion* and so is now *going out from Zion* to the nations. But an appeal to Isaiah 2 might not yield the conclusion this view was seeking. Bruno does not reference Isaiah 2:5 in his discussion of the contribution of Isaiah 2 in interpreting the quotation.²⁷⁷ This verse reads, “O house of Jacob, come, let us walk in the light of the LORD.”²⁷⁸ It is understood by some commentators as an “appeal

he regards Israel’s salvation as proleptically accomplished in the risen Christ.” He goes on to assert that the apostolic appeals to Isaiah in Rom 10:15-16 signal “the arrival of salvation, the fulfillment of God’s promise to Israel in the risen Jesus.” And then a few lines later, “Israel’s salvation has been accomplished. Salvation awaits the nation as a promise already fulfilled” (“Romans,” 673).

²⁷⁵Bruno, “The Deliverer from Zion,” 132.

²⁷⁶Wright, “Romans and the Theology of Paul,” 61. In the same context he elaborates further, “When Zion is restored, the word of the Lord will flow from it to the nations: now, Zion has been restored in Jesus the Messiah, so that the word of salvation consists of Jesus himself, as Redeemer, coming *from* ‘Zion’ to bless the nations.”

²⁷⁷Wright also did not reference Isa 2:5 in his explanation for the way that Isa 2:3 functioned in either *Climax of the Covenant* or “Romans and the Theology Paul,” but he does mention it in his more recent work, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God*, at the prompting of Wagner’s quotation (*Heralds of the Good News*, 292n226) from Seitz. Wright concludes that this larger context of Isa 2 (including v. 5) still fits his explanation of a reflexive purpose for the Gentile mission in provoking some Jews to jealousy and salvation (*Paul and the Faithfulness of God*, 2:1249n703).

²⁷⁸“When compared with Micah 4:1-3, the most distinctive feature of Isaiah’s version of this prophecy is the ‘application’ in verse 5” (John Goldingay, *Isaiah*, UBCS 13 [Grand Rapids: Baker, 1995], 44).

to join these other nations”²⁷⁹ by following in their example. The nations have already heeded their call to “come” and “walk” in the Lord’s path (Isa 2:3), now it is time for Israel to do the same. “Surely, [Isaiah] seems to be saying, if the Gentiles will come seeking the truth we have . . . , if they will come to the light we hold . . . , then we ought to walk in that light.”²⁸⁰ “The prophet is attempting to use the example of the Gentiles to provoke God’s people to a holy jealousy.”²⁸¹ This seems to correlate quite well with Paul’s purposes in Romans 11, ²⁸² especially so when Isaiah 2:6 is taken into account. Jacob/Israel is exhorted to come because they have been rejected by the Lord because of their sin. Romans 11 tells an all too familiar story: Israel’s sin led to God’s rejection of them (Isa 2:6), meanwhile the Gentiles were streaming in to the Lord (Isa 2:2-4), which in turn will provoke Israel to finally come and join in the salvation enjoyed by the Gentiles (Isa 2:5). “The ironic twist in the Book of Isaiah is that the nations finally turn and seek Zion (2:1-3), leaving the house of Jacob to follow their lead (2:5).”²⁸³

If this is indeed the message of Isaiah 2, and if Paul is combining it with the quotation from the end of Isaiah 59²⁸⁴ for a mutually interpretive purpose (as Wright and Bruno claim), then perhaps it is the larger message of this text that Paul drew on to arrive at a *both/and* reading of the quotation. But the Gentile mission approach does not

²⁷⁹Christopher R. Seitz, *Isaiah 1-39*, Interpretation 20 (Louisville: John Knox Press, 1993), 38-39.

²⁸⁰Oswalt, *Isaiah 1-39*, 119.

²⁸¹Ibid., 118. He continues, “The emphatic position of ‘House of Jacob’ and its correlation with ‘God of Jacob’ in v. 3 supports this contention” (pp. 118-19).

²⁸²A point that is also explicitly pointed out in Keil and Delitzsch, *Isaiah*, 117.

²⁸³Seitz, *Isaiah 1-39*, 72.

²⁸⁴Some have noted the correspondence between Isa 2 and the beginning of Isa 60. See Oswalt, *Isaiah 40-66*, 538; Webb, *The Message of Isaiah*, 231; Edward J. Young, *The Book of Isaiah: The English Text, with Introduction, Exposition and Notes*, Vol 3: Chapters 40-66 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972), 446; John D. W. Watts, *Isaiah 34-66*, WBC 24 (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1987), 295. This connection could be what drew Paul back to Isa 2 after first going to Isa 59.

recognize that interplay of the relationship between Jew and Gentile *in the quotation itself*. Nor do they acknowledge the instrumental role that the Gentiles serve in bringing Israel to final salvation.²⁸⁵

Both/and reading. Both of these *either/or* approaches to the quotation miss the mark. They each contribute helpful insights, but they do not allow the interplay between Jew and Gentile to weave through the four lines of the quotation. I propose a *both/and* reading that recognizes that the textual change in the first line does speak of the Gentile mission, but that the ultimate purpose of the quote is to reaffirm God's commitment to ethnic Israel despite the unexpected twists in salvation-history. This is not merely an attempt to piecemeal together the strong points of each view. It is a recognition that the Gentile mission is essential to accomplish the goal of fulfilling God's covenantal commitment to Israel's final salvation, a point that Paul has labored to demonstrate. Kirk explains the *both/and* reading like this:

When Paul changes the preposition from ἔνεκεν to ἐκ, he tells of the unexpected turn in salvation history he believes has taken place. Rather than salvation coming for the sake of Zion, it has gone forth out of Zion to the Gentiles. But in order to indicate the reversal in the plot, the latter clauses of Isa. 59.20 and Isa. 27.9 continue to refer to Israel. . . . Thus, the deliverer's going forth ἐκ Σιῶν refers to the Gentile mission,

²⁸⁵Wright, in his more recent work (*Paul and the Faithfulness of God*), does speak of an instrumental role for the Gentile mission. He writes, "The Redeemer now comes, with the gospel, *from* Zion to the world, and as a reflex (exactly as in 11.11-15) will 'banish ungodliness from Jacob.' Paul has already stated in these chapters that he understands his own commission as the apostle to the Gentiles to be the fulfillment of the Isaianic promise of the herald announcing God's kingdom (10.15, citing Isaiah 52.7), and that this same ministry to the nations is designed, he has already said, to make 'his flesh' jealous and so save some of them. All this would fit exactly with the two lines of Isaiah 59 as Paul has adjusted them in Romans 11.26b" (2:1250-51). This statement of the "reflexive" role of the Gentile mission in the first two lines of the quotation actually seems to accord with what I go on to describe as a *both/and* reading. If that is what Wright intends, then there is now a greater degree of agreement with what I am arguing here, but that would seem to be a development from what he has previously written. However several other statements lead me to think there is still a significant difference in explanation. He still explicitly denies seeing any future mass conversion of ethnic Israel. Any present salvation of the ethnic Israelites is an expanding of the "remnant," not a removing of the hardening of the "remainder," and hence is not "all Israel" in the sense of the nation as a whole. Wright understands the salvation of Israel and the Gentiles to be concurrent. He writes that Paul is not "abandoning the old belief that when Israel's God finally acted to fulfil his promises to his people the Gentile nations would come under his rule" (2:1250). For Wright the salvation of the Gentiles is wrapped up in the salvation of Israel, there is not another stage after the inclusion of the Gentiles for the inclusion of Israel.

but the anticipation that ungodliness will be removed from Jacob is Paul's hope for Israel's future, the final outworking of God's covenant promise.²⁸⁶

The clearest textual indicators that there are two different groups being referenced in the one quotation are the interpretations of ἐκ Σιῶν in the first line of the quote and “Jacob” in the second line.²⁸⁷ The first indicates Gentile mission, the second Israel's salvation. I agree with Bruno, that syntactically, “ἐκ Σιῶν in Rom. 11:26 connotes separation. The Redeemer and his message are extended from the physical Jerusalem and the Jewish people to the Gentile world.”²⁸⁸ Admittedly, seeing Gentile mission come into view with the change to ἐκ Σιῶν might not be the most obvious first reading, nevertheless it seems to be the most satisfying reading when the alternatives are considered.

As noted above, a Diaspora situation is not the correct connotation contextually speaking for ἐκ Σιῶν, but even that view presupposes that the prepositional change indicates a new movement towards the nations. While the Diaspora view maintains that the Redeemer is moving *to* the Gentiles, *for* Israel, the other views, namely the Gentile mission view and the *both/and* reading, would indicate that the movement is *to* the Gentiles, *for* the Gentiles. The direction is the same, but the purpose is different. Here again is where it is helpful to take note of what the actual textual modifications of this phrase were. It is not just that Paul changed the text to have the Redeemer come *out of* Zion, but that he changed it away from having him come *for the sake of* Zion. Now the Redeemer no longer comes *to* Zion - the place (MT), or *for the sake of* Zion - the people (LXX),²⁸⁹ but *out of* Zion towards the Gentiles for their benefit.

²⁸⁶Kirk, “Why Does the Deliverer Come ἐκ Σιῶν,” 87.

²⁸⁷That there is interplay between two groups within the quotation is not a completely novel proposal. While his conclusions are different than what is proposed here, Ellis writes that “ἐκ Σιῶν, Paul's only important variation from the LXX (ἐνεκεν Σιων), may arise from his contrast of Zion, true Israel, and Jacob, the nation Israel” (E. Earle Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament* [Grand Rapids: Baker, 1957], 123n5).

²⁸⁸Bruno, “The Deliverer from Zion,” 130n37.

²⁸⁹The prepositional changes attest to the fact of a subtle move concerning “Zion”/“Jacob” from a *place* to the *people* was already present in the move from the MT to the LXX in Isa 59:20. It is not

The Gentile mission view provides a helpful insight in its explanation for the meaning of ἐκ Σιῶν, yet it is incomplete for a full interpretation of the function of the quotation. “Paul’s concern is not merely to say that Gentiles are included. In point of fact, this reality creates the problem Paul is attempting to resolve through Rom. 9-11.”²⁹⁰ Paul’s ultimate goal is to demonstrate that Israel’s hardening will be removed, and they will be brought back into the people of God, but this will only happen through the Gentiles coming to faith and hence provoking the Jews to jealousy. This process is demonstrated in the tight thematic structure linking together the respective components of the mystery statement and the quotation, but it is also the larger burden of Romans 11. Sanders recognizes so clearly that Paul is teaching this, yet he still fails to see how the quotation coheres with the larger argument. He writes,

Although Paul three times in Romans 11 connects the salvation of Israel with his own mission to the Gentiles, the quotation in 11:26b-27 assigns that salvation to the Redeemer; that is, it puts it outside the bounds of the apostolic missions altogether. Paul treats the quotation in 11:26b-27 as if to prove the point that Jews will be saved as a result of the Gentile mission, but it does not do so.²⁹¹

Sanders is right in the first part of his analysis, that Paul connects the salvation of Israel with the Gentile mission, but he is wrong in not seeing how the quotation supports that idea. In modifying the first line of the quote, Gentile mission is brought into view as the means of bringing about the salvation of Israel. Sanders understands that Paul is seeking to undergird his larger point in the text by appealing to Isaiah, but fails to see how Paul accomplishes his purposes with the quotation by modifying the text.

just the first line of the quotation, but also the second line that demonstrates this understanding. In the MT the Redeemer comes *to* (ל) Zion and to those *in* (ב) Jacob, whereas in the LXX the Redeemer comes *for the sake of* (ἐνεκεν) Zion and he removes ungodliness *from* (ἀπό) Jacob.

²⁹⁰Kirk, “Why Does the Deliverer Come ἐκ Σιῶν,” 87.

²⁹¹Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People*, 195. On p. 196 he also writes, “[Paul] seems to have quoted Scripture to prove what he had just said, that all Israel would be saved as a consequence of the Gentile mission.”

Sanders,²⁹² along with many other commentators,²⁹³ thinks that the quotation locates Israel's salvation with the *parousia* in the first line. But this reading is misguided because it rearranges the whole purpose of the passage. The second coming is not anywhere in view in the entire chapter, whereas the Gentile mission as a means of provoking Israel to jealousy is coursing through most of it. To claim as some do, that Israel's final salvation will be effected in a special way,²⁹⁴ namely by seeing the risen Christ at the second coming,²⁹⁵ again moves the focus away from where Paul has properly placed it. Israel's salvation will come by means of the Gentile mission.²⁹⁶ Besides skewing Paul's purpose in the context for the quotation, a reference to the *parousia* should be rejected because the other reasons usually adduced for this understanding are not convincing either.²⁹⁷ It is true that the same verb (ῥύομαι) is also

²⁹²Ibid., 194.

²⁹³Cranfield, *Romans*, 2:578; Käsemann, *Romans*, 314; Dunn, *Romans 9-16*; 682; Moo, *Epistle to the Romans*, 728; Schreiner, *Romans*, 620; Jewett, *Romans*, 704; Hübner, *Gottes Ich und Israel*, 114.

²⁹⁴What I am describing here should not be confused with the *Sonderweg* proposal in which some scholars have argued for Israel's future salvation irrespective of faith in Christ. As representative of this view, see Franz Mußner, "'Ganz Israel wird gerettet werden' (Röm 11, 26)," *Karios* 18 (1976): 241-55; Krister Stendahl, *Paul among Jews and Gentiles* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976), 4; Lloyd Gaston, *Paul and the Torah* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987), 147; John G. Gager, *The Origins of Anti-Semitism: Attitudes toward Judaism in Pagan and Christian Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 198-99. In response see Hvalvik, "A 'Sonderweg' for Israel," 87-107; Hafemann, "The Salvation of Israel in Romans 11:25-32," 38-58; Kruse, *Romans*, 453-56.

²⁹⁵Seifrid writes, "Christ alone remains the way to salvation, but Israel's way to Christ will differ from that of the nations that hear the gospel: Israel will see and believe in him as the coming Redeemer, as Paul himself did" ("Romans," 673). Likewise, Hofius writes, "'All Israel' is *not* saved by the *preaching* of the gospel . . . Israel will hear the gospel from the mouth of Christ himself at his return. . . . 'All Israel' is thus saved in a *different* way than the Gentile Christians and the 'remnant,' which already believes in Christ, namely, not through the evangelistic preaching of the church. Instead 'all Israel' is saved directly by the Kyrios himself. . . . If, therefore, Israel gets the gospel through a direct encounter with Christ himself . . . then *Israel comes to faith in the same way as Paul himself!*" ("All Israel Will Be Saved," 36-37, emphasis original).

²⁹⁶"Paul is not offering two different routes for Jews, the first through 'jealousy' during the course of his ministry (and presumably, since by now Paul was used to the fact that he might die before the final End, during the course of other people's ministries) and the second through sudden fresh revelation at the *parousia*" (Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God*, 2:1245).

²⁹⁷For an overview of arguments against the *parousia* interpretation see Hvalvik, "A 'Sonderweg' for Israel," 92-95; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 624-25.

used in 1 Thessalonians 1:10 in reference to Christ in a context that speaks of his second coming, but it is also used in other passages, such as Colossian 1:13, which speak of his first coming. The context of the passage determines whether or not the first or second coming is in view, not the mere occurrence of the word itself. And the fact that the verb ἥξει is in the future tense does not necessarily indicate a reference to the second coming either. It could simply be a *futurum propheticum* in which the future tense is retained from the original context in Isaiah, but does not necessarily have the same force in Paul's context. Paul does this several other times in Romans with quotations from Isaiah in which the prophecy retains the future tense even though its fulfillment has already begun (Isa10:22 in Rom 9:27/Isa 11:10 in Rom 15:12). And lastly, a reference to "Zion" does not automatically invoke the heavenly Zion tradition that shows up elsewhere in the NT. In fact, as Moo admits, "it would make sense to interpret 'out of Zion' in 11:26 in light of"²⁹⁸ the one other use of the word by Paul, which also happens to be in a quotation from Isaiah in Romans (Isa 28:16 in Rom 9:33).²⁹⁹ Not only is the reference in Romans 9:33 unmistakably to an earthly Zion, but so is Isaiah's use of the term. After several pages of discussing the meaning of "Zion" in the book of Isaiah, Fung writes, "In summary, Isaiah refers Zion to the earthly Jerusalem and to the people of God. In Isaiah, there is no reference to Zion as heaven."³⁰⁰

Perhaps many interpreters have chosen to appeal to a heavenly Zion in Romans 11:26 because they have not seen how understanding "Zion" here as either the earthly place of Jerusalem or the Jewish people coheres with the message of this passage or the

²⁹⁸Moo, *Epistle to the Romans*, 728n73. He opts for a "heavenly Zion" reading because he found it "difficult to see how [this earlier reference] helps explain Paul's reference here" in Rom 11:26. He misses the usefulness of the prior reference because he does not see a provocation to jealousy towards the Jews resulting from Gentile salvation in the quotation.

²⁹⁹Hvalvik, "A 'Sonderweg' for Israel," 95. Cf. also the comments in Bruce W. Longenecker, "Different Answers to Different Issues: Israel, the Gentiles and Salvation History in Romans 9-11," *JSNT* 36 (1989): 116-17n21.

³⁰⁰Fung, "Israel's Salvation," 58.

larger teaching of the NT. But the apostolic task was bound up with the Gentile mission because that task was a movement *out of* Jerusalem towards “the ends of the earth” (Acts 1:8).³⁰¹ This backdrop helps to make another connection between the movement *out of* Zion and *towards* the nations in the book of Romans itself. “Interestingly, one of the few references to Jerusalem in Romans suggests a parallelism of sorts between Paul’s ministry and the future mission of ‘the redeemer’; Paul’s apostolic mission has extended ‘*from Jerusalem in a circle as far as Illyricum*’ (15:19).”³⁰² And that mission was “in order to bring about the obedience of the Gentiles” (Rom 15:18). So the textual change in the first line of the quotation coheres with the apostolic commission to bring the gospel out of Jerusalem, and out of the exclusive possession of the Jewish people, to the nations.

The quotation begins with the Gentile mission, and not the second coming, but it does not remain in that realm. Besides the clear context and structure indicating that there is interdependence between Gentile and Jew working within the quotation, the clearest clue that the rest of the quotation does not stay in the realm of mere Gentile inclusion is the reference to “Jacob” in Romans 11:26d. Despite some attempts to state otherwise,³⁰³ “Jacob” is always a reference to ethnic Israel.³⁰⁴ The purpose of the Gentile mission in the first line of the quote is the means of removing the ungodliness from Jacob described in the second line. The juxtaposition of ἐκ Σιῶν in the first line and the reference to the sin of “Jacob” in the second line signal the process of salvation delineated in the mystery statement is still at work *within* the quotation. Therefore a *both/and* reading of the quotation best coheres the individual details of the citation with

³⁰¹This connection is noted in González, “Interdependencia entre judíos y gentiles en Rm 11,25-27,” 138n44.

³⁰²Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News*, 286n211.

³⁰³Joachim Jeremias, “Einige vorwiegend sprachliche Beobachtungen zu Röm 11,25-36,” in *Israelfrage nach Röm 9-11*, ed. Lorenzo De Lorenzi (Rome: Abtei von St Paul vor den Mauern, 1977), 200.

³⁰⁴Most commentators agree such that Hübner refers to it as an exegetical consensus. See Hübner, *Gottes Ich und Israel*, 114. Also, Schreiner, *Romans*, 620n22; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 625.

the larger argument of Romans 11, and particularly the mystery revealed in 11:25-26a.

The Purposes of Combining Isaiah 27:9 with 59:20-21 in Romans 11:27b

In examining the purposes for conflating Isaiah 27:9 with Isaiah 59:20-21 it draws the reader's attention to the second part of the quotation, and according to the proposed structural analysis, its conclusion. Paul's aim here is to reinforce that $\pi\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$ Ἰσραὴλ σωθήσεται. "[B]y replacing the last half of Isaiah 59:21, Paul keeps the focus on the *fact* of Israel's redemption rather than pausing to consider its *effects*."³⁰⁵ If Paul continued with Isaiah 59:21 it would have moved away from the concern that he had been addressing in Romans 11, namely the reversing of the present hardened state of Israel. The first half of the quotation focused on the means of how to achieve this salvation, now the focus is on God's covenantal commitment to his people to bring them to final restoration.³⁰⁶ The substitution in the last line of the quote serves a syntactical function to highlight the third line. By beginning the last line with a temporal marker (ὅταν), it subordinates the final clause to the preceding promise.³⁰⁷ This textual modification along with the retention of the third Septuagintal καί (as discussed above) demonstrates that "the promised covenant stands at the center of attention."³⁰⁸ The last time Paul used the word διαθήκη in Romans was in Romans 9:5 in the context of

³⁰⁵Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News*, 294 (emphasis original). Also, Shum writes that as a result of the conflation of Isaianic texts "the notion of the removal of Israel's sin is heightened as the gist of the composite scriptural citation" (*Paul's Use of Isaiah in Romans*, 240).

³⁰⁶Cf. these words by Byrne, "The third and fourth lines of the composite quotation (v 27) present this removal of sin as God's fulfillment of the divine 'covenant' (διαθήκη) with Israel. That is, scripture foresaw and announced that the discharging of the divine covenant obligation to Israel will consist principally in the removal of sin, the necessary and sufficient process for Israel's attainment of final salvation. . . . Paul adduces the Isaiah quotation as a divine pledge that the hardening will not be final. God's covenant fidelity will ensure that Israel herself will arrive at the salvation that has already gone out from her ('from Zion') to the Gentiles" (Brendan Byrne, *Romans*, Sacra Pagina 6 [Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1996], 350-51).

³⁰⁷Seifrid, "Romans," 676.

³⁰⁸Ibid.

enumerating the blessings given to Israel. The lack of the fulfillment of these covenantal promises is what potentially called God's character into question. Now Paul has come full circle to accentuate that God is in fact keeping his covenant with his people. All Israel will be saved when God takes away their sins. This is the fulfillment of his covenantal promise to his people. Shum has described well that in combining Isaiah 27:9 with Isaiah 59:20-21,

the notion of the removal of Israel's sin is emphatically linked to God's covenant with Israel as (one of) its distinct characteristic(s). This seems to imply that to take away Israel's sins will fulfill or realize God's covenant with Israel. If that is the case, the introduction of the covenant notion with Scripture here brings to a climax Paul's discussion of God's faithfulness *vis-à-vis* Israel, which starts specifically at Rom. 11:1, and powerfully secures his point that, despite her unfaithfulness, Israel has not been and never be abandoned by her God, who out of His gracious love is always faithful to the covenant with Israel's patriarchs and her.³⁰⁹

The particular covenant that Paul has in mind here is the new covenant,³¹⁰ not the Abrahamic.³¹¹ But the new covenant brings to fulfillment the Abrahamic covenant³¹² as well as all of God's other covenantal promises.³¹³ The language of Isaiah 59:21 already puts this covenant in the realm of the new covenant in describing the eternal presence of the Lord's spirit and his word, but Paul's substitution from Isaiah 27:9 only serves to more clearly identify it as the new covenant in speaking of the forgiveness of

³⁰⁹Shum, *Paul's Use of Isaiah in Romans*, 240-41.

³¹⁰Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 625; Kruse, *Romans*, 444-45; Cranfield, *Romans 9-16*, 579; Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 683; Käsemann, *Romans*, 314; Holland, *Romans*, 386-87; Wright, "Romans and the Theology of Paul," 61; Schreiner, *Romans*, 620.

³¹¹Moo identifies Paul's covenant reference here with the Abrahamic covenant because of the reference to the patriarchs in the next verse and because of Paul's extensive use of the Abraham tradition. *Epistles to the Romans*, 728. Cf. also Jan Lambrecht, "Grammar and Reasoning in Romans 11,27," *ETL* 79, no. 1 (2003): 183. But the language in both Isaiah (presence of God's spirit and words) and Romans (forgiveness of sins) clearly identifies this covenant as the new covenant.

³¹²Schreiner, *Romans*, 620n24. Cf. Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God*, 2:1246.

³¹³Cf. Seifrid, "Romans," 677; S. Lewis Johnson, Jr., "Evidence from Romans 9-11" in *A Case for Premillennialism: A New Consensus*, ed. Donald K. Campbell and Jeffrey L. Townsend (Chicago: Moody, 1992), 215-16, sees this quotation indicating a fulfillment of the Abrahamic, Davidic, and the New Covenant.

their sins, and hence echoes Jeremiah 31:31-34.³¹⁴ The new covenant was ratified in the first coming of Christ. The means of forgiveness for both Jew and Gentile were provided when Jesus shed his blood on the cross. Already some Jews and many Gentiles were experiencing this promise in Paul’s day. It is not that the covenant itself is a future reality, but that there still awaits a fuller participation by many Jews in that fulfilled promised salvation.³¹⁵ Locating the *parousia* as the means of Israel’s final salvation is misguided, but that view might still be right as far as the timing of Israel’s salvation. Paul teaches that one should not expect this hardening to be removed “until the fullness of the Gentiles has come in” (Rom 11:25), which is hard to conceive of as happening much before the close of this age.

While it is difficult to be more definitive as to the timing of the final consummation of this promise to Israel,³¹⁶ what can be stated with surety is that it will only happen *whenever* (ὅταν) God acts to take away their sins (Rom 11:27). Several features serve to highlight the “monergistic, divine mercy”³¹⁷ needed to effect Israel’s final salvation. The LXX translation of Isaiah 59:20-21a already had a strong element of divine initiative that was absent in the MT. Instead of emphasizing that the Redeemer will only come to those in Zion/Jacob “who turn from transgression” (לְשׁוּבֵי פְשָׁע), Paul

³¹⁴Cf. Seifrid, “Romans,” 677.

³¹⁵It seems reasonable that the supplied verb in Rom 11:27a should be future, following the future tense of the verbs in the previous two lines. See Jewett, *Romans*, 705; Wilk, *Die Bedeutung des Jesajabuches für Paulus*, 57. But this rendering would not change the explanation offered here. It is worth noting that while the ESV translates the verb in this clause as a future, most English translations supply a present verb (KJV/NKJV, NASB, NET, NIV, NRSV).

³¹⁶While Moo (*Epistle to the Romans*, 728-29) identifies this covenantal reference specifically with God’s promise to Abraham, he too recognizes the fulfillment of the covenant in Christ’s first coming, and also maintains that Israel still awaits her final consummation. The distinction between what “Christ has come to *accomplish*” already in providing the forgiveness of sins, and “*application* [that] still largely awaits” is also made in Tim Gallant, “Judah’s Life from the Dead: The Gospel of Romans 11” in *The Glory of Kings: A Festschrift in Honor of James B. Jordan*, ed. Peter J. Leithart and John Barach (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2011), 42-43.

³¹⁷Seifrid, “Romans,” 675.

quotes from the LXX which has the Redeemer as the *subject* who will act to remove (ἀποστρέψει) Israel’s sins. Additionally, the wording in the LXX of the third line is also retained by Paul which stresses with its awkward syntax that it is a “covenant *from me*” (παρ’ ἐμοῦ διαθήκη). Some might not allow these features to have much interpretive import for Paul, since his usual practice is to quote the LXX anyway. But the line that Paul chose to conclude with from Isaiah 27:9 underscores that it was probably Paul’s intent to select wording that emphasized the divine initiative needed to enact Israel’s final salvation. Like the previous instances from the LXX of Isaiah 59:20b and 21a, this line from the LXX of Isaiah 27:9c also deviates slightly from the MT. In the Hebrew original (יְהוָה הוֹצִיא אֶת חַטָּאתָם) the one performing the removal of the sin is left unspecified, but the use of the verb ἀφέλωμαι in the LXX makes God the subject, and hence implies that divine initiative is the ultimate cause of Israel’s final salvation.³¹⁸

But this divine initiative was already the thrust of Isaiah 59. In the absence of any suitable alternative, God himself decides that he will intercede (יִגִּד) on behalf of his people to bring them salvation by removing their sin (Isa 59:16). Paul’s retention of the LXX rendering and addition of Isaiah 27:9c to supplant the ending of the chapter only serves to highlight what was already present.³¹⁹ Also germane to the central thesis of this dissertation is the fact that the larger context of Isaiah 27 fits with the overall purpose of Paul’s citation. It was not just the individual words of verse 9c that Paul drew upon, but most likely the context in which those words were situated. The judgment that God brings on Israel is different than what he brings to the nations (Isa 27:7). It is measured (Isa 27:8) and temporary, because one day God will re-plant Israel to blossom and fill the earth (Isa 27:6), resulting in many coming to worship God once again (Isa 27:13). As

³¹⁸Shum, *Paul’s Use of Isaiah in Romans*, 241.

³¹⁹“I do not think his switching, after ‘this is my covenant with them’, to Isaiah 27 and (by implication) Jeremiah 31, has anything to do with a backing off from what Isaiah 59 goes on to say; rather the reverse” (Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God*, 2:1249).

Moo notes, “The parallel between this scenario and Paul’s teaching in [Romans] 11:11-32 that the hardening of Israel is temporary and intended to lead to her ultimate deliverance cannot be missed.”³²⁰ Once again this analysis has demonstrated that this textual modification of conflating texts from Isaiah, along with the other changes, has served the purpose of supporting the mystery statement in Romans 11:25-26a.

Conclusion

After examining both the NT and OT contexts, and then finally the function of the quotation itself, it is now possible to ask the central question of this dissertation, namely, was Paul prooftexting? Or, more specifically, was he using the scripture that he cited in Romans 11:26-27 in a non-contextually rooted manner? My answer is no; he is not contravening the original context, but this bald answer deserves some nuancing. Oswalt feels the potential tension in how Paul uses the passage, but his conclusion is the same as the one presented here. In reference to specifically Isaiah 59:20, he writes, “Paul’s quotation of this verse (Rom. 11:26) . . . seems at first glance to say something different from the MT. . . . Nevertheless, without denying these differences in detail, Paul’s general use of the passage is in keeping with the sense of the MT: *the verse shows that Israel will be saved.*”³²¹ The final conclusion that Paul is seeking to draw from both his mystery statement and from the quotation is to state clearly that Israel did not stumble in order to fall (Rom 11:11). The current state of Israel will not be its final state. “All Israel will be saved” (Rom 11:26). This is what Isaiah was teaching, and it is the final conclusion that Paul derives from his quotation as well.

However Paul does add some creative adaptation to the quotation to serve his present purposes, and perhaps even to draw out some larger implications from the OT.

³²⁰Moo, *Epistle to the Romans*, 729.

³²¹Oswalt, *Isaiah 40-66*, 530n80 (emphasis added).

Kirk expresses these twin ideas of upholding God's covenant commitment, while also inserting a change in the means of keeping that promise. He writes,

Paul's point in citing Isa. 59.20 is to reaffirm God's commitment to Israel, despite the surprising turn that the story has taken with the inclusion of the Gentiles, in the face of Israel's rejection of the gospel. Paul cites Isa. 59.20 because it articulates a continued hope in God's faithfulness to ethnic Israel . . . ; but now, in Paul's hands, it speaks of that fulfillment coming after and by means of the Gentile mission.³²²

The purpose that drew Paul to Isaiah 59 and 27 is still intact, namely that God will restore his people by removing their sins. Yet the base text itself has been modified to explain the instrumental role that the Gentiles would have in that final salvation.

There is not much debate concerning Paul's appropriation of Isaiah 27:9, because of the similarity of contexts between Isaiah and Romans as mentioned in the previous section. But Isaiah 59 is "Paul's primary biblical reference in these verses,"³²³ and it also has the textual modification that has drawn the most attention, namely the relevance of the change to *ἐκ* Zion. Each of the three solutions discussed above, namely the two *either/or* options and the *both/and* reading, could be said to satisfy the thesis. However, it is the last solution, the one argued for here, which is most likely to pose a tension in its reversal of how Jews and Gentiles are saved. Donaldson expresses the tension well when he describes how in the eschatological pilgrimage tradition (exemplified in the flow from Isaiah chap. 59 to chap. 60),

the salvation of the Gentiles follows the restoration of Israel as a matter not simply of *sequence* but of *consequence*: it is *because* they see the redemption of Israel and the glorification of Zion that the Gentiles abandon their idols and turn to worship the God of Israel. The inversion of the sequence represents not a simple modification of the [interpretive] tradition, but its evisceration.³²⁴

My response is two pronged.³²⁵ First, I would merely point out that Israel is

³²²Kirk, "Why Does the Deliverer Come *ἐκ* Σιών," 88.

³²³Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God*, 2:1248.

³²⁴Terrance L. Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles: Remapping the Apostle's Convictional World* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997), 188 (emphasis added).

³²⁵Another avenue of response might be to consider that if Paul was intentionally drawing on

still serving an instrumental function for the salvation of the Gentiles (cf. Deut 32:21), it just is not in the manner that most expected. Instead of Israel's salvation pointing the way for the salvation of the Gentiles, it is Israel's sin that clears a path for them to come in. God is attempting to drive home the realization that all salvation is by his mercy (Rom 11:30-32). Israel learned that lesson by experiencing God's hardening, and watching the Gentiles stream into God's promised salvation before they in turn will be provoked to jealousy and then finally be included themselves. The Gentiles also learn that lesson by being reminded that they were "wild olive branches" (Rom 11:24) and observing how God has treated even the natural branches in Israel's hardening. If God is willing to cut off his covenanted people because of their sinful unbelief, how much more willing would he be to similarly treat the Gentiles.

Secondly, the fulfillment of God's promise to save Israel is complex. Wagner is on target in his critique of Donaldson. He writes, "Donaldson's reading does not allow sufficient weight to Paul's claim that Israel's restoration *has begun*, and that there is *in the present time* a remnant who *already* enjoy the promised deliverance."³²⁶ One can see this complex pattern of fulfillment illustrated in the book of Acts.³²⁷ The first group of believers in the church was all Israelites. The massive numbers of Jews embracing Jesus as Messiah and repenting of their sin was certainly a revival and part of the restoration of Israel (Acts 3:19-21). There are "three thousand souls" added on the day of Pentecost (Acts 2:41), and then not many days later another five thousand men, and presumably many of their wives and perhaps some of their children, heard the word and believed (Acts 4:4). Even in the end of Acts 3, right before Luke records this second large embrace

Isa 2 according to the exegesis offered above, then perhaps Paul was using Isa 2 to provide a different framework for Isa 59-60. In this case, the larger message of Isa, especially with the programmatic function of chap. 2, might be an interpretive grid through which he wanted to read Isa 59:20-21.

³²⁶Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News*, 293n227.

³²⁷I owe this insight to Tom Schreiner through personal correspondence.

of the gospel, he quotes Peter's words concerning the Abrahamic covenant. It included both that all the families of the earth will be blessed (i.e. Gentile inclusion), and that God sent the Messiah to Israel first (Acts 3:25-26). So, the salvation-historical priority is not undone, it just becomes clear to Paul later that the final eschatological restoration of Israel will not be complete "until the fullness of the Gentiles comes in" (Rom 11:25). Romans 11:25-27 is the culmination of Paul's answer to the implied question concerning the seemingly unfulfilled salvation promises to Israel (Rom 9:1-6a). His final response is that one day *πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ σωθήσεται*. That was the burden of these quoted texts in Isaiah's context, and they are still serving that purpose in Paul's adaptation of them in his citation.

CHAPTER 3

PSALM 68:18 IN EPHESIANS 4:8

Introduction

While Romans is dense with explicit OT quotations, Ephesians contains only a few.¹ As more recent studies have demonstrated, Paul's² use of the OT in Ephesians is not confined to only these explicit examples.³ However the Ephesian passage that has probably generated the most discussion in the scholarly literature is the use of Psalm 68:18⁴ in Ephesians 4:8.⁵ Mitton is representative of the attitude of many scholars in referring to this example as being "very odd" for two reasons. "First, it is a striking misquotation which almost reverses the meaning of the actual text. Secondly, it is the

¹The number varies depending on whether or not Eph 5:14 is counted among them. But besides the present example, only Eph 5:31 and 6:2-3 are widely acknowledged as explicit quotations from the OT in Ephesians.

²While many scholars do not believe that Paul is the author of Ephesians, I will operate under the assumption that he is. For arguments defending this conclusion, see Donald Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, Revised Edition (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1990), 509-28; Harold W. Hoehner, *Ephesians: An Exegetical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2002), 2-61; Clint E. Arnold, "Ephesians, Letter to the," in *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters*, ed. G. F. Hawthorne, R. P. Martin, and D. G. Reid (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1993), 240-42.

³Most studies on Paul's use of the OT have not given much attention to Ephesians until relatively recently. Some of the more significant works include Andrew T. Lincoln, "The Use of the OT in Ephesians," *JSNT* 14 (1982): 16-57; Thorsten Moritz, *A Profound Mystery: The Use of the Old Testament in Ephesians*, NovTSup 85 (Leiden: Brill, 1996); Mary E. Hinkle, "Proclaiming Peace: The Use of Scripture in Ephesians" (PhD diss., Duke University, 1997).

⁴The chapter and verse numbering differs slightly between the English, Hebrew and Greek versions of this passage. It is Ps 68:19 in the MT and the Targum and 67:19 in the LXX. I will refer to the verse under examination as Ps 68:18 as a general reference, unless I am specifically referencing the MT, Targum, or LXX.

⁵For a helpful current survey of the various scholarly discussions surrounding this passage see Seth M. Ehorn, "The Use of Psalm 68 (67).19 in Ephesians 4:8: A History of Research," *CBR* 12, no. 1 (October 2013): 96-120. Cf. also the discussion in Rainer Schwindt, *Das Weltbild des Epheserbriefes: Eine religionsgeschichtlich-exegetische Studie*, WUNT 148 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 399-430.

misquoted words which alone make it applicable in this context.”⁶ While Mitton does relieve Paul of any deliberate hermeneutical blunders by ascribing it to a simple “unintentional misquotation,”⁷ others are not so forgiving.⁸ Fitzmyer, in reference to this same passage, writes that Paul “atomizes the sense of the text” and “completely disregards the original context of the Psalm.”⁹

However, this analysis is not a fair way to characterize Paul’s use of the OT, and that even in this difficult example it can be demonstrated that Paul is not proof-texting, but that his use of the OT is contextually-rooted. The structure of the following analysis will be to first examine the NT context, then the OT context, followed by an examination of the function of the quotation itself, before concluding with an evaluation of whether or not Paul is indeed respecting the context of the OT quotation in his citation.

New Testament Context

Psalm 68 is appealed to by Paul in Ephesians 4 to serve his argument in the letter. Therefore it is necessary to first establish the New Testament context of the quotation. This will be done by first surveying the flow of the argument leading to the quotation, and then by offering a textual analysis of the quotation itself, and lastly by

⁶C. Leslie Mitton, *Ephesians*, NCB (London: Oliphants, 1976), 145.

⁷Ibid., 146. On the same page Mitton explains the rationale for Paul’s mistake by saying that he had an “overwhelming sense of the wonder of God’s gifts in Christ [which] cause[d] him to recall the psalmist’s words in a form congenial to his own overflowing gratitude instead of in the form they actually took in the psalm.” He goes on to state, “strong and emotionally charged convictions can distort memory in this way.” After all, “Psalm 68 is not one of the more familiar psalms and it is more than probable that the writer of Ephesians knew it only well enough to misquote it.”

⁸Many of the authors I quote, including Mitton, do not believe that the Apostle Paul wrote Ephesians, however I will use “Paul” to refer to the author of Ephesians for consistency and as a convenience.

⁹Joseph Fitzmyer, “The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations in Qumran Literature and in the New Testament,” *NTS* 7 (1961): 325. Cf. also the comments made in Alan Richardson, *An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament* (London: SCM, 1958), 203.

considering important themes that overlap for both the Psalmist and Paul in the quotation.

The Flow of the Argument Leading to the Quotation

Paul's letter to the Ephesians tells of "the eventual unification of the universe because of the death, resurrection, and heavenly session of Christ, and . . . the responsibility of the church to proclaim by its own unity this ultimate goal of God."¹⁰ In the first part of the letter (chaps. 1-3), Paul describes the creation of this unified body, the church, whereas the second part (chaps. 4-6) is an extended call for the church to live out this new reality grounded in their unity in Christ.¹¹ The quotation under examination comes right after this hinge point in the letter.

Leading up to this point in the argument is the amazing demonstration of the church's unity in bringing together Jew and Gentile (2:11-22). In the church there is now "one new man in place of the two" (2:15) because the Gentiles "are no longer strangers and aliens, but [they] are fellow citizens with the saints and members of the household of God" (2:19). While it was not a mystery in the OT that Gentiles would be included in the eschatological worship of God at Israel's restoration, it was not previously clear that Jews and Gentiles would share equality with each other in the people of God at this time. This is the mystery that Paul is revealing, namely "that the Gentiles are fellow heirs, members of the same body, and partakers of the promise in Christ Jesus through the gospel" (3:6).¹²

¹⁰Frank Thielman, *Theology of the New Testament: A Canonical and Synthetic Approach* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2005), 394. Cf. also Peter T. O'Brien, *The Letter to the Ephesians*, PNTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 58-65.

¹¹This overarching outline between the indicative and the imperative sections of the letter is well-established. As representative, see Andreas J. Köstenberger, L. Scott Kellum, and Charles L. Quarles, *The Cradle, the Cross, and the Crown: An Introduction to the New Testament* (Nashville: B&H Academic, 2009), 589-93.

¹²Note the three compounds with the *συν*- prefix in 3:6: *συγκληρονόμα*, *σύσσωμα*, and *συμμέτοχα*; this syntax recalls the similar structure in 2:19-22: *συμπολίται* (v. 19), *συναρμολογουμένη* (v. 21), and *συνοικοδομείσθε* (v. 22). For more on this connection, see O'Brien, *Ephesians*, 234; Frank

Having established this unity in the church, Paul now calls the believers to “walk in a manner worthy of the calling to which you have been called” (4:1).¹³ This is to be done by “making every effort to maintain the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace” (4:3).¹⁴ Paul follows these exhortations with another grounding for the church’s unity. The basis of his appeal to unity is found in the sevenfold repetition of “one.” “There is one body and one Spirit . . . one hope . . . one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all” (4:4-6). There is an interesting tension in Ephesians to live out the unity that has already been created under Christ’s headship. In some sense they have already been given this unity, and yet at the same time, they need to grow into it. “The church is not called on to create unity but to preserve the unity that already exists.”¹⁵

Paul then transitions in verse 7 from describing the exhortation for believers to pursue this unity to introducing diversity in the exercise of gifts in the body.¹⁶ And yet again, even this diversity of gift distribution is to serve the pursuit of unity in the church (4:13). The power to realize this goal of unification does not come from the individual’s own abilities, but is “given to each one of us” by Christ in his ascended and victorious state. It is at this juncture that Paul supports the previous statement by introducing an OT quotation from Psalm 68:18, “When he ascended on high he led a host of captives, and he

Thielman, *Ephesians*, BECNT (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2010), 198, 203-05.

¹³“The inferential particle *οὖν* . . . reaches back to all of chapters 1-3 . . . , but particularly to the important theme of the church’s unity that Paul has developed there.” Thielman, *Ephesians*, 250.

¹⁴Whether the participle *σπουδάζοντες* (4:3) is formally imperatival (Harold W. Hoehner, *Ephesians: An Exegetical Commentary* [Grand Rapids: Baker, 2002], 511) or indicating means (Clint E. Arnold, *Ephesians*, ZECNT [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2010], 227), it still functions as an exhortation towards the reader.

¹⁵Thomas R. Schreiner, *Paul, Apostle of God’s Glory in Christ: A Pauline Theology* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2001), 339.

¹⁶“Paul makes a skillful transition to the new section by beginning his first sentence with *ἐνὶ δὲ ἐκάστῳ ἡμῶν*. The first term, *ἐνὶ*, links the new passage to the theme of unity that has dominated the previous paragraph (4:1-6), and the *δέ* alerts the reader that Paul is about to change directions slightly: he will now focus on the role of individuals in attaining the unity he has just summarized in 4:1-6” (Thielman, *Ephesians*, 263).

gave gifts to men” (4:8). Before considering several themes that appear in the context of Ephesians which aid in interpreting the quotation, it is useful to do a textual analysis of the wording of this quotation first.

Textual Analysis of the Quotation in Ephesians 4:8

It is evident that Paul is drawing on Psalm 68:18 for his quotation in Ephesians 4:8; however, he does not merely reproduce the exact wording from the OT text. In this section I will discuss what textual modifications have been made, as well as, in a preliminary manner, what could account for these modifications.

What textual modifications have been made? The LXX preserves a “very literal” translation from the MT in this text,¹⁷ so the main concern is to see where the text in Ephesians 4:8 deviates from the LXX of Psalm 67:19. There are six¹⁸ discernible modifications of the text (see table 5 for an attempt to display them).¹⁹

First, the finite verb in Psalm 67:19a ἀνέβης (MT: אָנִיָּבַע) is changed to the participle ἀναβάς in Ephesians 4:8b, and second, the second person singular verb in Psalm 67:19b ἤχμαλώτευσας²⁰ (MT: אָחַמְלֹוֹטְעַס) is changed to the third person singular ἤχμαλώτευσεν in Ephesians 4:8c. There is also some variation in the LXX textual

¹⁷Gleason L. Archer and G. C. Chirichigno, *Old Testament Quotations in the New Testament: A Complete Survey* (Chicago: Moody, 1983), 73. Cf. also Richard A. Taylor, “The Use of Psalm 68:18 in Ephesians 4:8 in Light of the Ancient Versions,” *BSac* 148 (1991): 330; Hoehner, *Ephesians*, 524.

¹⁸The stated number of divergences varies depending on how the changes are grouped together. For example, Hoehner, *Ephesians*, 524-25, lists six, whereas Thielman, *Ephesians*, 265, only lists three, but they are referring to the same changes. My number agrees with Hoehner, but is arranged slightly differently.

¹⁹For a more comprehensive chart comparing each individual word from Ps 68:19 in the Hebrew MT, LXX, Eph 4:8 and *Tg. Ps 68:19*, see W. Hall Harris III, *The Descent of Christ: Ephesians 4:7-11 and Traditional Hebrew Imagery*, AGJU 32 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 97.

²⁰Jonathan M. Lunde and John Anthony Dunne, “Paul’s Creative and Contextual Use of Psalm 68 in Ephesians 4:8,” *WTJ* 74 (2012): 101n8, mistakenly describe the LXX’s ἤχμαλώτευσας as a participle, but the augment clearly indicates that it is an aorist indicative from the verb ἀίχμαλωτεύω.

Table 5. Textual modifications of the LXX of Psalm 67:19 in Ephesians 4:8

Key:	<u>single underline</u>	textual divergence with a different word
	<u>dotted underline</u>	textual divergence of the same word, but different form
	<u>wave underline</u>	textual addition
	<i>italic</i>	textual omission

Ps 67	LXX	Eph 4	NA ²⁸
19a	<i>ἀνέβης</i> εἰς ὕψος	8b	[διὸ λέγει.] ἀναβάς εἰς ὕψος
b	ἤχμαλώτευσας αἰχμαλωσίαν	c	ἤχμαλώτευσεν αἰχμαλωσίαν,
c	<u>ἔλαβες</u> δόματα <i>ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ</i> <i>καὶ γὰρ ἀπειθοῦντες τοῦ κατασκευᾶσαι</i> <i>κύριος ὁ θεὸς εὐλογητός</i>	d	<u>ἔδωκεν</u> δόματα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

history with both of these verbs. While the two correctors of Codex Vaticanus and the second corrector of Codex Sinaiticus both read ἀνέβης, the original hand of both read differently: B agrees with the text in Ephesians 4:8 (ἀναβάς) and \aleph has the third person singular, ἀνέβη. In the case of the second modified verb, αἰχμαλωτεύω, Sinaiticus again has a third person singular, ἤχμαλώτευσεν, but in this case it actually agrees with the reading in Ephesians 4:8.

Despite these alternative readings, it seems fairly certain that Paul’s text is in fact a modification of the LXX as it was originally written (or at least as it existed in his day). As Harris points out, “Since \aleph and B are both fourth century manuscripts, it is probable that the text of Ps 68:19 which they reflect has been influenced (either accidentally – i.e., unconsciously – or deliberately) by the NT citation of the psalm in Eph 4:8.”²¹ After all, “since both \aleph and B are manuscripts which contain the NT as well as

²¹Ibid., 97-98. Also see the discussions in Frank S. Thielman, “Ephesians,” in *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament*, ed. G. K. Beale and D. A. Carson (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2007), 822, and Taylor, “Psalm 68:18 in Ephesians in Light of the Ancient Versions,” 330. The fact that these MSS are later than the NT makes this statement by Lincoln all the more curious (and unhelpful) when he writes, “The Vaticanus text of the LXX does already have the aorist participle instead of the second

the OT and various apocryphal books, it is easy to see why there would be a tendency to harmonize the OT and NT citations of the psalm.”²² The correctors of these two codices brought the text back to the form as it likely appeared before the NT influence.

The third textual modification is the most significant. The second person verb in Psalm 67:19c ἔλαβες (MT: קָבַלְתָּ) is changed to the third person verb ἔδωκεν in Ephesians 4:8d. “Paul has not merely changed the verb from the second to the third person; he also has replaced the verb with its antonym.”²³ The last three changes all concern the final two words of the quoted text in Psalm 67:19c and Ephesians 4:8d respectively. Paul drops the preposition ἐν (MT: עַן), but adds the article τοῖς. The corresponding noun ἄνθρωπος (MT: אָדָם) is also changed from the collective singular ἀνθρώπων, to the plural ἀνθρώποις. There is again some slight variation in the transmission of the text at this point. The reading ἐν ἀνθρώποις is found in both Psalm 67:19 (א and one of the correctors of B) and in Ephesians 4:8 (F, G, and a few other manuscripts). This too is almost surely a hybrid reading formed through the influence of these texts on each other and the scribal tendency to harmonize the divergent readings and therefore “may be safely rejected as secondary developments within the Greek tradition.”²⁴

person singular of the aorist tense *and this more easily prepares the way for the alteration* from the second person singular of the original to the third person in the rest of the citation” (Lincoln, “Use of the OT in Ephesians,” 18, emphasis added). It is repeated verbatim in Andrew T. Lincoln, *Ephesians*, WBC 42 (Dallas: Word, 1990), 242. This statement is also surprisingly quoted approvingly from other scholars, e.g., Moritz, *A Profound Mystery*, 58.

²²Harris, *The Descent of Christ*, 98n101. In the same footnote he also elaborates on the inconsistency of א* in reference to the person of the verbs and how this demonstrates scribal dependence on the Ephesians text for its unique reading. Translated in full, the original text of Sinaiticus reads “*He* ascended on high, *he* led captivity captive, *you* received gifts among men.” Harris surmises, “The [second] corrector of א, probably because he noticed this inconsistency changed the first two verbs, which were in the third person, to participles, producing agreement with B and removing the inconsistency (since the person of the Greek adverbial participle is ambiguous, being determined by that of the finite verb to which it is subordinate).”

²³Thielman, “Ephesians,” 822.

²⁴Taylor, “Psalm 68:18 in Ephesians in Light of the Ancient Versions,” 330. Cf also Harris, *The Descent of Christ*, 100.

And finally, while not considered a textual modification *per se*, it is worth noting that Paul only quotes part of the verse. He leaves off the rest of the text following *ἄνθρωπος*.

What accounts for these modifications? In attempting to discern the reason for these six textual modifications, they can be grouped into three sets of changes.²⁵ The first set concerns the change of subject from addressing God in the second person, to narrating what Christ has done in the two main third person verbs *ἠχμαλώτευσεν* and *ἔδωκεν*. Excluding for now a discussion of the application of this passage to Christ, the form of the verbs themselves can easily be understood as fitting with the syntax of the flow of the passage. Unlike the context in the Psalter, which is a direct address to God, Paul is addressing the Ephesian believers (1:1; *ὕμᾱς* in 4:1; cf. the inclusive use of the first person plural *ἡμῶν* in 4:7), and so changes the verbs accordingly.

The second set of changes includes the participial form of the first verb *ἀναβάς* and the vocabulary change from *ἔλαβες* to *ἔδωκεν*. I have grouped these together because they do not seem to be motivated by syntax alone, but rather are created for interpretive concerns. Even without any explicit conjunction linking the two main verbs (*ἠχμαλώτευσεν* and *ἔδωκεν*), they are a coordinate series.²⁶ By changing the first verb in the quote to a participle it syntactically subordinates it to these two main verbs. In doing so, it stresses “the temporal priority of Christ’s ascension before the giving of gifts.”²⁷ Paul could have easily rendered *ἀνέβης* (Ps 67:19 LXX) as a third person finite verb, like

²⁵Thielman, *Ephesians*, 265; and J. Cambier, “La Signification Christologique d’Eph. IV.7-10,” *NTS* 9, no. 3 (1963): 264-65. Although my grouping of *ἀναβάς* in with the change involving *ἔδωκεν* differs from them both.

²⁶Even though some MSS (including \aleph^2 and B) insert a *καί* between the verbs (before *ἔδωκεν*) in Eph 4:8, it is clearly the harder reading to omit it. Excluding this variant also aligns with the LXX reading and the original Hebrew poetic syntax.

²⁷Mortiz, *A Profound Mystery*, 58n13.

he did for the other two verbs in the quotation. In fact, that is the precise form he used in his exposition of the quote in the subsequent verse: ἀνέβη (4:9).²⁸ But by construing it as a temporal adverbial participle, he indicates the “ascending” as being an antecedent action to the “taking captive captives” and the “gift-giving.”²⁹ It also has the effect of rendering the focus on the action of these two remaining main verbs. Though subtle, this change appears also to be from Paul to make a nuanced syntactical and theological point in the text. “The one who ascends on high has accomplished a sovereign, victorious deed and then distributed gifts in a generous, providential way.”³⁰

The vocabulary change from ἔλαβες to ἔδωκεν is the most prominent of all the textual modifications. Various proposals have been set forth to account for this change. Many of these explanations are wrapped up with whether or not Paul is tapping into an existing interpretive tradition. However, I will not take that subject up explicitly until the section on the function of the quotation. Here the concern is to merely address some of the specific textual issues proposed for this change (as much as it is possible to separate them from the interpretive traditions in which they are embedded).

The reason this particular change has garnered so much attention is because it is understood to change not only the vocabulary, but also change the meaning of the original Hebrew (and Greek) text of the Psalm. However, some scholars think that the search for a *Vorlage* with the variant of “giving” as the source of Paul’s change is misguided (or at least unnecessary), because Paul is merely reading the Hebrew text as it is written and representing the same meaning even though he employs a different term

²⁸Rudolf Schnackenburg, *Ephesians: A Commentary*, trans. Helen Heron (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1991), 177.

²⁹It could also be understood as an action simultaneous with ἡχμαλώτευσεν. See Ernest Best, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Ephesians*, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998), 382. If this is the case, then I would understand there to be an implied logical sequence that would render the action of “giving” to be following the “taking captives.” In either case the “giving” comes after the “ascending.”

³⁰*Ibid.*

than the LXX.³¹ Eadie argues that “the Hebrew word קָחַ has often a proleptic signification” in which both the receiving and giving are involved.³² In this way it means something like to take in order to give. “Such is the idiomatic usage of the verb, and the apostle, as it especially suited his purpose, seizes on the latter portion of the sense and renders – ἔδωκε.”³³ In support of this usage Eadie surveys a number of texts that utilize and supposedly have this dual sense (Gen 15:9; 18:5; 27:13; 42:16; Exod 27:20; Lev 24:2; 1 Kgs 17:10; 2 Kgs 2:20; Hos 14:2). However, all of these examples are rendered with a form of λαμβάνω in the LXX. Taylor rhetorically asks in response, if Paul is only picking up this later sense of giving from קָחַ, “should one not expect that at least on occasion the Old Testament Greek translators would have done similarly [i.e. rendered קָחַ with a form of δίδωμι like Paul supposedly did]?”³⁴ The evidence for this nuanced claim, while intriguing, is not a satisfying solution and has not been followed by any contemporary scholars.³⁵

A more common approach to addressing this textual modification starts with noting that the Targum of Psalm 68 at this precise point in the text reads “gave” (יָהַב) instead of “receive.”³⁶ From this fact various solutions are offered to reconcile this detail

³¹Concerning this textual modification, Chrysostom writes, “the one [word] is the same as the other.” *Homily XI, The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, First Series, Volume 13*, ed. Philip Schaff (1889; repr., Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2004), 103.

³²John Eadie, *A Commentary on the Greek Text of Paul’s Letter to the Ephesians* (1853; repr., Birmingham, AL: Solid Ground Christian Books, 2005), 282.

³³Ibid.

³⁴Taylor, “Psalm 68:18 in Ephesians in Light of the Ancient Versions,” 327. He goes on to argue, “Furthermore, when קָחַ does have the sense of ‘to fetch’ in biblical Hebrew, it is usually accompanied by a prepositional phrase indicating for whose advantage the fetching occurred. But this is lacking in Psalm 68:18.” Cf. also the critique in T. K. Abbott, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on The Epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians*, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1897), 111.

³⁵Although cf. the discussion in Barnabas Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic: The Doctrinal Significance of the Old Testament Quotations* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1961), 52-53.

³⁶While the Peshitta also reads “he gave,” it should probably not be viewed as an independent witness distinct from the Targum [*contra* Taylor, “Psalm 68:18 in Ephesians in Light of the Ancient

with Paul's text. Because the Targums postdate the NT by several hundred years, the claim is not usually made that Paul was directly dependent on the Aramaic text (or its oral prehistory).³⁷ However, in his discussion of Ephesians 4:8, Thackeray writes, "In some cases we may perhaps trace the influence of a Targum, the Aramaic paraphrase which [Paul] would hear read in the synagogues."³⁸ In his historical reconstruction, it was the Targumist himself who "mentally substituted for לקח [to take] the verb חלק [to give], which has the same letters in a different order."³⁹ Probably what Thackeray has in mind is the Jewish exegetical method *al tikrei*, which involves a transposition (or change) of the letters in order to "reveal additional meanings supporting [the scholars'] interpretation."⁴⁰ For this suggestion to work, the Targumist had to have made the change first, and then Paul got it from this text or oral reading.

The late date of the Targum is a problem for this hypothesis, but there is also another objection. "With the exception of reading 'gave' rather than 'received,' the

Versions," 334-35; Arnold, *Ephesians*, 251; and Richard Dormandy, "The Ascended Christ and His Gifts," *ExpT* 109, no. 7 (April 1998): 206]. This is because, as Ehorn ["The Use of Psalm 68(67).19 in Ephesians 4.8," 98] points out, "recent scholarship has posited a textual relationship between the *Targums* and the *Peshitta*." Evans confirms this textual relationship when he explains that "in one case the Targum (i.e., Proverbs Targum) may actually depend on the Peshitta. In all other cases, however, the relationship appears to be the reverse: the Peshitta is dependent on the Targum" (Craig A. Evans, *Ancient Texts for New Testament Studies: A Guide to the Background Literature* [Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2005], 163). For a different approach which also disputes the alleged evidence from the Peshitta, see the discussion in Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic*, 52-53n2. In agreement with Lindars is Lincoln, *Ephesians*, 242, and idem, "The Use of the OT in Ephesians," 19.

³⁷Bruce commented that the Targumic rendering had such an ancient and established oral prehistory that the text from which Paul drew already existed "in a Greek form" (F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Colossians, to Philemon, and to the Ephesians*, NICNT [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984], 342-43n53).

³⁸Henry St. John Thackeray, *The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought* (London: Macmillan, 1900), 181-82. Likewise, in reference to this passage Barth writes that "the author of Ephesians was acquainted with a Targum" and that he probably would have had rabbinic schooling "even if a person other than Paul wrote Ephesians" (Markus Barth, *Ephesians 4-6: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 34A [Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1974], 476).

³⁹Thackeray, *The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought*, 182. Here he is quoting Abbott, *Ephesians*, 113. Though it was originally proposed over a hundred years ago, it does have contemporary advocates. Taylor, "Psalm 68:18 in Ephesians in Light of the Ancient Versions," 333, states that Thackeray's "interpretation is most likely the correct one."

⁴⁰Abraham Arzi, "Al Tikrei" in *Encyclopedia Judaica*, 2nd Edition, ed. Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2007): 2:20.

Targumic interpretation and its wording are very different from the interpretation and the wording in Ephesians.”⁴¹ To solve this difficulty Rubinkiewicz proposes that Paul did draw upon the Targums, but at an earlier stage of development in a shorter form which already had the verb change from לקח to חלק, but did not yet have the additional distinctive interpretive expansions found in the form preserved in modern times.⁴² His chief piece of evidence that this sort of reading (reflected in his proposed short-form Targum) might have existed comes from the apocryphal *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, which likely dates prior to Paul’s writing.⁴³ But Rubinkiewicz’s hypothesis is again unsatisfactory because, among other reasons,⁴⁴ “the precise passage he identified [T. Dan. 5:10-11] is believed to be among the various Christian interpolations within the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.”⁴⁵ The connection to Ephesians 4:8 that he is ultimately trying to establish is present, but the influence most likely went the opposite direction, namely from Paul’s reading in the New Testament to the Christian redactor of the *Testament*. So Rubinkiewicz’s proposal of an early short-form Targum of Psalm 68:19 as the basis of Paul’s reading remains mere historical speculation.⁴⁶

Lindars thinks that “it is probably better to suppose that this Targum and Eph. 4.8 both witness to a Hebrew text which had ‘gavest’ for ‘receivedst.’”⁴⁷ He is claiming

⁴¹Taylor, “Psalm 68:18 in Ephesians in Light of the Ancient Versions,” 333.

⁴²Richard Rubinkiewicz, “Ps 68:19 (Eph 4:8): Another Textual Tradition or Targum?” *NovT* 17, no. 3 (1975): 224.

⁴³Evans, *Ancient Texts for New Testament Studies*, 40.

⁴⁴See Harris, *The Descent of Christ*, 104-109, for a detailed discussion of this text in which he concludes, “we must emphasize that no link between Test. Dan 5:11 and Tg. Ps 68:19 can be conclusively demonstrated” (109).

⁴⁵Ehorn, “The Use of Psalm 68(67).19 in Ephesians 4.8,” 99. See Evans, *Ancient Texts for New Testament Studies*, 40, for the listing of Christian interpolations in *Testaments*.

⁴⁶All the other texts that Rubinkiewicz marshals as evidence (i.e. the *Vetus Latina*, the *Peshitta*, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Rabbi Joshua ben Levi) all postdate Paul’s composition of Ephesians.

⁴⁷Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic*, 52.

that the Targum arrived at this translation because it utilized a different textual tradition than what is preserved in the MT, which also served as the base text for Paul's quotation in Ephesians 4:8. This solution has the advantage of being able to explain how both the Targum and the NT readings arose independently because they are stemming from the same source. However, as Lindars is quick to admit, "this cannot be proved."⁴⁸ There is simply no other evidence of a textual variant in the Hebrew text at this point. It is either a "real case of coincidence,"⁴⁹ or perhaps even more likely that the Targum readings arose as a polemical response to the Christian interpretation of Psalm 68 in the NT (more on this later).⁵⁰ The rendering in Ephesians 4:8 is the earliest, unambiguous textual appearance of the verb "gave" in Psalm 68:18. Therefore I conclude, with many other scholars, that Paul (or the author of Ephesians for those scholars who do not embrace Pauline authorship of this epistle) originated this change.⁵¹

However, it must be admitted that it is not possible to be absolutely certain concerning the origin of this change (as with the other changes). But even if Paul did draw on an existing form of the text of Psalm 68:18 (whether in Hebrew, Aramaic, or Greek) that had the notion of *giving* in place of *receiving*, "the question still remains why Paul would choose this form of the text over the LXX (which was widely known and used in Asia Minor) and the MT (which Paul assuredly knew)."⁵² That is the question that

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Ibid., 53.

⁵⁰Thielman, "Ephesians," 823.

⁵¹Hoehner, *Ephesians*, 528; Thielman, *Ephesians*, 267; idem, "Ephesians, 823; William N. Wilder, "The Use (or Abuse) of Power in High Places: Gifts Given and Received in Isaiah, Psalm 68, and Ephesians 4:8," *BBR* 20, no. 2 (2010): 187-88; Michael Gese, *Das Vermächtnis des Apostels: die Rezeption der paulinischen Theologie im Epheserbrief*, WUNT 2.99 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 185; Timothy G. Gombis, "Cosmic Lordship and Divine Gift-Giving: Psalm 68 in Ephesians 4:8," *NovT* 47, no. 4 (2005): 375; Michael Horton, "Ephesians 4:1-16: The Ascension, the Church, and the Spoils of War" in *Theological Commentary: Evangelical Perspectives*, ed. R. Michael Allen (London: T&T Clark, 2011), 137n24.

⁵²Arnold, *Ephesians*, 252.

will be taken up in analyzing the function that this textual change serves in Paul's argument. The *why* of the change must be discerned to address the thesis of the dissertation. But the point to be remembered here is that it (along with the other textual modifications) was a deliberate creation (or selection) on Paul's part.⁵³

The third set of textual changes in Ephesians 4:8 all concern the final two words ($\acute{\epsilon}\nu \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omega \rightarrow \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\iota\varsigma$) and are clearly related to each other. This set of changes is the result of the impact of the prior verb change ($\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\beta\epsilon\varsigma \rightarrow \acute{\epsilon}\delta\omega\kappa\epsilon\nu$). Whereas in Psalm 68, those who present the gifts were specified by $\acute{\epsilon}\nu \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omega$ (closely reflecting the syntax of the Hebrew מִן־בְּנֵי־אָדָם), "the omission of the preposition $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ in favor of the simple dative $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\iota\varsigma$ is more consistent with the interpretation of Ps 68:19 given in Ephesians, where 'men' have become the recipients of the gifts mentioned in the psalm."⁵⁴ So, no longer is the quotation speaking of Yahweh receiving gifts "among/by humanity," but of Christ giving gifts "to men," with the dative indicating the indirect object of the verb. Clarity and consistency with the prior verbal change evidently led Paul to make these changes as well.

In summary, the first and third sets of changes are contextual changes. The first ones are because of the new context in the flow of the argument in Ephesians, and the third are because of the change in meaning of the second main verb ($\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\beta\epsilon\varsigma \rightarrow \acute{\epsilon}\delta\omega\kappa\epsilon\nu$). Yet the second set of changes was likely motivated by the theological concerns of the author. These changes are consonant with the larger themes in the book and the immediate context in which the quotation is embedded in Ephesians. The two changes in

⁵³I already referred to Mitton's view above, that these changes were unintentional on Paul's part. However, his view is certainly among the minority. Even those scholars who argue that Paul is appropriating a reading reflective of an existing exegetical tradition, their claim (for the most part) is that it was an intentional change on Paul's part. So whether or not Paul is also pulling in a larger interpretive scheme with these textual modifications, the wording as it appears in Ephesians is reflective of Paul's intentions.

⁵⁴Harris, *The Descent of Christ*, 100.

the second set result in a heightened emphasis on the action of the two main verbs (ἡχμαλώτευσεν by subordinating ἀναβάς into a participial form, and ἔδωκεν by replacing ἔλαβες). These textual modifications are consummate with the larger themes in the book of *Christ's triumph* and his *gift-giving*. It is to these themes that the reader is now directed.

Important Themes for Interpreting the Quotation

The themes of gift-giving and Christ's triumph are important themes in Ephesians and go to the heart of Paul's selection (and modification) of Psalm 68. A discussion of their role in the book of Ephesians, and particularly the quotation will bear this out.

Gift-giving. The introduction of diversity within the one unified body in Ephesians 4:7ff. revolves around the notion of Christ giving gifts to the church. Paul makes clear in several ways that *giving* is not incidental to the context, but at the center of it.⁵⁵ The key word in the quotation is ἔδωκεν (4:8). This is confirmed not simply because it is the word that Paul changed, but for two other contextual reasons. First, Paul highlights giving with the repetition of words with the same root. The Apostle begins this section by claiming that to each believer *grace* (χάρις) was *given* (ἐδόθη) according to the measure of Christ's *gift* (δωρεᾶς) (4:7). And in application to the point made in the quotation, Paul writes that Christ *gave* (ἔδωκεν) these various gifted groups of people to equip the church to grow into unity (4:11). So in the span of five verses, some variation of the word "giving" occurs four times. The second contextual clue that highlights the importance of giving in this passage is the *inclusio* that these aforementioned occurrences form around the quotation. The *giving* words in verse 7 and verse 11 frame the quotation

⁵⁵Gombis, "Cosmic Lordship and Divine Gift-Giving," 373.

in verse 8. These two contextual clues make it unmistakable that Paul wanted the word ἔδωκεν, and not ἔλαβες, in the quotation. Without this change, Psalm 68:18 would not fit his argument in Ephesians 4.

Paul has already used these exact same terms previously in Ephesians. His personal role as an apostle to the Gentiles was because of God's *grace* (χάριτος) that was *given* (δοθείσης) to him (3:2). He continues by saying that he was made a minister according to the *gift* (δωρεάν) of God's *grace* (χάριτος), which was *given* (δοθείσης) to him by the working of God's power (3:7). As empowerment to fulfill his apostolic task of preaching the gospel to the Gentiles, *grace* (χάρις) was *given* (ἐδόθη) to him (3:8). Thielman notes this connection between the occurrence of these terms in Ephesians chapter 3 and chapter 4, writing that, "Paul's particular role may be historically unique, but now we learn that just as God has graciously given Paul his role (3:2, 7, 8) and the power to carry it out (3:7), so also a role in the edification of the church is given 'to each one of us' (4:7)."⁵⁶ In these contexts *grace* (χάρις) is probably not used in the narrower sense of redeeming grace (cf. 2:5, 8), but as an empowering grace for the mission of the church.⁵⁷ Yet at the foundation of all God's gifts is the resurrected and ascended Christ (1:20), whom God has *given* (ἔδωκεν) to his church as head over all things (1:22).⁵⁸

Christ's triumph over hostile powers. The theme of *giving* is rightly emphasized because of the role it plays in the context and also because of the manner in which Paul draws attention to it in the quotation with his word substitution (ἔλαβες → ἔδωκεν). But, as discussed above, Paul also draws attention to the notion of *taking captives* with his textual modification. The theme that arises out of the first line (4:8bc) of

⁵⁶Thielman, *Ephesians*, 263.

⁵⁷Best, *Ephesians*, 377.

⁵⁸Wilder, "The Use (or Abuse) of Power in High Places," 188.

the quotation, both the “ascending on high” and the “taking captive captives” can be summarized as *Christ’s triumph*.

The phrase ἡχμαλώτευσας αἰχμαλωσίαν is a cognate accusative, matching the original Hebrew expression שָׁבַי תְּשָׁבִיט in Psalm 68:18. This is military language which describes the result of a victory in which the triumphant king would take captives from the hostile power to demonstrate his supremacy. Paul applies this language to Christ as the king who triumphed over his enemies. Some claim that Paul is referring to believers as these captives.⁵⁹ It is true that Christ, in his resurrection, freed many of those who were captive to Satan, sin and death and then made them his people. However, here Paul probably intends the defeat of these hostile spiritual powers themselves.⁶⁰ The principalities, powers, and authorities “hold a prominent place in Ephesians as the enemies of Christ and the people of God. They are the foes that Paul names as defeated and put into subjection by his resurrection in 1:20-22.”⁶¹

Several verbal links between Ephesians 1:20-22 and the exposition of the quote in 4:10 confirm that Paul has these spiritual powers in mind with the phrase “taking captives captive.”⁶² Just as Paul claimed in chapter 1 that Christ was raised from the dead and seated at the right hand of the Father in the heavenly places *far above all* (ὑπεράνω πάσης) rule, authority, power, dominion, and name that is named (1:21), so also he explains that his quotation from Psalm 68 means that Christ is the one who ascended *far*

⁵⁹Dormandy, “The Ascended Christ and His Gifts,” 207; John F. Brug, “Exegetical Brief: Psalm 68:19 – He Received Gifts Among Men,” *WLQ* 96, no. 2 (Spring 1999): 126; William Arthur Bales, “The Meaning and Function of Ephesians 4:9-10 in Both its Immediate and its More General Context” (PhD diss., The Catholic University of America, 2002), 173-81.

⁶⁰Clint E. Arnold, *Ephesians: Power and Magic: The Concept of Power in Ephesians in Light of its Historical Setting*, SNTSMS 63 (Cambridge: University Press, 1989), 56-57; idem, *Ephesians*, 251; Gombis, “Cosmic Lordship and Divine Gift-Giving,” 375; Hoehner, *Ephesians*, 529-530; O’Brien, *Ephesians*, 289; Schreiner, *Paul, Apostle of God’s Glory in Christ*, 167.

⁶¹Arnold, *Ephesians*, 251.

⁶²Thielman, *Ephesians*, 273.

above all (ὑπεράνω πάντων) the heavens. Additionally, Christ's ascension in Ephesians 4:10 is for the purpose of *filling all things* (πληρώση τὰ πάντα). In Ephesians 1:20-23 God has put all things under the ascended Christ's feet and gave him to the church, which is described as *the fullness of [Christ] who fills all in all* (τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν πληρουμένου) (1:23). This similar phraseology indicates that Paul probably intends that the "captives" in Ephesians 4:8 are the hostile spiritual powers of Ephesians 1:21, not people who were held by these powers.⁶³ Christ has subjugated all these hostile spiritual powers in his resurrection and ascension. His triumph is demonstrated by his lordship over everything.

This theme of Christ's triumph over the hostile powers does not stand apart from the theme of gift-giving. They are both integral to understanding what Paul is doing with Psalm 68 in Ephesians 4. Paul "depicts Christ as the triumphant Divine Warrior who, after he has ascended his throne, blesses his people with gifts."⁶⁴ It is Christ's role as ascended, cosmic victor that has given him the right to give these gifts.⁶⁵

But is this use of the Psalm in concord with its meaning in the OT, especially in light of the textual modifications? The passage Paul quotes must first be put in its OT context to provide an answer to this question.

Old Testament Context

Psalm 68 will be examined first because it is the most obvious OT context for Paul's quotation in Ephesians 4:8. However, some scholars also postulate that there are other OT texts which inform Paul's use and help to account for his modification of Psalm 68:18. Their proposals will also be considered before moving to analyze the function of

⁶³O'Brien, *Ephesians*, 296.

⁶⁴Gombis, "Cosmic Lordship and Divine Gift-Giving," 373.

⁶⁵Hoehner, *Ephesians*, 530.

the quotation in Ephesians 4:8.

Psalm 68:18

Psalm 68 is frequently noted for its difficulty,⁶⁶ but this dissertation need not be concerned with resolving every critical issue raised by scholars in relation to this Psalm. The focus will be on the general meaning of the whole psalm and the specific role verse 18 serves. This analysis will provide the context to then determine the accuracy of the thesis, namely that Paul's interpretation is contextually-rooted.

The setting of Psalm 68. In keeping with the interpretive difficulties of this Psalm, the suggestions as to its historical setting seem to be legion.⁶⁷ Some propose that it originated in "David's procession with the ark 'from the house of Obed-Edom to the city of David with rejoicing' (2 Sa. 6:12)."⁶⁸ Others think its composition was for temple worship in Jerusalem during an autumn festival.⁶⁹ Still others think the Psalm arrived in its present form over time either because it represents different phases of cultic tradition,⁷⁰ or it came about as a "catalogue of early Hebrew lyric poems,"⁷¹ or perhaps

⁶⁶“There is hardly another song in the Psalter which in its corrupt text and its lack of coherence precipitates such serious problems for the interpreter as Psalm 68” (Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalms 60-150: A Commentary*, trans. Hilton C. Oswald [Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1989], 47). Similar sentiments about the difficulty of interpreting this Psalm are shared by just about every commentator.

⁶⁷For a short overview of several options, see Thielman, “Ephesians,” 820. Cf. also the discussions in Marvin E. Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, WBC 20 (Dallas: Word Books, 1990), 170-75; Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger, *Psalms 2: A Commentary on Psalms 51-100*, Hermeneia, trans. Linda M. Maloney (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 160-63; Kraus, *Psalms 60-150*, 47-51.

⁶⁸Derek Kidner, *Psalms 1-72: An Introduction and Commentary*, TOTC 15 (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2008), 238.

⁶⁹Artur Weiser, *The Psalms: A Commentary*, trans. Herbert Hartwell (London, SCM Press, 1962), 481-84.

⁷⁰Kraus, *Psalms 60-150*, 47-51.

⁷¹William F. Albright, “A Catalogue of Early Hebrew Lyric Poems (Psalm LXVIII),” *HUCA* 23 (1951): 1-39.

even had its origin in a Canaanite Baal hymn that was adapted for Israelite worship.⁷²

Despite all of these creative suggestions, there is little to no evidence to support each of these theories. They are conjectures brought from outside the text. But the evidence from the text itself actually gives reason to not focus on a particular proposed historical setting. First, the superscription does not indicate a specific setting or background. This fact carries more weight when several details are considered. Seventy-three psalms, nearly half the Psalter, are explicitly attributed to David (דָּוִד) in the title. Out of those psalms, fifteen give a specific historical circumstance (Pss 3, 7, 18, 30, 34, 51, 52, 54, 56, 57, 59, 60, 63, 142) or purpose (Ps 70) for their origin. The largest concentration of them is found in Book II of the Psalter (Pss 42-72) just as Psalm 68. So, even though Psalm 68 is grouped with many other Davidic psalms that do provide a specific historical occasion in their titles, here it is lacking. It is probably safe to assume that the original setting (if there was one) was either unknown or deemed unimportant by the editor (or whoever provided the superscriptions). Secondly, the references that are in the psalm are scant and vague. References to “Sinai” (vv. 8, 17) and “Jerusalem” (v. 29) are much too common to provide a clue for the setting. “Egypt” and “Cush” (v. 31) are mentioned as representatives of gentiles in general. Also, while scholars debate what location is meant by the reference to “Zalmon” (v. 14),⁷³ it, as well as “Bashan” (vv. 15, 22), is “probably more literary imagery than geographic referent.”⁷⁴

Therefore, Psalm 68 is either not based on a particular historical event, or if it

⁷²Frank Moore Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), 147-63.

⁷³See Kraus, *Psalms 60-150*, 53n2.

⁷⁴Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, 180. “Zalmon” is referenced to indicate the power of Yahweh in battle. “Zalmon” is a dark/black mountain that is made white when covered by snow. Similarly, the power of Yahweh in victory scatters the army of his enemies so that the ground is covered with their bodies and weapons after defeat. Cf. Willem VanGemeren, *Psalms, EBC 5* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2008), 519. “Bashan” is referenced for its size and height as a point of contrast. First in vv. 15-16 to indicate that despite its size, it is still jealous of the mountain of God. And in v. 22 the height of Bashan is contrasted with the “depths of the sea.”

is, it purposely speaks in generic terms to transcend any one victory in Israel's history.⁷⁵ "As is characteristic of psalms as opposed to similar material outside the Psalter, Ps. 68 is designed for use in many different contexts, and its lack of concrete historical references facilitates that."⁷⁶ Any viable understanding of Psalm 68 must base itself on what the composition actually says.⁷⁷ The content will drive the interpretation, not the supposed setting.

Overview of Psalm 68. The psalm opens with an invocation for God to arise⁷⁸ and come as the divine warrior and bring victory over his enemies and salvation joy for his people (vv.1-3). These first three verses introduce "the victory and the reign of the divine warrior [which] are its underlying theme."⁷⁹ God's "enemies shall be scattered" (v. 1) because they cannot stand in his presence (v. 2),⁸⁰ while God's people will exult before him (v. 3). Verse 4 then summons God's people to celebrate God's victory in song, because he is "the one who rides on the clouds."⁸¹ By this ascription "the psalmist contrasts the all-sufficiency of the God of Israel with the powers of Baal, whom the Canaanites worshipped as 'the Rider on the clouds.' . . . Here the 'clouds' signify the

⁷⁵John Goldingay, *Psalms 42-89*, BCOT:WP (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 310.

⁷⁶Ibid.

⁷⁷Cf. the methodological approach of John Philip LePeau, "Psalm 68: An Exegetical and Theological Study" (PhD diss., The University of Iowa, 1981), 58-61. I disagree with his proposed pattern in the Psalm (pp. 234-73), but his exegetically based approach is to be preferred over speculating on the original historical setting of the composition.

⁷⁸The LXX correctly translates אֲקוּמָה as a jussive with the form ἀναστήτω, hence the translation "let/may God arise" in most English translations (except the ESV).

⁷⁹James L. Mays, *Psalms*, Interpretation 16 (Louisville: John Knox Press, 1994), 225.

⁸⁰"The 'smoke' and the 'fire' [in v. 2] are manifestations of God's presence" (VanGemeren, *Psalms*, 515).

⁸¹For the translation "clouds" (NRSV, NKJV, NIV) instead of "deserts" (ESV, NASB), see HALOT, s.v. עֲרֵבָה, 879.II. Cf. the discussions in Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, 163, 176; and Kidner, *Psalms 1-72*, 239.

chariot of God racing through the sky bringing blessing and curse, vindication and vengeance.”⁸² He helps the helpless (orphans, widows, homeless, and prisoners), but sends the rebellious out to the wilderness (vv. 5-6).

Now, in verses 7-10 God is praised directly by recounting God’s past acts on behalf of Israel, such as the exodus, the wilderness wandering, the theophany at Sinai (vv. 7-8) and the settlement in the land (vv. 9-10). The divine warrior theme continues (possibly recalling the time of the Judges; cf. Judg. 5)⁸³ as the women announce the news of his victory (v. 11) and divide up the spoil after the Gentile kings flee in haste (v. 12), because the men stay behind “among the sheepfolds” (v. 13). When the Almighty scatters the enemy kings and their armies, “the corpses of the victims and their weaponry [will be] lying like scattered snowflakes on the mountains” (v. 14).⁸⁴

With all his foes defeated, verses 15-18 describe God beginning his victory procession as the conquering king. “The psalm recalls God’s arrival to claim the place that is now the royal residence of the victor.”⁸⁵ The glorious “many peaked mountain of Bashan” is being taunted to hatred and envy because God chose Sinai as his royal dwelling instead of it (vv. 15-16). And when God “ascends on high” to make Sinai his sanctuary, he will not be alone, but accompanied by thousands of heavenly chariots, the defeated enemy captives, and tribute from all humanity, even from those who rebelled against him (vv. 17-18). This victory parade is a grand picture of God’s power over his enemies for the benefit of his people.

⁸²VanGemen, *Psalms*, 516.

⁸³Erhard Gerstenberger, *Psalms, Part 2, and Lamentations*, FOTL 15 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 37-39; Geoffrey Grogan, *Psalms*, THOTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 126; Kidner, *Psalms 1-72*, 240.

⁸⁴VanGemen, *Psalms*, 519.

⁸⁵Mays, *Psalms*, 226.

Verse 19 begins a turning point of sorts in the psalm.⁸⁶ “With the ascent of ‘the high mount’ the psalm has reached its climax. Now it unfolds the consequences.”⁸⁷ The Lord is to be blessed because he “daily bears us up” (v. 19) bringing salvation and deliverances from death (v. 20). He will strike down his enemies and bring them back from wherever they flee (v. 21-22)⁸⁸ so that his people can participate in his victory which is graphically portrayed with the language of warfare (v. 23). Verses 24-27 then describe a festal procession of God going into the sanctuary (v. 24) accompanied with a retinue of singers and musicians (v. 25) from all of Israel (vv. 26-27).⁸⁹ The congregation then prays to God once again to demonstrate his same victory power performed on their behalf (v. 28) against the subject nations by requiring that they pay homage and bring tribute (v.29). No nation will be allowed to rebel against God’s power, not even mighty Egypt and her ally Cush (vv. 30-31).

The author returns to similar language as verse 4 and thereby forms an *inclusio* around the body of the psalm.⁹⁰ But this time, instead of addressing Israel, he is summoning the kingdoms of the earth to sing to the God of Israel (v. 32) because he is the one who “rides in the heavens” (v. 33). The content of their praise to God should consist of ascriptions of power, even cosmic power (“whose power is in the skies”) (v. 34). Yet despite the universal reach of his majesty, he is “the God of Israel” and “gives power and strength to his people” (v. 35).

⁸⁶C. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch, *Psalms*, Commentary on the Old Testament, vol. 5, trans. Francis Bolton (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969), 259; Goldingay, *Psalms 42-89*, 323.

⁸⁷Kidner, *Psalms 1-72*, 242.

⁸⁸The “enemies” are the likely object of both occurrences of עֹשֵׁי רָעָה in verse 22. See Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, 167; VanGemeren, *Psalms*, 522.

⁸⁹“The fact that there are only four tribes [mentioned] (v. 27) may be explained by the principle of poetic selectivity. For the purposes of brevity and representation, the poet has selected the southern tribes (Judah and Benjamin) and the northern tribes (Zebulun and Naphtali). Together they form one people, as they are the true Israelites” (VanGemeren, *Psalms*, 523). Cf. Kidner, *Psalms 1-72*, 243-44.

⁹⁰Mays, *Psalms*, 225.

Is there a center to Psalm 68? Just as the setting of the psalm has many proposals, so does the structure. My overview of its content was not heavily dependent on any one structural thesis other than a few brief remarks. However in attempting to account for the textual modification of Psalm 68:18 in Ephesians 4:8, Penner has proposed a chiasmic structure for the whole psalm that results in verse 18 being at the center (see figure 1).⁹¹ This not only demonstrates the unity of the psalm in Penner’s estimation, but also that the portion concerning the ascension from which Paul drew is the climax of the psalm.⁹² He does not think that Paul is actually quoting verse 18, but borrowing some of the wording as an adaptive paraphrase that forms “a statement of the central idea of the whole psalm.”⁹³

Figure 1. Chiasmic structure of Psalm 68

	Climax	18	
	V – 17		19-20 – VI
	IV – 15-16		21-23 – VII
	III – 11-14		24-27 – VIII
	II – 7-10		28-31 – IX
	I – 4-6		32-35 – X
Introduction	1-3		35c Conclusion

As attractive as Penner’s proposal is, “it is contingent upon a highly tentative

⁹¹Erwin Penner, “The Enthronement Motif in Ephesians” (PhD diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1983), 90.

⁹²Ibid., 98.

⁹³Ibid., 99. Similarly, Hoehner writes, “It is quite possible that instead of trying to quote Ps. 68:18 specifically, Paul is summarizing Ps. 68 with words that resemble verse 18” (*Ephesians*, 528).

reconstruction.”⁹⁴ The chiasmic parallels at times seemed forced in order to support his structural hypothesis. For instance, Penner claims that sections III (vv. 11-14) and VIII (vv. 24-27) both describe a victory procession.⁹⁵ A victory procession is certainly an accurate description of the content of verses 24-27, but it does not fit verses 11-14. In these verses there are women announcing the victory (v. 11), but the description of the booty distribution (vv. 12-13) or of the battlefield (v. 14) are not normally thought of as components of a victory procession.⁹⁶ Penner’s particular chiasmic structure is not compelling upon this closer scrutiny.⁹⁷

However, there are aspects of his general approach that do prove useful and provide some insights into what might have been motivating Paul both to choose this particular psalm and also modify it for his Ephesian context. One need not attempt to find a chiasmic structure to recognize that the section that involves verse 18 is central to the structure and meaning of the psalm. For instance, Vincent’s suggested analysis divides the psalm into five stanzas (vv. 2-7, 8-15, 16-19, 20-32, and 33-36), which “allows v[v.] 16-19 to stand apart as the central part of the Psalm . . . and the theme of God coming to dwell on high becom[ing] the centerpiece.”⁹⁸ Terrien discerns eleven strophes in the psalm with the first five paralleling the last five and with the “core strophe,” verses 17-

⁹⁴Ehorn, “The Use of Psalm 68(67).19 in Ephesians 4.8,” 107.

⁹⁵Penner, “The Enthronement Motif in Ephesians,” 91-92.

⁹⁶Vv. 15-17 are a better candidate for a corresponding victory march with vv. 25-27. This only serves to underscore that Penner’s chiasm seems forced at times.

⁹⁷For a critique of Penner’s structure, and an alternate chiasmic structural proposal, see Mortiz, *A Profound Mystery*, 65-66; idem, “The Psalms in Ephesians and Colossians,” in *The Psalms in the New Testament*, ed. Steve Moyise and Maarten J. J. Menken (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 191. In Mortiz’s approach vv. 19-20 are the focal point of Ps 68. I think both of these proposals rely too heavily on finding chiasmic parallels between the two halves of the psalm. V. 18 can serve a central role in the Psalm without needing a precise chiasmic correspondence on either side of it.

⁹⁸Mark Anthony Vincent, “From Sinai to Jerusalem: A Study of the Hebrew Text of Psalm 68” (PhD diss., University of Durham, 2001), 127-28. He is following the Hebrew versification.

19, standing in the center.⁹⁹ Hossfeld and Zenger divide Psalm 68 into nine strophes, and place verse 18 at the center of the “psalm core.”¹⁰⁰ While these scholars do not agree with each other as to the exact breakdown of each section, they seem to be in common agreement as to the central role that verse 18 (or at least the section in which it is located) serves in the psalm. But what features in the text lead to seeing a central role for verse 18?

An analysis based on certain literary features, as well as the overall content, supports viewing verse 18 as pivotal to the whole psalm. After the introduction in the first three verses, the body of the psalm breaks down into two parts, with the first part concluding with verse 18.¹⁰¹ This two part analysis is confirmed by noting that the second “part is marked off by the doxological cry, ‘Blessed be the Lord’” which begins (v. 19) and concludes this section (v. 35).¹⁰² Noting this repetition of “blessing” effectively brackets the second half of the psalm from the first, marking verse 18 as the climax of the first part. More confirmation can be found in another literary feature of the Psalm, namely allowing *Selah* to function as a structural marker. “Contrary to usual expectation, in Psalm 68 *Selah* is not inserted at the ends of sections, but serves to give extra emphasis to the first line of a new strophe.”¹⁰³ *Selah* appears at verse 19 demonstrating that it marks a new section after verse 18.¹⁰⁴ Even if one judged these literary features to be

⁹⁹Samuel L. Terrien, *The Psalms: Strophic Structure and Theological Commentary*, Vol. 1, ECC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 490. He too is following the Hebrew versification.

¹⁰⁰Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms 2*, 161-62. They do not specifically single out v. 18 as the center of the psalm, but their structural analysis results in this conclusion. The same nine strophes can be found in Mays, *Psalms*, 226-27.

¹⁰¹Mays, *Psalms*, 226.

¹⁰²Ibid.

¹⁰³Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms 2*, 163-64. This approach to the structure can be found in Raymond Ortlund, Jr. “Psalm 68 in Ancient, Medieval, and Modern Interpretation” (PhD diss., University of Aberdeen, 1985), 506-507.

¹⁰⁴I readily acknowledge that *Selah* also appears at vv. 7 and 32. This may dilute the point

rather subtle, the content of the psalm itself suggests a two part structure. As noted above in the overview of its content, the first half of the psalm describes God's victory over his enemies. It culminates with him ascending on high and taking up residence in Zion (v. 18). The rest of the psalm describes his care for his people from this position of victory. The second half begins with God daily bearing up his people (v. 19) and concludes with him giving them power and strength (v. 35). Verse 35 not only concludes part two of the psalm, but is the crescendo to the whole movement in Psalm 68. This is demonstrated by the way the psalmist reminds the reader that it is "from his sanctuary"¹⁰⁵ that God dispenses these gifts to his people. This is the same sanctuary in which God took up residence in the end of the first part of the psalm (vv. 17-18). The first half of the psalm sets the stage for the final conclusion.

So while Penner's chiasmic structure may have claimed too much, verse 18 still serves a pivotal role in the flow of the psalm. It serves as the climax of the first half of the psalm in which the author is recounting his successful victory over his foes. The second half of the psalm, starting in verse 19, then focuses on what the victorious divine king will do for his people with the crescendo at the end of the psalm in verse 35. In summary, this psalm has a two part structure, namely the climax of part one in verse 18 and the finale of the whole psalm at the end of the second part in verse 35. Recognizing this will prove to be important in attempting to explain Paul's use of this psalm as reflected in his modified quotation. But before the function of this quote for Paul is finally addressed, it is necessary to interact with some other proposals concerning an informing role of other OT texts for Paul's use.

made above slightly, in that *Selah* by itself does not indicate that there is a major break between vv. 18 and 19. But the case for the pivotal role of v. 18 is cumulative. I merely mention it as confirmation that a section break does exist between vv. 18 and 19.

¹⁰⁵The ESV and NRSV follow the LXX in reading "his sanctuary," whereas the NASB, NIV, KJV, and NKJV follow the Hebrew, "your sanctuary."

Does Paul Draw on Other OT Passages that Influence His Use of Psalm 68?

In an attempt to explain the rationale for how Paul uses Psalm 68:18, including his textual modification of the verse, some scholars have posited other OT texts as serving an informing role. Two of the most significant proposals will be considered briefly.

The taking and giving of Levites in Numbers. Smith argues that the “captives” that God takes in Psalm 68:18 are not from among the hostile Gentiles, but were Israelites “who were often rebellious.”¹⁰⁶ But even more specifically, the Psalmist was thinking of a certain group of Israelites, namely the Levites from Numbers 8 and 18 as the background for Psalm 68:18. “The Levites were taken or received from among the sons of Israel as captives for his service, (Numbers 8:6, 16, 18) and are even referred to as ‘gifts’ in Numbers 8:19a.”¹⁰⁷ The Levites are not only the captives taken by the Lord, but are also the “gifts” received from humanity (Ps 68:18). “The captives are the gifts. Captives are taken and gifts given, but both the captives and the gifts are the Levites.”¹⁰⁸ The connection to Numbers goes even deeper. Numbers 18:6 reads, “And behold, I have taken your brothers the Levites from among the people of Israel. They are a gift to you, given to the LORD, to do the service of the tent of meeting.” Smith argues that not only did the psalmist have this background in mind, but so did the apostle Paul when he quoted Psalm 68:18 in Ephesians 4:8. “Paul wants his readers to understand that God has, throughout history, chosen special men as leaders of the community of believers”¹⁰⁹ and given them to his people as gifts. In the OT context of the Psalm, these were Levites in their service to the temple, in the NT context these are “the apostles, the prophets, the

¹⁰⁶Gary V. Smith, “Paul’s Use of Psalm 68:18 in Ephesians 4:8,” *JETS* 18, no. 3 (1975): 186.

¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*, 187.

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹*Ibid.*, 188.

evangelists, the shepherds and teachers” (Eph 4:11) in their service to the NT temple, namely the body of Christ (Eph 2:19-22; 4:12-16).

Smith employs this background from Numbers and the “analogical” connection to the NT church in an effort to demonstrate the legitimacy of Paul’s hermeneutical employment of Psalm 68. While a few have found his argument attractive,¹¹⁰ “it is instructive to note that very few (if any?) commentators on the Hebrew Psalter take this view.”¹¹¹ Moreover, as our overview of Psalm 68 indicated, “the captives” who are taken are enemies of Israel and are therefore not taken from among their own people like the Levites.¹¹² The Hebrew idiom employed here also supports this interpretation. Whenever שבה (“to take captive”) is used with שבי (“captives”) in the Hebrew Bible (as it is in Ps 68:19), it is consistently used in reference to relationships which are in opposition.¹¹³ So, while Smith’s reading of the passages would provide some aid in the thesis of this dissertation, it is not ultimately convincing.

The Isaianic backdrop of the themes of gift-giving and power-sharing. The uniqueness of Wilder’s contribution is his insistence that Paul’s summary of the larger context of Psalm 68 be read against the background of several themes from Isaiah and Paul’s appropriation of them in other places in Ephesians. Chief among those themes are gift-giving and power-sharing.¹¹⁴ His approach is to move through both Isaiah and Ephesians and note verbal and thematic links between them. He concludes “that Paul uses

¹¹⁰Walter C. Kaiser, Jr., *The Messiah in the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1995), 130-33; Chris Miller, “The Use of Psalm 68:19 in Ephesians 4:8” (ThM thesis, Grace Theological Seminary, 1981), 62; O’Brien, *Ephesians*, 293.

¹¹¹Ehorn, “The Use of Psalm 68(67).19 in Ephesians 4.8,” 106.

¹¹²Martin Pickup, “New Testament Interpretation of the Old Testament: The Theological Rationale of Midrashic Exegesis,” *JETS* 51, no. 2 (June 2008): 368n46; Hoehner, *Ephesians*, 527-28.

¹¹³Ehorn, “The Use of Psalm 68(67).19 in Ephesians 4.8,” 106.

¹¹⁴Wilder, “The Use (or Abuse) of Power in High Places,” 196.

this adaptive paraphrase of Ps 68:18 (LXX 67:19) to bring together in a terse, memorable way several themes common to Ps 68 and the book of Isaiah, within a larger conception of a Spirit-anointed Adamic and Davidic king.”¹¹⁵ Paul was especially interested in the lexical combination of “power” and “strength” with the notion of the Lord’s “giving” found at the end of Psalm 68 (v. 35), but chose to actually quote from verse 18 because it “brings together three themes of prime importance in Ephesians: exaltation, subjugation, gift-giving.”¹¹⁶ It was through themes found in this Isaianic backdrop that allowed Paul to read Psalm 68 in a manner that led to the version he quoted in Ephesians 4:8.

I agree with the general thrust of Wilder’s conclusion, and he attempts to make several interesting connections. And while others too have noted allusions to Isaiah in sections of Ephesians (Isa 52:7; 57:19 in Eph 2:13-17 and Isa 11:4-5; 52:7; 59:17 in Eph 6:10, 14-17),¹¹⁷ “it is instructive to note that there are no citations of Isaiah in Ephesians.”¹¹⁸ This fact does not mean that themes from Isaiah could not have influenced Paul significantly in his writing of Ephesians. The list of allusions above indicates that they probably did. However it is a highly tenuous proposal to argue that it is this Isaianic backdrop which was the catalyst for Paul’s textual alteration of Psalm 68:18.¹¹⁹ Even Wilder himself does not find any Isaianic allusions anywhere around Paul’s quotation of Psalm 68:18. Also, he makes much of not only the notion of gift-giving but also power-sharing. It is true that the object of what God gives his people in Psalm 68:36 (LXX) is “power and strength” (δύναμιν καὶ κραταίωσιν). But in drawing from this verse at the conclusion of the psalm, Paul wants to highlight the notion of *giving* (as evidenced by

¹¹⁵Ibid., 199.

¹¹⁶Ibid., 198.

¹¹⁷Moritz, *A Profound Mystery*, 31-36, 187-95; Hinkle, “Proclaiming Peace,” 61-64.

¹¹⁸Ehorn, “The Use of Psalm 68(67).19 in Ephesians 4.8,” 109.

¹¹⁹Wilder himself admits that his essay is an “exploratory attempt” to connect these themes. “The Use (or Abuse) of Power in High Places,” 188.

his modification), but the way he applies it in Ephesians 4 does not suggest the “power-sharing” notion is all that significant. In Ephesians 4, what is given is not the *power* of spiritual gifts to his people, but the gifted people themselves, in the form of apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers (Eph 4:11). This goes against the Isaianic background that Wilder seeks to find in Paul’s use and adaptation of Psalm 68. His explanation of why power-sharing is important is because it is bound up with the messianic figure of Isaiah and his gifts for his people. Wilder writes, “In particular, I have argued that, reading Ps 68 within this canonical context, Paul believed Ps 68:34-35 (LXX 67:35-36) to give special expression to the divine gifts of power and might that he found in his reading of Isaiah and that he saw to be operative among those who were united to Christ.”¹²⁰ In summary, Wilder has located some relevant themes between Isaiah, Psalm 68, and Ephesians through noting lexical similarities, but he has misunderstood how these themes are applied by Paul. Even if Wilder could marshal more concrete evidence to bolster his proposal, I do not think it is necessary in order to arrive at the conclusions he does. The Isaianic background that he seeks to elucidate has failed to provide any more clarity as to why Paul made the modifications to Psalm 68:18 that he did. So for the purposes of this dissertation I will not rely on his thesis to demonstrate Paul’s contextual use of Psalm 68.

Paul was undoubtedly influenced throughout his writings by many OT texts, but neither of these proposals (i.e. from Numbers or Isaiah) has proven to be much help in addressing the OT context of Paul’s quotation. Paul principally drew from Psalm 68, and particularly cited verse 18 (with modification). It now remains to address the actual function that this quotation was serving in Paul’s argument.

¹²⁰Ibid., 198.

Function of the Quotation

Having examined the NT and OT contexts, the function of Psalm 68:18 in Ephesians 4:8ff. can now be addressed. A very common solution as to the function revolves around Paul's interaction with an existing interpretive tradition. This must first be examined before offering a positive explanation for Paul's utilization (including the textual modifications) of Psalm 68.

Did Paul Draw on an Existing Interpretive Tradition?

The previous textual analysis reviewed the proposals for positing that the Targumic tradition was the origin of the textual modifications in Ephesians 4:8. The conclusion offered there was that the evidence was lacking, despite the common reading of "gave" instead of "received." However, even if Paul is not explicitly drawing on the *textual* tradition reflected in the Targum, perhaps he is still interacting with the *interpretive* tradition. Reflecting this notion, Moritz writes, "The Targum may not give us a textual basis on which to explain Ephesians, but it is immensely instructive to trace the reasons for the change of wording reflected in the Targum."¹²¹ What other change of wording is he referring to? It would be helpful to observe the full translation of *Tg. Psalm 68:19*, which reads,

You ascended to the *firmament*, *O prophet Moses*,
you took captives, *you taught the words of the Law*,
you gave them as gifts to the sons of man;
even among the rebellious *who are converted and repent*
does the *Shekinah of the glory of the Lord God* dwell.¹²²

As can be observed (from the relevant section of the verse), besides the change from "receiving" to "giving" the Targum makes the Psalm about Moses' ascension to

¹²¹Thorsten Moritz, "The Psalms in Ephesians and Colossians" in *The Psalms in the New Testament*, ed. Steve Moyise and Maarten J. J. Menken (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 189-90.

¹²²David M. Stec, *The Targum of Psalms: Translated, with a Critical Introduction, Apparatus, and Notes*, Aramaic Bible 16 (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2004), 131 (emphasis original).

“take captive” the Law, not God’s ascension and the taking captive of hostile enemies. The result of these Targumic changes is that now this verse is about Moses giving the Torah to the people of Israel. Several scholars claim that Paul was polemically interacting with this interpretive tradition in his use of Psalm 68:18 in Ephesians 4:8ff.¹²³ As Harris readily admits, at the very earliest the final composition/redaction of the Targum is not until the fourth century of the Christian era.¹²⁴ In an effort to establish the antiquity of this Moses tradition for Psalm 68, Harris conducts a thorough survey of all the classical rabbinic literature (from the Amoraic and Tannaitic periods) on Psalm 68:18 that spans the interval of time from the NT to the Targum. From this examination he concludes that “the traditional rabbinic interpretation of Ps 68:19 consisted of two main points: (a) Moses ascended to heaven to receive the Torah, and (b) he there took Torah ‘captive’, . . . which are identical with the interpretation of Ps 68:19 found in *Tg. Psalms*.”¹²⁵

It is remarkable that “every time Psalm 68:19 is mentioned in the rabbinic literature it is (without exception) interpreted of Moses and his ascent to heaven to receive the Torah.”¹²⁶ This certainly establishes that the Targum’s interpretation was widespread and ancient in Judaism, but this still does not yet prove that it was in existence before the composition of Ephesians in the mid first century, which is necessary if it is to be successfully argued that Paul was polemically interacting with this tradition. In order to move the interpretive needle back into the first century, Harris then examined

¹²³The most detailed case for this view is made by Harris, *The Descent of Christ*, 64-197. See also his abbreviated summary in “The Ascent and Descent of Christ in Ephesians 4:9-10” *BibSac* 151 (1994): 208-212. There are also others who think that Paul is responding to the interpretive tradition represented in the Targums, such as Lincoln, “Use of the OT in Ephesians,” 18; idem, *Ephesians*, 243-44; Moritz, *A Profound Mystery*, 58-86; Ben Witherington, *The Letters to Philemon, the Colossians, and the Ephesians: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary on the Captivity Epistles* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 287-88. For a concise summary of this view see Hinkle, *Proclaiming Peace*, 82-83.

¹²⁴Harris, *The Descent of Christ*, 66. Cf. Stec, *The Targum of Psalms*, 2.

¹²⁵*Ibid.*, 92-93.

¹²⁶Harris, “The Ascent and Descent of Christ in Ephesians 4:9-10,” 209-10.

several works from the apocrypha, pseudepigrapha, and patristic writings to establish this Moses tradition with Psalm 68:18,¹²⁷ but the results were inconclusive.¹²⁸ So Harris then turns to other early sources and finds a tradition of Moses ascending to heaven to receive the Torah that can be dated as early as the first century CE, but it is not connected to Psalm 68. Building on the work of Caird¹²⁹ he surmises that “such a connection probably exists through the associations of Moses’ ascent of Sinai to receive the Torah and the celebration of the Jewish feast of Pentecost (Weeks) on the one hand, and the Christian use of Psalm 68 in connection with the first Christian Pentecost (as described in Acts 2) on the other.”¹³⁰ Paul then gathers up all these traditions surrounding Psalm 68 and reinterprets them in light of Christ’s post-resurrection ascension and subsequent descent in the form of the Spirit at Pentecost at which time he gives gifts to the church. In Moritz’s version,¹³¹ Ephesians 4:8-10 is “an early Christian polemic, formulated in response to what was perceived to be a Jewish misuse of Ps 68.18.”¹³² The notion of giving associated with Psalm 68:18 was already present in the tradition prior to Paul. In

¹²⁷He examined The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the *Book of Jubilees*, and Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Origen. See Harris, *The Descent of Christ*, 104-21.

¹²⁸He found that there was either no allusion to Ps 68:18, or, in the case of the church fathers, that it was too difficult to discern to what extent the reading in Eph 4:8 influenced their understanding of Ps 68. *Ibid.*, 121-22.

¹²⁹G. B. Caird, “The Descent of Christ in Ephesians 4, 7-11” in *Studia Evangelica II. Papers Presented to the Second International Congress on New Testament Studies held at Christ Church Oxford, 1961*, ed. F. L. Cross (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1964), 535-45.

¹³⁰Harris, *The Descent of Christ*, 196. He locates the allusion to Ps 68 specifically in Acts 2:33 (159-69). On this allusion in Acts, see also Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic*, 44-59; and Jacques Dupont, “Ascension du Christ et don de l’Esprit d’après Actes 2:33” in *Christ and Spirit in the New Testament*, ed. Barnabas Lindars and Stephen S. Smalley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 219-28.

¹³¹Moritz follows much of the argument made by Harris regarding the Jewish interpretation of Ps 68 and the connection to Pentecost, however he does not think that the descent in Eph 4:9-10 is the subsequent coming of the Spirit, but the prior incarnation of Christ. See Moritz, “The Psalms in Ephesians and Colossians,” 194.

¹³²Moritz, *A Profound Mystery*, 73. As Moritz points out, Harris does suggest his understanding to be a deliberately polemical use of Ps 68 in Eph 4, but this is a stronger theme in Moritz (*A Profound Mystery*, 79n99).

his interaction with this existing interpretive tradition surrounding Psalm 68:18, it made sense to change the wording to reflect this tradition (or appropriate the existing change if it already occurred). According to this general argument, the function (and textual modification) of Psalm 68:18 in Ephesians 4:8 is directly dependent on this existing interpretive tradition, and cannot be understood without reference to it.

What can be said in response to this argument? For Harris' theory to work, he has to be granted a lot of assumptions about the historical connections he makes between the traditions. Yet this is precisely what is being disputed at each step along the process.¹³³ The consistent Moses-typology understanding found among the rabbinic literature in reference to Psalm 68:18 is interesting, but it must be remembered that none of them actually replace "receive" with "give." It might be implied from them that Moses *received* the Torah in order to *give* it to Israel, but the earliest *textual* evidence of this change in Psalm 68:18 comes from the Targums several hundred years after Paul.¹³⁴ As recounted above, Harris admits this fact and then finds the notion of giving connected to this Psalm from its use at Pentecost. Yet here again, Hoehner points out that "the claim that [Psalm 68] is a Pentecostal psalm has little, if any evidence."¹³⁵ He goes on to note that even Jewish commentaries on Psalm 68 "make no claim that this is related to the Feast of Weeks."¹³⁶ Bock also writes, "There is no mention of Moses or the law in Acts 2, a fatal omission for those who wish to connect the Moses-Pentecost association of Judaism to the allusion of Ps. 68 here."¹³⁷ Instead of assuming that the change from "receiving" to "giving" in Ephesians 4:8 came from the Jewish tradition represented in

¹³³Ehorn, "The Use of Psalm 68(67).19 in Ephesians 4.8," 105.

¹³⁴Thielman, "Ephesians," 823.

¹³⁵Hoehner, Ephesians, 527.

¹³⁶Ibid.

¹³⁷Darrell L. Bock, *Proclamation from Prophecy and Pattern: Lucan Old Testament Christology*, JSNTSup 12 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987), 183.

the Targums to Paul, perhaps it went the other way. Thielman turns the usual assumption on its head when he writes,

Since the Targum comes from such a late period, and the christological reading of Ps. 68:18 was so widespread (e.g., Justin, *Dial.* 39.4-5), it seems at least as likely that the Targum represents a polemical response to the Christian exegesis of Ps. 68:19 MT as that it preserves a three- or four-centuries-old Jewish exegetical tradition that Paul used but that left no other clearly perceptible traces in Jewish exegetical literature.¹³⁸

Besides the problems with the textual dating and the purported liturgical uses of this tradition, it must be pointed out that “there is no hint of an anti-Moses polemic in Ephesians.”¹³⁹ If Paul’s purpose in the quote was to offer a counter-reading of this supposedly common tradition, he has made his references too subtle to serve as an adequate foil.¹⁴⁰ Harris’ view also runs into problems with the immediate commentary following the quotation in Ephesians 4:9-10. Psalm 68:18 does not mention a descent in either its OT or NT rendering. Paul introduces the descent language as an implication from the ascent (Eph 4:9). Yet, if the descent is subsequent to the ascent, why must it be a necessary inference?¹⁴¹ Could not the victorious Christ have simply stayed in his heavenly abode? And to argue that Christ descended as the Spirit seems to go against what Paul was clearly trying to emphasize with his grammar in Ephesians 4:10.¹⁴² He writes, “The one who descends is *also* the *same* one who ascended (ὁ καταβὰς αὐτός ἐστιν καὶ ὁ ἀναβὰς).” Responding by arguing that the Spirit is the Spirit of Christ in Pauline literature¹⁴³ is not persuasive and appears to be special pleading to plug a hole in a bucket of leaky arguments. But the exegetical arguments from Ephesians are all predicated on

¹³⁸Thielman, “Ephesians,” 823.

¹³⁹Gombis, “Cosmic Lordship and Divine Gift-Giving,” 370.

¹⁴⁰Hinkle, *Proclaiming Peace*, 83.

¹⁴¹Moritz, “The Psalms in Ephesians and Colossians,” 194.

¹⁴²Gombis, “Cosmic Lordship and Divine Gift-Giving,” 371.

¹⁴³Harris, *The Descent of Christ*, 182-92.

this historical reconstruction concerning the presence of an interpretive tradition with which Paul had to interact. If it cannot be established with more certainty that this Moses-typology tradition for Psalm 68:18 was even present in the first century, then I think this argument is a non-starter. I conclude that no substantial evidence exists that clearly demonstrates that Paul drew on an existing interpretive tradition. Appeals to the Targum, early rabbinic interpretations, and early Christian tradition do not adequately explain how Paul is using Psalm 68 or why he modified the wording. I agree with Thielman, who concludes, “Unless more concrete evidence appears in the future and points in another direction, it seems best to think that Paul himself changed the Greek rendering of the text to suit his argument at this point in the letter.”¹⁴⁴

It is now left to discern what Paul was doing when he changed the wording. This will allow the reader to understand how Psalm 68:18 is actually functioning in Ephesians 4.

Ephesians 4:8 as a Summary Statement of Psalm 68

Most of the ground work has been sufficiently laid for this section in the discussion of the NT and OT contexts. It is merely left to tie it all together into one coherent explanation. Answering a series of three questions will provide the format to explain the function of Psalm 68:18 in Ephesians 4:8.

Why was Paul drawn to Psalm 68 in the first place? As the reader saw in the overview of Psalm 68, the whole psalm tells of the divine warrior and his victory over his enemies. But the reason his victory elicits shouts of joy and songs of praise (Ps 68:3-4, 25-26) is because he is acting on behalf of his people. After he wins the victory the weak are cared for (Ps 68:5-6), the needy are provided for (Ps 68:10) and the spoils of

¹⁴⁴Thielman, “Ephesians,” 823.

conquest are divided and shared (Ps 68:12). His victory brings salvation to his people and he continually bears them up (Ps 68:19-20). The people rightly ascribe to him cosmic power (Ps 68:34) which he demonstrated in working on their behalf (Ps 68:28) and also in generously giving to his people (Ps 68:35). Paul is drawn to this psalm because it relates the victory of God over his enemies and the resultant benefit for his people. These are the same two important themes that were looked at earlier, namely Christ's triumph over hostile powers and gift-giving. The overall thrust of the Psalm shares the same concerns that Paul has in this context in Ephesians. His desire to establish scriptural precedent to the development of these two themes led him to call upon Psalm 68.

Why did Paul only quote from verse 18? His interest was in the whole psalm, but it was not feasible, nor necessary to quote all thirty-five verses. Paul did not need every aspect of the psalm, but he did want the two main ideas of divine victory and gift-giving to be represented. As the analysis of the structure of Psalm 68 indicated, verse 18 could reasonably be viewed as the thematic and literary center of the Psalm. As Thielman notes, "Paul's quotation comes from the psalm's triumphant climax in 68:17-18."¹⁴⁵ Not only was verse 18 at the center and climax of the psalm, but it captured in brief these relevant themes.¹⁴⁶ The language of ascension had already been introduced as an important notion in Ephesians (cf. 1:20), and in Psalm 68:18 it is tied together with triumph by the language of "taking captives captive" (cf. Eph 1:21-23). So in verse 18 Paul not only located the thematic center of the whole psalm, but also found language that matched his argument in Ephesians. The wording and themes of ascension, victory, and gifts made Psalm 68:18 a ready textual candidate to quote to correspond with Christ's

¹⁴⁵Thielman, "Ephesians," 824.

¹⁴⁶Wilder, "The Use (or Abuse) of Power in High Places," 198, makes a similar point, except in his version he identifies three important themes. I agree in principle, but I collapse the first theme, "ascension/exaltation," in with the notion of "triumph" represented by "leading captives captive."

ascension, victory, and gifts in Ephesians.

Why did Paul modify verse 18? The word “gift” was present in Psalm 68:18 (“receiving gifts among men”), but not the verbal notion of *giving* with God as the subject.¹⁴⁷ In order to fit seamlessly into the argument in Ephesians 4, Paul wanted to capture this notion of God acting on behalf of his people. The crescendo of the psalm, verse 35, draws the psalm to a conclusion. After just describing God as the one “who rides in the heavens” (Ps 68:33) and “whose power is in the skies” (Ps 68:34), verse 35 indicates that it is this God “who *gives* (δώσει Ps 67:36 LXX) power and strength to his people” (Ps 68:35). If it was not clear that the sanctuary in Psalm 68:17-18 (or even v. 24) was a heavenly abode, then by the conclusion of the Psalm no doubt is left for the reader. The author wants to transcend the historical victories of Israel’s early history to a time when all the kingdoms of the earth will sing praises to the Lord (Ps 68:32). The contrast between heaven and earth seems apparent in verses 32-33. It is from the “ancient heavens” that God sends out his mighty voice (Ps 68:33). Paul sought to capture all this by drawing in the conclusion of the Psalm and substituting the language of “giving” (δίδωμι) from the Psalm’s crescendo in place of “receiving” from the Psalm’s climax in verse 18.¹⁴⁸ “He is not simply quoting one verse – Ps. 68:19 [MT] in abstraction from the remainder of the psalm – but rather appropriating the narrative movement of the entire psalm.”¹⁴⁹ In modifying Psalm 68:18 by the influence of verse 35, Paul not only drew

¹⁴⁷Hoehner (*Ephesians*, 528) argues “that instead of trying to quote Ps 68:18 specifically, Paul is summarizing Ps 68 with words that resemble verse 18.” I agree with the thrust of what Hoehner is arguing, but I think he claims too much. The wording too closely matches most of v. 18 to say it is not a quotation. But it is clearly a modified quotation, and in that sense brings in themes which have the affect of capturing the main message of the whole psalm.

¹⁴⁸Wilder, “The Use (or Abuse) of Power in High Places,” 197-99. Gese (*Das Vermächtnis des Apostels*, 185) actually pinpoints v. 12 as the impetus for the verb change in Eph 4:8. Certainly the notion of giving spoils from the war is present there, and it might have been lurking in the background for Paul’s change, but I think looking to the influence of the conclusion of the psalm better captures the overall narrative flow.

¹⁴⁹Gombis, “Cosmic Lordship and Divine Gift-Giving,” 375. He is following the Hebrew

together the language in both verses, but he also united the themes of both halves of the psalm into one compact theological statement. God ascended in victory (Ps 68:18ab) and now gives gifts to his people (Ps 68:35b). If Paul did not modify verse 18, it would not have clearly included God's act of giving on its own. Or alternatively, if Paul chose to quote directly from verse 35, it would not have explicitly contained the language of ascension and victory which is so prominent in Ephesians. But now in this modified form Paul has brought all these ideas together. With Paul's textually modified quotation of Psalm 68:18, Ephesians 4:8 can now be understood to both capture the larger context of Psalm 68 and also seamlessly fit into the argument of Ephesians 4:7ff.

Christological Fulfillment of an Eschatological Trajectory

Another aspect of Paul's use of Psalm 68 is the way he takes a description of God in the OT and applies it to Christ in the NT. The role of Ephesians 4:9-11 as confirmation of this Christological reading will first be analyzed. And then, secondly, I will demonstrate that this Christological reading is not contrary to the context of Psalm 68, because the eschatological trajectory provides implicit permission for Paul's hermeneutical approach.

Confirmation in Ephesians 4:9-11 that Paul understood a Christological reading of Psalm 68. When Paul applies OT texts about God to Christ, it is often without explanation (as the reader saw in Romans 11:26). What makes Paul's use of Psalm 68 interesting is that he does not merely assume this application to Christ, but provides some rationale. The verses following the quotation in Ephesians 4 confirm Paul's reading of Psalm 68. He helpfully elaborates on the meaning of the quotation starting in verse 9.¹⁵⁰

versification. Similarly, Arnold writes that Paul "was probably seeking to bring out the full meaning of the text of Psalm 68 by not simply citing it verbatim from the MT (or LXX), but by explaining the sense of it" (*Ephesians*, 252).

¹⁵⁰“Although only one word from the preceding quotation of Ps 68:18 is repeated, the idiom

Paul first fixates on the language of ascension by pointing out that ascension implies a prior descent.¹⁵¹ This God who ascended to the highest is the one who first descended to the lower parts of the earth (Eph 4:9).¹⁵² “The elaboration is necessary because the writer had to explain that it was Christ who ascended and was victorious since the imagery has to do with Yahweh in Psalm 68.”¹⁵³ As I argued earlier, the textual modification left the verse with two main verbs which each encapsulate the two main themes that Paul is deriving from this Psalm, namely Christ’s triumph and his gift-giving. But the inclusion and explanation of the ascension help to focus Paul’s reading christologically. It was God as the divine warrior who triumphed and gave gifts to his people, but in the clarity of progressive revelation the Christian reader can now know it was ultimately God in Christ who first descended and then ascended to the heavenlies. This ascension was the prerequisite to his victorious triumph over the hostile enemies of Satan, sin and death. So while Paul does not repeat the language of “taking captives captive” in Ephesians 4:9ff., it is bound up with the ascension. And as I argued earlier, the whole first line of the quotation taken together communicates the theme of Christ’s victorious triumph.

If verses 9-10 elaborate on the first line (and first theme) of the quotation, then verse 11 elaborates on the second line of the quotation (and second theme).¹⁵⁴ Paul

suggests that the whole verse is under examination. In other words, the author is not asking ‘What does *he ascended* mean?’ But ‘What does the quotation from Ps 68:18 mean?’” (Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament* [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996], 238).

¹⁵¹The textual variant *πρωτον* is clearly the shorter reading. It is hard to understand why a scribe would omit it, but it is easy to understand its addition in transmission. While not likely original, it is another piece of evidence concerning how many Christian communities clearly understand this text.

¹⁵²It need not concern the reader whether or not the descent was Christ’s incarnation (the view I favor) or his descent into the grave in death (or the realm of the dead). Neither view materially affects the thesis of this dissertation or the argument of this chapter. For the former view, see Hoehner, *Ephesians*, 531-33; O’Brien, *Ephesians*, 294-96. For the latter, see Thielman, *Ephesians*, 269-72; Arnold, *Ephesians*, 253- 54. Both of these views are at odds with the understanding of a subsequent descent in the form of the Spirit at Pentecost, which was critiqued earlier.

¹⁵³Gombis, “Cosmic Lordship and Divine Gift-Giving,” 378.

¹⁵⁴“The one who ascends on high has accomplished a sovereign, victorious deed and then

stresses the continuance of the identity by repeating the emphatic pronoun, *αὐτός*. The same one who ascended on high in triumphal victory is the same one who now gives gifts to his people in the form of apostles, prophets, evangelists, and pastor-teachers. “Christ, who has extended his victory over all opposing forces and his sovereignty over all creation, is the very one who . . . now equips the church to join him in his sovereign reign over all creation (cf. 2:6; 4:15)” by giving gifted persons to the church for her edification and unity (4:12-13).¹⁵⁵ These verses immediately following the quotation in Ephesians 4:8 make explicit that Paul is reading Psalm 68 christologically. Christ is the divine warrior, who having ascended on high, has captured captives and then given gifted men for the benefit of his people.

The pertinent question that follows this analysis is whether or not Paul is justified in reading Psalm 68 with ultimate reference to Christ. Another look at features within the psalm will provide an affirmative answer.

The eschatological trajectory in Psalm 68 provides implicit permission for a Christological fulfillment. As Thielman notes, “Paul apparently found in Christ’s distribution of various gifts to his people for the unity and maturity of the church the fulfillment of the eschatology that he saw in Ps. 68.”¹⁵⁶ But what exactly was the eschatology that Paul saw in Psalm 68? What features in the text lead him to see an eschatological trajectory, instead of a simple historical recounting of Yahweh’s many victories?

The psalm describes a future time when the divine warrior will have a universal conquest. There is no question that Yahweh is the God of Israel. Psalm 68:27

distributed gifts in a generous, providential way. The ‘commentary’ in v[v. 9-]10 (on the first line) and v. 11 (on the second) corresponds to this” (Schnackenburg, *Ephesians*, 177).

¹⁵⁵Thielman, *Ephesians*, 273.

¹⁵⁶Thielman, “Ephesians,” 824.

(MT) says that God is “from the fountain of Israel” (מִמְקוֹר יִשְׂרָאֵל). In the next verse, representative tribes from all of Israel are in the procession to worship Yahweh. His temple residence is in Jerusalem (v. 29). But as the psalm goes on, “God’s universal reign is brought to the fore.”¹⁵⁷ The congregation appeals to God to expand his sovereign rule over hostile enemy nations (vv. 29-30). “The use of petition indicates that the psalmist realizes that this ideal state is not yet achieved. Its actualization, however, is never in doubt, for already the psalmist pictures kings and nations bringing gifts of homage to God” (vv. 29b, 31).¹⁵⁸ Their final submission is pictured by the invitation for “the kingdoms of the earth” to “sing praises to the Lord” (v. 32). It is clear that Psalm 68 envisions a future reality that establishes this divine warrior of Israel as the universal king.

The eschatological trajectory in Psalm 68 is also made clear by the cosmic language ascribed to this king’s rule. He “rides in the heavens” (v. 33) and his “power is in the skies” (v. 35). Heavenly power is needed when waging war against spiritual enemies. Wilson helpfully writes, “The introduction of cosmic struggle language seems to demand a sort of cosmic, eschatological fulfillment on a universal scale.”¹⁵⁹ God’s deliverance from transcendent foes such as “death” (v. 20) also paves the way for anticipating a future deliverance from the final (spiritual) death.

These descriptions come from the last half of the psalm. This fact makes it all the more clear why Paul sought to draw in the second half of the psalm by picking up language from its conclusion in verse 35. There is a progression that builds through the psalm, first to its climax in verse 18 and then even further leading up to the end.

“Whereas the first [half of the psalm] tend[s] to move progressively in the past, historical

¹⁵⁷LePeau, “Psalm 68,” 256.

¹⁵⁸Ibid.

¹⁵⁹Gerald H. Wilson, *Psalms*, Vol. 1, NIVAC (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2002), 944.

and local level of Israel's experience, the last [half of the psalm] point[s] in the direction of a future, historical level which has both universal and heavenly dimensions."¹⁶⁰

Psalm 68 looked beyond itself in the typology of God's historical victories on Israel's behalf, and also in the universal and cosmic vision of his victory.¹⁶¹ An eschatological trajectory points to the reality of the victory that God won in Christ, by conquering his greatest enemies, Satan, sin and death and thereby demonstrating his universal and cosmic supremacy. The grandest victory procession is Christ's resurrection and ascension to heaven to take his seat at God's right hand. Paul reads this psalm christologically,¹⁶² but the psalm gave implicit permission to do so, and in light of Paul's place in redemptive history, there was no other way to understand this psalm for Paul.

Conclusion

In answer to the central question of this dissertation, it is clear that Paul was not proof-texting, but rather reading Psalm 68 with a contextual and canonical sensitivity. He desired to bring forth the full force of the message of the psalm and so quoted from its center and modified its wording to encapsulate the whole psalm and fit it into his context in Ephesians 4. As Wilcock helpfully summarizes, "When Paul refers to half a verse from this psalm, we should not imagine that he is lifting a dozen words out of their context to suit his own purposes. On the contrary, that one sentence distills the entire psalm, which is what the apostle has in mind in quoting it."¹⁶³ Far from reversing the meaning of the OT text, the textual modifications actually serve to more fully bring out the meaning of the

¹⁶⁰Penner, "The Enthronement Motif in Ephesians," 91.

¹⁶¹Wilson writes, "The theophanic approach of God in Psalm 68 traces the same steps" as God's history of dwelling with his people, "but raises the experience to the eschatological extreme" (*Psalms*, 946).

¹⁶²Horton, "Ephesians 4:1-16: The Ascension, the Church, and the Spoils of War," 137n24; Arnold, *Ephesians*, 246, 248.

¹⁶³Michael Wilcock, *The Message of Psalms 1-72: Songs for the People of God*, BST (Leicester: InterVarsity Press, 2001), 238.

original context.

In light of these textual modifications some have labeled Paul's hermeneutical approach in Ephesians 4:8 as *midrash*. This term derives from the Hebrew word *דרש*, meaning "to seek, investigate," i.e. "to interpret." In technical usage it refers to a method in Jewish interpretation, especially in rabbinic literature. It is a general term encompassing an array of hermeneutical devices.¹⁶⁴ I have avoided using the label to describe Paul's exegetical method in the analysis above because it seems to mean different things to different people.¹⁶⁵ Some scholars clearly intend it to be an accurate description of a non-contextual exegesis by Paul and so assign it as an appropriate label for what Paul is doing in Ephesians 4:8.¹⁶⁶ Others recognize that the term *midrash* often has this non-contextual connotation, yet because they analyze Paul's approach differently, they explicitly deny that it is accurate to apply the label of *midrash* here. Wilder argues that Paul's adaptation of Psalm 68:18 in Ephesians 4:8 "actually emerges from a close reading of OT passages within their immediate and canonical contexts and in view of their fulfillment in Christ and the church."¹⁶⁷ It is therefore *not* accurate to describe Paul's hermeneutical approach as "midrashic disregard for the sense of the text."¹⁶⁸ Still others, though they seem to acknowledge this non-contextual connotation, nevertheless attempt to redeem the *midrash* label by qualifying it.¹⁶⁹ In reference to

¹⁶⁴For a helpful introduction see the discussion in Richard Longenecker, *Biblical Exegesis in the Apostolic Period*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 18-24.

¹⁶⁵It is not uncommon for scholars to describe various Pauline passages as an instance of midrashic interpretation. Yet I agree with Hays when he writes, "In many cases, however, it is not at all clear what such affirmations are supposed to mean." Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 1989), 10.

¹⁶⁶Longenecker, *Biblical Exegesis in the Apostolic Period*, 107-8. Cf. also Fitzmyer, "The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations," 325.

¹⁶⁷Wilder, "The Use (or Abuse) of Power in High Places," 199.

¹⁶⁸Ibid.

¹⁶⁹Pickup might serve as another example when he writes that "Paul is reading the psalm

Ephesians 4:8, Penner writes, “In form this is like a Midrash-pesher, *but it does not add a foreign meaning to the text.*”¹⁷⁰ Similarly, Taylor describes Ephesians 4:8 as a “restricted form of Midrash pesher.”¹⁷¹ And again, at the end of his analysis, he concludes that Paul’s approach to the OT in this passage is “in keeping with common Midrash pesher techniques, *but in a way that avoids the excesses* to which the method was pushed by some nonbiblical writers.”¹⁷²

I avoided using language of *midrash* because of this ambiguity. Hays writes, “The difficulty with this usage [i.e. ascriptions of the *midrash* label] lies in its simultaneous imprecision and authoritative mysteriousness: the label *midrash* tends to bring the interpretive process to a halt, as though it had explained something, when in fact we should keep pressing for clarity.”¹⁷³ For the analysis in this chapter I preferred to describe the phenomena as they appear and suggest the warrant for their origin and function. An appeal to these Jewish interpretive methods might indicate that there is some precedent, but it does not explain the logic in Paul’s mind as to the legitimacy of the interpretation.¹⁷⁴ Hays’ words of caution are again helpful here. He writes, “The term *midrash* can serve as a convenient cover for a multitude of exegetical sins. One frequently finds Christian commentators explaining away their embarrassment over some piece of fanciful Pauline exegesis by noting solemnly that this is midrash, as though the

midrashically, which in this case means that he is reading it within the context of God’s final revelation concerning Jesus Christ” (“New Testament Interpretation of the Old Testament,” 368). In writing this, he is qualifying Paul’s *midrash* as distinctively Christian in approach.

¹⁷⁰Penner, “The Enthronement Motif in Ephesians,” 99 (emphasis added).

¹⁷¹Taylor, “Psalm 68:18 in Ephesians in Light of the Ancient Versions,” 328.

¹⁷²Ibid., 336 (emphasis added).

¹⁷³Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*, 13-14.

¹⁷⁴Timothy Lim questions whether it is ever an appropriate label for Paul’s exegetical methods because, despite some similarities, it did not yet exist as a distinct hermeneutical approach. Timothy H. Lim, “Midrash Pesher in the Pauline Letters,” in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Craig A. Evans (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 280-92.

wholesome Hebrew label could render Paul's arbitrariness kosher."¹⁷⁵ Therefore *midrash* is not a helpful term here both because of the ambiguity of its meaning and also because there is no arbitrariness in Paul's usage that needs to be explained away. Paul's reading of Psalm 68 in Ephesians 4:8 has proven to evidence sensitivity to both the immediate context of the psalm and also the larger canonical context in light of the coming of Christ.

¹⁷⁵Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*, 13. For examples of commentators making the appeal to *midrash* for Eph 4:8, see Lincoln, *Ephesians*, 243; Witherington, *The Letters to Philemon, the Colossians, and the Ephesians*, 287.

CHAPTER 4

ISAIAH 25:8 AND HOSEA 13:14 IN 1 CORINTHIANS 15:54-55

Introduction

At the climax of Paul's chapter on the resurrection in 1 Corinthians 15 appears the familiar OT quotation in verses 54-55. These verses pose a particular challenge in understanding how Paul is using the OT for several reasons. First, it is a compound quote, consisting of two different passages. But unlike what the reader observed in Romans 11:26-27, the two passages utilized by Paul in 1 Corinthians 15:54-55 actually come from two different OT books, namely Isaiah 25:8 and Hosea 13:14. Second, the wording differs at some crucial points in the quotation from both the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint. This raises questions concerning what texts Paul might have been quoting and also what changes he introduced. Of special note is the fact that "victory" is one of the key words that links these two passages together in Paul's quotation, yet it is not found in either the MT or the LXX of either passage. Third, and probably the most significant challenge related to the thesis of this dissertation, is the contextual differences between the passages in their OT context and how Paul utilizes them in the NT context. The NT context of this quotation culminates in celebration of "the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ" (1 Cor 15:57), yet as was just mentioned, the word "victory" is not even found in the OT version of these passages. However, even more problematic than the absence of certain words is the overall meaning of the second part of the quotation from Hosea 13:14. The words which Paul quotes seem to be originally part of a judgment oracle summoning death to punish God's people, whereas in 1 Corinthians 15:55 they are taunting the impotency of death as part of an exclamation of salvation for God's people.

It is this latter fact in particular that led Moyise to conclude, “Paul does *not* respect the context of his quotations from Hosea.”¹ Similarly, Malan writes that Paul “attached an interpretation contrary to that of Hosea,”² which he later describes as “even revers[ing] the original meaning.”³ Fitzmyer likewise takes issue with both the word substitution of “victory” and also the different purposes the verses serve in their respective OT and NT settings. He writes that Paul is “radically changing the sense of Hosea’s words in the first of the clauses quoted. He uses the words in an entirely different meaning, not only changing a key word, but wresting the sayings from their original context to serve his own purpose.”⁴

While some other scholars would not characterize Paul’s use of the OT in 1 Corinthians 15:54-55 in quite the pessimistic manner that Fitzmyer, Moyise, and Malan do, they too seem to admit this discrepancy in the respective OT and NT contexts of the quotation. Hays surmises that Paul’s use of Hosea 13:14 only “seems at first glance to pull the scriptural material out of its context,” yet in his ensuing discussion he still maintains that Paul “transforms” Hosea’s words.⁵ In similar fashion Dearman’s judgment

¹Steve Moyise, “Does Paul Respect the Context of His Quotations? Hosea as Test Case” in *What Does the Scripture Say? Studies in the Function of Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity: Volume 2: The Letters and Liturgical Traditions*, ed. Craig A. Evans and H. Daniel Zacharias (London: T&T Clark, 2012), 49 (emphasis original). This statement by Moyise is a concluding summary after investigating both Hos 13:14 in 1 Cor 15:55 and also Hos 2:23/1:10 in Rom 9:25-26. He goes on to add some qualifications to this bare statement; nevertheless, this is his answer to the question posed in the title of his article. Steve Moyise also expressed the same notion in an earlier essay when he wrote that Paul’s use of Hos 13:14 in 1 Cor 15:55 was “contrary to the original meaning” (“The Minor Prophets in Paul” in *The Minor Prophets in the New Testament*, ed. Maarten J. J. Menken and Steve Moyise [New York: T & T Clark, 2009], 112). Cf. also Roy A. Harrisville, *1 Corinthians*, ACNT (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1987), 281.

²F. S. Malan, “The Use of the Old Testament in 1 Corinthians” in *Relationship Between the Old and New Testament*, ed. D. Van der Waal (Bloemfontein, South Africa: New Testament Society of South Africa, 1981), 163.

³Ibid., 165.

⁴Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AYB 32 (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 607.

⁵Richard B. Hays, *First Corinthians*, Interpretation 43 (Louisville: John Knox Press, 1997),

is that Hosea's words are "reframed" by Paul.⁶ Speaking of the meaning of the passages as being *transformed* or *reframed* still seems to betray some level of incongruity between the original meaning and Paul's intention for the same words. What is to be made of this apparent divergence?

This chapter will argue that even though the words in the quotation are serving different purposes in their respective OT and NT contexts, Paul is not disregarding the original meaning in his application of them in 1 Corinthians 15. To make this case the subsequent analysis will follow the same methodology as the preceding two chapters. The NT context will be examined first, then the OT context, which in turn will provide the necessary foundation to determine the function of the quotation and whether or not it is contrary to the original context.

New Testament Context

Paul utilizes the OT texts to further his argument in 1 Corinthians 15. To understand how this quotation functions it is first necessary to establish the NT context of the citation in verses 54-55. The NT context will be examined by considering both the antecedent and subsequent verses surrounding the quotation, as well as a detailed textual analysis of the words in the quotation itself.

Antecedent Context

The important aspects of the antecedent context of the quotation include, first, Paul's description of death as the last enemy (v. 26), then the mystery of the transformation at the *parousia* (vv. 50-53), and lastly, the introductory formula in verse 54 for the ensuing quotation.

276. Cf. also Roy E. Ciampa and Brian S. Rosner, *The First Letter to the Corinthians*, PNTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 834.

⁶Andrew J. Dearman, *The Book of Hosea*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 331.

Death as the last enemy. A prominent feature of the quotation in 1 Corinthians 15:54-55 is the personification of death as a militaristic enemy. However, that theme was introduced earlier in the chapter, when Paul describes death as “the last enemy to be destroyed” in verse 26. In the context Paul is arguing against those who were denying a resurrection of the dead (v. 12). Starting in verse 20 he is making a positive argument for the resurrection of believers based on the prior resurrection of Jesus. Jesus constituted “the firstfruits” of the resurrection to come for all believers (vv. 20, 23). The gap in time between when Christ was resurrected at his first coming and the resurrection of all “those who have fallen asleep” (v. 20) at his second coming does not diminish the certainty of what is to come. Paul argues that there is a proper order to how these events unfold.⁷ Christ’s resurrection has come first, and only “at his (second) coming [will] those who belong to Christ” be resurrected (v. 23).

Paul presents these eschatological events as the end of the overarching redemptive drama. Death came upon all through one man, and so in Adam all die (vv. 21-22). Christ’s work has been a process of undoing this cosmic damage from the beginning. Adam brought death, but Christ brings life. But it does not all happen at once. It is not until his return at the end that he destroys all competing powers (v. 24). Death has not yet been finally conquered as evidenced by the fact that all people, including “those who belong to Christ” (v. 23) still die. Even though Christ broke the power of sin by defeating death in his resurrection, there remains an unresolved tension. Without the resurrection of the dead, there can be no claim to final victory over sin. But once all Christians are resurrected at the end, death will be “robbed of its victims.”⁸ The undoing of the creation curse will be finalized once death itself is dead. In this way, the resurrection of all

⁷Hays (*First Corinthians*, 264) likens this proper “order” (τάγμα in v. 23) to a two stage military assault on death by God.

⁸David E. Garland, *1 Corinthians*, BECNT (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2003), 712.

believers is necessary to complete the victory won at the cross. The main concern of the passage is not the final condition of the redeemed *per se*, but the role their resurrection will play in proving that all things have finally been brought under subjection to Christ so “that God may be all in all” (v. 28).⁹

Mystery of transformation at the *parousia*. In speaking of the resurrection of the dead, the question naturally arises concerning the fate of those who have not yet died. Paul first summarizes his previous argument (vv. 35-49) in verse 50, “flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, nor does the perishable inherit the imperishable.” But how will those alive at the end obtain the imperishable body they need for their heavenly existence? The “mystery” (μυστήριον), which was previously hidden, is revealed in verse 51, “We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed.” At Christ’s return, the last “trumpet will sound, and the dead will be raised imperishable, and we shall be changed” (vv. 51-52; cf. 1 Thess 4:13-17). Both the dead and the living will be fitted with imperishable and immortal bodies (v. 53), which are suitable for the glory of heaven. The first through a resurrection from the dead, and the second by being “changed” (ἀλλαγησόμεθα, v. 52). “The mystery is that *even the living will undergo transformation into a new form*, receiving their resurrection bodies without having to pass through death.”¹⁰

The transformation into new bodies is “necessary” (δεῖ, v. 53) for believers both to inherit the kingdom of God (v. 50) and also to complete the victory over death (vv. 54-55). “‘Death’ as a personified, militaristic enemy (15:26) in the apocalyptic-

⁹“Paul’s main point here is that the last enemy, death, cannot remain, for then all things would not have been placed in submission under his (Christ’s) feet.” Anthony C. Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 1236 (emphasis original).

¹⁰Hays, *First Corinthians*, 274 (emphasis original). While Paul is stressing the transformation of all believers, both the dead and those living at the time of the *parousia*, “it is probably this latter reality that is the content of the ‘mystery’” (Gordon D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, NICNT [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987], 801).

eschatological battle for control of creation”¹¹ could be thought of as the victor over God if believers remained unchanged from the effects of the curse and hence held by death’s power. “By rendering human beings corruptible, ‘death’ could claim ‘victory’ in the final battle by making it impossible for them to inherit the incorruptible kingdom of God.”¹² That is why it is necessary, in verse 53, for “this mortal body to put on immortality” (τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι ἀθανασίαν) as a precursor to a declaration of victory over death in the following verses.

Introductory formula. Beginning with the words ὅταν δὲ, in verse 54 Paul moves the discussion forward from simply stating the necessity for this transformation to a statement of certainty that it will happen.¹³ The unambiguous declaration of victory over death comes from the OT words quoted in verses 54d-55. Like many of Paul’s quotations, he utilizes an introductory formula as a lead-in to this OT text. However, this particular formula is unique in that it is “the only place in his letters where Paul cites an OT text as a prophecy yet to be fulfilled.”¹⁴ The grammar of the introductory formula confirms that the fulfillment is still a future expectation. The τότε coordinates with the ὅταν.¹⁵ *When* the transformation takes place at the second coming, only *then* will the OT prophecy be fulfilled. Note also the future tense of the verb γενήσεται. The declaration of death’s final defeat *will happen*, but not until all the believers have been changed from

¹¹John Paul Heil, *The Rhetorical Role of Scripture in 1 Corinthians* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 254.

¹²Ibid., 254-55.

¹³Ibid., 256. Garland (*1 Corinthians*, 744) also writes, “[Paul] moves from what ‘must’ take place (15:53) to what will take place.”

¹⁴Ben Witherington, *Conflict and Community in Corinth: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary on 1 and 2 Corinthians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 310. Cf. also Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 803.

¹⁵Hans Conzelman, *1 Corinthians*, trans. James W. Leitch (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), 292.

corruptible to incorruptible bodies at Christ's return.¹⁶

Also worthy of attention is that the introductory formula describes the following OT quotation as *ὁ λόγος ὁ γεγραμμένος*. The singular *ὁ λόγος* is used, even though the citation comes from two different OT passages. Some have posited that the reference for the singular *ὁ λόγος* is principally concerned with only the first of the two OT passages, namely Isaiah 25:8,¹⁷ however, Paul has tightly stitched these two passages together to create his own prophetic rendering (more on this later). Another take on this sort of suggestion is that only the first OT passage (Isa 25:8) is actually the quotation, whereas Paul merely alludes to Hosea 13:14 in the next two lines of text.¹⁸ The basis for this claim seems to be that there are modifications to the Hosea passages that make it unfit for classifying as a direct quotation. However, even with the modifications, the wording is too similar to the LXX text not to consider these words to be directly drawn from Hosea 13:14 (as will be demonstrated). These suggestions seem to be driven more by interpretive concerns over how the context of Hosea 13:14 fits with the context of 1 Corinthians 15:55, rather than with the discrepancies in the wording itself (this too will be addressed later in the chapter). The singular “word” (*ὁ λόγος*) refers to all three lines of the quotation, encompassing both OT passages as “written” (*γεγραμμένος*) scripture.¹⁹

Subsequent Context

The verses immediately following the quotation are important for

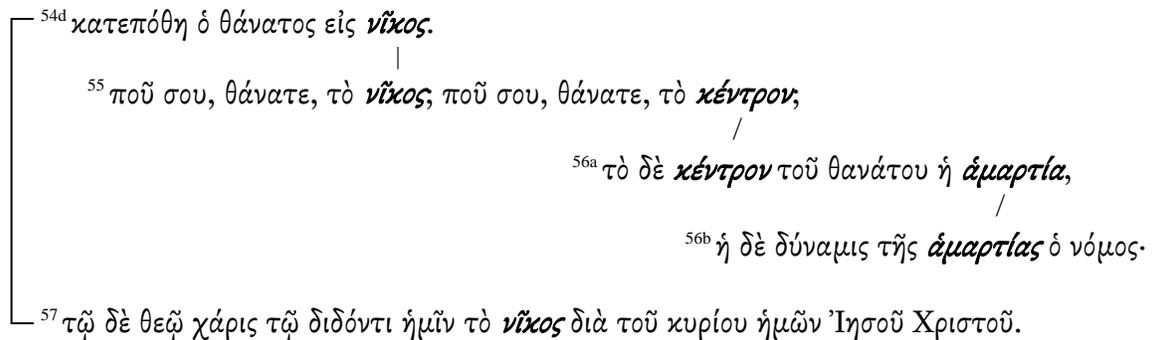
¹⁶For more on the future projection of the introductory formula, see Wolfgang Schrage, *Der Erste Brief an die Korinther*, vol. 4, *1 Kor 15, 1-16, 24*, EKKNT 7 (Zürich: Benziger; Neukirchener-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2001), 378-79.

¹⁷Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 803.

¹⁸C. K. Barrett considers the reference to Hos 13:14 as only an allusion. He claims that Paul “is not however here grounding an argument upon Scripture, but writing freely, in scriptural language” (*A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, HNTC [New York: Harper & Row, 1968], 383).

¹⁹Raymond F. Collins writes, “Paul cites the two verses almost as if they were one. There is only one introductory lemma for both [of the OT texts], and they run on as if one continued the other” (*First Corinthians*, *Sacra Pagina* 7 [Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1999], 577).

understanding Paul’s rationale for the function of the OT citation, so they will be examined in more detail in the latter section of this chapter. For the purposes of this section, it is important to note how tightly integrated Paul’s textual modifications of the quotation are with the subsequent context. “By way of step parallelism, the sequence of thought moves from a quotation of Isa 25:8 in verse 54, to a quotation in verse 55 of Hos 13:14, and then to a statement in verse 56 regarding death, sin, and law. The final term in each line becomes the key word that leads to the phrase found on the next rung.”²⁰ After the step parallelism ends with mention of ὁ νόμος (v. 56b), Paul circles back to the initial note he sounded with the theme of victory in verse 57.²¹ Vlachos lays out the thought progression as follows:²²



The theme of victory, and particularly victory over death through Jesus Christ, is certainly the dominant theme of this section. It is also the common word that links the two OT texts together. Paul’s climatic statement in verse 57 reveals the prominence that he is attributing to the theme of “victory” over death in this section. That is why it is all the more interesting that νῖκος (or its Hebrew equivalent) is not found in either the MT or

²⁰Chris A. Vlachos, “Law, Sin, and Death: An Edenic Triad? An Examination with Reference to 1 Corinthians 15:56,” *JETS* 48 (2004): 279.

²¹Ibid.

²²Chris A. Vlachos, *The Law and the Knowledge of Good and Evil: The Edenic Background of the Catalytic Operation of the Law in Paul* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2009), 60; and idem, “Law, Sin, and Death,” 279.

LXX of either Isaiah 25:8 or Hosea 13:14, even though the word is key for his argument. These OT texts would not be as useful for Paul here if they did not serve this rhetorical end. Verse 56 also demonstrates that Paul has particular interest in the wording of the second part of the quote from Hosea 13:14 too. He pivots off the last word of the quotation, κέντρον (v. 55b), to segue into his explanatory comments in verse 56. So Paul draws on specific words from both components (i.e. both of the two OT passages) of his restructured OT quotation. The ensuing textual analysis of the quotation will provide more clarity on the specific form of this OT quotation. But this examination of the subsequent context helps the reader to realize that the specific wording of the quotation as it appears in 1 Corinthians 15:54-55 is important for Paul's argument.

Textual Analysis of the Quotation in 1 Corinthians 15:54-55

As was previously mentioned, there are key differences in the form of the quotation in 1 Corinthians 15:54-55 and how these OT passages appear in both the MT and LXX. It is important to establish what the textual modifications are and also what accounts for them.

What textual modifications have been made? There are several ways that one could distinguish and identify the various textual modifications of this OT citation, but I have singled out seven different modifications for the following discussion.²³

The first textual modification is perhaps the most obvious. The OT quotation in 1 Corinthians 15:54-55 is the result of combining lines from two different OT passages.

²³For a discussion of the various textual modifications, see especially Christopher D. Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture: Citation Technique in the Pauline Epistles and Contemporary Literature* (Cambridge: University Press, 1992), 209-15; Robert Bruce Hughes, "Textual and Hermeneutical Aspects of Paul's Use of the Old Testament in 1 and 2 Corinthians" (PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 1978), 246-52; Gleason L. Archer and G. C. Chirichigno, *Old Testament Quotations in the New Testament: A Complete Survey* (Chicago: Moody, 1983), 101-3, 146-47; and Heil, *The Rhetorical Role of Scripture in 1 Corinthians*, 247-51.

The last line of 1 Corinthians 15:54 is drawn from the first line of Isaiah 25:8. And the two lines that constitute 1 Corinthians 15:55 are drawn from the third and fourth lines (out of five) of Hosea 13:14 (see table 6).

Table 6. 1 Corinthians 15:54-55 consists of the combination of two OT texts

Key: normal introductory formula (lightly shaded to distinguish from the OT citation)
bold quoted text
italic not quoted

1 Cor 15	NA ²⁸	Isa 25	LXX
54a	<p>ὅταν δὲ τὸ φθαρτὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσῃται ἀφθαρσίαν</p> <p>καὶ τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσῃται ἀθανασίαν,</p> <p>τότε γενήσεται ὁ λόγος ὁ γεγραμμένος· κατεπόθη ὁ θάνατος εἰς νίκος.</p>		
54b			
54c			
54d			8a κατέπιεν ὁ θάνατος ἰσχύσας 8b <i>καὶ πάλιν ἀφείλεν ὁ θεὸς πᾶν δάκρυον ἀπὸ παντὸς προσώπου</i> 8c <i>τὸ ὄνειδος τοῦ λαοῦ ἀφείλεν ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς γῆς</i> 8d <i>τὸ γὰρ στόμα κυρίου ἐλάλησεν</i>
		Hos 13	
55a	<p>ποῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ νίκος;</p> <p>ποῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ κέντρον;</p>	14a <i>ἐκ χειρὸς ἄδου ρύσομαι αὐτοὺς</i> 14b <i>καὶ ἐκ θανάτου λυτρώσομαι αὐτοὺς</i> 14c ποῦ ἡ δίκη σου θάνατε 14d ποῦ τὸ κέντρον σου ἄδη 14e <i>παράκλησις κέκρυπται ἀπὸ ὀφθαλμῶν μου</i>	
55b			

The next three textual modifications all concern the portion from Isaiah 25:8a quoted in 1 Corinthians 15:54d. First, there is variance in the form of the verb, which affects both its voice and its tense. The MT has the Piel perfect **יִשָּׂא**, which all the modern English translations render with an active voice and future tense, “will swallow up.”²⁴

²⁴The English translations that I consulted include the ESV, NRSV, NASB, NIV, HCSB, NET, 160

The LXX translates the Hebrew with the Aorist active *κατέπιεν*, which the NETS version renders with the simple past tense, “swallowed up.” However, in Paul’s version in 1 Corinthians 15:54d the verb is the Aorist passive *κατεπόθη*. The next modification stems from how the verb is rendered and concerns a variation in the subject of the verb. The first two words of Isaiah 25:8a in the MT read *תִּמְנַחַּ עֲלֵיבָ*, with “God” as the implied subject (carried over from v. 6) of the third person verb *עֲלֵיבָ* and *תִּמְנַחַּ* as the object of the active verb. The LXX has *κατέπιεν* with *ὁ θάνατος* as the explicit subject (in the nominative case), and no explicit object of the verb (probably the object is *πάντα τὰ ἔθνη* from the end of v. 7). The text in 1 Corinthians 15:54d agrees with the LXX by making *ὁ θάνατος* the explicit subject (in the nominative case), but in effect it agrees with the MT because of the passive verb *κατεπόθη*. So, even though “death” is the subject of the verb, it is the thing being “swallowed up” in the NT. The last textual discrepancy in the first line of the quotation concerns the adverbial modifier. The MT has *קַצְנִלְ*, which most modern English translations render as “forever,”²⁵ and is most frequently translated with the temporal *εἰς τέλος*²⁶ or *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα χρόνον*²⁷ in the LXX. However, the LXX here has the adverbial participle *ἰσχύσας*. And again, the NT disagrees with both the MT and the LXX by using the prepositional phrase *εἰς νίκης* as the adverbial modifier.

The last three textual modifications involve the second of the two OT texts quoted by Paul, namely Hosea 13:14.²⁸ The first change in reference to this passage is the

JPS, NLT, KJV, and NKJV.

²⁵The KJV is a notable exception with the reading “in victory.”

²⁶Job 14:20; 20:7; 23:7; Ps 9:7, 19, 32 (10:11 MT); 43:24 (44:24 MT); 48:10 (49:10 MT); 51:7 (52:7 MT); 67:17 (68:17 MT); 73:1 (74:1 MT), 10 (74:10 MT), 19 (74:19 MT); 76:9 (77:9 MT); 78:5 (79:5 MT); 88:47 (89:47 MT); 102:9 (103:9 MT); Hab 1:4.

²⁷Isa 13:20; 33:20; 34:10; Jer 27:39 (50:39 MT). The last reference lacks *χρόνον*.

²⁸Moyise (“The Minor Prophets in Paul,” 111) delineates four textual changes for this passage by counting Paul’s retention of the LXX’s rendering of *בִּצְרָה* as *κέντρον* in Hos 13:14d/1 Cor 15:55b.

However, even though *בִּצְרָה* more generally means “destruction” (Deut 32:24; Ps 91:6; Isa 28:2), *κέντρον* (“sting”) is a possible translation, which Moyise admits (“The Minor Prophets in Paul,” 111n38). For

most significant. The MT in Hosea 13:14c is summoning death to bring דְּבַרִּים (‘‘plagues’’/‘‘pestilence’’),²⁹ whereas the LXX has ἡ δίκη (‘‘sentence’’/‘‘judgment’’). Again, the NT citation in 1 Corinthians 15:55a diverges from both rather dramatically with the reading τὸ νίκος (‘‘victory’’). The next textual modification is a word substitution in the second line of the quotation. Hosea 13:14d addresses שְׂאוֹל (‘‘Sheol’’) in the MT and its Greek equivalent ἕδης (‘‘Hades’’) in the LXX. But in 1 Corinthians 15:55b, Paul addresses θάνατε (‘‘death’’) a second time. The last textual change is a variation in word order for both lines of the Hosea 13 text. While the interrogative is the initial word in the MT, LXX and Greek NT, the NT text differs from both the MT and LXX in word order with the other words in these two lines. The NT advances the possessive pronoun σου and the vocative in both lines (see table 7 for a display of the textual modifications concerning Hos 13:14cd).

Table 7. Textual divergences between the MT and the LXX cited in 1 Corinthians 15:55

Key: single underline MT ≠ LXX ≠ NT for word substitution
dotted underline MT = LXX ≠ NT for word substitution
italic MT = LXX ≠ NT for word order (only the divergent NT section is marked)

Hos	MT	LXX	1 Cor	NA ²⁸
13:14c	אֱהִי דְבַרִּיךְ מוֹת	ποῦ ἡ δίκη σου θάνατε	15:55a	ποῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ νίκος,
13:14d	אֱהִי קַטְבְּךְ שְׂאוֹל	ποῦ τὸ κέντρον σου ἕδης	15:55b	ποῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ κέντρον,

confirmation, see HALOT, s.v. קָטַב, 1092.3. NIDOTTE, vol. 3, s.v. קָטַב, 909, also offers the gloss, ‘‘destructive sting or plague.’’

²⁹The form as it appears in the text is a construct with the plural possessive pronoun, דְּבַרִּיךְ.

What accounts for the modifications? Identifying the various textual modifications is relatively straightforward. The more difficult task is offering a rationale for their origin. In this section I will seek to determine the reason for the textual modifications and specifically the role Paul had in the final form of his text. Each of the seven textual modifications described above will be analyzed in the order they were presented.

In reference to the first modification, namely the combination of texts, Stanley writes, “there is no evidence to suggest that anyone had combined these two passages from Isaiah and Hosea into a single citation prior to Paul.”³⁰ He goes on to state that Paul stitched together parts of Isaiah 25:8 and Hosea 13:14 “through a series of thoughtful adaptations to form a coherent, well-rounded rhetorical unit with a single, transparent theme.”³¹ The result of this combination gives Paul’s reader “no indication that vv. 54b-55 might represent anything other than a continuous quotation from a single biblical passage.”³² With the absence of evidence to the contrary, it seems quite clear that Paul was the one who brought these two texts together to serve his argument in 1 Corinthians 15.³³

The three modifications to Isaiah 25:8a need to be treated together because they are interdependent changes and, as I will argue, likely originate from the same source. To understand why Paul would depart from the LXX (and MT) in his quotation, it is first helpful to understand how the LXX had already departed from the Hebrew. Formally speaking, in the MT הַמְּנִיחַ could be either the subject or the object of בִּלְעַ (especially without a direct object marker). All the modern English translations that I

³⁰Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, 209.

³¹Ibid.

³²Ibid.

³³Cf. also Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 1299; Heil, *The Rhetorical Role of Scripture in 1 Corinthians*, 251.

consulted (see note 23) render *הַמָּוֹת* as the object, with an implied “God” as the subject of the third person verb *בָּלַע*. The LXX read the grammar differently. Either the subject or object of the verb is implied in the MT, and the LXX chose to read an implied object by making the subject *ὁ θάνατος*. Intentional or not, this is almost surely a departure from the MT. The chapter begins by addressing God in the second person (*יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי אֲתָהּ* in Isa 25:1), but it switches to third person beginning in verse 6. The third person verbs from verse 6 through verse 8 all have *יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת* (v. 6) as their subject. Also there is a tight thematic and lexical connection between these verses that carries the same subject forward for each verb. In verse 6 the Lord of Hosts (*יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת*) makes (*וַעֲשֶׂה*) a banquet “on this mountain” (*בְּהַר הַזֶּה*), and then in verse 7 he will swallow up (*וּבָלַע*) the covering “on this mountain” (*בְּהַר הַזֶּה*). And then verse 8 begins with the same third person verb as verse 7, (*בלַע*). So, lexically and thematically verse 6 links to verse 7 and then verse 7 links with verse 8. From this analysis it seems clear that the English translations correctly read the Hebrew “death” (*הַמָּוֹת*) as the object of *בָּלַע* and “God” as the implied subject.

The other departure that the LXX made from the Hebrew is how it rendered the adverbial modifier *לְנֶצַח*. As I noted above, it is usually rendered in the LXX with a temporal prepositional phrase, which represents the Hebrew meaning of “forever” well.³⁴ But in this instance it is represented by the adverbial participle *ἰσχύσας*. This too seems to be both a departure from the meaning in the MT and the usual way that it is translated in the LXX. In fact, nowhere else in the LXX is *לְנֶצַח* translated with *ἰσχύσας*.³⁵ Not only that, but with *ἰσχύσας* modifying the action and with “death” performing the action (as the subject of the active verb), it seems to reverse the sense of the Hebrew text. In the LXX, death swallowed up all the nations because it “prevailed/was strong”³⁶ as opposed to

³⁴HALOT, s.v. *נֶצַח*, 716.2.c

³⁵Although see 1 Chr 15:21 where *לְנֶצַח* is translated with *τοῦ ἐνισχύσαι*.

³⁶The NETS translates Isa 25:8a as “Death, *having prevailed*, swallowed them up.” And Heil

being defeated by God forever in the MT. So while the LXX is often the base text from which Paul quotes, in this case it was deemed unacceptable. Some scholars, therefore, suggest that Paul created his own independent rendering of the Hebrew in 1 Corinthians 15:54d.³⁷ However, the fact that Paul’s wording is identical to that of Theodotion (in Uncial Q) raises some other possibilities.³⁸ In fact, it is instructive to consider how each of the Hexaplaric Greek versions renders Isaiah 25:8a (see table 8).³⁹

Though the Hexaplaric Greek versions differ from each other, they each attest to the same consonantal Hebrew text.⁴⁰ “All three revisers were attempting to correct what to them was a faulty rendering of the Hebrew on the part of the LXX translator.”⁴¹ The differences between each of these versions can be attributed to various translation choices they made in reference to: (1) the vocalization and syntax of בָּלַע and (2) the

Table 8. Isaiah 25:8a in MT, LXX, and NA²⁸ with the Hexaplaric Greek Versions

offers the translation, “*Being strong* death has swallowed up [all the nations]” (*The Rhetorical Role of Scripture in 1 Corinthians*, 248).

³⁷Barrett, *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 382; and C. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch, *Isaiah*, Commentary on the Old Testament, vol. 7, trans. James Martin (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969), 440.

³⁸The agreement between 1 Cor 15:54d and the Isa 25:8a text from Theodotion is sometimes understated. Ciampa and Rosner (*The First Letter to the Corinthians*, 832) as well as Jonathan D. H. Norton (*Contours in the Text: Textual Variation in the Writings of Paul, Josephus and the Yahad* [New York: T & T Clark, 2011], 147) write that they are “close” in wording. However, Heil (*The Rhetorical Role of Scripture in 1 Corinthians*, 249) is more accurate when he writes, “The Theodotion version in uncial Q is identical to the Pauline version” (emphasis added).

³⁹This information can be found in Field, 2.472, and also reproduced in Hughes, “Textual and Hermeneutical Aspects of Paul’s Use of the Old Testament in 1 and 2 Corinthians,” 247; Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, 210; Heil, *The Rhetorical Role of Scripture in 1 Corinthians*, 248-49; Hans Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, trans. James W. Leitch, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), 292; Florian Wilk, *Die Bedeutung des Jesajabuches für Paulus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 20; Rodolphe Morissette, “Un Midrash Sur La Mort (1 Cor., xv, 54c à 57)” *RB* 79, no. 2 (April 1972): 169; and Norton, *Contours in the Text*, 145-47.

⁴⁰I gratefully acknowledge a dependence for this following section on the text-critical assistance of John Meade, both through personal correspondence and also his forthcoming article. See John D. Meade, “Latter Prophets Section 6-9.1.5: Hexaplaric Greek Translations” in *The Textual History of the Bible*, ed. Armin Lange (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

⁴¹Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, 210.

Source	Extant Version	English Translation
MT	בִּלְעַ הַמּוֹת לְנֶצַח	He will swallow up death forever
LXX	κατέπιεν ὁ θάνατος ἰσχύσας	Being strong, death swallowed up [all the nations]
NA ²⁸	κατεπόθη ὁ θάνατος εἰς νίκος	Death is swallowed up in victory
Theodotion (Q)	κατεπόθη ὁ θάνατος εἰς νίκος	Death is swallowed up in victory
Theodotion (Syh)	κατέπιεν ὁ θάνατος εἰς νίκος	Death has swallowed up [all the nations] in victory
Aquila	καταποντίσει τὸν θάνατον εἰς νίκος	He will swallow up death in victory
Symmachus	καταποθῆναι ποιήσει τὸν θάνατον εἰς τέλος	He will make death to be swallowed up forever

meaning of לנצח. With respect to the first of these two factors, Aquila agrees with the LXX and MT in vocalizing בלע as a Piel (עֲבֹלַע), but Symmachus and Theodotion (Q) seem to have read the unpointed בלע as a Pual (עֲבֹלְעָ) by rendering καταπίνω in the passive. With respect to the syntax of בלע, Aquila and Symmachus rendered the Hebrew Perfect with a future tense (καταποντίσει and ποιήσει⁴² respectively) in this instance (correctly I believe),⁴³ whereas Theodotion and the LXX simply used an Aorist. Aquila and Symmachus also more closely reflected the Hebrew syntax and meaning by making “death” (τὸν θάνατον) the object of the “swallowing” and “God” the implied subject.⁴⁴ Theodotion (Q) kept “death” (ὁ θάνατος) as the grammatical subject of the verb, but better

⁴²Symmachus uses the technique ποιέω + the infinitive of καταπίνω to convey the factitive meaning of the Pual.

⁴³In Isa 25:8a עֲבֹלַע is in a string of Vav-Consecutive Perfect verbs, both before it (הִשְׁמַח in v. 6 and עֲבֹלַע in v. 7) and after it (הִקְוָה in v. 8b). So, even though it is not a Vav-Consecutive form, contextually speaking it effectively functions like עֲבֹלַע in v. 7 before it. Confirmatory evidence could be found in the allusion to this verse in Rev 21:4. There John uses future tense verbs to describe what will happen at the arrival of the new heaven and new earth.

⁴⁴In Symmachus, τὸν θάνατον is the accusative subject of καταποθῆναι, but “God” is still the implied subject of ποιήσει, and καταποθῆναι is in the passive voice.

reflected the sense of the Hebrew over the LXX by making the verb passive (*κατεπόθη*).

In reference to the translation of *לנצח*, there seems to be two dominant choices. Symmachus reflected the basic Hebrew meaning “forever” with the translation “εἰς τέλος,” which is also the most common rendering in other occurrences in the LXX (see note 26). But Aquila and Theodotion read the consonants *נצח* with an Aramaic, or later Hebrew, meaning of “to be victorious, prevail,”⁴⁵ and hence rendered *לנצח* with *εἰς νίκος*. While not as common as the temporal rendering, the LXX also translated *לנצח* with *εἰς νείκος*⁴⁶ on several occasions.⁴⁷ This meaning for *לנצח* was also likely what undergirded the LXX’s idiosyncratic translation choice of *ἰσχύσας*.

This discussion has illuminated several matters of relevance for the present discussion of Paul’s quotation of Isaiah 25:8a. First, the differences between the various Greek versions are not because of instability in the Hebrew source text. Second, even though the Hexaplaric versions differ with each other, they are each trying to correct (in their respective manner) the same problems with the LXX’s rendering of the Hebrew text.⁴⁸ Paul too, was likely unsatisfied with the LXX translation at this point, both because it did not serve his rhetorical purposes in 1 Corinthians 15 and also because it misrepresented the original Hebrew. But what is one to make of the fact that Paul and Theodotion (Q) share the exact same wording? Some have claimed that “the text of Theodotion is uncertain” because of the transmission of two different versions.⁴⁹ The

⁴⁵For this meaning of *נצח* in Aramaic and later Biblical Hebrew, see NIDOTTE, vol. 3, s.v. *נצח/נצח*, 140; and HALOT, s.v. *נצח*, 1933.1 (the Aramaic section).

⁴⁶This is the itacistic form of *νίκος*.

⁴⁷Job 36:7; Jer 3:5; Lam 5:20; Amos 8:7.

⁴⁸Norton writes, “Despite lexical and grammatical variation among all witnesses, the OG sense contour, in which death ‘swallows’, stands in conspicuous opposition to the sense contour of the entire pM group (*α’ σ’ θ’* 1 Cor. 15.54), in which God swallows death” (*Contours in the Text*, 147).

⁴⁹Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, 292.

reading in uncial Q (Codex Marchalianus) is *κατεπόθη ὁ θάνατος εἰς νῆκος*, whereas the retroversion of the reading in the Syrohexapla seems to presuppose the reading *κατέπιεν ὁ θάνατος εἰς νῆκος*.⁵⁰ Heil posits that the reading in uncial Q “may be a later assimilation to 1 Cor 15:54b, especially since it occurs as a marginal gloss.”⁵¹ But this assertion ignores the fact that the version of Theodotion from the Syrohexapla is a marginal reading as well, as is most of the evidence for the Hexaplaric Greek versions. Also, the reading in the Syrohexapla can easily be explained as a result of trying to conform to the LXX’s reading. Compared to the other Hexaplaric readings, the Syrohexapla’s version of Theodotion is the only one that agrees with the LXX in making “death” the subject of the active verb *κατέπιεν*. Rather than correcting the LXX to bring it into greater conformity with the Hebrew text, the reading attributed to Theodotion in the Syrohexapla perpetuates some of the same translation mistakes as the LXX. As was noted above, this is uncharacteristic for each of the Three Jewish Revisers. It is more likely to be influence from the LXX, rather than 1 Corinthians 15:54d, which resulted in the unique reading *κατέπιεν ὁ θάνατος*. In light of these considerations, it seems reasonable that the version of Theodotion in uncial Q (which also matches 1 Cor. 15:54d) is original, and the reading in the Syrohexapla is a corruption of that original reading because of LXX influence.⁵²

Having now made a case for the originality of the reading of Theodotion that is identical with 1 Corinthians 15:54d, the question now becomes, what is the relationship between them?⁵³ The traditional view is that Theodotion lived and worked in the late

⁵⁰The manuscript is written in Syriac, but Joseph Ziegler (in the second apparatus of *Isaias*, *Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum*, vol. 14 [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1939], 208) and Field (2.472) both offer this retroversion. Thanks again to John Meade (with his knowledge of Syriac) for confirming for me the active voice of the verb.

⁵¹Heil, *The Rhetorical Role of Scripture in 1 Corinthians*, 249. Cf. also Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, 211.

⁵²Florian Wilk, “Isaiah in 1 and 2 Corinthians” in *Isaiah in the New Testament*, ed. Steve Moyise and Maarten J. J. Menken (London: T&T Clark, 2005), 146n54.

⁵³As Wilk states, Paul’s congruence with the Hexaplaric reading “kaum auf Zufall beruhen

second century AD,⁵⁴ but because of the common wording between Paul and Theodotion on this text, some posited Paul's dependence on a "pre-Theodotion" text.⁵⁵ However more recent scholarship has posited that the text attributed to Theodotion (or even Theodotion himself) is reasonably from the first century.⁵⁶ If this is the case, it is possible, and perhaps even likely, that Paul quoted from Theodotion as the source of his quotation of Isaiah 25:8a in 1 Corinthians 15:54d.⁵⁷ While it is not inconceivable that Paul could have independently arrived at the same Greek translation of Isaiah 25:8a as Theodotion, it seems more likely that he would have utilized an existing Septuagintal text if it more closely aligned with the Hebrew and suited his purposes in 1 Corinthians 15. The likelihood of this suggestion increases when it is realized that "the following quote from Hos. 13:14 seems to presuppose a Greek version" as well.⁵⁸

It must be admitted that one cannot claim with certainty whether or not Paul quoted from Theodotion, another existing Greek text,⁵⁹ or created his own original

dürfte" (*Die Bedeutung des Jesajabuches für Paulus*, 21).

⁵⁴Karen H. Jobes and Moisés Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2000), 41.

⁵⁵Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, 292. Cf. also Moyise, "The Minor Prophets in Paul," 112. Similarly, Hughes writes that "Paul's quotation displayed a Theodotionic text-type" ("Textual and Hermeneutical Aspects of Paul's Use of the Old Testament in 1 and 2 Corinthians," 248).

⁵⁶Dominique Barthélemy, *Les devanciers d'Aquila: Première publication intégrale du texte des fragments du Dodécaprophéton*, *Vetus Testamentum Supplement* 10 (Leiden: Brill, 1963), 144-57; Kevin G. O'Connell, *The Theodotionic Revision of the Book of Exodus: A Contribution to the Early History of the Transmission of the Old Testament in Greek*, HSM 3 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), 5; Peter J. Gentry, *The Asterisked Materials in the Greek Job*, SBLSCS 38 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 495-98; and Tim McLay, *The OG and Th Versions of Daniel*, SBLSCS 43 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 240. Thanks to Jason Parry for his assistance on this point, including the bibliographical references.

⁵⁷The reverse scenario is not a plausible option. Theodotion would not have gotten his translation from Paul in 1 Cor 15:54d to revise the LXX of Isa 25:8a. See Craig S. Keener, *1-2 Corinthians*, NCBC (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 134n300; and Moyise, "Does Paul Respect the Context of His Quotations? Hosea as Test Case," 42-43n9.

⁵⁸Wilk, "Isaiah in 1 and 2 Corinthians," 146.

⁵⁹Others have claimed Paul's dependence here on an existing Greek text, but stop short of claiming it was Theodotion. See Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, 211; Dietrich-Alex Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums: Untersuchungen zur Verwendung und zum Verständnis des Schrift bei Paulus*, BZHT 69 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1986), 63; Heil, *The Rhetorical Role of Scripture in 1 Corinthians*,

translation of the Hebrew (which is identical to Theodotion), though I think the case laid out above is the most plausible. Nevertheless, what seems clear is that Paul chose (or created) a Greek translation that better represented the Hebrew text (compared to the LXX) and that also served his argument in 1 Corinthians 15. The textual modifications to Isaiah 25:8a in 1 Corinthians 15:54d were intentionally chosen (or created) by Paul.

The last three textual modifications to be addressed in this section concern the quotation of Hosea 13:14cd in 1 Corinthians 15:55. The first of these, the substitution of τὸ νῆκος for ἡ δίκη (LXX),⁶⁰ might have been first prompted by the inappropriateness of the LXX rendering of the Hebrew.⁶¹ The LXX translator apparently misread דבר in the Hebrew consonantal text as דְּבַר (“word”) instead of דִּבְרַר (“plagues”),⁶² and, to fit the context, rendered it rather loosely with δίκη (“judgment”/“penalty”).⁶³ However, despite this misreading, the sense of the text is maintained in the LXX. After all, in context, “plagues” (דִּבְרַר) are a particular manifestation of God’s “judgment” (δίκη) on Israel. So, Paul could have kept the same reading as the LXX and not lost the thrust of the message of this verse. So then, why the textual change? With the absence of any other viable textual theories, “it seems clear that Paul introduced the words τὸ νῆκος into the text to

249; Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 1299; Roy E Ciampa and Brian S. Rosner, “1 Corinthians,” in *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament*, ed. G. K. Beale and D. A. Carson (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2007), 747; and idem, *The First Letter to the Corinthians*, 832.

⁶⁰A few LXX manuscripts (22^c 130' -534) read ἡ νίκη instead of ἡ δίκη, but they were likely influenced by the citation in 1 Cor. 15:55. Dearman, *The Book of Hosea*, 330n45.

⁶¹Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 1300.

⁶²Both Aquila (ῥήματα) and the Targum (מימר) also seemingly fell prey to the same mistake.

⁶³This is not the only time this particular mistake happens in the LXX. Out of 49 occurrences of דְּבַר in the MT, the vast majority (34 times) are translated with θάνατος. 3 times there is no corresponding LXX text (Jer 27:13; 29:17; 29:18) and 7 times the word is not translated or represented in the LXX text (Jer 21:9; 27:8[34:8 LXX]; 28:8[35:8 LXX]; 32:24[39:24 LXX]; 38:2[45:2 LXX]; 42:17[49:17 LXX]; 42:22[49:22 LXX]). The remaining 5 times all seem to be a mistranslation based on misreading the word as דְּבַר. It is translated in Ps 91:3(90:3 LXX) with λόγος; in Ps 91:6(90:6 LXX) with πρᾶγμα; in Jer 32:36(39:36 LXX) with ἀποστολή; in Hos 13:14 with δίκη; and in Hab 3:5 with λόγος. Cf. Paul N. Franklyn, “Prophetic Cursing of Apostasy: Text, Form, and Tradition in Hosea 13” (PhD diss., Vanderbilt University, 1986), 61.

create a closer verbal and rhetorical link with the excerpt from Isa 25.8 in [1 Cor 15:]54.⁶⁴ By making this word substitution Paul is able to reiterate the theme of “victory” that he wants to draw out of the OT quotation for his argument in 1 Corinthians 15.⁶⁵

The next change, the substitution of “Sheol” (לְשׂוֹל MT)/“Hades” (ἄδης LXX) in Hosea 13:14d for “death” (θάνατος) in 1 Corinthians 15:55b, Barrett suggests is because of connotations to the heathen god Hades in Greek.⁶⁶ But it is probably motivated for purely stylistic reasons.⁶⁷ The threefold repetition of the personified “death” in the quotation carries a heightened rhetorical emphasis, since Paul is addressing “death” as the last enemy in context (1 Cor 15:26).⁶⁸ Also, there is a poetic parallelism in the variance between לְשׂוֹל and מָוֶת in the original context of the first four lines of Hosea 13:14.⁶⁹ Here is how Dearman lays out the chiasmic structure:⁷⁰

A	B
Sheol ransom	death redeem
B'	A'
plagues death	destruction Sheol

But when the third and fourth lines of Hosea 13:14 (without the first two lines) are put in the quotation of 1 Corinthians 15:54d-55, there is no need to retain the chiasmic

⁶⁴Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, 214. Cf. also Duane A. Garrett, *Hosea, Joel*, NAC 19 (Nashville: Broadman & Holman Publishers, 1997), 265n259, and Hays, *First Corinthians*, 276.

⁶⁵“Victory is important for Paul’s argument since ‘victory’ (*nikos*) is a catchword that, along with ‘death,’ links Isa 25:8 with Hos 13:14. The idea of victory (cf. 15:25-26) serves to provide a thrust for the exultant doxology of v. 57.” Collins, *First Corinthians*, 577.

⁶⁶Barrett, *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 383. However, Stanley argues that this would not have been an issue, since “the word ἄδης enjoyed wide currency in both Jewish and Christian circles throughout Antiquity” (*Paul and the Language of Scripture*, 214-15).

⁶⁷Moyise, “The Minor Prophets in Paul,” 111.

⁶⁸Heil, *The Rhetorical Role of Scripture in 1 Corinthians*, 250; Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, 215; Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 804.

⁶⁹Morissette, “Un Midrash Sur La Mort (1 Cor., xv, 54c à 57),” 171.

⁷⁰Dearman, *The Book of Hosea*, 329.

parallelism from the original context. The poetic and stylistic needs of the new context overtake the reasons for the variance in the original.

Lastly, the rearranging of the word order for both lines from Hosea 13, seems to be “purely rhetorical: separating two elements that would otherwise belong together (here the noun and its attributive) is a common way of indicating emphasis in both classical and Hellenistic Greek.”⁷¹ The rhetorical thrust is also seen with the result that 1 Corinthians 15:55a now ends with *νίκος* just like the preceding line from Isaiah 25:8a. By ending on the note of “victory” in the first two lines of the quotation, Paul has set the stage for his dramatic conclusion in verse 57. Similarly, by ending 1 Corinthians 15:55b with *τὸ κέντρον*, it is all the more natural for Paul to pivot to the next verse which begins with the same word (after the postpositive *δέ*). The word order modifications also create another parallel with the first line of the quotation. Instead of ending on “death” as the last word of the text line as both the MT and LXX do in Hosea 13:14cd, “death” is now situated in the middle of the verse line like it is for 1 Corinthians 15:54d. Laid out visually it appears as follows:

^{54d} κατεπόθη ὁ **θάνατος** εἰς *νίκος*.
^{55a} ποῦ σου, **θάνατε**, τὸ *νίκος*;
^{55b} ποῦ σου, **θάνατε**, τὸ κέντρον;

Analyzing all of these modifications has reinforced the intentionality of the author in creating his own original wording. Paul clearly identified these three lines as being OT scripture in his introductory formula (v. 54), but the result is his own carefully crafted creation, to serve his purposes in 1 Corinthians 15. Hence, “the fundamentally Pauline origin of this carefully structured rhetorical unit can hardly be doubted.”⁷²

⁷¹Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, 212. Cf. also Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums*, 107.

⁷²Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, 215. Similarly, after detailing these modifications, Koch writes, “Durch diese Abänderungen liegt in 1 Kor 15,54f jetzt ein sehr geschlossenes, dreigliedriges Zitat vor: In jeder der drei Zeilen wird *θάνατος* verwendet, die beiden ersten Zeilen sind

Understanding the NT context, including the textual modifications Paul has made to suit this context, only provides part of the foundation necessary to address the central question of this dissertation. The OT context will now be examined before describing the function of the quotation and concluding with an assessment concerning the faithfulness of 1 Corinthians 15:54-55 to this OT context.

Old Testament Context

Since Paul quotes lines from two different OT books, both of the contexts of Isaiah 25:8 and Hosea 13:14 will be discussed below.

Isaiah 25:8

Even though Paul only quotes one line from one verse of Isaiah 25 (v. 8a), it is situated in the flow of the whole chapter. In order to understand whether or not Paul maintains some continuity with the OT context of this line of the quotation, a survey of the whole chapter is warranted. That will be followed by isolating some of the relevant themes from this chapter that likely drew Paul to quote from it.

Overview of Isaiah 25. Isaiah 25 is the second chapter in the section of Isaiah (chaps. 24-27) which is characterized as the “little Apocalypse” because of the graphic end time depictions. The universal judgment by God is described in chapter 24. The response to this announcement of destruction comes in chapter 25.⁷³ With the destruction of God’s enemies also comes the salvation of God’s people (cf. Isa 24:14-16, 23b), which is celebrated in songs and a feast. Chapter 25 has an easily discernible three part structure

zusätzlich durch *ἄκοσ* miteinander verklammert, Zeile 2 und 3 durch die völlig parallele Wortfolge. In dieser Form bildet 1 Kor 15,54b-55 einen wirkungsvollen Abschluß von 1 Kor 15 insgesamt. Die Angleichungen des Wortlauts von Hos 13,14b sind somit als Abänderungen durch Paulus voll verständlich” (*Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums*, 169).

⁷³John H. Hayes and Stuart A. Irvine, *Isaiah, the Eighth Century Prophet: His Times and His Preaching* (Nashville: Abington Press, 1987), 304-5.

around this celebration.⁷⁴ “The banquet in verses 6-8 is certainly the centerpiece, and it is framed by songs of praise: a personal song in verses 1-5, and a communal song in verses 9-12.”⁷⁵

The first song of praise in verses 1-5 begins by addressing God directly (note the 2nd person references). Isaiah exalts and praises God because (כִּי in v. 1b and v. 2) he is bringing to completion his marvelous plan (v. 1), which involves the overthrow of “the city” (עִיר). “This city is all those arrogant bastions of power that have crushed the righteous through all time. But the prophet says that their power will not avail them in the end.”⁷⁶ As a result (עַל-כֵּן)⁷⁷ of witnessing God’s power in destroying “the city,” the nations will honor and fear Yahweh (v. 3).⁷⁸ In verses 4-5 the praise to Yahweh will continue because (כִּי)⁷⁹ he protects the poor and needy by easily putting down the ruthless.

The promised final salvation is pictured in verses 6-8 as a feast given by God for all people. The richness of this feast is demonstrated by serving the choice pieces of meat and the well-aged wine (v. 6). The banquet will take place on Mount Zion, but it is for all people. The universality of this final salvation banquet is stressed by the repetition

⁷⁴This structure is also recognized by J. Alec Motyer, *The Prophecy of Isaiah: An Introduction and Commentary* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1993), 207; and John N. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah: Chapters 1-39*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986), 459. Cf. also R. E. Clements, *Isaiah 1-39*, NCBC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), 206-11.

⁷⁵Barry G. Webb, *The Message of Isaiah: On Eagles’ Wings*, BST (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1996), 108.

⁷⁶Oswalt, *Isaiah 1-39*, 461.

⁷⁷Ibid.

⁷⁸This response by the nations is not necessarily one of salvation. See John L. Mackay, *A Study Commentary on Isaiah*, vol. 1, *Chapters 1-39* (Darlington, England: Evangelical Press, 2008), 524-25; and Motyer, *Prophecy of Isaiah*, 208.

⁷⁹“The ‘for’ which this verse begins could be read as introducing a further reason for the changed attitude of their former enemies, but more probably it parallels the ‘for’ in the middle of 25:1, and introduces another motive for the praise of the song of the redeemed.” Mackay, *Isaiah 1-39*, 525.

of the adjective **כָּל** five times in these three verses.⁸⁰ The Lord will make the banquet for **כָּל** peoples (v. 6), and remove the shroud and covering over **כָּל** peoples and **כָּל** nations (v. 7). He will wipe away the tears from **כָּל** faces, and remove the reproach of his people from **כָּל** the earth (v. 8).

Yahweh guarantees the joy of his people at this banquet by eliminating any barrier to their eternal happiness. He will not only remove (for a mere removal can be replaced), but will completely “swallow up” (וּבָלַע) the “covering” (לוֹט) and “veil” (מִסְכָּה) that was over them. “The ‘covering’ which Yahweh removes is ... a mourning garment with which those who sorrowed were accustomed to cover their faces in a gesture of grief and despair (cf. 2 Sam. 15:30; 19:4; Jer. 14:3).”⁸¹ The universal mourning cast over all peoples is a result of the universal experience of death. That is why, to remove the mourning (i.e., the wiping away of every tear), death itself must be swallowed up (v. 8).⁸²

But while there is a universal invitation to this banquet, not all will be there. It is not a universal experience for all. In swallowing up death forever, God is taking away the reproach of *his* people (עָמוֹ). Despite being in covenant bond with Yahweh, his people would have been subject to taunts and insults from their enemies because they too experienced the pain and misery of death along with everyone else. But now, “the Lord God has spoken” (v.8) and these are his people who will be saved forever from the punishment of death that awaits all those who rebel against God.

⁸⁰Motyer, *Prophecy of Isaiah*, 209.

⁸¹Mackay, *Isaiah 1-39*, 530.

⁸²In discussing the textual modifications, most of the translational issues related to Isaiah 25:8a were examined. Though **בָּלַע** is a Piel Perfect verb, it should be understood as having a future time reference (see note 43). The subject of the verb is “God” (יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת) from v. 6) and **הַמָּוֶת** is the object of the active verb. And lastly, the basic meaning of the adverbial modifier **לְעוֹלָם** is “forever” (see note 34). Hence, “He (i.e., God) will swallow up death forever” is the most natural English translation of the Hebrew text. This is also the translation represented in the ESV, NKJV, NIV, NRSV, NLT, and JPS. Cf. also NASB and NET.

Verse 9 continues this theme and begins the second song of praise to this glorious reality. Instead of the individual first person singular references in verses 1-5, here the communal first person plural is used. On that day of salvation it will be declared that “this is *our* God; *we* have waited for him, that he might save *us*.” Therefore “let *us* be glad and rejoice in his salvation.” But final judgment is just as much a part of this end time reckoning as final salvation. Those nations who once mocked God’s people, represented by Moab,⁸³ will be trampled down under foot like straw in a dunghill (v. 10). Any desperate attempts to escape God’s judgment, like a swimmer trying to avoid drowning, are completely useless (v. 11). It will not matter how high and strong their fortifications are, they will all finally be overcome by the Lord of Hosts (v. 12).

Relevant themes in Isaiah 25. There are several themes in this chapter that make it particularly suitable for use by Paul in 1 Corinthians. While they were covered in the overview of the chapter, it is helpful to highlight their relevance for the NT connection. Even though the word “victory,” which is prominent in Paul’s adaptation, is not present in the Hebrew text, it is helpful to remember that the banquet that stands at the center of this chapter is “a victory celebration.”⁸⁴ And this passage also provides insight into the nature of that victory. “It will be total victory because it will include victory over the ultimate enemy – *death* itself (8a).”⁸⁵ Deliverance from all other oppressors is only temporary until God’s people experience deliverance from the final conqueror.⁸⁶ And once the last enemy is defeated, then the victory (*νίκος*) will indeed last forever (לְעוֹלָם).

Death is personified as an enemy to God’s people. “In the mythology of

⁸³Webb, *The Message of Isaiah*, 109; Oswalt, *Isaiah 1-39*, 465.

⁸⁴Webb, *The Message of Isaiah*, 109.

⁸⁵Ibid., emphasis original.

⁸⁶Oswalt, *Isaiah 1-39*, 464.

surrounding nations Death was a god with an insatiable appetite. The Old Testament does not deify death, though it is often personified as voraciously devouring its victims.”⁸⁷ Isaiah 25:8 capitalizes on this idea and describes the ironic reversal of Death’s conquest. Instead of death (or “Sheol”) opening its mouth to swallow up God’s people (Isa 5:14), death itself is swallowed up (Isa 25:8).⁸⁸ And by identifying death as the enemy, it projects an eschatological fulfillment. With the end of death “God will wipe away tears from all faces.” There can be no more pain or sorrow left with no more enemies left. That is why this passage was appropriately alluded to in Revelation 21:4 as part of the climatic redemption brought about by Christ’s return and final defeat of all his enemies. God’s triumph over his enemies and the vindication of his people has always been part of his plan. It was prophesied clearly by Isaiah, and the final consummation is realized with the NT fulfillment.

Hosea 13:14

The pivotal question in Paul’s appropriation of Hosea 13:14 is whether or not he reads this verse as a statement of judgment or salvation. To lay the foundation to address that question in the next section, verse 14 needs to be understood in the flow of thought by first providing an overview of chapter 13. Then the translational issues involved in verse 14 will be discussed in more detail, followed by a look at the hope for future salvation found in the conclusion of Hosea.

Overview of Hosea 13. After the parable described in chapters 1-3, the rest of the book of Hosea is made up of prophetic oracles addressed to Israel and Judah.

⁸⁷Mackay, *Isaiah 1-39*, 531.

⁸⁸Yahweh is “taking on the swallower at his own game.” John F. Healey, “Death is Swallowed Up in Victory’ (1 Corinthians 15:54): Canaanite Mot in Prophecy and Apocalypse,” in *New Heaven and New Earth - Prophecy and the Millennium: Essays in Honour of Anthony Gelston*, ed. P. J. Harland and Robert Hayward (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 209.

“Ephraim” (vv. 1, 12) is the subject of chapter 13. As a major tribe in the northern kingdom, this reference is also often a synonym for the people of Israel as a whole,⁸⁹ though here the former reference is probably intended.⁹⁰ The first three verses describe Ephraim’s past, present and future.⁹¹ There was a time of prominence for Ephraim in Israel among the other tribes,⁹² but they incurred guilt through their worship of Baal (וַיִּאֲשָׁם בַּבַּעַל), and “died” (v. 1).⁹³ Nevertheless, Ephraim presently continues undeterred in their idolatry (v. 2), therefore (לִכְנֹךְ) their future existence will vanish just as easily and quickly as the wind drives away morning mist, dew, chaff, and smoke (v. 3).

Verse 4 begins the last divine complaint in the book and it runs through verse 14. Here Yahweh is speaking and declaring the exclusive relationship that he shares with Israel⁹⁴ since their birth as a nation in coming out of Egypt (v. 4) and even during the wilderness wandering (v. 5). Yet in God’s rich blessings to his people, they became satisfied with the gifts,⁹⁵ and “forgot” the Giver (v. 6). As a result of being spurned and forgotten by his people, God devours them like a raging carnivorous beast (vv. 7-8).

The second person direct address to Israel from Yahweh continues in verse 9. God was Israel’s “helper” (עֲזָרָה), but because they turned against him, God will destroy

⁸⁹Dearman, *The Book of Hosea*, 168.

⁹⁰Garrett, *Hosea, Joel*, 248.

⁹¹Dearman, *The Book of Hosea*, 321.

⁹²For a discussion on how to render the grammar of this verse, see Garrett, *Hosea, Joel*, 248n208; and John L. Mackay, *Hosea*, Mentor Commentary (Fearn, Tain, Ross-shire, Scotland: Mentor, 2012), 339n13. For an alternative view that this is a reference to Israel’s prominence among the nations, see Elizabeth Achtemeier, *Minor Prophets I*, NIBC (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1996), 101.

⁹³The nature of their death here is difficult to discern. But Mackay (*Hosea*, 340) is probably right to say it refers to their breaking of covenant fellowship and hence spiritual death. The cessation of their national existence is still a future reality at this point.

⁹⁴The repetition of יָדַעַ in vv. 4 and 5 is a covenantal “knowing.”

⁹⁵Not the repetition of the verb שָׂבַע, emphasizing the complete provision by God.

them.⁹⁶ Without God as Israel's helper, who will lead and protect them? God derisively asks, "Where now is your king, to save you in all your cities?" (v. 10). Beginning with Saul, Israel wanted a king like the nations, so the Lord gave them kings, but now he took away their rulers in his wrath (v. 11). Who is left to protect them from the destruction to come?

Though Israel has forgotten Yahweh in their idolatry, God has not forgotten their sin. Ephraim's iniquity and sin have been recorded, bound up and stored for safe keeping (v. 12). "The passage of time cannot erase them or cause God to forget them."⁹⁷ And yet Israel remains in her obstinacy, like a baby about to be born, who, though at the opening of the womb, refuses to come out and embrace the life that awaits it (v. 13).⁹⁸ Yahweh asks rhetorically if he should redeem them from the certain death that awaits them in judgment for this sin and the folly of worshipping false gods. But the answer is already settled because compassion for faithless Israel is hidden from his eyes, as he calls down death to bring the judgment sentence (v. 14).

The note of judgment continues in the last two verses of the chapter.⁹⁹ Though Ephraim flourished among his brothers (cf. the wordplay from Gen 41:52),¹⁰⁰ the Lord

⁹⁶Some scholars attempt to emend אֲנִי־יְהוָה by making it first person with God as the subject, which matches the Syriac. See Douglas Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*, WBC 31 (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1987), 199-200; and Hans Walter Wolff, *Hosea*, Hermeneia, trans. Gary Stansell (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974), 220-21. However the text can be explained without emendation. Whether the 3ms reference is generic for the wrath of God in the previous verses (Garrett, *Hosea, Joel*, 260), or the following noun clause serves as the subject (Mackay, *Hosea*, 349), the sense remains unaltered. God is the one bringing destruction on Israel.

⁹⁷Achtemeier, *Minor Prophets I*, 106.

⁹⁸Ibid. Cf. also Mackay, *Hosea*, 353.

⁹⁹13:16 in the English versions is 14:1 in the LXX and MT. The division in the English versions is to be preferred because of the *inclusio* of the mention of the "guilt" of Ephraim in vv. 1 and 16 and also the change away from the declaration of judgment in the beginning of ch. 14.

¹⁰⁰There is no need to amend the text here to make sense of the Hebrew text. See Dearman, *The Book of Hosea*, 330-31; Derek Kidner, *The Message of Hosea: Love the Loveless*, BST (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1981), 119n7.

will come as the hot, desert east wind to dry up their land and leave them in desolation. The references in this verse likely transcend natural disaster and intend the Lord’s instrumental use of the Assyrian invasion to punish his people and “strip [Ephraim’s] treasury of every precious thing.”¹⁰¹ Samaria, as the capital city of the northern kingdom, is singled out as the focal point of the invasion. They are guilty because (כִּי) “they rebelled against her God,” and the consequences are severe. It is not just the soldiers who will “fall by the sword,” but the whole populace will be affected such that “their little ones shall be dashed in pieces, and their pregnant women ripped open (v. 16 [14:1 MT]).”

Translation issues in Hosea 13:14. In the overview of Hosea 13 above, verse 14 was interpreted as continuing the climactic statement of judgment in the chapter. However, not all are agreed that verse 14 should in fact be interpreted in this manner. Some scholars propose that it is actually a statement of God’s intent to save Israel, not judge them. The difference in the reading often focuses around disagreement over how the Hebrew grammar should be rendered. There are several translational issues that need to be resolved. The syntax of the first four lines is in dispute. Are they questions or statements? And there is also the question of the meaning of נְחָם in the fifth line, is it “compassion” or “repentance” that is hidden from God (see table 9 for the division of each line of Hos 13:14)?

Table 9. Hosea 13:14 line by line comparison between the MT, LXX and ESV

Hos	MT	LXX	ESV
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¹⁰¹Mackay, *Hosea*, 359.

13:14a	מִיַּד שְׂאוֹל אֶפְדָּם	ἐκ χειρὸς ἄδου ῥύσσομαι αὐτούς	Shall I ransom them from the power of Sheol?
13:14b	מִמּוֹת אֲנָאֵלִים	καὶ ἐκ θανάτου λυτρώσομαι αὐτούς	Shall I redeem them from Death?
13:14c	אֱהִי דְבַרְיָךְ מוֹת	ποῦ ἢ δίκη σου θάνατε	O Death, where are your plagues?
13:14d	אֱהִי קִטְבְּךָ שְׂאוֹל	ποῦ τὸ κέντρον σου ἄδη	O Sheol, where is your sting?
13:14e	נַחַם יִסְתַּר מֵעֵינַי	παράκλησις κέκρυπται ἀπὸ ὀφθαλμῶν μου	Compassion is hidden from my eyes.

In reference to the first question, namely whether the first four lines are questions or statements, four different options have been proposed:¹⁰² (1) all four lines are rendered as questions,¹⁰³ (2) only the third and four lines (13:14cd) are rendered as questions,¹⁰⁴ (3) only the first and second lines (13:14ab) are rendered as questions,¹⁰⁵ or (4) no lines are rendered as questions.¹⁰⁶ From these options it is apparent that the first four lines of the verse form a pair of couplets, which are read together as either questions or statements because they share the same syntactical structure. Whatever decision is

¹⁰²For a helpful overview of these of these options, see Mackay, *Hosea*, 354-7.

¹⁰³Reflected in the NRSV, ESV, and NASB. See also Dearman, *The Book of Hosea*, 328; Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*, 199-200, 207; Achtemeier, *Minor Prophets I*, 106-7; Wolff, *Hosea*, 221; James Luther Mays, *Hosea: A Commentary*, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1969), 181-82.

¹⁰⁴Reflected in the NIV, HCSB, and JPS Tanakh (1985). See also Garrett, *Hosea, Joel*, 264-65; Mackay, *Hosea*, 356; Thomas Edward McComiskey, “Hosea” in *The Minor Prophets: An Exegetical and Expository Commentary*, vol. 1, *Hosea, Joel, and Amos*, ed. Thomas Edward McComiskey (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 1992), 223-24; David Allan Hubbard, *Hosea: An Introduction and Commentary*, TOTC 24 (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1989), 233-34; C. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch, *Minor Prophets*, Commentary on the Old Testament, vol. 10, trans. James Martin (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969), 159-60; Francis I. Anderson and David Noel Freedman, *Hosea: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 24 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1980) 625, 639. This also the way that the LXX translates the grammar and is thus reflected in the NETS.

¹⁰⁵Reflected in the NLT, JPS (1917), and NET. Cf. also A. A. Macintosh, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Hosea*, ICC (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1997), 546-49.

¹⁰⁶Reflected in the KJV and NKJV. See also Kidner, *Hosea*, 119n5. Cf. John Calvin, *Commentaries on the Twelve Minor Prophets*, vol. 1, *Hosea*, ed. and trans. John Owen (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2003), 475-80.

made for Hosea 13:14a, would naturally apply to 13:14b, and the same is true of 13:14c and 13:14d. However, the four options also reveal that what is decided for one couplet, does not necessarily apply to the other couplet because the syntax differs between them.

Of these four options just listed, the last two have not garnered many proponents. And when the English translations are examined more closely, it is clear that the representation for not reading the second couplet (13:14cd) as a pair of questions is even more sparse. For example, even though the NET renders these lines as statements (“O Death, bring on your plagues! O Sheol, bring on your destruction!”), the translators make clear in the footnotes that they chose an interpretive translation over a more literal one. The Hebrew grammar, in their view, is a series of four rhetorical questions, of which the last two function as words of encouragement inviting Death and Sheol to destroy Israel.¹⁰⁷

In the case of the KJV and NKJV, they reflect a different reading of the Hebrew particle הִנֵּה . For instance, the NKJV reads, “O Death, *I will be* your plagues! O Grave, *I will be* your destruction!”¹⁰⁸ They both seem to read הִנֵּה as an apocopated form of the verb היה .¹⁰⁹ While this take on הִנֵּה also has some precedent, as Aquila and Symmachus both translated it as ἐσομαι ¹¹⁰ and the Vulgate used *ero*, the older LXX used the interrogative ποῦ .¹¹¹ The only other occurrence in the Hebrew Bible of הִנֵּה is only a few verses earlier in the chapter in Hosea 13:10, and there the daughter versions are more unified. Along with the consistent rendering of ποῦ by the LXX, the same word is

¹⁰⁷The NLT also took the same approach and contains almost the same translation (“O death, bring on your terrors! O grave, bring on your plagues!”).

¹⁰⁸Cf. Kidner, *Hosea*, 119n5; and Malan, “The Use of the Old Testament in 1 Corinthians,” 164.

¹⁰⁹Macintosh, *Hosea*, 547.

¹¹⁰Theodotion also used ἐσται in Hos 13:14c.

¹¹¹The Peshitta also used the interrogative.

translated by the interrogative *ubi* in the Vulgate and אָ in the Targum.¹¹² The presence of אָפּוֹא in 13:10, which frequently accompanies interrogative particles,¹¹³ confirms that אָהִי is probably just a dialectical variation of אָהִי ,¹¹⁴ and therefore functions as an interrogative in all three occurrences. Additional confirmation is also found in Paul's quotation from 1 Corinthians 15:55, in which he retains the Septuagintal rendering of ποῦ . As was seen in the quotation from Isaiah 25:8a in 1 Corinthians 15:54d, Paul is not unwilling to modify the LXX when he thinks it has incorrectly represented the Hebrew text. Yet no such modification was deemed necessary in this instance, so Paul should also be counted as another witness to Hosea 13:14cd being phrased as a pair of questions.

Of the four options for how to render the syntax of Hosea 13:14, the more difficult decision is choosing between the first two options, namely whether or not the first couplet (Hos 13:14ab) should also be read as rhetorical questions along with the second couplet (Hos 13:14cd). Unlike the third and four lines, the first two are not introduced with an interrogative pronoun or adverb. But Hebrew does not require the presence of these specific markers to be considered a question.¹¹⁵ A question could be indicated by word order or intonation,¹¹⁶ the latter of which would have been clearer for those who first received this message orally,¹¹⁷ but harder to discern in print by non-

¹¹²Additionally, Field and the Göttingen Septuagint second apparatus do not indicate any variation among the Hexaplaric Revisers.

¹¹³HALOT, s.v. אָפּוֹא , 78.

¹¹⁴Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*, 200n10a; Dearman, *The Book of Hosea*, 317n7; Mays, *Hosea*, 176; Garrett, *Hosea, Joel*, 264n257; McComiskey, "Hosea," 220.

¹¹⁵GKC, §150.1. Franklyn ("Prophetic Cursing of Apostasy," 58) lists three other texts in Hosea (4:16, 7:13, and 10:9) as other examples of implied questions, but these too are disputed.

¹¹⁶Paul Joüon and T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, Part 3, *Syntax* (Rome: Editrice Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 2003), §161.a.

¹¹⁷Franklyn, "Prophetic Cursing of Apostasy," 57.

native readers.¹¹⁸ How to render the first two lines depends more on the overall force of the verse, rather than the particular syntax. For some scholars the deciding factor comes down to the translation of םַחֲנֹן in the fifth (and concluding) line of the verse (Hos 13:14e),¹¹⁹ which is the last translational issue that needs resolution.

The difficulty surrounding the word םַחֲנֹן is because it is a *hapax legomenon*. Some propose the translation “repentance”¹²⁰ or “relenting”,¹²¹ “but the meaning ‘compassion’ is fairly well established.”¹²² While the verb םַחֲנֹן can support either of the two options, “comfort” is a common meaning,¹²³ and Hosea uses the cognate םַחֲמִיחַ in 11:8 meaning “compassion.” Also, the LXX uses *παράκλησις* and the Vulgate uses *consolatio*, both “comfort” words. But even if there is uncertainty surrounding the preferred rendering of םַחֲנֹן, it would not necessarily alter the proposed force of the whole verse as a word of judgment. For instance, Calvin argues that if the word means “consolation,” then the idea is that God will have no consolation for the people. “But if the word, repentance, be more approved, it will show exactly the same thing.” God will not repent (i.e., change his mind) from determining to destroy the people.¹²⁴ He concludes, “We then see that both the words refer to the same thing, that God takes away

¹¹⁸Cf. Wolff, *Hosea*, 221.

¹¹⁹Mays argues, “Ultimately, any decision depends upon *nōḥam* whose cognates point in the direction of ‘sympathy, compassion’” (*Hosea*, 181). Similarly, Stuart writes, “In light of the fifth clause, however . . . , the first four [lines] would seem best translated as questions” (Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*, 207); and Hubbard also concludes, “The final clause of verse 14 clinches the matter: ‘Compassion . . . will be hid from my eyes.’ Judgment is announced as the climax of the complaint” (*Hosea*, 234).

¹²⁰Reflected in the KJV and JPS (1917).

¹²¹McComiskey, “Hosea,” 224; and Mackay, *Hosea*, 356.

¹²²Garrett, *Hosea, Joel*, 265n260. Cf. HALOT, s.v. םַחֲנֹן, 689.

¹²³HALOT, s.v. םַחֲנֹן, 688-89.

¹²⁴Calvin, *Hosea*, 479-80.

from this miserable and reprobate people every hope of salvation.”¹²⁵

So for Calvin, instead of the last line of Hosea 13:14 determining the force of the other four lines, the opposite is the case. However, this same interpretive approach to the verse is also followed by those who claim that Hosea 13:14 is an oracle of salvation and not judgment. McComiskey too allows the first four lines of the verse to provide the meaning of the fifth line, except that he reads the first four lines as words of salvation instead of judgment (contra Calvin). Therefore when he argues that נָחַם means “repentance,” he concludes that Hosea 13:14e “affirms the impossibility of God changing his mind with regard to the affirmations of hope in the preceding lines.”¹²⁶ Mackay is another commentator who agrees that the last line should be translated with “relenting” as the thing hidden from God’s eyes, which indicates “an assertion that there will be no change in the divine resolve” to save Israel.¹²⁷ So for each of these commentators, the translation of נָחַם, or the interpretation of the fifth line as a whole, is not the most influential factor in whether or not all of verse 14 is an oracle of salvation or judgment. For instance, Mackay, like Calvin (but with opposite results) is not deterred from his interpretation about the meaning of the verse if the translation “compassion” is adopted instead. If the alternative rendering is preferred, he then opts to agree with Kidner, who writes, “The ‘compassion’ which God withholds in the final line is, of course, withheld not from the victims of death and the grave, but from this pair of tyrants themselves.”¹²⁸ For this reason, there is an ambiguity in the words of the last line when read in isolation, and therefore they are insufficient to serve as the final word in arbitrating whether or not the whole verse should be understood as a salvation promise or a judgment oracle. For

¹²⁵Ibid., 480.

¹²⁶McComiskey, “Hosea,” 224. Cf. also Keil and Delitzsch, *Minor Prophets*, 161.

¹²⁷Mackay, *Hosea*, 356.

¹²⁸Kidner, *Hosea*, 119. See Mackay, *Hosea*, 356n27.

the aforementioned commentators easily incorporate either lexical meaning into their predetermined interpretation of the verse.

A similar hermeneutical phenomenon happens among some commentators with respect to the syntax of the first four lines as well. For some, rendering these lines as interrogatives does not necessarily mean they are therefore an oracle of judgment. For instance, not a few scholars read the questions which are addressed to death and Sheol in Hosea 13:14cd as a taunt about their impotence.¹²⁹ Hell and death are conquered and destroyed, not Israel.¹³⁰ So the result of this reading is that these lines would predict the salvation, not the judgment of God's people. Additionally, Mackay even suggests that "it is possible to treat the first two lines as questions in which the Lord muses over the fate of the people and answers the questions positively."¹³¹ So once again, for the scholars just referenced, even the syntax of the first four lines (like interpretation of the fifth line) does not necessarily settle the dispute over how to read this verse. They can accommodate reading these lines as questions, yet still interpret them in a way that is not a judgment towards God's people.

These examples have demonstrated that whatever choice is made in reference to the various translation options with verse 14 is not necessarily ultimately determinative for whether Hosea is delivering a negative word of judgment or a positive word of salvation to God's people. What must govern the final decision over whether or not this verse (and the quoted lines in particular) is a statement of salvation or judgment must be the context in which these verses are embedded. Hosea does have intermittent words of hope (notably Hos 11:8-9), and the book ends on the promise of future salvation (see the

¹²⁹Garrett, *Hosea, Joel*, 264; McComiskey, "Hosea," 224; and Mackay, *Hosea*, 356.

¹³⁰Keil and Delitzsch, *Minor Prophets*, 160.

¹³¹Mackay, *Hosea*, 356n26. Cf. Garrett, who also writes with respect to the first couplet (Hos 13:14ab) that "if it is a question, then ... at most, all he does is deliberate over the question" (*Hosea, Joel*, 264).

discussion in the next section), nevertheless the immediate context of chapter 13 clearly and decisively describes the imminent judgment that is coming upon faithless Israel as was demonstrated in the overview of the chapter. Therefore I conclude that Hosea 13:14 was intended to be understood as a negative word of judgment.¹³² The attempts to read these lines in a positive manner go against the clear flow of the argument and emphasis in the context.

In light of the previous discussion, it seems best to read the first four lines of the verse as a series of four rhetorical questions. The first two lines expect a negative answer, meaning that God does not intend to save or redeem Israel. The questions in the third and four lines function as a directive to summon death and Sheol to bring their worst on the people in judgment. The last line concludes the whole verse by stating that “compassion” is hidden from God’s eyes.

Hope for future salvation in Hosea. Despite the doom and gloom of Hosea 13 (including verse 14), God’s negative word of judgment is not the final message that the prophet brings to the people. The prophecy ends with a plea to return to the Lord in repentance in Hosea 14:1-3 (MT 2-4). If Israel “turns” to the Lord,¹³³ then his anger will “turn” (שׁוּב) away from them and the Lord will “heal their apostasy” and “love them

¹³²For authors who likewise understand Hos 13:14 as a negative word of judgment, see Johannes C. de Moor, “O Death, Where is Thy Sting” in *Ascribe to the Lord: Biblical and Other Studies in Memory of Peter C. Craigie*, ed. Lyle M. Eslinger and J. Glen Taylor (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988), 100; Frank S. Thielman, “The Coherence of Paul’s View of the Law: The Evidence of First Corinthians,” *NTS* 38, no. 2 (1992): 248n44; Dearman, *The Book of Hosea*, 328-31; Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*, 207; idem, “Hosea 13-14: Promises of Destruction and Restoration,” *SWJT* 36, no. 1 (Fall 1993): 32-35; Achtemeier, *Minor Prophets I*, 106-8; Wolff, *Hosea*, 228-30; Mays, *Hosea*, 181-83; Hubbard, *Hosea*, 233-34; Macintosh, *Hosea*, 546-49; Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians*, 606; Ciampa and Rosner, “1 Corinthians,” 748; idem, *The First Letter to the Corinthians*, 834; Garland, *1 Corinthians*, 745; Hays, *First Corinthians*, 276; Barrett, *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 383; F. F. Bruce, *1 and 2 Corinthians*, NCB (London: Oliphants, 1971), 156; Franklyn, “Prophetic Cursing of Apostasy,” 63; Heil, *The Rhetorical Role of Scripture in 1 Corinthians*, 250; Malan, “The Use of the Old Testament in 1 Corinthians,” 163-64; Hughes, “Textual and Hermeneutical Aspects of Paul’s Use of the Old Testament in 1 and 2 Corinthians,” 254.

¹³³Note the repetition of the imperative of שׁוּב in vv. 2 and 3 (MT).

freely” (v. 4 [MT 5]). Israel will be replanted like a lush garden and prosper once again (vv. 5-8 [MT 6-9]). None of this is meant to imply that Israel will not undergo judgment for their sin, for they were still guilty and must be punished. But once the condemnation is finished, then God’s people will be restored.

Function of the Quotation in 1 Corinthians 15:54-55

Having analyzed both the antecedent and subsequent context surrounding 1 Corinthians 15:54d-55 and the OT contexts of both Isaiah 25 and Hosea 13, it is now possible to attempt to understand how the quoted words are functioning in Paul’s argument. By utilizing these particular OT words, with Paul’s interpretive modifications, God’s triumph over death in Isaiah 25:8 is specifically tied to the resurrection of the body. And by linking Hosea 13:14 with Isaiah 25, Paul is transforming a summons to death into a taunt of death in light of the victory won through Jesus Christ. However, despite this textual transformation, Paul evidences a contextual awareness of Hosea 13 by his choice to modify it and by including his short interpretive remarks in 1 Corinthians 15:56.

God’s Triumph Over Death Is Tied to the Resurrection of the Body

The rationale that led Paul to quote Isaiah 25:8a in 1 Corinthians 15:54d is really just a continuation of the logic Paul developed earlier in the chapter.¹³⁴ Christ is in the process of subjugating all rival powers and “death is the arch-enemy whose defeat consummates this process of cosmic restoration” (15:26).¹³⁵ There is an order to this undoing of the curse of death. Christ’s resurrection is first, next comes the general resurrection at Christ’s return, and then it is the end, when the kingdom of God can be

¹³⁴Norton writes that “Isa. 25.8^{PM} lies at the logical heart of 1 Cor. 15.20-28” (*Contours in the Text*, 151).

¹³⁵*Ibid.*

delivered after destroying every competing authority (15:23-25). So the resurrection of believers marks the time frame when death is finally defeated. But it does more than merely indicate the temporal fulfillment of this victory. It is the last piece to the puzzle to indicate that death has lost its power. Resurrection is the final demonstration that God's people have been fully redeemed. Overcoming sin's judgment by coming to life proves that death no longer holds sway. "The final destruction of death requires the resurrection of the dead."¹³⁶

After examining Isaiah 25 and noting the relevant themes, it is clear "that Paul is reading the prophetic text with careful attention to its original context."¹³⁷ Paul is drawn to Isaiah 25:8a because it too personifies death as an enemy that will finally be defeated by God. The prophecy projects an eschatological salvation (perhaps with resurrection in the background, cf. Isa 26:19)¹³⁸ that ends all struggles for God's people.¹³⁹ The precise wording of the whole quotation is Paul's creation, but it is a theological distillation of the meaning of the passage. The fact that the verb *κατεπόθη* is passive is not a departure from the intention of the Hebrew text, because it is clearly a divine passive with God performing the action.¹⁴⁰ And the rendering of *נֶצְחָה* with *εἰς νῆκος* not only has precedent in the LXX, but it also serves to mold the stricter lexical meaning of the word with the context of the passage. Death's defeat is "forever." That's the reason for the victory banquet in Isaiah 25 in the first place. After all, "the victory is

¹³⁶Ciampa and Rosner, "1 Corinthians," 748.

¹³⁷Hays, *First Corinthians*, 275. Cf. also Wilk, "Isaiah in 1 and 2 Corinthians," 147.

¹³⁸Keener writes, "This context [i.e. Isaiah 25] naturally lent itself to a resurrection interpretation (Is 26:19)" (*1-2 Corinthians*, 134).

¹³⁹"Paul understood Isa. 25:8a as a prophecy of the eschatological extermination of death, to be brought about by Christ in the course of his parousia" (Wilk, "Isaiah in 1 and 2 Corinthians," 147).

¹⁴⁰Schrage, *Der Erste Brief an die Korinther*, vol. 4, 364; and Heil, *The Rhetorical Role of Scripture in 1 Corinthians*, 252.

certainly a permanent one.”¹⁴¹ Paul found in Isaiah 25:8a (especially as rendered by Theodotion) scriptural warrant for his readers to have confidence that when they finally don their imperishable and immortal bodies, then “death has been swallowed up in victory” and the conflict with this arch enemy will be completely finished.

A Summons to Death Is Transformed into a Taunt of Death

As detailed earlier, Paul has carefully stitched Hosea 13:14cd with Isaiah 25:8a to create one powerful rhetorical prophetic statement from the OT. With their combination these two passages are meant to be mutually interpretive,¹⁴² but Isaiah 25:8a “stands at the exegetical epicentre of the argument.”¹⁴³ Hosea 13:14cd “is interpreted in light of the leading affirmation from Isaiah that death has been swallowed up in victory.”¹⁴⁴ Hosea 13:14 is therefore presented as fulfilled prophecy. “In Hosea death is called upon to punish sin, but thanks to Christ such a role is no longer needed.”¹⁴⁵ Paul is using an eschatological hermeneutic in which he is allowing the perspective of the future resurrection be the grid through which Hosea 13:14 is read.¹⁴⁶ With this end-time resurrection perspective, there is no more judgment. Christ has taken the due punishment for sin, therefore “death has been swallowed up in victory.” Death has been stripped of its power. In light of this final redemption, there is no other way to read Hosea 13:14 but as a pointer to the salvation won in Christ. Hosea 13:14 is appealed to because these words

¹⁴¹Martinus C. de Boer, *The Defeat of Death: Apocalyptic Eschatology in 1 Corinthians 15 and Romans 5*, JSNTSup 22 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988), 127. Cf. also the Peshitta which conflates the two readings as “to victory forever.”

¹⁴²Collins, *First Corinthians*, 577.

¹⁴³Norton, *Contours in the Text*, 151.

¹⁴⁴Dearman, *The Book of Hosea*, 330.

¹⁴⁵Ciampa and Rosner, *The First Letter to the Corinthians*, 836.

¹⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 835.

are now laced with irony, which serves as a powerful rhetorical emphasis on Christ's victory. Much the way a defeated enemy champion might be paraded about and serenaded with words that once exalted his power, but now in this powerless state only mock what he has become.¹⁴⁷

The textual modifications also serve this contextual change. The presence of death's impending judgment (*δικη*) is modified to become the taunt of death's absent victory (*νικος*) in light of Christ's certain victory. Additionally, the taunting effect of both questions of the quotation is heightened by the advancement of the pronoun *σου* to a position in front of the vocative and separate from the nouns they naturally modify.¹⁴⁸ The result is a sneering, "Where, O death, is *your* victory and *your* sting?" The obvious answer is that they are nowhere. So Paul mocks the impotency of what was once a terrifying threat to the people of God, as now a hollow threat. Death's victory and sting are no more because Christ's has claimed victory through the cross and ultimately in the final resurrection as a completion of that victory.

The immediate historical fulfillment of Hosea's words was in the Assyrian invasion. At that time Israel no doubt heard that oracle as a terrifying word of judgment. But even Hosea himself knew that judgment was not the final word for God's people. That's why he ended his prophecy with hope for their future salvation in Hosea 14. Hosea lacked the redemptive-historical clarity that Paul has this side of the cross, but he likely would have agreed with how his words were used. Dearman expresses the same idea in writing,

The gospel based on Jesus' resurrection does indeed reverse the death sentence common to humanity and portrayed in Israel's folly. Whatever Hosea's intention in 13:14, his words live on in transmitted forms. They are reframed in light of other prophetic announcements, and most crucially in light of the cross and resurrection.

¹⁴⁷This analogy leads one to think of the irony in the Romans mockingly calling Jesus the king of the Jews (Matt 27:9, 37; Mark 15:18, 26; Luke 23:38; John 19:3, 19).

¹⁴⁸Heil, *The Rhetorical Role of Scripture in 1 Corinthians*, 250.

Since in his own day Hosea was an articulate spokesman of God's no to sin and yes to forgiveness and new life, he would rejoice at the ways in which a no could be swallowed up in a future transformation.¹⁴⁹

However, Moyise finds this line of thinking to be unsatisfying as a solution to the question of whether or not Paul respected the context of his OT quotes. He acknowledges that if this reasoning is accurate then it would not be unfair to say that Paul has respected the *message* of Hosea. But in his mind "it is still a problem that the words that [Paul] actually quotes do not mean what he says they mean."¹⁵⁰ He suggests that it would have been better for Paul to quote from another passage in Hosea that directly taught a future salvation in the original context.¹⁵¹

While I appreciate Moyise pressing the question, he has missed the powerful rhetorical value of the inherent irony of choosing these particular words from Hosea.¹⁵² The irony in the quotation actually begins with Isaiah 25:8a, which has the imagery of God swallowing up death, which is the reverse of the expected action of death swallowing up its victims (cf. Isa 5:14).¹⁵³ Paul likely recognized the irony already present in Isaiah 25:8 and continued that idea in the way he chose to utilize Hosea 13:14. The same words that once summoned death's judgment now taunt that defeated foe.

It should not be assumed that because Paul is using the (modified) words differently than they were originally intended that he was unaware of their function in the OT context. The first clue that he recognized that the words as they stood were not wholly suitable for his alternate purposes for them is the very fact that he modified them (as has been thoroughly detailed already). But the second indication that Paul was

¹⁴⁹Dearman, *The Book of Hosea*, 331.

¹⁵⁰Moyise, "Does Paul Respect the Context of His Quotations? Hosea as Test Case," 42.

¹⁵¹Ibid.

¹⁵²To be fair to Moyise, he does raise a version of this idea, but he does not discuss the role that 1 Cor 15:56 serves in confirming Paul's contextual awareness.

¹⁵³Malan, "The Use of the Old Testament in 1 Corinthians," 163.

contextually aware of the meaning of these words, and also expected his readers to be, is the words immediately following the quotation in verse 56.

Many scholars do not quite know what to do with this enigmatic verse right after the quotation.¹⁵⁴ Verse 56 “appears abrupt and seems to be oddly situated. Its omission would seem to give a far smoother and more logical reading with the thanksgiving in verse 57 following immediately after the declaration of victory in verses 54-55.”¹⁵⁵ However, rather than simply remove the verse, it is important to recognize that it serves as “an extremely concise commentary on [Paul’s] quotation of Hosea 13:14.”¹⁵⁶ The sting of death mentioned in Hosea 13:14d has to do with sin. The specific sin that is inviting death’s punishment in Hosea 13:14 is Israel’s sin (cf. Hos 13:12).¹⁵⁷ Paul goes on to identify the law as the empowering agent of sin, by which he means that the law serves a catalytic function to bring about sin and with it, death.¹⁵⁸ This law, sin and death nexus has its origin in the very first sin (cf. Rom 7:7-11),¹⁵⁹ and “being *primordial* the catalytic operation of the law becomes *prototypical*”¹⁶⁰ of later sin, such as Israel’s sinning under

¹⁵⁴For example, Friederich Wilhelm Horn, “1 Korinther 15,56 – ein exegetischer Stachel,” ZNW 82 (1991): 88-105, suggests that it is a gloss added to the original letter because of what he perceives as an incongruity with the surrounding context. For more examples see the survey of scholars in Vlachos, *The Law and the Knowledge of Good and Evil*, 13-18.

¹⁵⁵Vlachos, “Law, Sin, and Death,” 277.

¹⁵⁶Ciampa and Rosner, *The First Letter to the Corinthians*, 836. Cf. also Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, 293; Bruce, *1 and 2 Corinthians*, 156; Harrisville, *1 Corinthians*, 282; and Marion L. Soards, *1 Corinthians*, NIBC (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1999), 352.

¹⁵⁷Keener, *1-2 Corinthians*, 134.

¹⁵⁸“The parallelism between verse 56a and 56b invites us to interpret *δύναμις* as the ‘power’ through which sin is brought about. The law is the stimulus of sin; it empowers men to sin. That is the meaning of verse 56b. In Paul’s opinion, sin, being the sting of death, is incited by the law.” H. W. Hollander and J. Holleman, “The Relationship of Death, Sin, and Law in 1 Cor 15:56,” *NovT* 35, no. 3 (1993): 279. Cf. also the comments in Vlachos, “Law, Sin, and Death,” 284.

¹⁵⁹Though v.56 is brief and undeveloped in 1 Cor. 15, it is safe to assume that Paul has the more extended discussion of the sin-death-law complex which is found in Rom. 5-8 in his mind. See Thielman, “The Coherence of Paul’s View of the Law,” 249.

¹⁶⁰Vlachos, *The Law and the Knowledge of Good and Evil*, 121.

the law. This is precisely the context of Hosea's oracle of judgment. Because of Israel's sin against God in not keeping the law, God had to punish them by summoning death. Israel's failure to keep the Mosaic law is typological of all human failure to keep God's law. Punishment must be meted out, but ultimately it can only be met by Christ. And the ultimate punishment for sin was taken care of at the cross. With the ultimate threat of death finally taken care of, the threat of death's judgment vanishes. It no longer can claim victory. Its bite has no more sting.¹⁶¹

It is not just that Paul was *aware* of the original meaning of these words from Hosea 13:14, but he *assumed* that meaning as undergirding these words in his employment of them. Fulfillment in Jesus meeting the judgment still assumes an original meaning of judgment. 1 Corinthians 15:55 loses some of its power without this original understanding lurking in the background. The commentary that Paul provides in verse 56 also provides confirmation of this contextual awareness.

Conclusion

The explanation offered above is not the only attempt at demonstrating that Paul is not prooftexting in his utilization of Isaiah 25:8 and especially Hosea 13:14. As was noted above, some commentators argue that the original intention of Hosea 13:14 in Hebrew is a salvation promise. They specifically capitalize on the absence of any explicit interrogative marker in the first two lines of the verse and therefore read them as a simple statement of God's intent to redeem.¹⁶² In which case, there is a smoother line connecting the intention of Hosea and Paul in the lines quoted. The tension is then apparently

¹⁶¹“Paul projects an eschatological vision of a *stingless death* precisely because *Jesus Christ has himself absorbed the sting* on the basis of how his death and resurrection addresses the problem of human sin and the law.” Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 1300 (emphasis original).

¹⁶²See Mackay, *Hosea*, 356; Garrett, *Hosea, Joel*, 264-65; McComiskey, “Hosea,” 223-24; Kidner, *Hosea*, 117-18; and Keil and Delitzsch, *Minor Prophets*, 159-60; Walter Harrelson, “Death and Victory in 1 Corinthians 15:51-57: The Transformation of a Prophetic Theme” in *Faith and History: Essays in Honor of Paul W. Meyer*, ed. John T. Carroll, Charles H. Cosgrove, and E. Elizabeth Johnson (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 155-58.

relieved. This is certainly plausible, and should be considered a legitimate alternative that would also answer the thesis of this dissertation. However, it was not the interpretation settled on here (for the reasons delineated previously), nor is it necessary to establish that Paul was not prooftexting, but using these OT passages with contextual awareness.

A common variant of this type of argument seems to be an attempt to straddle the interpretive fence. Some scholars would agree that *in Hebrew* Hosea 13:14 is a negative judgment on Israel, yet they point out that the LXX's rendering of the first two lines of the verse (Hos 13:14ab) is apparently translated in the indicative, not the interrogative and therefore is a positive promise of salvation.¹⁶³ They then argue, that even though the Hebrew text intends these words to be a negative prediction of judgment, Paul followed (either knowingly or ignorantly) the LXX's rendering of this verse in his utilization of Hosea 13:14cd as a positive statement of salvation.¹⁶⁴

This approach, however, is problematic. Paul's dependence on the LXX is only as good as its faithfulness to the original Hebrew. This cuts two ways. In arguing that Paul used Theodotion's text, it only helps the thesis of this dissertation if Theodotion accurately reflects the Hebrew text. I argued above that Theodotion was attempting to correct the LXX's mistranslation by more accurately reflecting the meaning in the Hebrew. So in the case of Isaiah 25:8a, Paul deliberately departed from the LXX precisely because it was not aligned with the original Hebrew text. It would be more difficult to escape the charge that Paul was prooftexting if I would have turned around and followed these scholars in arguing that Paul departed from the original Hebrew in favor of the inaccurate LXX's rendering of Hosea 13:14 to suit his purposes. Scriptural

¹⁶³Along with the LXX, the Vulgate, Targum, and Peshitta all seem to read 13:14ab as declarative statements.

¹⁶⁴See Dearman, *The Book of Hosea*, 329-31; Hays, *First Corinthians*, 276; Hughes, "Textual and Hermeneutical Aspects of Paul's Use of the Old Testament in 1 and 2 Corinthians," 254-56; Mays, *Hosea*, 181; Keener, *1-2 Corinthians*, 134; Malan, "The Use of the Old Testament in 1 Corinthians," 163-64. Cf. also Macintosh, *Hosea*, 549.

authority resides in the original text, and derivatively in translation (including the LXX) only to the degree that it represents the original. The Septuagint is essentially a commentary on how the translators read the Hebrew grammar, and sometimes they got it wrong and should not be followed.

In conclusion, there is not a disregard for the original meaning of Hosea 13:14. Paul uses the passage with contextual awareness, but applies it in light of his situation in redemptive history. He presupposes the original meaning and that is what gives these particular words ironic rhetorical force. The irony is created *because* of the original meaning, which Paul is drawing from and building upon in his adaptation of them for his purposes. So, do the words in Hosea 13:14 function the same way in 1 Corinthians 15:55? No. Is Paul therefore disregarding the original context? Again, the answer is no. He is respecting the context, but with the qualification that he is able to adapt them creatively for his purposes and in light of the larger canonical context. He clues us in on the fact that he understands that the words in their original form and setting do not serve his purposes *en toto*. That is the precise reason he modifies the wording, and also comments on their meaning, both as to the original intention and the current application. If Paul's intention was to use the words with the same immediate function as they served in the original context, then there would probably not be a need for any major modifications. The modifications themselves give indication that Paul is aware that the original meaning does not quite suit his purposes. Yet he was still drawn to this text for a reason. In Hosea death is summoned to punish sin. Paul knew that is what Hosea 13:14 meant and his reader knew that too. But thanks to Christ that punishment is no longer needed.

Paul's use of the OT is not a linear one-to-one correspondence of meaning between the testaments. But how could it be in light of the period of fulfillment inaugurated in Jesus Christ? But contrary to those who conclude that this means that Paul

is prooftexting verses and pulling them out of context, something much more nuanced is happening. If the reader would permit a bit of personification (not unlike Paul utilizes in the quotation), Paul is not forcefully conscripting verses against their will, he is leading them along the trajectory they set for themselves and that is provided by the larger biblical storyline. I think it is fair to surmise that if Hosea had the luxury of Paul's vantage point, he would not object to how his words were being called upon.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The conclusion to this dissertation will consist of a brief summary of each chapter, then a discussion of the role of textual modifications in Paul's citations, and lastly, some thoughts on Paul's hermeneutic as illustrated by the passages under examination.

Summary

The dissertation begins by offering a working thesis that Paul does not disregard the OT context in his explicit quotations, rather he operates with a contextual-rootedness even when he develops the meaning along biblical-theological lines. Three quotations are chosen to test this thesis through an inductive examination. These particular three are chosen because they are all introduced by Paul as explicit quotations, come from three different letters, ground the argument in context, and appear to diverge from the OT context both in meaning and form. The chapter then surveys the particular approach of five scholars from a non-contextual orientation (Barnabas Lindars, Joseph Fitzmyer, Richard Longenecker, Peter Enns, and Steve Moyise) and then five scholars from a contextual approach (C. H. Dodd, Earle Ellis, Walt Kaiser, Darrell Bock, and Greg Beale). This step was important to recognize that not all who fall into one of these two main categories necessarily address the issue in the same manner. There is a diversity of approach and different emphases for each scholar. Yet what grouped them together was their general orientation with respect to the thesis of this dissertation.

The second chapter addresses in detail the first of the three hard cases, namely the quotation found in Romans 11:26-27. The four-line citation was determined to be a

compound quote consisting of the combination of Isaiah 59:20-21a and Isaiah 27:9c. The NT context was given much space because it was discovered to be the main determiner of the final form and meaning of the quotation itself. Throughout Romans 11 Paul is delineating the salvation-historical pattern of Israel's rejection which leads to the Gentiles' inclusion which then culminates in Israel's final inclusion. And this three-stage pattern is not only found in both Romans 11:11-24 and the mystery statement of Romans 11:25-26a, but also the final form of the quotation itself in Romans 11:26c-27. The textual modifications were created by Paul both to situate the new text in his context and even more importantly, to reveal the mystery of Gentile instrumentality in Israel's final salvation. Paul is updating the texts, so to speak, to align with his perspective on this side of the cross. However, it was concluded that Paul's interpretive modifications do not result in a disregard for the original meaning, because the quotation ultimately serves the same purpose as those same texts in their OT contexts, namely to indicate a future, final salvation for Israel.

Chapter 3 analyzes Paul's quotation of Psalm 68:18 in Ephesians 4:8. Despite various attempts to locate the source of the textual modifications in extrabiblical interpretative traditions, the best explanation is that Paul himself adjusted the text of Psalm 68:18. His purpose in doing so was both to capture the whole thrust of the Psalm and also to align it with the theological concerns of the Ephesian context. He quoted from verse 18 of Psalm 68 because it is the thematic and literary center of the Psalm, but he incorporated the conclusion by substituting the language of "giving" from the Psalm's crescendo in place of "receiving" from the Psalm's climax. With this modification Paul not only drew together the language in both verses, but he also united the themes of both halves of the psalm into one compact theological statement. The implicit eschatological trajectory of Psalm 68 is shown to find its fulfillment in Jesus Christ. As the ascended Lord, Christ has triumphed over his enemies and now gives gifts to his people. Though

Paul reverses a key word from Psalm 68:18, he is not reversing the original meaning, rather he is actually serving to trace out the original meaning of the whole Psalm more fully, especially in light of the cosmic and universal victory of Christ in his death, resurrection and ascension.

The fourth chapter is concerned with the last of the three hard cases, namely the composite quotation of Isaiah 25:8a and Hosea 13:14cd in 1 Corinthians 15:54d-55. Paul carefully stitches together these two passages through a series of textual modifications to address the victory over the last enemy, death. The leading affirmation of the quotation comes from Isaiah 25:8a, but Paul decides to use the rendering of the text as it is found in the Greek text of Theodotion's revision of the LXX because he deemed it a more accurate representation of the MT. Paul's form of Isaiah 25:8a also contained the key word "victory" which served both to capture the context of the victory banquet over death in Isaiah 25 and also fit in the rhetorical flow of thought in 1 Corinthians 15. The second part of the quotation, Hosea 13:14cd, was determined to be an oracle of judgment summoning death in its OT context. However, when read in combination with the leading affirmation from Isaiah and in light of the resurrection victory won by Christ, those same words (with modification) now taunt death's impotency. Verse 56 indicates that the judgment of sin because of law breaking as found in the original context of Hosea 13 is not far from Paul's consciousness, but that judgment was ultimately poured out on Christ and therefore rendered null and void for the believer. It is true that in 1 Corinthians 15:55 one finds an ironic reversal of the original meaning of Hosea 13:14, but it is not so much that Paul disregarded that OT context, but built upon it and carried it to its eschatological termination in Christ.

This last chapter aims to synthesize some of the findings in the prior exegetical work and suggest some concluding thoughts related to Paul's hermeneutical approach to the OT.

The Role of Textual Modifications

One of the reasons that these three quotations were chosen and dubbed as “hard cases” is precisely because of the level of textual modification involved in their appropriation by Paul. All three of these examples undergo a significant amount of adjustment on the textual level as they appear in the NT. Some of the modifications are rather benign and are merely the result of being replanted in a new context or combined with another text. Several of the textual modifications fall into this category. For instance, the dropping of the initial *καί* (representing the initial vav which is so common in Hebrew) of Isaiah 59:20 (LXX) is simply shedding extraneous words which are unnecessary in the flow of Romans 11:26 (the second *καί* probably falls into this category too). The singular pronoun *αὐτοῦ* in Isaiah 27:9c (LXX) was made plural (*αὐτῶν*) in Romans 11:27b to match the plural *αὐτοῖς* that was already present in Isaiah 59:21a (LXX). The conversion of *τὴν ἁμαρτίαν* from the singular (Isa 27:9c LXX) to the plural *τὰς ἁμαρτίας* (Rom 11:27b) could be explained along the same lines. The LXX already pluralized *נְשֻׁבָּה* to *ἀσεβείας* in Isaiah 59:20b, so it seems likely that Paul would also pluralize its synonym from Isaiah 27:9c when he combined the texts. Paul also changed the two main verbs of Psalm 67:19 (LXX) from the second person of address, to narrating with the third person verbs of *ἤχμαλώτευσεν* and *ἔδωκεν* in Ephesians 4:8 because he was addressing the Ephesian believers. And the change in the last two words of Ephesians 4:8 from *ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ* to *τοῖς ἀνθρώποις* is clearly the result of the impact of the prior verb change (*ἔλαβες* → *ἔδωκεν*).

However, another set of textual modifications are actually quite significant. Paul’s change from “receiving” (*ἔλαβες/ἤρῃς*) in Psalm 68 (67 LXX) to “giving” (*ἔδωκεν*) in Ephesians 4:8 is not incidental to the meaning of the passage. This change is also the primary reason that many scholars judge Paul to be disregarding the original context of the verse. Yet, as I have explained it here, this textual modification, far from ignoring the context, is actually Paul’s attempt of incorporating more of the context of the

Psalm. The very change that led some to think Paul is misreading the OT context, is the primary evidence to clue the reader in on the fact that Paul is actually distilling the thrust of the whole Psalm in compact form. Similarly, the prepositional change from ἔνεκεν Σιῶν (LXX) / יְיָֹֹ (MT) in Isaiah 59:20 to ἐκ Σιῶν in Romans 11:26 has led interpreters in many different directions. My own conclusion was that this change was a key component in Paul’s attempt to add additional revelation (from what was previously a mystery) into the meaning of the quotation. From Paul’s vantage point in redemptive-history, the quote as it stood without adaptation was incomplete to address the concerns of the contemporary people of God. What was made clear to Paul and then inserted into the quotation was that God was indeed still going to bring about a greater salvation of Israel, but it will be by means of the Jews being provoked by Gentile salvation first. Paul’s quotations are not mere citations, meaning he is not simply reasserting the exact same words with the exact same meaning as their OT context. He is “integrating his exposition into the quotations themselves.”¹ They are offered to the reader with an interpretation already integrated within the actual quotation.

Doug Oss in his work on Paul’s use of Isaiah in Romans 9-11 noted some interesting examples that serve to provide a greater level of objectivity to the assertion that Paul does insert a measure of interpretive activity into his quotations. He writes,

Perhaps the clearest examples of Paul using Isa-citations as a form of implicit interpretation are the two double citations from Isaiah: Isa 40:13 (Rom 11:34; 1 Cor 2:16), and Isa 8:14 (Rom 9:33; 10:11). In these four citations we have clear points of comparison by which to gauge Paul’s level of interpretive activity. In our analysis we noted that Paul knew the entire verse of Isa 40:13, since between the two citations he cites the entire verse. But he omits different portions of the verse in his double citation of it. These omissions shape the text toward his context. Likewise in the case of Isa 8:14, Paul inserts the term πᾶς, plainly shaping the Isa-text toward his own theological purpose. This is particularly significant in the light of his citations of the same text only a few verses earlier in the context. . . . [It is probable that these differences] are the result of conscious and deliberate interpretive activity. The

¹E. Earle Ellis, *Paul’s Use of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1957), 148.

double citations point decidedly in this direction.²

If the interpretations offered in this dissertation are correct, they serve as additional examples to undergird Oss's conclusions that Paul engages in "implicit interpretation through text form manipulation."³ Rather than viewing these textual modifications as a hinderance to interpretation, they are actually in many cases pointers to what meaning the apostle is seeking to draw out of them.

Paul's Hermeneutic

This dissertation is primarily an inductive study of three debated quotations. The conclusions drawn cannot outreach the framing of the dissertation. Broad sweeping claims would be asking too much. But as far as these three examples are representative of so-called "hard cases" then perhaps some lines of thought can be offered as to Paul's hermeneutical approach in his quotations of the OT.

The opening chapter framed the study by grouping various scholars in one of two camps, namely those who epouse that Paul (at least at times) operates with a non-contextual orientation in his utilization of the OT, and those who argue the opposite, namely that Paul does work with a contextual-rootedness in his citations. Richard Longenecker was identified as a prominent example on the former side and Greg Beale as a proponent of the latter approach. But some scholars would seemingly object to being strictly aligned with one of these two sides. For instance, Dan McCartney has addressed this very question and identified his position as a third way between Longenecker and Beale (whom he specifically names in his article).⁴ McCartney boldly states, "The New Testament writers were not doing grammatical-historical exegesis, but neither were their

²Douglas A. Oss, "Paul's Use of Isaiah and Its Place in His Theology with Special Reference to Romans 9-11" (PhD diss., Westminster Theological Seminary, 1992), 61.

³Ibid.

⁴Dan G. McCartney, "Should We Employ the Hermeneutics of the New Testament Writers?" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Evangelical Theological Society, Atlanta, GA, November 19-21, 2003). Thanks to Tom Schreiner for alerting me to this essay.

interpretations arbitrary.”⁵ He thinks of this position as walking a line between a strictly contextual and a non-contextual approach. But the problem with his assessment is that he too rigidly identifies the contextually oriented approach with a mere grammatical-historical interpretation. As McCartney later admits in the same article, Beale rejects being labeled a “grammatical-historical-only” proponent and essentially agrees with the argument that McCartney puts forward.⁶ A few years after McCartney delivered this paper Beale elaborates on other ways to approach the question in writing,

There are other viable interpretative approaches along the spectrum between these two opposite poles of ‘*grammatical-historical exegesis*’ and ‘*non-contextual exegesis*’. For example, the New Testament authors may be using a *biblical-theological approach* that could be described as a canonical contextual approach. This approach is not a technical *grammatical-historical* one but takes in wider biblical contexts than merely the one being quoted, yet is not inconsistent with the quoted context. Were not the apostolic writers theologians, and can we not allow that they did not always interpret the Old Testament according to a grammatical-historical exegetical method, but theologically in ways that creatively developed Old Testament texts, yet did not contravene the meaning of the original Old Testament author?⁷

The goal of this dissertation is not to defend Beale’s approach over another scholar, but he expresses well how I sought to explain each of these passages by offering a biblical-theological reading. The quoted texts are each interpreted by Paul from the vantage point of being further down the biblical-theological trajectory than the original context in which the words are situated. Having said that, the third passage, and specifically Paul’s use of Hosea 13:14cd in 1 Corinthians 15:55, is admittedly the most difficult to explain. Some could reasonably agree with my solution and yet still want to describe that passage as an example of a non-contextual reading by Paul. For instance, while not interacting with the exact argument made here, Moyise does consider some

⁵Ibid., n.p.

⁶Ibid., n. 6. McCartney included this information after he received feedback from Beale following the actual delivery of the paper.

⁷G. K. Beale, “Did Jesus and the Apostles Preach the Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts? Revisiting the Debate Seventeen Years Later in the Light of Peter Enns’ Book, *Inspiration and Incarnation*,” *Themelios* 32, no. 1 (October 2006): 21.

similar solutions to Paul's use of Hosea 13:14 and yet still maintains that "Paul does *not* respect the context of his quotations from Hosea."⁸ But he goes on to qualify this bald statement in acknowledging that "Paul *does* seem to be engaged in something more sophisticated than simply replacing the original meaning with his own."⁹ He concludes that at the end of the day it will probably "be one's own theological convictions that decide whether 'respect with qualifications' or 'lack of respect with qualifications' is the best way of stating the matter. I am inclined to go with the latter, since it is Paul's audaciousness rather than his conformity that stands out, even if there is more to be said."¹⁰ I can agree with Moyise that in some (rare) difficult cases, there is a fine line of distinction between which way of characterizing the matter is more accurate. However, even though I am sympathetic to what he is writing here, I would lean the other way. I do not find it helpful to describe this biblical-theological interpretation of these passages as a misuse. The interpretations offered here are not contrary to the original intention as though the original author would protest, or as though Paul is merely proof-texting. These quotations are not out of their "ultimate canonical context."¹¹ It is not as though Paul did not care about the original context, quite to the contrary. But "for Paul, Christological reading of the OT is the *only* correct interpretation of Israel's Scripture."¹²

Paul did not simply ransack the OT to find mere words to fit his purposes, he wanted to draw upon their contexts. He claimed scriptural authority for the points he was

⁸Steve Moyise, "Does Paul Respect the Context of His Quotations? Hosea as Test Case" in *What Does the Scripture Say?* *Studies in the Function of Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity: Volume 2: The Letters and Liturgical Traditions*, ed. Craig A. Evans and H. Daniel Zacharias (London: T&T Clark, 2012), 49 (emphasis original).

⁹*Ibid.*, 50 (emphasis original).

¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹Douglas J. Moo, "The Problem of *Sensus Plenior*" in *Hermeneutics, Authority and Canon*, ed. D. A. Carson and J. D. Woodbridge (Leicester: InterVarsity; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1986), 210.

¹²Mark S. Gignilliat, *Paul and Israel's Servants: Paul's Theological Reading of Isaiah 40-66 in 2 Corinthians 5:14-6:10*, LNTS 330 (London: T&T Clark International, 2007), 24 (emphasis original).

making. How persuasive would this have been to his readers if they simply objected to his interpretations? I lean in the other direction from Moyise precisely because Paul is laboring to show continuity with the OT witness and to ground his arguments with quotes from the OT.

It is not always possible to say with certainty how Paul arrived at the uses he did. In a sense, what I have sought to do in this dissertation is to force Paul to “show his work” much the way my math teachers demanded of me during my grade school days. But at the end of the day, all we have is the solution (the quotation) and the problem (the original context). Where Paul’s rationale is not explicitly revealed, at best we can only posit these attempts as plausible suggestions.

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ABSTRACT

WAS PAUL PROOFTEXTING? PAUL'S USE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT AS ILLUSTRATED THROUGH THREE DEBATED TEXTS

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The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2014
Chair: Dr. Thomas R. Schreiner

Chapter 1 introduces the particular problem to be addressed and also the thesis of the dissertation as a potential answer to this problem. The three test case passages are briefly introduced as well as the rationale for their selection. Attention is then given to surveying the history of modern research by examining those scholars who maintain that Paul's use of the OT is either a generally non-contextually rooted approach or a contextually rooted approach, respectively. The closing section sets out the methodology of examination.

Each of the next three chapters is given to the three hard cases of Paul's use of the OT. Paul's use of Isaiah 59:20-21 and 27:9 in Romans 11:26-27 is discussed in chapter 2 and demonstrated to be a contextually rooted use of the OT by arguing that Paul employs these passages with the same burden as their OT context, namely that one day all Israel will be saved. However, in Paul's modified form it also serves to reinforce the mystery concerning how that salvation will take place.

Chapter 3 is a focused interaction with Paul's use of Psalm 68:18 in Ephesians 4:8. After discussing the inadequacies of the various approaches which seek to locate Paul's form of the text as employing an existing interpretive tradition, it is argued that Paul modified the wording of the quotation, not to disregard the OT context, but rather to summarize succinctly the entire psalm and use it to draw together several important

themes in his letter.

The quotation of Isaiah 25:8 and Hosea 13:14 in 1 Corinthians 15:54-55 is the subject of chapter 4. While Paul does again modify these texts, he builds upon their original contexts as a way of showing how Christ's resurrection has conquered death. The judgment prophesied in the OT context has been poured out on Christ, thereby clearing a path for resurrection life for his people.

Chapter 5 concludes with a synthesis of Paul's hermeneutical method in these passages. Paul's use of the OT is contextually rooted, but also comes through the interpretive lens of the apostle in light of his place in redemptive history.

VITA

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