

GUY WATERS

The End of Deuteronomy in the Epistles of Paul

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen

zum Neuen Testament 2.Reihe

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Mohr Siebeck

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221



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The End of Deuteronomy
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Preface

This book is in essence my doctoral dissertation, submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate Program in Religion, Duke University, 2002. The revisions that I have made are few and minor, primarily of an editorial nature. In this work, I explore how the apostle Paul reads Deut 27-30, 32 in his letters.

It is an overwhelming and a humbling task to draft a record of appreciation to the many people who have supported and directed me in the course not only of my doctoral studies at Duke but also of my service on the faculty of Belhaven College, Jackson, Mississippi.

I must extend many thanks to my dissertation committee. Dr. Joel Marcus sacrificed tremendously in order to serve on this committee. I am indebted to him for his careful and thoughtful reading of this work. Dr. Beth Larocca-Pitts has modeled to me scholarly acumen and dedication to classroom instruction. I am particularly grateful for her many keen observations and comments throughout this work. I am especially grateful to Dr. Eric Meyers not only for guiding my studies in Second Temple and Rabbinic literature but also in allowing and encouraging me, soon after my arrival at Duke, to pursue those interests that have blossomed into this dissertation. His support, both inside and outside the classroom, made my studies at Duke a richer experience for me.

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I am grateful to my colleagues on the faculty of Belhaven College. They continue, by word and by example, to challenge me to pursue excellence in undergraduate education. I am especially thankful for the encouragement extended by Dr. Daniel Fredericks, Senior Vice-President and Provost, Belhaven College.

I must also express my thanks to Dr. Henning Ziebritzki and Prof. Jörg Frey for their extending to me the opportunity to publish this work in WUNT. I am especially appreciative of the professionalism and patience exemplified by Ms. Tanja Mix in providing me editorial assistance for this project. I must also express appreciation to Ms. Marty Cooper, who prepared the indices.

Longstanding thanks must go to my parents, Dr. Elzberry Waters, Jr. and Dr. Karen V. Waters, my sister, Janine L. Waters, and my parents-in-law, Mr. Charles E. K. Vasaly and Mrs. Frances W. Vasaly. Their interest, support, sympathy, and encouragement are both valued and appreciated. I owe particular thanks for the support of the pastors and congregation of the First Presbyterian Church, Jackson, Mississippi, and of the Church of the Good Shepherd, Durham, North Carolina; and for the continued counsel and direction of the Rev. James T. O'Brien. My daughters, Phoebe Louise and Lydia Anne have been a source of delight and encouragement to me in the course of my professional labors. Finally, my thanks must go to Sarah, my wife of nine years, and my closest friend of fifteen years. Her sacrificial spirit, patience, and joy have often gone untold and have been the occasion of thanksgiving "unto the glory of God" (Rom 15:8).

Jackson, Mississippi, June 2006

Guy Prentiss Waters

Table of Contents

Chapter 1. Introduction	1
1. Deuteronomy and the Apostle Paul	1
2. Paul and His Reading of Scripture – A Brief Survey of Scholarship	4
2.1. The Approaches of Adolf von Harnack and Rudolf Bultmann	4
2.2. <i>Testimonia</i> Hypotheses	8
2.3. Paul and Second Temple Interpretation of Scripture.....	11
3. Paul, Apostle to the Gentiles and Reader of Scripture.....	13
3.1. Paul, Apostle to the Gentiles.....	13
3.2. Paul, Reader of Scripture	15
4. Critical Issues Surrounding Paul As Reader of Scripture	18
4.1. Considerations of Form	18
4.2. Considerations of Substance: Paul As An Interpreter of Scripture.....	21
5. The Approach of the Following Investigation.....	24
5.1. Concentration Upon Citations and Explicit, Verbal References	24
5.2. Deut 32: “Romans <i>In Nuce</i> ”.....	24
5.3. Deut 27-30, 32 and “Context” in Paul	26
6. Outline of the Present Study	28
Chapter 2. Deut 27-30, 32 in Second Temple Jewish Writings	29
1. Introduction.....	29
2. The Theses of Odil Steck and James Scott	31
2.1. Steck’s <i>deuteronomische Geschichtsbild</i> [dtrGB] hypothesis: „A Conception of the Metahistory of all Israel”	31
2.2. James Scott: Deuteronomy, Deuteronomic Tradition, and Daniel 936	
3. Deut 27-30, 32 in Second Temple Literature	42
3.1. Qumran	42
3.2. The Synagogue	48
3.3. <i>Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum</i> (Pseudo-Philo).....	52
3.4. Apocrypha.....	57
3.5. <i>Testament of Moses</i>	60
3.6. Josephus	64
3.7. Philo	66
3.8. Tannaitic Midrashim.....	71
3.9. Did Deut 27-30 or Deut 32 Circulate Independently in the Second Temple Period?	74

4. Conclusions.....	75
Chapter 3. Deut 27-30 in Galatians (and 1 Corinthians?)	79
1. Introduction.....	79
2. Galatians 3:10, 13.....	80
2.1. The Text Form of Gal 3:10	80
2.2. The Text Form of Gal 3:13	86
2.3. Does the Form of Gal 3:10,13 Evidence “Deut 27-30 Tradition”?.....	88
2.4. Is Gal 3:13-14 a Pre-Pauline Confession?	92
2.5. Paul’s Engagement of Deut 27-30 at Gal 3:10-14	93
2.5.1. How Does Deut 27:26 Prove Gal 3:10a?.....	93
2.5.2. Who is “Cursed” in Gal 3:10-14? 100	
2.5.3 .Gal 3:10,13-14: From “Curse” To “Blessing”.....	103
2.6. Preliminary Conclusions.....	112
3. Excursus – Deut 27-30 at 1 Cor 14:21?	113
3.1. Introduction.....	113
3.2. The Text Form of 1 Cor 14:21	114
3.3. The Function of LXX Isa 28:11-12 at 1 Cor 14:21	120
3.4. What If Deut 28:49 <i>Were</i> Behind 1 Cor 14:20-25	127
Chapter 4. Deuteronomy 32 in 1 Corinthians and Philippians	131
1. Introduction.....	131
2. 1 Cor 10:20, 22.....	132
2.1. The Text of 1 Cor 10:20	132
2.2. The Text Form of 1 Cor 10:20	133
2.3. The Text Form of 1 Cor 10:22	136
2.4. Paul’s Engagement of Deut 32 at 1 Cor 10:20, 22	138
2.5. Did Paul Draw Deut 32:17, 32:21a from a Christian <i>Testimonia</i> Collection?	
2.6. Preliminary Conclusions.....	147
3. Philippians 2:15.....	148
3.1. The Text Form of Phil 2:15.....	148
3.2. Paul’s Engagement of Deuteronomy 32 at Phil 2:15.....	150
4. Conclusions.....	158
Chapter 5. Deuteronomy 27-30 and Deuteronomy 32 in Romans	161
1. Introduction.....	161
2. Rom 10:6-8	162
2.1. The Text Form of Rom 10:6-8	162
2.1. Sources of Paul’s Points of Divergence from his Text of Scripture	170
2.1. Paul and Second Temple Readings of Deut 30:11-14.....	170
2.2. Paul and Other Early Christian Exegesis of Deut 30:12-14	178
2.3. The Function of Deut 30:12-14 at Rom 10:6-8	179
2.4. Preliminary Conclusions.....	184

3. Romans 10:19	185
3.1. The Text Form of Romans 10:19	185
3.2. Is Deut 32:21a A Pre-Pauline <i>Testimonium</i> ?	188
3.3. The Function of Rom 10:19 in Romans 9-11	189
3.4. Preliminary Conclusions	197
4. Romans 11:8	199
4.1. The Text Form of Romans 11:8	199
4.2. Did Paul Receive LXX Deut 29:4 / Isa 29:10 from a <i>Testimonia</i> Tradition?	202
4.3. A Reading of Rom 11:8	203
5. Romans 11:11-16	206
6. Preliminary Conclusions	215
7. Rom 12:19	216
7.1. The Text Form of Rom 12:19	216
7.2. The Function of Deut 32:35 at Rom 12:19	218
8. Romans 15:10	223
8.1. The Text Form of Rom 15:10	223
8.2. The Function of Deut 32:43 at Rom 15:7-13	226
9. Conclusions	231
Chapter 6. Deuteronomy 27-30, 32 in Paul – Conclusions	233
1. Introduction	233
2. Tabular Summary of Data	233
3. Conclusions	236
3.1. Considerations of Distribution and Form	236
3.2. Considerations of Content	237
4. Further Conclusions	242
4.1. Paul and His Text of Scripture	242
4.2. Paul and Second Temple Judaism	243
4.3. Paul and Early Christianity	245
4.4. Paul As Reader of Scripture (Again)	246
4.5. Paul: Pastor and Theologian	248
5. Suggestions for Further Research	250
 Bibliography	 256
Index of Ancient Sources	279
Index of Modern Authors	295
Index of Subjects and Key Terms	300

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Deuteronomy and the Apostle Paul

The book of Deuteronomy occupied a position of special importance to Jews of the Second Temple period.¹ Paul evidences this importance, citing Deuteronomy more than any other biblical book, excepting Isaiah and the Psalms.² Deuteronomy not only concludes the Torah, detailing the death of its revered protagonist, Moses, but, in its closing chapters (27–34), succinctly outlines in successive stages Israel’s history, a matter to which many Jews of this period devoted concerted attention.³ This narrative interest in these latter chapters of Deuteronomy appears to be reflected, at least formally, in the apostle Paul.⁴ Paul’s interest in these chapters also

¹ On the importance of Deuteronomy during the Second Temple period, see the discussion in Chapter 2.

² Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 162. Cf. Dietrich-Alex Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums: Untersuchungen zur Verwendung und zum Verständnis der Schrift bei Paulus* (BHT 69; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1986), 33.

³ Note especially the influential work of Odil Steck, *Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten. Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung des deuteronomistischen Geschichtsbildes im Alten Testament, Spätjudentum und Urchristentum* (WMANT 23. Neukirchen – Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1967). Steck’s thesis has been popularized and made accessible to the English – speaking world by James M. Scott, “Restoration of Israel,” in *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters* (ed. G. F. Hawthorne and R. P. Martin; Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 1993), 796–808; idem., “Paul’s Use of Deuteronomistic Traditions,” *JBL* 112 (1993): 645–665; idem., “For as Many as are of Works of the Law are under a Curse, (Galatians 3.10),” in *Paul and the Scriptures of Israel* (ed. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders; JSNTSup 83/ SSEC 1; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 187–221. Steck’s work (and Scott’s) will be considered in further detail in Chapter 2. An earlier (and unfortunately neglected) effort at considering in the importance of Deuteronomy to Paul is Dan O. Via, “A Structuralist Approach to Paul’s Old Testament Hermeneutic,” *Int* 28 (1974): 201–220.

⁴ Some New Testament scholars have distanced themselves from earlier approaches to Paul’s reading of Scripture as “prooftexting.” The heuristic category “story” has gained currency in some recent English – language scholarship as a means of expressing Paul’s awareness of and interest in the narrative dimension of the text of Scripture. See, for example, N. T. Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991); idem., *Christian Origins and the People of God I: The New Testament and the People of God*

appears to be more than a passing one. Of the 38 instances⁵ of Paul's engagement of Deuteronomy in the undisputed epistles,⁶ 25 are from Deut 1–26, 13 from Deut 27–30, 32,⁷ and none from Deut 31, 33–34. Paul's attention to these latter chapters of Deuteronomy (27–30, 32), combined with contemporary Second Temple Jewish interest in this portion of Deuteronomy, warrants consideration of the way in which and reasons for which the apostle Paul turned repeatedly to these chapters of Deuteronomy in his correspondence.

At this point in the discussion it is important to clarify the terminology that we will be using. There are at least three terms that we will use with consistency throughout this work: "engagement," "citation," and "[explicit, verbal] reference." By "engagement" we refer to what conceivably might be proposed as either "citation" or "reference." By "engagement" we also limit ourselves to the texts listed at NA²⁷, 776–778. In the main, however, it will be an imprecise and unbounded term. It is important to note that when we speak of Paul's engagement of a particular text of Scripture, we

(Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992); Ben Witherington III, *Paul's Narrative Thought World* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1994); N. T. Wright, "Romans and the Theology of Paul," in *Pauline Theology III: Romans* (ed. D. M. Hay and E. E. Johnson; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 30–67; and J. Ross Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News* (Nov-TSup 101; Leiden: Brill, 2002), especially 29–33 (cf. "Who Has Believed Our Message?": Paul and Isaiah 'In Concert' in the Letter to the Romans" [Ph.D.diss., Duke University, 1999], especially 37–40).

General "narrative" approaches to Pauline engagement of Old Testament Scripture include Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*; Carol Stockhausen, *Moses' Veil and the Glory of the New Covenant: The Exegetical Substructure of II Cor. 3,1–4,6* (AnBib 116; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1989); N. T. Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant*; James M. Scott, *Adoption as Sons of God: An Exegetical Investigation into the Background of ΥΙΟΘΕΣΙΑ in the Pauline Corpus* (WUNT 2/48; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992); Carol Stockhausen, "2 Corinthians 3 and the Principles of Pauline Exegesis," in Evans and Sanders, *Paul and the Scriptures of Israel*, 143–164; and James A. Sanders, "Paul and Theological History," 52–57.

Because the term "story" has attained a plasticity in scholarly parlance that diminishes its usefulness as a technical term, we have refrained from using it in this project. Our indebtedness, however, to scholars who rightly understand Paul to be a reader of Scripture as narrative will be evident throughout this and subsequent chapters, even when we dissent from their particular reconstructions.

⁵ Following our counting of the listings at NA²⁷, 776–778. N-A offers 53 instances of engagement in the 13 epistles attributed to Paul, and 42 in the undisputed epistles. We have reduced the latter number to 38 since (1) NA regards Deut 30:12, 13, 14 at Rom 10:6, 7, 8 as independent engagements. We regard them as a single engagement. (2) NA regards Deut 27:26, 28:58 at Gal 3:10 as independent engagements. We regard them (and other texts, as we shall see in Chapter 3) as a single engagement.

⁶ 1 Thessalonians, Galatians, 1–2 Corinthians, Philippians, Philemon, and Romans.

⁷ There are no discernible engagements of Deut 31 in Paul's letters. For this reason, we refrain from speaking of "Deut 27–32," as does, for instance, James M. Scott.

do not necessarily mean Pauline engagement *with* the whole context of that text of Scripture. By “citation,” we refer to a text of Scripture⁸ attended by a recognized formula of citation (“for it is written,” “it says,” etc.). Examples within this category that will be considered in subsequent chapters are Gal 3:10, Rom 10:19, and Rom 12:19. By “reference,” we mean a text of Scripture in the Pauline letters that is not attended by a citation formula, but is recognizably a text of Scripture because of substantial and reasonably indisputable verbal correspondence between the Pauline text and the text of Scripture in question. Examples within this category that will be considered in subsequent chapters are 1 Cor 10:20 and Phil 2:15. I mean to distinguish these terms from such other terms as “allusion,” “echo,” or “implicit reference” which can argue for a parallel between the text of Paul and the text of Scripture on one (or more) of at least three grounds: (1) disputable verbal correspondence; (2) conceptual correspondence between the text of Scripture and the Pauline text; and (3) conceptual correspondence between the surrounding context of the text of Scripture in question and the Pauline text. Although, as we shall explain below, we shall limit the scope of this study to citations and references, we do not thereby consider allusions, echoes, or implicit references to be illegitimate categories by which Paul’s reading of Scripture is to be understood. This limitation, for the purposes of this study, is strictly a methodological one.

⁸ By “Scripture,” we refer to those texts that the apostle Paul recognized as possessing divine authority to govern the faith and practice of his churches. Few Jews in the first century A. D. would have questioned that Deuteronomy was “Scripture.” Related to this concern is the question of the nature and extent of the canon in the Second Temple period. For a thorough treatment of this question, see James A. Sanders’ discussion and bibliography at “Canon, Hebrew Bible,” *ABD* 1:837–852. For a recent treatment of the implication of the Qumran scrolls for the state of the canon in the 1st c. A. D., see James A. Sanders, “The Scrolls and the Canonical Process,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment, Volume 2* (ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. Vanderkam; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 1–23; and J. L. Lust, “Quotation Formulae and Canon in Qumran,” in *Canonization and Decanonization* (ed. A. van der Kooij and K. van der Toorn; SHR 82; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 67–77. Most scholars agree that the Torah and Prophets had attained definition and were recognized by many Jews as canonical by the first century of the present era. On the status of the “Writings,” see now the discussion and bibliography of B. Lang, “The ‘Writings’: A Hellenistic Literary Canon in the Hebrew Bible,” in van der Kooij and van der Toorn, *Canonization and Decanonization*, 41–65.

1.2 Paul and His Reading of Scripture: A Brief Survey of Scholarship

One expects that Paul's reading of Deuteronomy is not unrelated to his broader pattern(s) of reading Scripture. Paul as a reader of Scripture has occasioned a significant amount of discussion in the twentieth century, especially the latter half of the century. We turn now to consider some important and representative models of approaching Paul as an interpreter of Israel's Scriptures.

1.2.1 *The Approaches of Adolf von Harnack and Rudolf Bultmann*

Two venerable and still current approaches to understanding Paul's reading of Scripture have been articulated by Adolf von Harnack and Rudolf Bultmann. In a programmatic essay on the subject,⁹ Harnack has argued that "Paul did not want the religion of the Book of the Old Testament for Christianity and he did not create it" [i.e. a religion indebted to the Old Testament].¹⁰ Further, "Paul worked for a Christianity which had its centre and its driving power in the gospel and which regarded the Old Testament as the subordinate part."¹¹ Why then are Paul's letters, especially Romans, Galatians, and the Corinthian correspondence, replete with citations of Israel's Scriptures? Harnack responds that the comparatively high incidence of Scripture in these epistles is due to "special conditions."¹² Scripture is cited in Galatians in order to "defend ... the Galatians from the severe and threatening danger of judaizers,"¹³ and in 1–2 Corinthians because "other Christian teachers" such as Apollos and Peter had taught the Corinthians of whom Paul thereby could assume prior acquaintance with Scripture.¹⁴ Even so, Harnack argues, Paul regarded the Corinthians as "not yet compe-

⁹ Adolf von Harnack, "The Old Testament in the Pauline Letters and in the Pauline Churches," in *Understanding Paul's Ethics: Twentieth Century Approaches* (ed. Brian S. Rosner; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 27–49. Translation of "Das Alte Testament in den paulinischen Briefen und in den paulinischen Gemeinden," in *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1928), 124–141.

¹⁰ Harnack, "The Old Testament," 48. Commenting on 1–2 Th, Col, Eph, Phil, and Phlm, Harnack concludes "the apostle has not given the Old Testament simply as the book of edification to the churches and the Gentiles; he has not fed them out of Scripture from the beginning, nor later on ... " "The Old Testament," 33.

¹¹ Harnack, "The Old Testament," 48.

¹² Harnack, "The Old Testament," 44.

¹³ For two modern articulations of this view, see Beker, "Echoes and Intertextuality," in Evans and Sanders, *Paul and the Scriptures of Israel*, 67, and J. L. Martyn, *Galatians* (AB 33A; New York: Doubleday, 1997).

¹⁴ Harnack, "The Old Testament," 45.

tent to absorb” the arguments from Scripture that appear throughout 1–2 Corinthians.¹⁵ In the epistle to the Romans, Harnack concedes, Paul does “demonstrate” his gospel “on the foundation of scriptural proofs.”¹⁶ Harnack nevertheless conceives citations of Scripture in Romans to be “scholastic and illusionary,” and “unsatisfactory” as proofs. Further, Harnack argues, Romans is not “typical of the usual procedure of the apostle with respect to the churches” but is a “great exception” to his usual pattern.¹⁷ Consequently, according to Harnack, Romans is “useless for answering the question how the apostle as a missionary, teacher, and writer has in his churches positioned himself regarding the Old Testament and how he has used it.”¹⁸

Harnack has raised several valuable questions but, we shall argue in this thesis, has offered unsatisfactory answers. First, precisely what role did Paul’s intraecclesial conflicts play in his reading of Scripture in Galatians? Did his opponents compel an unwilling Paul to cite Scripture, or did Paul, agreeing with his opponents on the formal authority of Scripture, differ concerning the proper use and meaning of selected texts of Scripture? Second, precisely how competent were the Corinthian Christians as readers of Scripture? Are the Corinthians, instructed by “other teachers,” to be regarded as anomalous in this respect? Third, is it true that Romans is the “great exception” of Paul’s extant corpus? Is there any respect in which Romans evidences continuity in the interpretation of Scripture with other Pauline epistles?

In expressing appreciation for these questions that Harnack’s research raises, one must also highlight the ideological program that lies behind them. Harnack argues that “it was Paul who delivered the Christian religion from Judaism.”¹⁹ Specifically, Paul did so not only by conceiving the “Gospel as a new force abolishing the religion of the law,” but also by giving it “a language, so that it became intelligible, not only to the Greeks but to all *men* generally, and united with the whole of the intellectual capital which had been amassed in previous ages.”²⁰ This was not accidental on Paul’s part, but the direct result of his “put[ting] it in competition with the Israelitish religion: ‘Christ is the end of the law.’”²¹ For Harnack, Paul’s activity was of momentous significance not only for the early centuries of the church’s history but also for the development of Western civilization.

¹⁵ Ibid. Harnack has in mind at least the argument of 1 Cor 10.

¹⁶ Harnack, “The Old Testament,” 43.

¹⁷ Ibid. Harnack argues that Romans is “in its theoretical part ... an apologetic monologue with a few short fictitious dialogues,” *ibid.*

¹⁸ Harnack, “The Old Testament,” 44.

¹⁹ Harnack, *What is Christianity?* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), 176.

²⁰ Harnack, *What is Christianity?*, 177. Emphasis Harnack’s.

²¹ Harnack, *What is Christianity?*, 178.

Not only did [the new religion] bear being thus rooted up and transplanted [from its Jewish background], but it showed that it was meant to be thus transplanted. It gave stay and support to the Roman empire and the whole world of western civilization ... Paul brought new forces to the Roman empire, and laid the foundations of western and Christian civilisation. Alexander the Great's work has perished; Paul's has remained.²²

George Lindbeck has argued, however, that Harnack conceived "Israelhood [to be] central to pre-Constantinian catholicism's communal self-understanding and success."²³ In other words, Christians early "recognized that Christianity formed the central point of humanity as the field of political history as well as its determining factor,"²⁴ and did so by conceiving themselves a "people," viz. by "simply [taking] the place of Israel."²⁵ For Harnack, the ancient church's emergent identity as Israel was not only a key factor in its eventual political success but, ironically, was the very means by which the church descended into various forms of "catholicism,"²⁶ a system of doctrine, worship, and government that Harnack conceived to be antithetical to the "Gospel" of the first century.²⁷

In some respects, Harnack argues, the "catholicizing" of the church in the first centuries of the era is owing to Paul's approach toward the Scriptures.

Paul, although he taught that the law had become of no avail, found a means of preserving the whole of the Old Testament. What a blessing to the church this book has proved! ... Yet the possession of this book has not been an unqualified advantage to the church. To begin with, there are many of its pages which exhibit a religion and morality other than Christian. No matter how resolutely people tried to spiritualize it and give it an inner

²² Harnack, *What is Christianity?*, 179.

²³ George Lindbeck, "Work in Progress: The Church as Israel," (Unpublished Paper, 2001), 9. In support of this statement, Lindbeck cites Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries* (2d ed.; London: Williams and Norgate / New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1908), 1:257–258 (discussed below).

²⁴ Harnack, *Mission and Expansion*, 1:257.

²⁵ Harnack, *Mission and Expansion*, 1:258.

²⁶ For Harnack's understanding of the emergence and growth of "catholicism" in the early church, see his *History of Dogma* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1896); and *The Constitution and Law of the Church in the First Two Centuries* (London: Williams and Norgate / New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1910).

²⁷ On the relationship between the church's identity as "Israel" and its "descent" into "catholicism," see *Mission and Expansion*, 1:287–288. Of "Greek Catholicism," Harnack concludes that "as a whole and in its structure the system of the oriental churches is foreign to the Gospel; it means at once a veritable transformation of the Christian faith and the depression of religion to a much lower level, namely, that of the ancient world," *What is Christianity?*, 244. Of "Roman Catholicism," Harnack's judgment is more severe. "[It] has nothing to do with the Gospel, nay, is in fundamental contradiction with it," *What is Christianity?*, 264. Harnack chronicles his conception of the descent at *What is Christianity?*, 190–267, and *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity, Vols. 1–2*.

meaning by construing it in some special way, their efforts did not avail to get rid of the original sense in its entirety. There was always a danger of an inferior and obsolete principle forcing its way into Christianity through the Old Testament. This, indeed, was what actually occurred. Nor was it only in individual aspects that it occurred; the whole aim was changed. Moreover, on the new ground religion was intimately connected with a political power, namely, with nationality. How if people were seduced into again seeking such a connexion, not, indeed with Judaism, but with a new nation, and not with ancient national laws, but with something of an analogous character? And when even a Paul here and there declared Old Testament laws to be still authoritative in spite of their having undergone an allegorical transformation, how could anyone restrain his successors from also proclaiming other laws, remodeled to suit the circumstances of the time, as valid ordinances of God? This brings us to the second point. Although whatever was drawn from the Old Testament by way of a authoritative precept may have been inoffensive in substance, it was a menace to Christian freedom of both kinds. It threatened the freedom which comes within, and also the freedom to form church communities and to arrange for public worship and discipline.²⁸

In summary, Harnack's assessment of Paul and Scripture must not be divorced from his larger metanarrative of the history of the church. Harnack regards "Judaism" and "Catholicism" (in its "Greek" and "Roman" forms) to be comparable threats to the "Gospel." Both these threats, Harnack argues, have historically emerged through one source, the Old Testament; and are owing to the apostle's retention of the Scriptures in the instruction of the earliest Christian congregations.²⁹ Fundamental to Harnack's reconstruction is his belief that the Old Testament and the "Gospel" are *essentially incompatible*, and that when the Old Testament is permitted to inform the thought and life of the church, the "Gospel" is necessarily compromised and obscured, and sometimes destroyed. We have devoted the attention that we have to Harnack's scholarship for two reasons. First, Harnack's influence among New Testament scholars continues to the present day. Second, one concern of this thesis will be disprove Harnack's claim that, for Paul, the Hebrew Scriptures and his Gospel were fundamentally antithetical.

One towering example of Harnack's legacy is Rudolf Bultmann. As has been noted, Rudolf Bultmann gives scant attention to the Old Testament as a material ground of Pauline theology.³⁰ He argues that Israel's Scriptures, while the "presupposition for existence under grace," are of no lasting value for expressing "existence under grace" itself.³¹

²⁸ Harnack, *What is Christianity?*, 186–187.

²⁹ For a helpful summary of Harnack's conception of this process, see Lindbeck, "The Church as Israel," 9–10.

³⁰ Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, 7.

³¹ Bultmann, "The Significance of the Old Testament for Christian Faith," in *The Old Testament and Christian Faith* (ed. Bernhard W. Anderson; New York: Harper & Row, 1963), 14. So, for example, Bultmann, in observing the appropriation of the Old Testa-

To the Christian faith the Old Testament is no longer revelation as it has been, and still is, for the Jews. For the person who stands within the Church the history of Israel is a closed chapter ... Israel's history is not our history, and in so far as God has shown his grace in that history, such grace is not meant for us ... The events which meant something for Israel, which were God's Word, mean nothing more to us ... To the Christian faith the Old Testament is not in the true sense God's Word.³²

While Bultmann's conception of the normative value of the Old Testament for the churches of the New Testament is not categorically negative,³³ he gives little ground for arguing that Paul conceived his missionary, ecclesiastical, and interpretative activity as "apostle to the Gentiles" to be in essential continuity with Israel's Scriptures.³⁴ As such, he, in ways strikingly similar to Harnack,³⁵ raises valuable questions and, we will argue, gives objectionable answers. How did Paul conceive himself, his interpretation of Scripture, and his congregations to relate to Scripture? Is it really accurate to say that, for Paul, the Old Testament is a "closed chapter" and is only "for the Jews"? If not, in what way did Paul conceive "Israel's history" to be the history of his churches?

1.2.2 *Testimonia Hypotheses*

Another venerable means of explaining Paul's reading of Scripture has been by a appeal to the circulation of *testimonia* collections among Chris-

ment by the "Hellenistic Church," comments that "the very fact that the OT was taken over could not help becoming dangerous by promoting the conception that obedience to God's demand for good deeds is the condition for participation in salvation – i.e. that the good deed is to be understood as a meritorious work," citing texts from James, Barn, 1 Clem, Justin, and Hebrews that Bultmann perceives to teach this doctrine, *Theology of the New Testament* (New York: Scribner's, 1951), 1:119.

³² Bultmann, "The Significance of the Old Testament," 31–32.

³³ For a positive statement see "The Significance of Jewish Old Testament Tradition for the Christian West," in *Essays Philosophical and Theological* (New York: Macmillan, 1955), 262–272. The title itself, however, suggests some distance between Christian communities and the Old Testament.

³⁴ As Hays has helpfully suggested, Bultmann's approach to the Old Testament reflects, at least formally, a sharp Lutheran "law/gospel" dichotomy, *Echoes of Scripture*, 7.

³⁵ Like Harnack, Bultmann argues that the so-called "catholicizing" of the church in the late apostolic and sub-apostolic periods in effect represents the re-entry of the synagogue into the church, corrupting and compromising the Gospel as taught by Jesus, Paul, and John. See, for instance, Bultmann's assessment of Hebrews, James, 1 Clement, and Didache, *Theology of the New Testament*, 2:200; and of Hebrews, Revelation, James, Colossians-Ephesians, the Pastorals, and 1 Peter, *Theology of the New Testament*, 2:215. In other words, Bultmann inextricably relates emerging "catholicism" with "*Spätjudentum*." Consequently, he lays what he perceives to be ecclesiastical declension at the feet of the synagogue.

tians in the first century church.³⁶ J. Rendel Harris proposed, at the turn of the twentieth century, that early Christians had gathered texts of Scripture for use in polemical and apologetical dialogue with Jews. Harris heads a long tradition of modern scholarship that, in varying respects, conceives early Christian interpretation of Scripture to have been performed largely in concert or unison. While the possibility of Harris' thesis has been confirmed by the discovery of *testimonia* collections among the Qumran scrolls,³⁷ Harris has received criticism.³⁸ These criticisms include Harris' inattention to the relative infrequency of "two or more writers' agree[ment] in non-Septuagintal readings," of the appearance of "the same combination of OT passages," or of passages grouped thematically "in more than one writer." Harris has also been faulted for his failure to explain the absence of any reference to a *testimonia* collection before "the middle of the third century."³⁹

One scholar who is critical of Harris' proposal but chooses not, in every respect, to abandon that proposal is C. H. Dodd.⁴⁰ Dodd argued that early

³⁶ A proposal that is foundational to modern critical discussion is that of J. Rendel Harris, *Testimonies* (2 vols.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1916–1920). An important antecedent to this proposal is that of Edwin Hatch, "On Composite Quotations from the Septuagint," in *Essays in Biblical Greek* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889), 203–214. Hatch argued that composite quotations in the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers evidence the circulation of "collections of *excerpta*" from Scripture, 203. Hatch does not argue, as far as we can tell, for specific purpose(s) behind either the composition or dissemination of these collections. A fuller discussion of early *testimonia* proposals may be found at E. E. Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957), 98–107; but especially at Martin C. Albl, "And Scripture Cannot Be Broken": *The Form and Function of the Early Christian Testimonia Collections* (NovTSup 96; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 7–69.

³⁷ See now C. D. Stanley, "The Importance of 4Qtanhumim (4Q176)," *RevQ* 15 (1992): 569–582; Timothy Lim, *Holy Scripture in the Qumran Commentaries and Pauline Letters* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 154–158; and Albl, 'And Scripture Cannot Be Broken,' 86–92.

³⁸ Contemporary criticisms include Richard Bell, *Provoked to Jealousy: The Origin and Purpose of the Jealousy Motif in Romans 9–11* (WUNT 2/63; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994), 201–204; and J. C. Paget, *The Epistle of Barnabas: Outlook and Background* (WUNT 2/64; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994), 91.

³⁹ Bell, *Provoked to Jealousy*, 202–203. Bell here is rehearsing the criticisms earlier voiced by C. H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures: The Substructure of New Testament Theology* (London: Fontana Books, 1965), 26. Bell also cites Stendahl's criticism of Harris that Matthew did not use testimonies in the composition of his Gospel. Bell, however, does not regard the circulation and use of Testimony Books among the early Christians to be an impossibility, *Provoked to Jealousy*, 204.

⁴⁰ See C. H. Dodd, *The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1973); but especially *ibid.*, *According to the Scriptures*. For criticisms of Dodd's proposal, see Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge*, 253–255. For a discussion of Koch's assessment of Dodd, see Bell, *Provoked to Jealousy*, 205–209.

Christian interpretation was indeed performed in concert, but admitted of far wider purposes than Harris had conceived. In the concluding section of his important work, *According to the Scriptures: The Sub-Structure of New Testament Theology*, Dodd summarizes his thesis in a few points. First, Dodd argued that the presence of Old Testament citations in the New Testament was “not to be accounted for by the postulate of a primitive anthology of isolated proof-texts.” Rather “the composition of ‘testimony books’ was the result, not the presupposition, of the work of early Christian biblical scholars.”⁴¹ Second, Dodd contended that citations of Scripture in the New Testament were drawn from “sections [that] were understood as wholes.” In other words, “particular verses or sentences were quoted from them rather as pointers to the whole context than as constituting testimonies in and for themselves.”⁴² Dodd has the distinction, then, of being an early voice in contemporary critical discussion summoning fellow scholars to regard the New Testament authors as *contextually sensitive* readers of Scripture. Third, Dodd argued that “this whole body of material – the passages of Old Testament Scripture with their application to the gospel facts – is common to all the main portions of the New Testament, and in particular it provided the starting point for the theological constructions of Paul ... It is the substructure of all Christian theology and contains already its chief regulative ideas.”⁴³ Dodd stresses, against the grain of much scholarship prior to him, that Scripture, as read and interpreted by the early church, is not an appendage to but rather at the heart of New Testament theology. Nevertheless, Dodd’s argument, as it stands, does not encourage exploration of the individual peculiarities of the New Testament authors’ readings of Scripture. This undoubtedly accounts, in part, for the stress, in approaches similar to Dodd’s, upon what the New Testament authors share in common in their readings of Scripture rather than upon the distinctive features.⁴⁴ Martin C. Albl’s recent, careful, and thorough defense of the

⁴¹ Dodd, *According to the Scriptures*, 126.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ “The examination made earlier of material which Paul holds in common with other New Testament writers points in the very direction which Dodd has suggested,” E.E.Ellis, *Paul’s Use of the Old Testament*, 107, referring to Dodd’s proposal that Jesus himself instructed the apostles in the particular readings of Scripture that appear in the New Testament, *According to the Scriptures*, 109–110.

Compare the approaches of Barnabas Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic. The Doctrinal Significance of the Old Testament Quotations* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1961); and Donald Juel, *Messianic Exegesis: Christological Interpretation of the Old Testament in Early Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988). Like Dodd, Juel (himself following Nils Dahl) argues that this concerted Christian effort at interpretation of Scripture is fundamentally *constructive* in nature. Juel, however, rejects Dodd’s thesis that New Testament citations of the Old Testament are pointers to the Old Testament context of the cita-

Index of Ancient Authors

1. Old Testament

<i>Genesis</i>		19:23	252
12:3	91, 106, 108, 109	21:17	150
12:6	106	21:18	150
18:18	106	21:21	150
22:13	106	21:23	150
22:17	55	22:20	150
22:18	106	22:21	150
24:7	106	22:25	150
26:4	106	22:42–24:2	43
28:6	2, 43	24:19	150
28:14	55	24:20	150
32:24–32	2, 43	26:12	67
		26:13	67
<i>Exodus</i>		26:16	68
4:27–28	43	26:40	35, 36, 69
15:14	73, 74		
15:16–2	23, 43	<i>Numbers</i>	
15: 22–26	23, 43	6:14	150
15:24	151	10:25	152
16:1–12	151	11:1	151
16:2	151	12:7	54
16:7	151, 152, 162	14:2	151
16:8	151, 152	14:2–3	151
16:9	152	14:27	151, 152
16:12	152	14:27–29	151
17:3	151, 162	14:29	151
17:6	144	14:35	151
20:17	114	16:11	151
29:1	150	16:41	151
32:6	141	17:5	151, 152
		17:6	151
<i>Leviticus</i>		17:20	151, 152
1:3	150	19:2	150
1:10	150	20:2	151
7:6	141	21:5	151
7: 15	141	22:30	200, 202
10:12–15	141	28:3	150
18:5	110, 114, 164, 181, 234, 235		
19:18	114	<i>Deuteronomy</i>	
		1:5	55

1:6	61	27:15–26	85
1:8	61	27:26	2, 80–86, 88, 91, 93–97, 99, 100–103, 234, 235, 243, 245
1:10	61		
1:15	61		
1:16	61		
1:27	151	27:26–30:10	84
2:1	61	28:1–14	67, 68, 88, 100
3:12	61	28:6	67, 68
3:17	61	28:7	67, 68
4:4	66	28:8	75
4:14	84	28:13	67, 68
4:26	54	28:15–68	68, 89
4:30	45	28:16	67, 68
5:1	84	28:16–19	67, 68
5:21	114	28:19	43
5:27	54	28:22	68
6:22	54	28:23	68
7:12	84	28:27	68
8:17	21, 164, 167, 184, 242, 243	28:30	68
9:4	21, 164, 167, 184, 242, 243	28:30–31	68
9:7	33	28:34	68
10:6	167	28:35	68
10:8	61	28:37	68
10:14	61	28:40	211, 213
10:19	25	28:49	114–116, 119, 120, 125–129, 234, 235
13:6	60	28:49–50	57, 126
15:10	25	28:49–57	251
15:21	150	28:53	68, 251
17:1	150	28:53–57	68, 251
19:10	56	28:55	251
19:21	150	28:57	251
20:12	252	28:58	2, 82–85
21:22–23	92, 103, 106	28:58–68	65
21:7	56	28:61	82–85
21:22	106	28:62	55
21:22–23	87, 88, 106	28:63	107, 108
21:23	86–88, 91–93, 106, 107, 112, 113, 234, 235, 245	28:65–67	68
24:8	75	28:67	68
24:12–20	75	28:68	65
25:4	114	29:1–2	54
26:5	56	29:3	33, 199, 201, 202–205, 210, 211, 234, 235, 242
26:16	84	29:4	54, 199–205, 207, 215
27:1–8	55	29:7	250
27:8	55	29:11	43
27:11–13	89	29:18	45
27:11–26	106	29:19	82, 83, 85
27:15	54, 75		

29:20	81–85	31:28	61
29:21	81	31:29	45, 46
29:22–28	89, 90	31:30	136
29:22–30:10	89	32:1	54
29:26	81–83, 85	32:1–43	53, 75, 76
29:27	33, 82	32:4	70, 143, 145
29:28	83	32:5	70, 142, 145,
29:29	45		148–150, 152–
29:20–21	84		156, 158, 159,
29:27	84		234, 235, 242
30:1	46, 107	32:6	70, 154, 155
30:1–2	45, 46, 89	32:7	70
30:1–3	45, 56	32:8	43, 70, 250
30:1–8	109	32:8–9	57
30:1–10	68, 69, 90, 109,	32:9	75
	166	32:13	70, 143, 145
30:3	57, 66	32:14	144
30:3–5	68	32:15	70, 72, 143,
30:3–9	89	145	
30:5	68, 69	32:15–20	208
30:6	191, 205, 252,	32:16–17	57
	253	32:17	133–136, 140–
30:6–8	166, 177, 184		142, 145–148,
30:7	69		152, 159
30:9	43	32:17–21	144
30:10	82–85		
30:11	166, 167, 173	32:18	70, 143, 145
30:11–14	24, 107, 162,	32:20	60, 191
	167, 170, 172,	32:21	24, 25, 73,
	174, 184		134–138, 140,
30:12	57, 59, 162–		142–148, 153,
	164, 167–169		159, 185, 186,
30:12–13	173, 174, 178		188, 189, 191,
30:13	162, 168–171,		192, 194, 196–
	174		198, 207, 211,
30:12–14	2, 21, 26, 162–		233–236
	168, 170–174,	32:22	47
	175–179, 181–	32:28	47
	185, 190–192,	32:28–29	221
	194, 197, 199,	32:29	47
	235, 238, 240,	32:30	143, 145, 221
	243, 253	32:31	143, 145
30:14	167–170, 174,	32:32	70
	191, 248	32:33	47
30:15	66	32:34	70, 222
30:15–20	89, 166	32:35	19, 25, 47, 146,
30:20	66		216–218, 221,
31:6	250		222, 235, 236,
31:7	61, 250		240, 250
31:8	250	32:36	42, 57, 250
31:9	43, 61	32:36–43	109
31:16	61	32:37	143, 145

32:38	43	13:16	21
32:39	60, 70	17:7	204, 206
32:42	47	18:28	173
32:43	25, 43, 73, 74, 145, 223–226, 229, 230–232, 235, 236, 250	20–23	173
		28:12–14	173
		28:23	173
32:49	55, 56	37:23	137
33:29	61		
34:1	55	<i>Psalms</i>	
34:4	55	14:2	150
		17:50	229, 231, 235, 236
<i>Joshua</i>		17:51	229, 231
1:2	54	18:5	190–192, 197,
4	55	199, 234, 236	
7:24	54	19:4	192
8	55	19:5	190
8:30f	55	35:8	202
9:18	152	36:1	137
14:14	200	36:7	137
19:6–16	53	36:8	137
23:3	54	58:15	151
		59:15	151
<i>Judges</i>		68:23	200, 201, 203, 205, 234, 235
1:14	151		
		69:22–23	202
<i>2 Kings</i>		69:23–24	206
6:8	202	77:58	137
14:25	150	96:5	135
17:23	33	100:6	150
18:32	211, 213	105:25	151
21:7	143	106:25	151
21:8	54	106:26	168, 169
		106:37	135
<i>2 Chronicles</i>		107:26	168
33:7	143	116:2	229
		117:1	229, 231, 235, 236
<i>Ezra</i>		118:1	150
1:1	39	118:80	150
3:12–13	39		
		<i>Proverbs</i>	
<i>Nehemiah</i>		3:21–35	221
8:6	55	8:1–3	174
8:13–15	211, 213	8:22	174
		8:32–35	174
<i>Esther</i>		9:1–6	174
1:1	251	21:18	252
		25:21	221, 223, 235, 236
<i>Job</i>			
9:32	137		
11:5–12	173		

<i>Ecclesiastes</i>		65:1	196, 197, 234, 236
4:7	150	65:1–2	196, 197, 199, 200
6:10	137	65:2	188, 196, 234, 236
7:23–24	173	66:9–12	59
<i>Isaiah</i>		<i>Jeremiah</i>	
6:7	253	7:24	117
6:9	199, 202, 203	7:26	117
6:9–10	199, 203	9:13	45
7:11	176	11:5	108
8:22	251	11:16–17	211, 213
9:27	196	13:11	117
9:29	196	25:7	117
10:16	196	31:31–34	107
11:1	211, 213	<i>Lamentations</i>	
11:10	229, 231, 235, 236	3:39	151
14:9	137	<i>Ezekiel</i>	
17:6	211, 213	8:3	143
24:13	211, 213	8:5	143
28:6	234, 235	11:14–21	110
28:11	113, 114, 118, 119, 121–125, 127–129	11:19	107
28:11–12	115–126, 127, 234, 235	16:53–63	108
28:11–13	115, 117, 119	22:14	137
28:12	116, 117	27:1–14	107
28:13	115, 117, 118, 119, 234, 235	36:22–27	110
29:10	199–202, 204, 205, 207, 215, 217, 234, 242	36:26–27	107
29:24	151	37:1–14	110
30:6	251	39:29	107
30:12	151	<i>Daniel</i>	
32:15	107	1:4	150
32:15–17	110	3:23	38
44:1–5	110	3:38	38
44:3	107, 110, 111, 113, 239	3:54–55	39
44:23	73	9:4–19	41
45:14	129, 239	12:3	241
45:23	152	<i>Hosea</i>	
49:14–23	59	14:7	211, 213
52:7	27	<i>Joel</i>	
53:1	187, 188, 190	2:28–29	107
54:1–13	59	3:5	27, 234, 235
58:9	152	<i>Micah</i>	
59:21	107, 110	5:5	117
60:4–9	59		

<i>Habakkuk</i>		<i>Zechariah</i>	
2:4	110, 182, 234, 235	1:4	117
		4:2	211, 213
		8:20–23	108, 117
<i>Haggai</i>		14:3	211, 213
2:3	39		
2:19	211, 213	<i>Malachi</i>	
		3:22	54

2. New Testament

<i>Matthew</i>		<i>Romans</i>	
5:39–42	220	1:1–15:6	226
12:39	149		
20:11	152	1:5	95, 209
32:43	224	1:13	209
		1:16	228, 230
<i>Mark</i>		1:16–17	180
3:5	202, 204	2:9	251
6:52	202, 204		
8:17	202, 204	2:12	101
8:17–21	199	2:14	101
		2:15	102
<i>Luke</i>		2:25–29	252
4:17	52	2:29	251–253
4:20	49	3:1	252
5:30	152	3:1–8	213, 215
6:29–30	220	3:10–18	188
15:2	152	3:30	252
19:7	152	4:1	180
		4:3	164
<i>John</i>		4:9	252
1:51	178	4:10	252
3:13	179	4:11	252
6:2	178	4:12	252
6:41	152	6:14–15	102
6:43	152	6:1	180
6:61	152	7:4–6	102
7:12	152	7:7	114, 180
7:32	152	7:18	165
12:38	189	8:31	180
12:39–41	199	8:35	251
12:40	202, 204	9:1–5	249
		9:1–24	209
<i>Acts</i>		9:1–10:3	185
6:1	152	9:3	182
13:15	49, 52	9:6–13	26, 215
14:14–16	49	9:8	165
		9:9	188

9:12–13	188	10:6–8	2, 12, 21, 26,
9:14	180		29, 161–163,
9:14–29	26		165–167, 169–
9:15	196		172, 172, 174–
9:20	191		76, 178–81,
9:25	188, 193		188, 190–192,
9:25–26	188		199, 205, 213,
9:25–29	188		214, 230, 232,
9:27	188		234, 235, 237–
9:30	179, 182		244, 247, 248,
9:30–31	180		249, 253
9:30–33	180, 190	10:7	2, 168–170,
9:30–10:3	180, 190, 197,		184
	207	10:8	2, 164, 169,
9:30–10:4	232, 234		183, 191, 234,
9:30–10:21	128, 195, 197,		248
	198, 200, 215,	10:8–15	209
	217	10:9	182
9:30–11:15	214	10:9–10	176, 200
9:30–11:36	247	10:11	234, 235
9:31	180, 203	10:12	183, 209
9:31–10:21	194, 203, 205	10:13	27, 234, 235
9:32	180	10:14	190
9:33	180, 188	10:14–18	192
10:1	180, 182, 250	10:14–21	189, 190, 197,
10:1–2	181, 183		198, 207
10:1–4	247	10:15	27
10:1–10	164	10:16	187–189, 192
10:1–15	181	10:16–21	197
10:1–21	177	10:16–17	190
10:2	190, 203	10:16–11:36	184
10:3	180, 208	10:18	190–192, 195,
10:3–4	182		197, 234, 236
10:4	169, 174, 180,	10:18–19	190, 197, 199,
	183, 248		231, 232
10:4–5	181	10:18–21	191, 195, 197,
10:4–8	183, 184, 185		215, 217, 229,
10:4–13	189, 190, 207		231, 233, 241,
10:4–21	191, 197, 198,		244
	200	10:19	3, 25, 28 136,
10:5	114, 164, 180,		138, 145, 146,
	181, 196, 234,		161, 184–
	235, 247		187, 189–198,
10:5–8	26, 180, 182,		200, 207, 208,
	188, 191, 241,		211–213, 215,
	247		222, 224, 230,
10:5–10	107, 164		232, 234–240,
10:5–18	187		242–244, 247,
10:6	2, 163, 164,		248
	169, 242	10:19–21	186, 189, 190,
10:6–10	164		191, 196, 198,
10:6–7	176, 179		

	199, 202, 206, 208		209, 211, 213, 215, 217, 232, 235, 236, 238– 241, 243, 244, 247–249
10:19–11:36	187		
10:20	195, 234, 236		
10:20–21	195–197		
10:21	188, 189, 195, 234, 236	11:11–12	208, 210, 222, 224
11:1	190, 194, 195, 197, 198, 200, 206, 215, 250	11:11–14	230, 232
		11:11–15	207, 210, 212– 215, 217
11:1–2	201	11:11–16	206–208, 215, 217
11:1–6	203, 205–207, 230, 232	11:11–36	205, 213, 214
11:1–10	203, 205, 206, 215, 217	11:12	207, 209–211
11:1–14	197	11:13	209
11:1–15	216, 232, 234	11:13–14	208, 210
11:1–16	206	11:13–24	211
11:1–32	239	11:13–32	102
11:1–33	195, 197	11:13–36	213
11:1–36	195, 197	11:14	28, 138, 147, 161, 186, 187, 193, 194, 206, 208–212, 215, 216, 232, 235, 236, 238–241, 243, 244, 247– 249
11:2	164	11:15	209, 210, 216
11:3	201	11:16	206
11:4	164	11:16–24	211
11:5	203, 205	11:16–27	207, 209
11:6	203, 205	11:16–32	216, 232–244
11:6–7	205	11:17–24	209, 211
11:7	199–206, 215, 217	11:18	222, 224
		11:20	222, 224
11:7–8	203	11:25	209
11:7–10	210, 212–214	11:25–26	209, 212
11:7–16	206	11:25–27	210
11:8	28, 161, 188, 199–206, 211, 215, 217, 230, 232, 234, 235, 237, 238, 239, 240–242, 244, 247, 248	11:25–29	211
		11:25–32	210, 211, 213
11:8–10	188, 199, 205, 206, 210, 212, 215, 217, 229, 231, 233, 241	11:25–36	214
		11:26	209, 241
11:8–11	202, 203	11:26–27	188
11:9	205, 207	11:28–31	209
11:9–10	200, 201, 204, 205, 207, 234, 235	11:32	211, 222, 224
		11:33–36	211, 213, 215
11:10	205, 207	11:34	188
11:11	28, 138, 147, 161, 186, 187, 193, 194, 206–	11:34–35	188
		11:36	196, 198, 216
		12:1	226
		12:1–2	219
		12:1–8	219

12:1-11	220		229, 235-242,
12:1-21	219		244, 249
12:1-15:6	219, 226, 233,	15:10-12	229, 231
	249	15:11	229, 235, 236
12:1-15:13	211, 219	15:12	229, 235, 236
12:3-8	219	15:13	218
12:9	219, 221	15:15-16	209
12:9-13	219	15:19	124
12:9-20	219		
12:9-21	217, 219, 220	<i>I Corinthians</i>	
12:12-21	220	1:13	192
12:14	219	1:22	124
12:14-21	222	1:30	175
12:15	219	4:13	252
12:15-16	219	9:4	192
12:16	219	9:9	114
12:17-21	219, 221, 223	9:20	101, 102, 214,
12:19	3, 19, 25, 28,		216
	118, 146, 161,	10:1	138
	214, 219-232,	10:1-11	139
	235-238, 240,	10:1-13	138, 139
	242, 244, 249,	10:1-22	134, 138, 139,
	250		234, 236, 241
12:19-20	241	10:4	144, 145
12:20	219, 221, 223,	10:5-6	139
	224, 235, 236	10:6	138
14:1	226	10:7	139, 141
14:1-15:13	226	10:7-11	139
14:1-15:6	226, 233	10:10	152
14:3	226	10:11	138, 143, 244
14:11	188	10:12-13	143
15:1-6	226	10:13	139
15:3	220	10:14	139, 142, 146
15:4	244	10:14-21	144
15:7	218, 220, 226,	10:14-22	139, 146, 147
	232, 234, 244	10:16	139
15:7-13	225, 226, 228,	10:16-17	139
	229, 230, 233	10:16-18	139
15:8	227, 229, 230,	10:18	139-141
	232, 252	10:19	140
15:8-9	226-229, 230,	10:19-20	139, 141
	233	10:19-21	139
15:8-12	220	10:19-22	139
15:9	227-229, 231,	10:20	3, 28, 131-142,
	235, 236		145-148, 152,
15:9-10	229, 230, 233		153, 155, 156,
15:9-12	188, 226, 228,		158, 159, 163,
	230, 232		189, 198, 222,
15:9-13	233, 241		224, 234, 236,
15:10	25, 28, 145,		238, 240, 242-
	161, 189, 198,		244,
	214, 223, 224,		247, 249

10:21	138, 143, 144	2:21	96
10:22	28, 131, 132, 134, 136–138, 142–145, 146– 149, 152, 153, 155, 156, 158, 159, 163, 189, 198, 207, 222, 224, 234, 236, 238, 240, 242– 244, 247, 249	3:1	103
11:22	192	3:1–5	103
14:1–19	127	3:1–14	110
14:17	122	3:1–4:7	101, 103
14:20–23	125	3:1–4:11	104
14:20–25	113, 114, 120, 121, 124, 125, 127–129, 241	3:6	105
14:20–40	120	3:6–14	79, 101, 105, 107
14:21	24, 28, 113– 124, 126–129, 233–238, 241, 242, 244, 249, 250	3:8	105, 106, 108
14:21–22	125, 126, 129	3:8–10	88, 89, 91
14:21–25	120, 129	3:8–14	89–92
14:22	120–124, 126, 127	3:10	1–3, 28, 29, 87, 88, 91, 93– 100, 102–106, 108–113, 128– 130, 142, 148, 156, 159, 160, 198, 205, 234, 235, 237, 239, 240–246, 251
14:22–25	125	3:10–12	98, 105
14:23	122–125, 127	3:10–13	21, 45, 79, 80, 92, 93, 95– 100, 103, 104, 129, 167, 181, 184, 214, 239, 248
14:23–25	120, 123		
14:24–25	127		
14:25	234, 235, 238, 239, 341	3:10–14	14, 27, 82, 88, 93–97, 100, 101, 103, 104– 112, 114, 115, 128–130, 142, 156, 164, 182, 183, 185, 238, 241, 246, 247
15:1–3	246		
<i>II Corinthians</i>		3:11	96, 104, 105, 234, 245, 246
3:1–4	2	3:11–12	86, 104, 113
3:6	2	3:12	181, 104, 105, 234
3:7–18	12		
3:14	200, 202, 204	3:13	28, 80, 86–88, 91–93, 98, 101–106, 108– 110, 112, 113, 128–130, 142, 148, 156, 159, 160, 181, 182, 198, 215, 234, 235, 237, 239, 241–245, 249
3:17	12		
4:8	251		
6:4	251		
11:24	214, 216		
12:12	124		
<i>Galatians</i>			
1:4	102, 103		
1:8	98		
2:15	101		
2:16	96, 103		

3:13–14	89, 91–93, 101, 103–109, 111, 113	2:12–18	150
3:14	92, 101, 103, 104–113, 129– 131, 148, 160, 183, 238, 239, 241, 251	2:14	151, 152, 159
3:15	109	2:14–15	241, 249
3:18	106	2:14–16	150, 151
3:23–24	104	2:14–18	150
3:23–35	104	2:15	3, 28, 131, 145, 148–150, 152, 153, 154, 156– 159, 163, 189, 190, 198, 222, 224, 234, 235, 238, 240–242, 244, 247
3:23–29	101, 104	2:15–16	151
3:25	104	2:15–26	152
3:26–29	104, 113	2:17–18	150
4:3	104	3:1–11	14
4:3–5	101, 104, 113	3:2	157
4:4	104	3:6	99
4:4–5	104		
4:21	112		
4:5	104	<i>I Thessalonians</i>	
4:5–7	104	2:14–16	213
4:16	124	2:15–16	26, 79
4:30	164	5:10	103
5:3	94		
5:4	96	<i>Hebrews</i>	
5:14	114	1:6	145, 189, 250
		2:5	250
<i>Ephesians</i>		2:14	165
4:8	178	4:8	250
4:8–10	179	7:5	165
4:18	202, 204	10:20	165
		10:30	118, 250
<i>Philippians</i>		12:15	250
1:19	21	13:5	250
1:27	158		
1:27–2:28	151	<i>I Peter</i>	
1:28	157	3:18–22	179
2:6–11	150, 180	3:19	178
2:11	152	4:9	152
2:12	151		
2:12–13	150		

3. Apocrypha

<i>Baruch</i>		2:34	108
1:13,19	33	3:9	173
2:5	59	3:28	173
2:6	33	3:29	57, 59, 174
2:29	59		

3:29–30	166, 173–175	30	59
3:29–31	172	304	42
3:29–4:15	59,76		
3:32	173	<i>3–4 Maccabees</i>	35, 36
4:1	174		
4:7	57, 59, 134– 136	<i>Prayer of Manasseh</i>	57
4:8	59		
4:15	57, 59	<i>Sirach/Ecclesiasticus</i>	
<i>Additions to Daniel</i>	34, 57	6:23–37	219
		17:17	57
<i>Prayer of Azariah</i>		24:8	75
3–22	39	24:12	75
15	38	24:23	174
29–34	39	31:24	152
31–32	38, 39		
<i>Susanna</i>	57	34:24	152
<i>1 Esdras</i>		36:1–17	42
8:73–74	33	36:13–14	39
		36:14	38, 39
<i>2 Esdras</i>		36:18–19	39
9:7	33	36:19	39
<i>Additions to Esther</i>	57		
		<i>Tobit</i>	
<i>Epistle of Jeremiah</i>	57	12–13	60
<i>Judith</i>	57	13	108
		13:2	60
<i>1 Maccabees</i>	35, 36, 57	13:5	57, 59
		13:6	60
<i>2 Maccabees</i>		13:9–18	60
7	42	14:3–11	60
7:6	57, 58	14:5	38, 40
		<i>Wisdom of Solomon</i>	
		3–4	36
		9:1ff	174
		9:4	174

4. Jewish Pseudepigrapha

<i>Assumption of Moses</i>	34, 35, 44	20:5	62
		89:73	38,40
<i>2 Baruch (Syriac Apocalypse)</i>		90:28–33	38,40
<i>Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch</i>		91:13	40
68:5–7	38,40	102	89
<i>1 Enoch</i>		<i>4 Ezra</i>	34,35
2:1–5:3	75		
5	89	<i>Jubilees (Jub.)</i>	
10:21	108	1	89

1:17	40	1:6	61
1:23–24	109	1:14	66
1:27	40	1:15	61
1:29	40	2:1	61
11–23	108	2:1–10:10	61
15:21	40	2:8	61
20–23	89	2:215–216	49
20:6–10	75,108	3:9	61
20:10	108	3:13	61
21:1–26	75	4:1	61
		4:8	40, 61
<i>Letter of Aristeas</i>	35, 36	5:3–6	61
		8:1–5	61
<i>Psalms of Solomon</i>		9:1–5a	62
8:12	40	9–10	61, 66
17:30	40	9:6b–7	62
		10:1–3	62
<i>Pseudo-Phocylides</i>		10:1–10	61
76–96	219	10:7–10a	62
		10:8	61
<i>Sybylline Oracles</i>		10:15	66
3:657–709	40	31:7	61
5:420–425	40	31:9ff	61
		31:28	61
<i>Testament of Judah</i>		<i>Testament of Naphtali</i>	
24:3	109	2:9–3:5	219
<i>Testament of Levi</i>		<i>Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs</i>	
16:1–5	38, 40		33, 40, 108
17:10–11	38, 40		
<i>Testament of Moses</i>			

5. Dead Sea Scrolls

<i>Hodayat or Thanksgiving Hymns (1QH^a)</i>		17:6–7	62
3:31	47	19:4	47
5:5–19	47		
5:10	47	<i>Community Rule (1QS)</i>	
5:27	47	2	44, 76, 88, 89, 92, 243
17:13–14	47	8:14–15	165
<i>Peshar Habakkuk (1QpHab)</i>		9:23	47
	166	10:17–20	220
<i>Milhamah or War Scroll (1QM)</i>		10:19	47
1:2	47	1Q5	43
2–9	38	1Q22	44
9:15–16	62		
12:11–12	47		

Rule of the Blessings (1Q28b)

	44
1Q29	44
2Q22	44
4Q9	19, 43, 46, 225
4Q29	43
4Q35	43
4Q37	43
4Q44	43, 75, 223, 224
4Q45	43
4Q156 (4Q _{tg} Lev)	49
4Q158	43
4Q162 (4Q _{plsai} [b])	
2.6–7	165

Florilegium (4Q174)

1.11	165
------	-----

<i>Tanhumim</i> (4Q176)	9
4Q280	44
4Q286–290	44
4Q364–367	43
4Q373	44
4Q374–377	44
4Q397	45
4Q398	45

<i>Targum of Job</i> (11Q _{tg} Job)	49
<i>Melchizedek</i> (11Q _{Melch})	62
<i>Temple Scroll</i> (11QT ^a)	
29:8–10	40

6. Targums

Fragmentary Targum
30:13

170

Targum Neofiti
Deut. 30:12–14

171

7. Mishnah

Shabbat 13:2

49

Shabbat 13.5

193

8. Talmuds

b. Bava Metzi'a 94

176

y. Ta'anit 63d

193

9. Midrashim

<i>Exod. R. 42.1</i>	154
<i>Sifre</i>	
306	196
308	154

<i>Pischa</i>	
306	72
318	72
320	72
324	72
333	69, 74

10. Philo of Alexandria

<i>De confusione linguarum</i>		113	67,68
145	70	118	67
145–147	70	124–125	67,68
		126	67
<i>De vita contemplativa</i>		125–172	89
28	49		
31	49	127–161	68
		127–162	90
<i>De congressu eruditionis gratia</i>		127–172	67
58	70	131–132	68
160	70	134	68
		139	68
<i>Quod deterius potiori insidari soleat</i>		141–142	67,68
114	69,70	143f	68
		143–146	68
<i>De ebrietate</i>		150	68
222	70	151	68
		162	68
<i>De fuga et inventione</i>		162–172	68,69
55–59	66	163	69
		163–172	90
<i>Hypothetica</i>		164–165	68,69
7:13	49	164–172	69
		168	68,69
<i>Legum allegoriae</i>		169	68,69
105	69	171–172	108
<i>De mutatione nominum</i>		<i>Quod omnis probus liber sit</i>	
182	69,70	68	172
236–237	172		
<i>De plantatione</i>		<i>De Sobrietate</i>	
59	69,70	10	69
59–60	70	10–11	70
<i>De posteritate Caini</i>		<i>De Somniis</i>	
84–85	166	2:180	172
89	70	2:191	69,70
121	69,70	2:297	70
167	69,70		
<i>De Praemiis et Poenis</i>		<i>De specialibus legibus</i>	
65–67	68	1:301	172
79	67	2:62–63	49
79–98	67,68	<i>De vita Mosis</i>	
79–126	90,177	2:288	70
79–172	90		
80	172	<i>De virtutibus</i>	
84–85	172	72	69
99–107	67	72–75	69

73-7
75

183

172

11. Pseudo-Philo

<i>Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum</i>		19:1-5	54
9:10	55	19:8	55
12:1	55	19:10	55
12:7	55	19:12-13	54
12-24	16,17	20	53
14:2	55	21:7	55
18	53	26:5	54
19	55	52:8	54
19:1	55		

12. Flavius Josephus

<i>Jewish Antiquities</i>		4:310	64
3:38	75	4:312	65
4:301	64	4:312-314	65
4:302-303	64	4:314	65,74
4:302-307	89	4:322	66
4:302-314	90	4:329	66
4:302-331	64	5:61	75
4:303	65,66,74,75	13:349	64
4:305-308	64	16:43	49
4:309	64	17:53	64
4:309-310	64		

13. Early Christian Writings

<i>Barnabas</i>		42.2	188
12:4	188	97.2	188
		114.2	188
<i>1 Clement</i>		118.4	188
16:3	188		
		<i>Justin Martyr, First Apology</i>	
<i>Didache</i>	8	35	188
		38	188
<i>Justin Martyr, Dialogue with Trypho</i>		50	188
13.3	188		

Index of Modern Authors

- Aageson, J. W. 165, 191, 193, 196, 202, 207
Abegg, Martin 42,43,46
Achtemeier, Paul 14
Abl, Martin 9, 10, 11, 134, 136, 145, 146, 178, 188, 189, 217
Albright, W. F. 225
Aletti, Jean-Noël 181,190
Alexander, Philip 11, 12, 49, 53
Allison, Dale C. 17, 171, 210, 220, 221
Artom, E. S. 225
Attridge, Harold W. 66, 250
Aune, David E. 217
- Badenas, Robert 163, 165-167, 170, 172, 175, 184, 189, 190
Barrett, C. K. 13, 132, 134, 135, 140, 142-144, 163, 169, 182, 192, 206, 208, 220, 226
Bartina, Sebastián 221
Basser, Herbert 69, 70, 73
Baumert, Norman 139
Baumgarten, J. M. 202
Baxter, Paul 211
Beker, J. C. 4, 14, 17, 22, 25, 26, 181, 209-211, 237, 240
Bekken, Per Jarle 165, 176-178, 243
Bell, Richard 9, 47, 133, 136, 137, 140-146, 148-150, 155, 156, 186, 187, 189-194, 207-210, 212-214, 216, 217, 225, 250
Benoit, Pierre 209
Bernstein, Moshe 16
Betz, Hans Dieter 80, 86, 92, 100, 103, 104
Betz, Otto 118, 164
Binder, Donald D. 48, 49
Black, D. A. 207
Black, Matthew 189, 192, 196, 202, 204, 219
Bockmuehl, Markus 131, 148, 150-154, 156
Bogaert, Pierre-Maurice 225
Bonneau, Norman 93, 97, 104, 105
- Bonsirven, Joseph 11
Borgen, Peder 16, 165
Bormann, Lukas 131
Bowker, J. 11
Bourke, Myles M. 211
Boyarin, Daniel 12, 16
Braswell, J. P. 97, 98
Brewer, D. Instone 15
Bring, Ragnar 94
Brooke, George J. 16
Brown, John 87
Brown, Raymond E. 79
Bruce, F. F. 11, 80, 87, 106, 134-136, 140, 142, 145, 148, 150, 188, 189, 217, 250
Büchler, A. 50, 51
Buis, Pierre 41
Bultmann, Rudolf 4, 7, 8, 17, 192
Burchard, Christoph 101,103
Burton, Ernest De Witt 80
Byrne, Brendan 172, 180, 183, 190, 195, 202, 203, 205, 218, 221, 226, 228, 252
- Calvin, Jean 85, 94, 135, 136, 139, 140, 155, 163, 192
Campbell, William S. 211, 213
Caneday, Ardel 92
Carson, D. A. 15, 75, 114, 120, 121, 124-127, 185, 237
Charlesworth, James H. 16, 61, 75
Chazon, Esther G. 50
Chester, Andrew 75, 144
Childs, Brevard 126
Chilton, Bruce 50
Clemen, August 18
Cohen, Shaye J. D. 48
Collange, Jean-François 148, 150, 151, 154, 157, 158
Collins, John J. 38, 41, 45, 46
Collins, Raymond 120, 125, 132, 139, 140, 142, 143
Conzelmann, Hans 114, 120, 123, 134, 136, 139, 142, 143
Cook, Edward M. 50

- Craddock, Fred 250
 Cranfield, Michael 169, 170, 181, 196,
 205-207, 209, 217, 218, 220, 221, 226,
 228, 252
 Cranford, Michael 94
 Crenshaw, James L. 39, 41
 Cross, Frank Moore 169,225
- Dahood, M. J. 221
 Dahl, Nils A. 10, 13, 18, 106, 110, 206
 Daube, David 12, 220
 Davies, W. D. 11, 48, 103, 209
 Déaut, Roger le 50
 Dewey, Arthur 181
 Dibelius, Martin 220
 Di Lella, Alexander 39, 59, 60
 Dimant, Devorah 50, 57, 58
 Dodd, C. H. 9, 10, 11, 17, 21, 178, 180,
 181, 189, 192, 196, 209, 226
 Dogniez, Cécile 66-70, 75, 81, 86, 149,
 153-155, 167, 217, 224
 Donaldson, T. L. 100, 101, 104, 107, 207,
 208, 210
 Donfried, Karl 15, 182, 206, 211, 213,
 218
 Dreyfus, François 207
 Dunn, James D. G. 14, 22, 80, 84, 94-98,
 101, 105-108, 110, 111, 134, 163-
 166, 168, 170, 172, 173, 181, 189,
 196, 205-207, 209, 218, 220, 221,
 226, 228, 229, 251
- Eckstein, Hans Joachim 102
 Elbogen, Ismar 51,52
 Ellis, E. E. 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 18, 22, 117,
 118, 166, 196, 217, 246
 Englebrecht, Edward 126
 Esler, Philip 96, 101, 102, 111, 112
 Evans, Craig A. 1, 4, 15, 16, 17, 18, 22,
 27, 29, 41, 53, 61, 75, 82, 181, 204,
 240
- Fay, F. R. 194, 195, 199, 200, 225, 226
 Fee, Gordon 114, 120, 122, 126, 131, 132,
 134, 136, 139, 140, 142-144, 148,
 150-152, 155, 156, 175, 252
 Feldman, Louis H. 16, 55, 64-66
 Fensham, F. C. 41
 Fishbane, Michael 15, 16, 41, 44, 45
 Fisk, Bruce 16, 53, 55-57
- Fitzmeyer, Joseph 168, 181, 183, 189,
 190, 196, 201, 204, 207, 218, 221,
 226, 229, 230, 252
 Flint, Peter 3, 16, 19, 42, 43
 Fuhrer, Werner 181
 Fung, R. Y. K. 80, 85, 101-103
 Furnish, V. P. 221
- Gager, John M. 210
 Gamble, Harry Y. 20
 Garlington, Don 95
 Gaston, Lloyd 13, 206
 Getty, Mary Ann 174, 181
 Gignac, Alain 181
 Given, Mark D. 197
 Gloer, W. H. 13, 206, 208, 213
 Gnilka, Joachim 148, 150-152
 Goldberg, Arnold 172
 Goldingay, John 41
 Goldstein, Jonathan A. 42, 59
 Gowan, D. E. 37, 46
 Green, William Scott 22
 Greenspoon, Leonard J. 19
 Grol, Harm van 41
 Grudem, Wayne 120, 122, 125, 127
 Gruen, Erich 36
 Guilding, Aileen 51
 Guillet, Jacques 30
 Gundry, Robert H. 27, 180
- Hafemann, Scott 27, 95, 210
 Hall, Marguerite 66- 70, 75, 81, 86, 145,
 149, 153-155, 167, 217, 224
 Hammer, Reuven 71-74
 Hanson, A. T. 144
 Harnack, Adolf von 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 245
 Harrington, Daniel 52-54, 56, 61, 63, 65
 Harrington, Hannah K. 16
 Harris, J. Rendel 9, 10, 11, 133, 140, 141,
 145, 146, 156, 157
 Hartman, Louis 41, 75
 Harvey, Julien 41
 Hatch, Edwin 9, 252
 Hawthorne, Gerald F. 1, 32, 148, 150,
 151, 157, 158, 164
 Hay, David M. 2, 190, 212, 214, 218, 219,
 227
 Hays, Richard B. 1, 2, 7, 12, 13, 15, 17,
 18, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 85, 87, 100,
 101, 104, 106, 107, 110, 111, 125,
 129, 132, 134, 136, 139- 145, 161,

- 175, 181, 191, 209, 225, 226, 228,
229, 244
- Headlam, Arthur 163, 189, 192, 195, 199,
204, 228
- Héring, Jean 120, 140, 142, 143
- Hofius, Otfried 192, 211
- Hollander, H. W. 21, 114
- Hong, In-Gyu 85, 96, 101
- Hooker, Morna 148, 150, 151, 153, 155–
157
- Horrell, David G. 131
- Howard, George 15, 181
- Hübner, Hans 22, 166, 187, 200, 202,
204, 207, 213
- Hultgren, Arland J. 13
- Hvalvik, Reidar 210
- Jacob, E. 30
- Jacobson, Howard 16, 52–56
- Janowski, B. 225, 226
- Jeremias, Joachim 12, 214
- Jervis, L. Ann 15
- Jewett, Robert 218
- Johanson, B. C. 120, 122–124
- Johnson, Dan 206
- Johnson, E. E. 2, 181, 190, 212, 214, 218,
219, 227
- Jones, Douglas R. 41
- Juel, Donald 10, 18
- Kaiser, Otto 126
- Kalt, Edmund 42
- Kampen, John I. 16
- Kanjuparambil, Philip 219, 220
- Käsemann, Ernst 17, 148, 150, 151, 163,
168, 178–182, 189, 190, 192, 202,
206, 207, 209, 221, 226–229
- Kaufmann, Stephen A. 50
- Keck, Leander E. 219, 226–229
- Keim, Paul A. 89
- Kennedy, George 218
- Kim, Seyoon 212, 214, 237
- Klassen, William 21
- Kline, Meredith G. 41
- Knibb, Michael A. 37, 46
- Koch, Dietrich–Alexander 1, 9, 15, 18,
20, 25, 28, 80–87, 92, 102, 104, 114–
118, 122, 133, 164–169, 172, 174,
175, 177–179, 186, 189, 190, 199–
201, 217, 226, 228–230, 242
- Kugel, James L. 15
- Kümmel, W. G. 209
- Lacocque, André 41
- Lagrange, M. J. 97, 101, 164, 165, 176
- Lambrecht, Jan 95, 101, 103, 104
- Lane, William 250
- Lang, B. 3
- Lange, J. P. 194, 199, 225
- LaRocca-Pitts, Elizabeth 143
- Légasse, Simon 80, 82, 87, 222
- Levine, Lee 48–51
- Lightfoot, J. B. 104
- Lim, Timothy 9, 12, 19, 177
- Lindars, Barnabas 10, 11, 15, 92, 114,
158, 199, 202, 203
- Lindbeck, George 6, 7
- Lindemann, A. 114
- Longenecker, Bruce W. 209
- Longenecker, Richard N. 12, 18, 80, 92,
101, 208
- Lorenzi, Lorenzo de 207, 210, 214
- Lürhmann, Dieter 106–108, 110
- Lundbom, Jack 41
- Lust, J. L. 3
- Luz, Ulrich 163–165, 171, 176
- Lyonnet, Stanislaus 165, 170, 171, 173
- McKane, W. 41
- McKay, Heather 48, 49
- McNamara, M. J. 49, 50, 170, 171
- Malan, F. S. 114
- Marshall, P. 14
- Martin, Dale B. 14
- Martin, Ralph P. 1, 32, 148, 150, 151,
155, 156
- Martyn, J. Louis 4, 80, 87, 97, 98, 101–
104, 112, 134, 141, 142, 145
- Matera, Frank J. 80, 101
- Meeks, Wayne A. 134, 136, 141, 145,
180, 228
- Metzger, Bruce 132–134
- Meyer, H. A. W. 163, 192, 217, 223
- Meyers, Carol 39
- Meyers, Eric M. 39
- Moessner, David 30
- Montgomery, James A. 41
- Moo, Douglas 164, 166, 170, 175, 176,
183, 190, 196, 199, 202, 204, 206,
207, 209, 210, 214, 218–221, 223,
226, 228, 230
- Moore, Carey A. 38, 39, 42, 59, 60
- Moran, W. 90
- Morenz, Siegfried 221
- Morland, Kjell 81, 82, 85–92, 104 – 106,

- 108–110, 112
 Morris, Leon 51
 Mulder, M. J. 15, 18, 44, 51, 57, 64, 246
 Müller, Karlheinz 200
 Munck, Johannes 163, 168, 189, 209
 Munro, Winsome 220
 Murphy, Frederick 52, 54, 56
 Murphy-O'Connor, Jerome 30
 Mußner, Franz 210
 Muraoka, Takamitsu 252
 Myers, Jacob 41
- Nanos, Mark D. 211
 Neiryneck, F. 220
 Neusner, Jacob 15, 71, 198
 Newman, Judith 41
 Newsom, Carol 50
 Nicklesburg, G. W. E. 60
 Nicholson, E. W. 35
 Nitzan, Bilhah 44, 50
 Noack, B. 213
 Nordheim, Eckhard von 61
- O'Brien, Peter Thomas 131, 148, 150,
 151, 155–158
 Olofsson, Staffan 145
 Orr, William F. 136, 140, 142, 143
 Oswald, J. N. 126
- Paget, James Carleton 9
 Pate, C. Marvin 29, 30, 174, 175
 Patte, Daniel 213
 Perrot, Charles 50, 51
 Peterlin, D. 14
 Petuchowski, J. J. 52
 Piper, John 219, 220
 Plag, Christoph 194
 Plöger, Otto 41
 Plummer, A. 115, 120, 133–137, 142,
 143, 252
 Poole, Matthew 193
 Porter, J. R. 51
- Rad, Gerhard von 34, 41
 Räisänen, Heikki 13, 102, 103, 198, 204,
 207, 210, 213, 214, 237
 Ramarosan, Léonard 221
 Reasoner, Mark 219, 226
 Redpath, Henry A. 9, 252
 Refoulé, François 210
 Reichrath, Hans L. 226
 Reif, Stefan C. 48, 52
- Reinbold, Wolfgang 186, 187, 195
 Rese, M. 211
 Rhyne, C. Thomas 165, 181, 184, 189,
 190
 Richardson, Peter 206
 Ridderbos, Herman 17
 Roberts, M. P. 120, 124, 125
 Robertson, A. 115, 120, 133–137, 142,
 143, 252
 Robertson, O. Palmer 114, 120, 125–127
 Robinson, J. A. 204
 Rosner, Brian S. 4, 134, 136, 137, 143–
 145
- Sampley, J. Paul 14
 Sanday, William 163, 189, 195, 199, 204,
 228
 Sanders, E. P. 13, 17, 38, 40, 62, 71, 79,
 94, 99, 180, 210, 213, 237
 Sanders, James A. 1, 2, 3, 4, 16, 18, 22,
 29, 82, 181, 240
 Sandnes, K. O. 120, 122, 123
 Saß, Gerhard 226, 228–230
 Schlier, Heinrich 104, 168, 179, 189, 190,
 202, 203, 206, 207, 221, 226, 229
 Schmithals, W. 14, 204, 220, 221, 226,
 229
 Schneider, Heinrich 42
 Schrage, W. 114, 120, 121, 123–125,
 132, 134–136, 139, 140, 142–144
 Schreiner, Josef 42
 Schreiner, Thomas 94, 164, 165, 168,
 172, 181, 183, 190, 193, 194, 196,
 205, 218, 221, 226, 228
 Schweitzer, Albert 17
 Schulz, Anselm 219
 Schürer, Emil 36
 Scott, James M. 1, 2, 12, 25, 26, 27, 29–
 33, 35–40, 42, 44, 46, 76, 79, 82, 93,
 95, 100, 109, 110, 237
 Segert, Stanislav 221
 Seifrid, Mark A. 27, 47, 175
 Seitz, Christopher 126
 Shinan, Avigdor 50
 Siegert, Folker 179
 Silva, Moisés 15, 18, 148–150, 153, 155–
 158
 Singer, Avraham 211
 Skehan, Patrick 39, 47, 224, 225
 Smit, Joop F. M. 120–122, 138
 Smith, D. Moody 15, 18, 114, 185, 237
 Spanje, T. E. van 96

- Stanley, Christopher D. 9, 17, 18, 19, 20,
 21, 28, 80, 81, 83–87, 93, 94, 97–99,
 101, 114–118, 133, 164–168, 185–
 187, 203, 204, 216–218, 224, 243, 249
 Steck, Odil 1, 12, 29–37, 42, 47, 76, 89,
 90, 100, 108, 112, 199–201, 237
 Stemberger, G. 12
 Stendahl, Krister 9, 210, 220, 221
 Stinespring, William F. 15
 Stockhausen, Carol 2, 12, 22, 23
 Stowers, Stanley K. 180, 182, 189, 218
 Strack H. L. 11
 Suggs, M. Jack 164, 173–175
 Sweet, J. P. M. 117, 120
 Szörényi, Andreas 41

 Talbert, Charles H. 220
 Tatum, Gregory 79
 Tellbe, M. 14
 Theissen, G. 14, 131
 Thielman, Frank 29, 30, 84, 100, 114,
 183, 215
 Thompson, Michael B. 219, 220, 226, 227
 Tigay, Jeffrey 35, 141, 142, 153, 154, 222
 Toy, C. H. 18
 Tuckett, C. M. 92

 Ulrich, Eugene 19, 42, 43, 46, 225

 Vanderkam, James C. 3, 16, 19, 42, 75
 Van Der Kooij, Arie 3, 225
 Verhoef, Eduard 18
 Vermes, Geza 11, 42–45
 Via, Dan O. 1, 175
 Vincent, Marvin R. 148
 Volkwein, B. 225
 Vollmer, Hans 202
 Vos, Geerhardus 17
 Vouga, François 83, 87, 101

 Wacholder, Ben Zion 50, 51
 Wagner, Günther 206, 213
 Wagner, J. Ross 2, 13, 18, 20, 29, 30, 128,
 166, 169, 170, 181, 190, 193, 194,
 196, 197, 199, 200, 202–204, 206,
 214, 225–229, 241, 250
 Wakefield, Andrew 80, 105
 Walter, Nikolaus 220, 221
 Walther, James Arthur 136, 140, 142, 143
 Wambacq, B. N. 42
 Wasserberg, Günther 207
 Watson, Francis 213, 214
 Wedderburn, A. J. M. 15, 218
 Weinfield, Moshe 35, 90
 Weitzman, Steven 59, 60
 Wehnam, David 220, 221
 Westerholm, Stephen 85, 86, 102
 Wevers, John William 28, 50, 81, 86, 119,
 134, 145, 148, 149, 153, 155, 167,
 217, 223–225
 Wilckens, Ulrich 165, 166, 169, 180, 182,
 187, 193, 195, 196, 199, 203, 204,
 206, 207, 209, 213, 220, 221, 226, 228
 Wilcox, Max 12, 92, 105–107, 110
 Wilk, Florian 18, 28, 114–118, 120, 125–
 127, 186, 187, 190, 192, 195, 199–
 201, 203–205, 250
 Williams, S. K. 228, 229
 Williamson, H. G. M. 15, 39, 41, 75, 114,
 185, 237
 Wilson, Walter T. 217, 219, 220
 Witherington, Ben 2, 14, 15, 101, 104,
 125, 131
 Wolff, Christian 123, 124, 126, 128, 134,
 136, 140–142, 144
 Wolff, Hans 32, 34
 Wright, N. T. 1, 2, 14, 17, 26, 27, 29, 30,
 37, 46, 62, 80, 84, 96, 97, 100, 111,
 112, 183, 192, 226, 227

 Young, Norman 82, 94, 97–99, 101

 Zeller, Dieter 226
 Zerbe Gordon 61
 Ziesler, J. A. 211
 Zink, James Keith 57–59

Index of Subjects and Key Terms

- allusion 3, 20, 21, 23, 24
- Apocrypha 31, 44, 50, 56–59
- Apollos 4

- bles, blessing 97
 - in relation to Abraham 106
 - and curse 89–91, 93, 103, 104, 105
 - and Gentiles 101, 108
 - in relation to the law 97
 - and the new covenant 238
 - and Philo 90

- canon 3, 16, 23
- Christ
 - and Gentiles 229
 - as Redeemer 231
 - as Servant 231
 - crucifixion & resurrection 171, 178
 - death of 171, 182
 - deliverance & restoration 185, 232
 - faith in 213
 - Israel’s rejection of 215
 - ministry of 228, 230, 231
 - new eschatological order 183
 - the new Moses 171
- christology 176, 231, 232
 - in Paul 17, 18, 28, 111, 175, 176, 246
- Christian(s) 131, 141, 142, 144, 155, 159, 171, 178, 180, 181, 183–190, 196, 198, 199, 203, 204, 211, 213, 214, 218, 219, 221, 222, 230
- citation technique 18, 28
- 1 Corinthians 131, 138, 159
- curse, cursing
 - and blessing 89, 90, 93, 103–105, 108, 113, 129
 - and Christ 86, 98–103, 109, 112
 - and exile 34, 107, 111
 - and Galatians 88
 - and Gentiles 103
 - and Israel 34, 96, 113
 - and the law 79, 80, 83, 85, 101, 103, 112, 238, 245, 248
 - and Philo, 68, 90
 - and sin 102

- demon(s) 135, 140–142, 147
- Deuteronomy
 - and the Apocrypha 58, 59
 - and Baruch 59
 - and Galatians 182–186, 246
 - and Isaiah 50, 52
 - and Josephus 65, 66, 70, 244
 - and L.A.B. 52–56, 58, 59, 66
 - and Philo 66, 70, 166
 - and Qumran 42, 45, 48, 58, 59, 66, 75, 164, 165, 223, 244
 - and Romans 161, 163–165, 176, 180, 182–186, 188, 200, 218, 225, 237, 239–241, 247–249, 253
 - and the Targums 50, 171, 218
 - and Tobit 59, 60
 - and the apostle Paul 1, 2, 11, 24–28, 46, 48, 167, 176, 182, 188, 200, 233–235, 239, 241, 244, 246, 253
 - and the Second Temple Period 30–32, 42, 48, 52, 60, 66, 70, 75, 167, 176, 188, 233
 - and blessings and curses 46, 182, 248
- dtrGB 1, 12, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 41
 - and Odil Steck 1, 12, 13, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 41, 42, 76

- eschatology
 - in Paul 17, 18, 28, 246
 - and Philo 177, 178

- faith 86, 95, 104, 180, 181, 184, 190, 191, 194, 211, 213

- Galatians 79, 80, 88, 89, 91, 96, 98, 100, 102, 103, 108, 111, 113
- Gentiles
 - and Christ 229, 230, 244, 247
 - and God’s mercy 227, 228, 230, 250
 - and idol worship 140

- and Jews 95, 97, 131, 183, 190, 213, 222, 228, 229
- and Paul 8, 13, 142, 156, 208, 222, 241, 245, 246
- and the church 142, 147, 158, 193, 232, 238, 240, 248, 249
- and the law 102
- and blessings and curses 91, 101, 160, 238
- and unbelief 190
- God
 - and idols 141–143
 - his glory 228, 229, 230
 - his name(s) 144, 145
 - his people 131, 141, 155–161, 193, 208, 222, 230, 232
 - his presence 174
- grace 181, 194, 204, 205
- heaven 171, 172, 174, 179
- idol(s)/Idolatry 139–144, 146
- intertextuality 4, 16, 21–23, 25
- Israel
 - and Christ 86
 - and Christianity 6, 139, 141, 146, 159
 - and Gentiles 8, 131, 190, 192, 198, 208, 212, 229, 232
 - and Scripture 8, 13, 17, 25, 86, 241, 244
 - as a people 6, 155, 212
 - and disobedience/sin 32, 33, 62, 107, 117, 123, 126, 140, 155, 159, 182, 184, 188, 198, 205–208, 212, 215, 232, 238, 241, 244
 - history 1, 25, 31, 146
 - obedience 62
 - salvation of 194, 205, 209, 212, 232, 239, 240
 - unbelief 146, 214
- jealousy / provoke to jealousy 138, 143, 144, 187, 194, 195, 199, 208–210, 212, 213, 232, 234, 241, 244, 246
- Josephus 16, 31, 49, 50, 57, 64, 65, 66, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76
- Judaism, Second Temple
 - in the Diaspora 36
 - and the Old Testament 170
 - in Palestine 34–36, 94
 - and biblical interpretation 11, 13, 170
- justification 86, 98, 100, 104
- law
 - commandments of 93
 - and curse 79, 80, 85, 89, 94–97, 100, 101, 102, 103, 105, 111, 181
 - as a covenant 85
 - dead to the 102
 - and faith 86, 184
 - and Israel, 96
 - and justification 98
 - and Prophets 128
 - under the 101, 102
 - and wisdom 174, 175, 176
 - works of the 95–97, 100, 105, 111, 181
- Lord's Supper 139
- Messiah
 - Jesus as 247
 - *see also* Christ
- mercy 214, 220, 222, 224, 228, 229, 231, 232
- Middot 11, 12
- Midrash 11, 12, 16, 45, 70, 71, 73
- Qumran 3, 9, 16, 19, 31, 38, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 56, 58, 59, 63, 64, 66, 75, 76, 161, 165, 166, 177, 225–227
- Pentateuch 138, 144, 152, 153, 159
- Philippians 2, 13, 15, 63, 131, 148, 151, 153, 156, 157, 159, 160, 237, 245
- Philo 16, 31, 49, 50, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 74, 76, 166, 172, 173, 177, 185
- pre-Pauline origin 87, 93, 115, 171, 178, 179, 188, 189, 201
- Pseudepigrapha 16, 17, 50, 57, 58, 61, 75
- Pseudo-Philo 16, 17, 31, 34, 52, 53, 54, 56
- restoration 238–240, 249, 250, 253
- righteousness 180, 181, 184, 206
- Romans 4, 5, 13, 24–28, 63, 79, 80, 102, 103, 111, 113, 128, 132, 138, 159, 161, 164, 172, 178, 182, 183, 186, 189, 190, 195, 199, 200, 206, 207, 208, 214–217, 219, 223, 237–241, 248, 249, 252, 253
- Septuagint 19, 28, 38, 43, 46, 79, 80–83, 85–88, 106, 110, 114, 115, 119, 133, 135, 137, 145, 149–152, 154–159,

- 162–170, 172, 173, 185, 186, 188,
191, 192, 197, 198, 200–208, 212, 213,
216–220, 223–227, 230–234,
242–246, 251–253
- Sifre Deuteronomy 31
- sign 120–122, 124–127, 129
- Song of Moses (Deut 32) 138, 153, 195,
223, 231, 232
- Targum(s) 31, 49, 50, 170, 171, 219
- *T. Moses* 31, 38, 40, 49, 56, 60, 61, 62,
63, 64, 65, 66, 70, 71, 73, 76
- Testimonia* Collections 8, 9, 11, 141, 146,
148, 178, 189, 190, 198, 203, 232,
246, 251
- vengeance 217, 218, 223, 224
- wisdom 173–176, 185, 186, 213, 220

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