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zum Neuen Testament · 2. Reihe 38

Don B. Garlington

‘The Obedience of Faith’



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Begründet von Joachim Jeremias und Otto Michel
Herausgegeben von
Martin Hengel und Otfried Hofius

38

‘The Obedience of Faith’

A Pauline Phrase in Historical Context

by

Don B. Garlington



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To Liz, Robbie and Tommy

Preface

The ensuing volume is a revision of a Ph.D. thesis submitted to the University of Durham in 1987. Its central purpose is to develop an insight of Otto Michel into Rom 1.5, viz., when Paul coins the unique phrase 'the obedience of faith', he does so antithetically to Judaism and Jewish Christianity. Inasmuch as this phrase draws upon the rich complex of faith and obedience derived from Paul's Jewish heritage, it contains within itself a world of thought and provides a prime opportunity to compare and contrast the apostle to the Gentiles with his predecessors and contemporaries. In addition to this literary/historical study of the context of the Pauline mission, two subsidiary purposes are pursued: (1) using Jewish materials not employed by E.P. Sanders in *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* as a testing ground for his thesis of 'covenantal nomism'; (2) to shed light from the sources selected on the much debated question of Paul and the law.

The documents chosen for detailed exposition are those which form part of the Septuagint (the 'Apocrypha'), selected for three reasons: (1) with the exception of Sirach, they have not been treated in any depth by Sanders; (2) they form the literary self-witness of the popular piety in existence at the commencement of Paul's ministry; (3) they present a notion of conversion antithetical to that of Pauline Christianity.

In these sources 'the obedience of faith' is primarily a commitment to God's covenant as embodied in the totality of the law of Moses; disobedience, correspondingly, is predominantly apostasy from the covenant. Because of this denotation of 'the obedience of faith' in Jewish theology, Paul's phrase assumes the character of a manifesto that 'the nations' can participate in God's (new) covenant apart from becoming and remaining Jewish. Herein consisted the offense of the Pauline gospel: it was rejected by the rank and file of the Jewish people as being both deleterious to Israel's status as Yahweh's chosen ones and an invitation to apostasy from Moses. Ironically, what for Paul was obedience to the word of God was for Judaism disobedience.

In presenting this study for wider distribution, it is only appropriate to greet those who have contributed so much to its production. To my much esteemed 'Doktorvater', Professor J.D.G. Dunn, goes my highest gratitude. His comprehensive scholarship, insight into the problems of biblical research, generosity in making available time and materials, sagacious counsel and, not least, encouragement and friendship have meant more than can be expressed here. I would add a special word of thanks for his

kindness in giving me access to his commentary on Romans while in manuscript form.

My wife, Elizabeth, sacrificed much to make my time of doctoral study possible. She laboured time and again to enable me to give full attention to the work: her devotion and perseverance are beyond praise. To my son Robert are due apologies for making him entertain himself for long hours while 'the thesis' ever beckoned to his father, but also many thanks for his understanding. We were joined in our stay in England by Thomas, without whom the research probably would have progressed more quickly, but also without whom there would have been far fewer enjoyable diversions.

My thanksgiving must include our friends at Langley Park Baptist Church in County Durham, England. During those years they took us in and gave us both a home and a ministry. We are much in their debt, and we will remember them. I think especially of Mr. and Mrs. R. Coult, Mr. and Mrs. W. Barber and Mr. and Mrs. B. Norton.

Many regards go to Dr. Andrew Chester of Durham and Dr. J.A. Zielser of Bristol for their careful reading and criticism of the thesis. A number of the revisions incorporated into this book are reflective of their thoughtfulness.

May I thank as well professors M. Hengel and O. Hofius for their kind acceptance of my study into this distinguished series, as well as the editorial staff of J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) for their highly professional assistance in preparing the manuscript for publication.

Not least, I am deeply indebted to Miss Janet Hargrave of Leeds, England for her indispensable labours, under pressing circumstances, in making corrections to the original thesis. To her I extend my particular gratitude and affection.

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Abbreviations

1. Books of the Bible

Gen, Ex, Lev, Num, Deut, Josh, Judg, 1,2 Sam, 1,2 Ki, 1,2 Chr, Est, Ps, Prov, Isa, Jer, Lam, Ezek, Dan, Hos, Jon, Mic, Hab, Zeph, Zech, Mal.

Mt, Mk, Lk, Jn, Rom, 1,2 Cor, Gal, Eph, Phil, Col, 1,2 Thess, 1,2 Tim, Tit, Phlm, Heb, Jas, 1,2 Pet, 1,2,3 Jn, Rev.

2. Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

Ad Est, Bar, Bel Drag, Esd, Jdt, Let Jer, Pr Az, Pr Man, 1,2,3,4 Macc, Sir, Sus, Tob, Wis.

Apoc Ab, Apoc Mos, Apoc Shad, 2 Bar, Ass Mos, 1 En, Aris, Jos As, Jub, Ps Sol, Sib Or, T12Pat, TAsh, TBen, TDan, TGad, TIs, TJob, TJos, TJud, TLevi, TMos, TNaph, TReub, TSim, TZeb.

3. Dead Sea Scrolls

CD, 1QH, 1QHab, 1QM, 1QS, 1QSa.

4. Other ancient sources

Philo and Josephus: the conventional sigla are used.

Rabbinic writings: the conventional sigla are used.

Other ancient writings: the conventional sigla are used.

5. Literature Cited

- APOT *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English*, ed. R.H. Charles, Oxford: Clarendon, 1913, 2 vols.
- ATR *Anglican Theological Review*
- BDB *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, eds. F. Brown, S.R.Driver and C.A. Briggs, Oxford: Clarendon, rep. 1968.
- BAGD *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature. Second Edition Revised and Augmented by F. Wilbur Gingrich and Frederick W. Danker from Walter Bauer's Fifth Edition*, 1958, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979.
- BJRL *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*
- BR *Biblical Research*
- BVC *Bibel et vie chrétienne*
- BZ *Biblische Zeitschrift*
- BZAW *Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
- CBQ *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
- CJ *Conservative Judaism*
- CJT *Canadian Journal of Theology*
- CTM *Concordia Theological Monthly*
- EBT *Encyclopedia of Biblical Theology*, ed. J. B. Bauer, London: Sheed & Ward, 1970, 3 vols.
- ExpT *Expository Times*
- HR *History of Religions*
- HTR *Harvard Theological Review*
- HUCA *Hebrew Union College Annual*
- IDB *The Interpreters Dictionary of the Bible*, eds. G.A. Buttrick, et al., Nashville: Abingdon, 1962, 1976, 5 vols.
- JBL *Journal of Biblical Literature*
- JBR *Journal of Bible and Religion*
- JJS *Journal of Jewish Studies*
- JNES *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*

- JSHRZ *Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit*, eds. W.G. Kümmel, *et al.*, Gütersloh: Mohn, 1973-.
- JSJ *Journal for the Study of Judaism*
- JSNT *Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
- JSS *Journal of Semitic Studies*
- JTS *Journal of Theological Studies*
- JWSTP *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period*, ed. M.E. Stone, Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984.
- JQR *Jewish Quarterly Review*
- LSJ *A Greek-English Lexicon Compiled by Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott: Revised and Augmented Throughout by Sir Henry Stuart Jones*, Oxford: Clarendon, 9th ed., rep.1983.
- LTK *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, eds. J. Höfer and K. Rahner, Freiburg: Herder, 1957-68, 15 vols.
- NIDNTT *The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology*, ed. C. Brown, Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1975, 3 vols.
- NBD *The New Bible Dictionary*, ed. J.D. Douglas, London: Inter-Varsity, 1962.
- NovT *Novum Testamentum*
- NTS *New Testament Studies*
- OTP *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. J.H. Charlesworth, London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1983, 1985, 2 vols.
- RB *Revue biblique*
- RSR *Recherches de science religieuse*
- SC *The Speaker's Commentary: The Holy Bible according to the Authorized Version [Apocrypha]*, ed. London: H. Wace, John Murray, 1888, 2 vols.
- SJT *Scottish Journal of Theology*
- TB *Tyndale Bulletin*
- TDNT *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, eds. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, ET 1964-76, 10 vols.
- TDOT *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*, eds. G.J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, ET 1974-, 5 vols.
- THAT *Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament*, eds. E. Jenni and C. Westermann, Munich: Kaiser, 4th ed. 1984, 2 vols.

TJ	<i>Trinity Journal</i>
TLZ	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
TRE	<i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</i> , eds. G. Krause and G. Müller, Berlin: de Gruyter, 1977-.
TTZ	<i>Trierer theologische Zeitschrift</i>
TWB	<i>A Theological Word Book of the Bible</i> , ed. A. Richardson, London: SCM, 1950.
TZ	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
USQR	<i>Union Seminary Quarterly Review</i>
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
WTJ	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZST	<i>Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie</i>
ZTK	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>

6. Technical and Other Abbreviations

(excluding standardized Latin sigla)

AV	Authorized Version
ch(s).	chapter(s)
col.	column
ed(s).	editor(s)
esp.	especially
ET	English translation
Grk.	Greek
Heb.	Hebrew
lit.	literature
LXX	Septuagint
ms(s)	manuscript(s)

MT	Masoretic Text
n(s).	note(s)
NEB	New English Bible
n.d.	no date
n.f.	neue Folge
n.s.	new series
NT	New Testament
OT	Old Testament
refs.	references
rep.	reprinted
rev.	revised
RSV	Revised Standard Version
RV	Revised Version
trans.	translator
v(s).	verse(s)
vol(s).	volume(s)

Introduction

I. Occasion and Purpose of the Study

At the central point of his opening paragraph of the Roman letter Paul places a programmatic statement of the design of his apostolic preaching: he has received grace and apostleship *εἰς ὑπακοὴν πίστεως ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δυνάματος αὐτοῦ* (1.5).¹ Commenting on the phrase 'all the nations', O. Michel correctly observes that 'Wir haben es mit einer zusammenfassenden, missionarischen Wendung zu tun, die dem Begriffe des Glaubensgehorsams entsprechen muß'.² It is Michel, in fact, who has suggested the subject matter of this investigation: 'Der neue Gehorsam wird...durch den Glauben, der als eschatologisches Ereignis in die Welt kam (Gal 3.25), bestimmt. Er ist selbst ein Akt des Glaubens und steht im Gegensatz zum Gehorsam gegenüber dem Gesetz. Offenbar ist diese formel *antithetisch* und *polemisch* gemeint'.³

In due course we shall see that part of Michel's statement is in need of modification.⁴ It is, nevertheless, his insight which has provided the stimulus for

¹ A similar statement is made in 15.18. Because of the textual problem involved with 16.25-27, no direct appeal is here made to the occurrence of *ὑπακοὴ πίστεως* in 16.26. C.E.B. Cranfield, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1979), II, pp.808-09, takes the concluding doxology to be a later editorial addition, but he ascribes it to an orthodox source and accounts for its presence 'because its intrinsic merit commended it'. More recently L.W. Hurtado, 'The Doxology at the End of Romans', in E.J. Epp and G.D. Fee, eds., *New Testament Textual Criticism: Its Significance for Exegesis. Essays in Honour of Bruce M. Metzger* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), pp.185-99, is open to the possibility of the text's authenticity, while J.D.G. Dunn, on the other hand, is inclined to view it as a post-Pauline addition (*Word Biblical Commentary: Romans* [Dallas: Word, 1988], II, p.913). Even if editorial, the words adequately sum up Paul's intentions not only in chs.14-16 but the whole of the letter. Cf. G.H. Parke-Taylor, 'A Note on "*εἰς ὑπακοὴν πίστεως*" in Romans i.5 and xvi.26', *ExpT* 55 (1943-44), p.306.

² *Der Brief an die Römer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 14th ed. 1978), p.76.

³ *ibid* (italics his).

⁴ In particular, his too exclusive identification of obedience as faith, which does not leave enough room for an obedience which flows from faith. The precise significance of Paul's phrase is a familiar crux. The commentators are divided in their assessment particularly of the genitive *πίστεως*. For a convenient summary of opinion, see Cranfield, *Romans*, I, p.66. Basically the options boil down to two: genitive of apposition (exegetical genitive) and genitive of source, i.e., either the obedience which is faith (in Christ/the gospel) or the obedience which proceeds from faith. However, as I have argued elsewhere ('The Obedience of Faith in the Letter to the Romans. Part I: The Meaning of

what follows. For years scholars have been cognizant of the relation of faith⁵ and obedience⁶ in Paul; and 'the obedience of faith' has not escaped their attention.⁷ Michel, however, has called attention to two factors adhering to this phrase which

ὑπακοή πίστεως, WTJ 52 [1990], pp. 201-224), it is artificial to distinguish sharply between the two. Paul's penchant for stretching the genitive to its limits is well known. Even commentators who opt for the appositional genitive insist, for example: 'It is...true to say that to make the decision of faith is an act of obedience toward God and also that true faith by its very nature includes in itself the sincere desire and will to obey God in all things' (Cranfield, *Romans*, I, pp.66-67). See further Dunn, *Romans*, I, pp.17-18; J. Murray, *The Epistle to the Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1959), I, pp.13-14; A. Schlatter, *Gottes Gerechtigkeit* (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1935), p.22; K. Kertelge, 'Rechtfertigung' bei Paulus (Münster: Aschendorff, 2nd ed. 1971), p. 283; Parke-Taylor, 'Note', p.305. As C.K. Barrett puts it, it was important to Paul to show that 'obedience has a place in the system of grace and faith' (*A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* [London: A & C Black, 1957], p.131, on Rom 6.16); cf. A. Nygren, *Commentary on Romans* (Philadelphia: Fortress, ET 1949), p.55. This is confirmed by Paul's consistent usage of obedience language, which always underscores the moral demands of the gospel, as exemplified by Christ himself, the obedient Last Adam (Rom 5.12f; Phil 2.6f.). See also G. Friedrich, 'Muß *ὑπακοή πίστεως* Röm 1.5 mit "Glaubensgehorsam" übersetzt werden?', ZNW 72 (1981), pp.118f.

⁵ On faith in Paul, see, e.g., A. Schlatter, *Der Glaube im Neuen Testament* (Stuttgart: Calwer, 6th ed. 1982 [= 1927]), pp.323f; W.H.P. Hatch, *The Pauline Idea of Faith in Its Relation to Jewish and Hellenistic Religion* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1917); W. Mundle, *Der Glaubensbegriff des Paulus* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1977 [= 1932]); R. Gyllenberg, 'Glaube bei Paulus', ZST 13 (1936), pp.613-30; M. Buber, *Two Types of Faith* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, ET 1951), pp.53f., et passim; R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament* (London: SCM, ET 1952), I, pp.314f; O. Kuss, *Der Römerbrief* (Regensburg: Pustet, 1957), I, pp.131f; H. Ljungman, *Pistis: A Study of Its Presuppositions and Its Meaning in Pauline Use* (Lund: Gleerup, 1964); J. Pathrapankal, *Metanoia, Faith, Covenant: A Study in Pauline Theology* (Bangalore: Dharmaram College, 1971); D. Lührmann, *Glaube im frühen Christentum* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1976), pp.46f; H. Binder, *Der Glaube bei Paulus* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1968); H.-W. Bartsch, 'The Concept of Faith in Paul's Letter to the Romans', BR 13 (1968), pp.41-53; J.J. O'Rourke, 'Pistis in Romans', CBQ 39 (1973), pp.188-94; L. Goppelt, *Theology of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, ET 1982), II, pp.124f; Michel, *Römer*, p.93. See further Pathrapankal's bibliography, *Metanoia*, pp.305f; Stuhlmacher's introduction to Schlatter's *Glaube*, pp.ix-x; Goppelt, *Theology*, II, p.124.

⁶ The obedience character of faith has been drawn out by: E. Wißmann, *Das Verhältnis von ΠΙΣΤΙΣ und Christusfrömmigkeit bei Paulus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1926); R. Bultmann, *Theology*, I, pp.324f; C. Snoek, *De Idee der Gehoorzaamheid in het Nieuwe Testament* (Utrecht: Dekker & Van de Vegt, 1952), pp.39f. (Snoek provides a general overview of obedience in Paul, 31f.); O. Merk, *Handeln aus Glauben* (Marburg: Elwert, 1968); V.P. Furnish, *Theology and Ethics in Paul* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1968), pp.181f; H.N. Ridderbos, *Paul: An Outline of His Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, ET 1975), pp.231f. Cf. C. Spicq, *Théologie morale du Nouveau Testament* (Paris: Gabalda, 1970), I, pp.229f; Pathrapankal, *Metanoia*, pp.218f. F.-J. Ort Kemper's commentary on Rom 12-13, *Leben aus dem Glauben* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1980), reflects the same consciousness of the origin of obedience in faith. In a sense, the whole of the Pauline ethic is encapsulated in 14.23: *πάντες δὲ ὁ οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως ἁμαρτία ἐστίν.*

⁷ P. Minear, *The Obedience of Faith* (London: SCM, 1971), has used the phrase (and the idea) in an attempt to explain Romans as a whole, although Minear pays surprisingly little attention exegetically to Rom 1.5 in its context. M. Black also takes 'to win obedience from the Gentiles' as 'the main purpose of the Epistle to the Romans' (*New Century Bible Commentary: Romans* [London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1973], p.175). N.T. Wright, 'The Messiah and the People of God: A Study in Pauline Theology with Particular Reference to the Argument of the Epistle to the Romans' (D.Phil. Thesis, Oxford University, 1980), p.iii, regards 1.5 and 1.16-17 as 'programmatic statements' of the outworking of Paul's christological gospel in Romans (cf. Michel, *Römer*, p.76, n.37).

have not received the full-scale attention which they deserve, viz., the polemical and eschatological.⁸

While it is true that *ὑπακοή πίστewς* can be construed as a comprehensive ethical principle in Paul,⁹ it is equally true that in its immediate context it functions to articulate the core concern of Paul's gospel for *all the nations*. As Michel further remarks, 'Paulus steht ja auch hier in der Diskussion mit Judentum und Judenchristentum'. Indeed, 'Wichtig ist die Beobachtung, daß die Einleitung [of Romans] von Anfang an in die Diskussion mit Judentum und Judenchristentum eingreift'.¹⁰

Not only in the introduction but throughout Romans Paul's prime objective is to explain *his* gospel (2.16). He does so, however, not in the abstract but by way of dialogue with those who have, to one degree or the other, taken exception to his message. As Michel has seen, Paul's principal opponents were his Jewish kinsmen and the Jewish Christian missionaries who countered his gospel with their insistence on circumcision, the food laws and the special days of Israel, etc., as prerequisites to salvation. It is, then, in this controversial context that Paul's coins a phrase which epitomizes his position as over against that of his rivals. Hence, *ὑπακοή πίστewς* is 'antithetisch und polemisch gemeint'.

But not only is 'the obedience of faith' antithetical and polemical as regards those with whom Paul disagrees, it is also eschatological. In point of fact, the two are integrally related: it is because faith has entered the world as 'eschatologisches Ereignis' that faith's obedience can partake of the character of the new aeon. Since

⁸The eschatological dimension of Paul's concept of faith in the broader sense certainly has not passed unnoticed. Binder, for example, repeatedly emphasizes this (*Glaube*, e.g., pp.43,89). See also Bultmann, *Theology*, I, pp.329-30; Pathrapankal, *Metanoia*, pp.168f.,200f. There is here a parallel with righteousness as an eschatological entity. See, *inter alios*, K. Kertelge, 'Rechtfertigung', p.104, *et passim*.

⁹Below it will be seen that in pre-Christian Judaism there was no conception of a faith which was not at the same time an obedience. And 'Like Palestinian Judaism, the aspect of faith he [Paul] stressed was action; that is why he talked about the obedience of faith' (E. Käsemann, 'The Faith of Abraham in Romans 4', in *Perspectives on Paul* [Philadelphia: Fortress, ET 1971], p.81). Consequently, we have in 'the obedience of faith' the link between present justification by faith and future judgment (justification, Rom 2.13) by works in Paul. See particularly K.P. Donfried, 'Justification and Last Judgment in Paul', ZNW 67 (1976), pp.90-110 (esp. pp.102-03); L. Mattern, *Das Verständnis des Gerichtes bei Paulus* (Zürich: Zwingli, 1966), pp.123f. (esp. p.138); D.B. Garlington, 'The Obedience of Faith in the Letter to the Romans. Part II: The Obedience of Faith and Judgment by Works', WTJ 53 (1991), pp. 47-72. See in addition the studies of J.-M. Cambier, 'Le jugement de tous les hommes par Dieu seul, selon la vérité, dans Rom 2.1-3.20', ZNW 66 (1975), pp.187-213; E. Synofzik, *Die Gerichts- und Vergeltungsaussagen bei Paulus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977), esp. pp.78f; U. Wilckens, *Der Brief an die Römer* (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1978), I, pp.142f. ('Das paulinische Evangelium ist in seinem Kern keineswegs Werk-feindlich', p.145); N.M. Watson, 'Justified by Faith, Judged by Works - an Antinomy?', NTS 29 (1983), pp.209-21; K.R. Snodgrass, 'Justification by Grace - to the Doers: an Analysis of the Place of Romans 2 in the Theology of Paul', NTS 32 (1986), pp.72-93; R. Heiligenthal, *Werke als Zeichen* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1983), esp. pp.165f; A.J. Hultgren, *Paul's Mission and Gospel* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), pp.34f; F. Watson, *Paul, Judaism and the Gentiles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp.119f.

¹⁰*Römer*, p.76 and n.37. By 'Jewish Christianity' is meant the type represented by the 'men from James' (Gal 2.12), who are most naturally identified as *οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς πιστοί* (Acts 10.45), *τινες τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλρέσεως τῶν Φαρισαίων πεπιστευκότες* (Acts 15.5), and, according to Paul himself, *ἡ κατατομή* (Phil 3.2; cf. Gal 5.12).

this is so, we are alerted to the reality that the polemical thrust of Paul's phrase is bound up with the eschatology which underlies it or, more precisely, the complex of eschatology and christology.

All of this implies that there was prior to Paul and contemporary with him a reasonably well fixed conception of the obedience of faith, a conception which characterized both Judaism and non-Pauline Christianity. The purpose of this investigation, then, is to explore the setting of Paul's coinage of *ὑπακοή πίστεως*, i.e., to place it within its historical context in order to determine the nature of the controversy between Paul and his counterparts as expressed by the phrase. We shall see that although the combination of words is unique to Paul, the idea is not. Indeed, it is just in terms of the *continuity* resident in faith's obedience that the *discontinuity* between Paul and his opponents becomes most apparent.

With the burgeoning of interest in Paul's relation to Judaism, a study such as this must seek to be sensitive to the issues at hand, of which two are outstanding. The one is the character of Judaism as a religion and way of life. No approach to the subject can be made these days without reference to E.P. Sanders' epoch-making *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*.¹¹ Sanders' work is well known by this time, and no attempt will be made here to summarize its contents. Suffice it to say that much of NT scholarship has come to view the working principle of ancient Judaism as, in Sanders' now famous phrase, 'covenantal nomism'.¹² It is hardly true, of course, that Sander's thesis is original with himself.¹³ However, one important consequence of

¹¹ Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977. Sanders' book was preceded by 'Patterns of Religion in Paul and Rabbinic Judaism: A Holistic Method of Comparison', HTR 66 (1973), pp.455-78; 'The Covenant as a Soteriological Category and the Nature of Salvation in Palestinian and Hellenistic Judaism', in R.G. Hamerton-Kelly and R. Scroggs, eds., *Jews, Greeks and Christians. Religious Cultures in Late Antiquity: Essays in Honor of William David Davies* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), pp.11-44. Relevant to our purposes are also: 'On the Question of Fulfilling the Law in Paul and Rabbinic Judaism', in E. Bammel, C.K. Barrett and W.D. Davies, eds., *Donum Gentilicium: New Testament Studies in Honour of David Daube* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978), pp.103-26; 'Paul's Attitude toward the Jewish People', USQR 73 (1978), pp.175-87; 'Puzzling Out Rabbinic Judaism', in W.S. Green, ed., *Approaches to Ancient Judaism* (Chico: Scholars Press, 1980), II, pp.24-32; *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983); 'Jesus and the Sinners', JSNT 19 (1983), pp.5-36; *Jesus and Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985); 'Judaism and the Grand "Christian" Abstractions: Love, Mercy, and Grace', *Interpretation* 39 (1985), pp.357-72; 'Paul on the Law, His Opponents, and the Jewish People in Philippians 3 and 2 Corinthians 11', in P. Richardson and D. Granskou, eds., *Anti-Judaism in Early Christianity* (Waterloo, Ont: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1986), I, pp.75-90.

¹² *Paul*, p.236, *et passim*. As Dunn further explains, covenantal nomism has reference to the maintenance of status among the people of God by observing the God-given law as part of the covenant relationship: 'This covenant relationship was regulated by the law, not as a way of entering the covenant, or of gaining merit, but as the way of living *within* the covenant; and that included the provision of sacrifice and atonement for those who confessed their sins and thus repented' (*Romans*, I, p.lxv). The entirety of Dunn's discussion (pp.lxiiiif.) is important.

¹³ See Sanders' own introduction (pp.lf.,33f.), especially his tribute to G.F. Moore, and S. Westerholm's survey of early twentieth-century Jewish scholarship, *Israel's Law and the Church's Faith* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), pp.33f. I would add that R.N. Longenecker's *Paul: Apostle of Liberty* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964) has been unjustly neglected. Also noteworthy for our theme is J.J. Gunther's *St. Paul's Opponents and Their Background* (Leiden: Brill, 1973). Although in principle Gunther is clearly 'pre-Sanders' (Longenecker, *et al.*) in his application to Judaism of terms like 'legalistic', he concedes that '...the Old Testament apocryphal literature does not manifest a

his particular research has been the realization on the part of Christian scholars that Jewish texts are worthy of study on their own terms apart from forming the backdrop of and much less a foil for the NT,¹⁴ a corollary of which is the dissatisfaction which many have now come to feel with the Lutheran/Reformation approach to Judaism.¹⁵ This study, then, seeks as one of its goals a contribution to our understanding of Jewish faith and life as reflected in these documents, particularly as one persistent criticism of Sanders is that he has not dealt with all of the available evidence.¹⁶

The second issue of consequence, touched off by Sanders' work, is that of Paul and the law. J.D.G. Dunn, for one, has built on the perspectives furnished by Sanders.¹⁷ Assuming covenantal nomism as his avenue of approach to the Jewish sources, Dunn has concluded that the picture of Judaism which emerges from Paul is not a distortion or misrepresentation;¹⁸ rather, what is required is a readjustment of our conception of the precise bone of contention in the controversy over the law. That is to say, what Paul opposed was the too narrowly nationalistic conception of God's purposes in history;¹⁹ it is in such terms that Dunn has defined 'works of the law' in Paul. The phrase, in other words, is intended to express not the compilation of good deeds for the purpose of earning the favour of God but the requirements of the covenant as these particularly come to focus in the 'identity markers' and 'badges' of

severe legalism' (p.69). The overall impression conveyed by Gunther's work is consonant with the thesis herein argued, viz., what marked the Jewish conception of faith's obedience was not 'legalism' but exclusivity according to the norms of the Torah.

¹⁴ Cf. J.H. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p.50.

¹⁵ See the surveys of Pauline scholarship by Watson, *Paul*, pp.1f., and J.M.G. Barclay, *Obeying the Truth* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1988), pp.1f. J.A. Ziesler, for example, has written that Sanders has 'rendered out of date a good deal that has customarily been said about the Judaism contemporary with Paul' (*Pauline Christianity* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983], p.100). In addition to a few scholars at the outset of this century, the current approach to Paul was foreshadowed by K. Stendahl in his article 'The Apostle Paul and the Introspective Conscience of the West', *HTR* 56 (1963), pp.62-77 (= *Paul among Jews and Gentiles* [London: SCM, 1977], pp.78-96). There are, of course, some notable exceptions to the consensus, such as H. Hübner, 'Pauli Theologiae Proprium', *NTS* 26 (1980), pp.445-73; *idem*, *Law in Paul's Thought* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, ET 1984); *idem*, 'Was heißt bei Paulus "Werke des Gesetzes"?' in E. Grässer and O. Merk, eds., *Glaube und Eschatologie: Festschrift für Werner Georg Kümmel zum 80. Geburtstag* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1985), pp.123-33; Westerholm, *Law*. Also, we shall see below that the idea of a merit theology in the pre-Christian sources still persists in some quarters.

¹⁶ E.g., J.H. Charlesworth, in a public lecture at Durham University, 12 March, 1984; *idem*, *Pseudepigrapha*, pp.50f; Snodgrass, 'Justification', p.77; J.J. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem* (New York: Crossroad, 1983), pp.13f.

¹⁷ 'The New Perspective on Paul', *BJRL* 65 (1983), pp.95-122; 'The Incident at Antioch (Gal 2.11-18)', *JSNT* 18 (1983), pp.3-57; 'Works of the Law and the Curse of the Law (Galatians 3.10-14)', *NTS* 31 (1985), pp.523-42. As adumbrations of this interpretation of 'works of the law' Dunn cites E. Lohmeyer, *Probleme paulinischer Theologie* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, n.d.), pp.34f., and J.B. Tyson, "'Works of the Law" in Galatians', *JBL* 92 (1973), pp.423-31.

¹⁸ As charged, e.g., by H.J. Schoeps, *Paul: The Theology of the Apostle in the Light of Jewish Religious History* (London: Lutterworth, ET 1959), pp.213f.

¹⁹ This approach to Paul, the law and Israel has been applied to Galatians most recently by Barclay, *Obeying the Truth*, and before him by G. Howard, *Paul: Crisis in Galatia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

Jewish ethnic identity, i.e., circumcision, the food laws and the sabbath.²⁰ Israel's 'boasting', consequently, is not in her efforts at self-salvation but rather in her privileges and possessions as the chosen people.

H. Räisänen has likewise subjected the issue of Paul, the law and Israel to a fresh analysis.²¹ Also acknowledging his debt to Sanders, Räisänen has arrived at the same conclusions as Dunn respecting the character of Judaism as a religion and such specific issues in Paul as 'works of the Law' and Israel's 'boasting' in the law.²² Unlike Dunn, however, Räisänen has proposed that Paul's thinking on the law is not only beset with countless inconsistencies and contradictions, it is at best a misunderstanding of his Jewish opponents and at worst a distortion of their views.²³

Therefore, along with our other purposes of exploring Paul's phrase 'the obedience of faith' in its historical setting and of providing a testing ground for 'covenantal nomism' in the sources not examined by Sanders, we propose to shed what light is available on the question of Paul and the law. Of course, a truly adequate treatment must take into account exegesis of Pauline texts as well as Jewish ones, a task certainly beyond the restrictions imposed on this study.²⁴ Nevertheless, we shall explore in depth a number of pre-Pauline documents in order to determine their bearing on the debate.

II. Scope of the Study

Because of the necessity of limiting the materials, I have opted to restrict detailed exegesis to those books either translated into Greek or with Greek as their original

²⁰More recently A.J. Saldarini, *Pharisees, Scribes and Sadducees in Palestinian Society* (Wilmington: Glazier, 1988), p.136, has spoken of the "'boundary mechanisms" for maintaining the integrity of God's people'.

²¹'Paul's Theological Difficulties with the Law', in E.A. Livingston, ed., *Studia Biblica*, III (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1980), pp.301-20; 'Legalism and Salvation by the Law. Paul's Portrayal of the Jewish Religion as a Historical and Theological Problem', in S. Pedersen, ed., *Die Paulinische Literatur und Theologie* (Aarhus: Forlaget Aros, 1980), pp.63-83; *Paul and the Law* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1983); 'Galatians 2.16 and Paul's Break with Judaism', NTS 31 (1985), pp.543-53; 'Paul's Conversion and the Development of His View of the Law', NTS 33 (1987), pp.404-419.

²²See, e.g., *Paul*, pp.170,177, and 'Conversion', pp.410f.

²³Throughout his *Paul*, 'Difficulties', 'Legalism' and 'Conversion', and seconded, e.g., by A.J.M. Wedderburn, 'Paul and the Law', SJT 38 (1985), pp.613-22. Räisänen distances himself from scholars who posit a development from Galatians to Romans because he finds each letter beset with internal tensions (*Paul*, pp.7f; 'Conversion', p.405).

²⁴For this reason, only limited references have been made to the ever growing body of literature on Paul and the law. See Dunn's bibliography, *Romans*, I, pp.lxiii-lxiv, and the overviews of recent scholarship by E.J. Schnabel, *Law and Wisdom from Ben Sira to Paul* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1985), pp.264f; J.M.G. Barclay, 'Paul and the Law: Observations on Some Recent Debates', *Themelios* 12 (1986), pp.5-15; D.J. Moo, 'Paul and the Law in the Last Ten Years', SJT 40 (1987), pp.287-307; Westerholm, *Law*, pp.1f.

language which circulated as part of the LXX scrolls,²⁵ without, however, being unmindful of parallel literature. The reasoning behind the choice is as follows.

First of all, as stated above, Sanders has been criticized for not taking into account all of the strands of Jewish literature. One particularly noticeable gap is this collection of books. Apart from Sirach, none of the books of the 'Apocrypha'²⁶ occupied his attention in *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*. Therefore, these documents have been selected in order to fill this void.²⁷

In the second place, the translation of these books and their subsequent incorporation into the LXX argue in favour of their being known in Paul's day. Of course, since the LXX at this time existed as a group of scrolls and not as a codex, it is possible that individual writings were not universally in use among the Jews. Even so, they were all thought to be sufficiently important to translate, if need be, into the lingua franca of the ancient world for the purposes of instruction and edification.²⁸ It is, then, a reasonable assumption that these books were part of the 'main stream' of Jewish religious life and not the product of extreme sectarian enclaves.²⁹ It should be clarified, however, that Paul's interaction is principally with the mentality which underlay the production of these books and which in turn was perpetuated by them. These documents, in other words, are *the literary self-witness of the Judaism antecedent to and contemporary with Paul*.³⁰

The relevance of this collection is highlighted by the fact that it is especially rich in the stories of fidelity and heroism so loved by the Jews. We shall see that strong arguments can be made for dating most, if not all, of them during and subsequent to the Hellenistic crisis under Antiochus Epiphanes. By and large, then, these stories went far to encourage suffering Jews and, consequently, *to crystallize the national self-consciousness*. In short, such writings are reflective of the sort of *popular piety* likely to have been encountered by Paul in the synagogue, and they contribute in no small measure to our understanding of his relations with his kinsmen 'according to the flesh'.

We pause here to specify that the approach of the following study is dominantly literary, analagous to Sanders' treatment of his sources. This, however, is not to

²⁵ For the sake of uniformity, unless otherwise specified, all chapter and verse divisions of these books follow the RSV Apocrypha, from which all translations, unless stated otherwise, are taken. The LXX text is that of Rahlfs (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1982). Except where noted, all translations of pseudepigraphical books are from OTP.

²⁶ I have avoided the term as much as possible because of the problems involved in distinguishing between 'Apocrypha' and 'Pseudepigrapha'. See in particular M.E. Stone, 'Categorization and Classification of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha', *Abr-Nahrain* 24 (1986), pp.167-77; cf. G.D. Kilpatrick's review of OTP in *NovT* 29 (1987), p.95. For further lit. on the problem, see B.Z. Wacholder, *The Dawn of Qumran* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1983), p.233, n.16.

²⁷ I would suggest that another fruitful area of research is the Testament literature. Sanders himself has provided an introductory study of Philo ('Covenant', pp.25f.).

²⁸ Unlike much of the Pseudepigrapha, which was preserved by the Christian church, these books were preserved by Jews.

²⁹ Even granting that 'sect' is a hard term to define (Saldarini, *Pharisees*, pp.70f.).

³⁰ Their pertinence is increased by the probability that Paul knew the book of Wisdom. See below n.13 of 'The Wisdom of Solomon'.

downplay the significance of the growing body of sociological approaches to Judaism and Christianity, such as Saldarini's *Pharisees*,³¹ Watson's *Paul*,³² and J. Neusner's *Judaism and Its Social Metaphors*.³³ J.J. Collins is right that Jewish identity is not to be defined exclusively in theological terms: other factors - most notably social stratification - enter the picture.³⁴ Saldarini properly concentrates on the social activities and roles of the Pharisees, Scribes and Sadducees, because there is no extant literature stemming directly from these groups.³⁵ In addition, at several points along the way he calls into question the particular importance of the Pharisees to Jewish society at large.³⁶ Methodologically this forces us to consider whether the literature under consideration here really was widely influential and does in fact represent the popular piety likely to have been encountered by Paul in the synagogue.

In reply, we may say that our focus is intentionally not on particular groups but on the literary remains of a rather wide spectrum of Jewish thinkers, as represented by every genre of writing except Apocalyptic.³⁷ The central thesis is precisely this: irrespective of the specific social context of the individual authors, the same factors respecting 'the obedience of faith' consistently emerge - and it is just these which reappear in the Pauline epistles.³⁸ It will be seen that *the outstanding sociological feature underlying our literature (and most of the parallel sources referenced) was the pressure placed on Jews (by pagans and apostate Jews) to abandon the paternal laws and the traditional way of life. Since, therefore, at heart these texts all bear witness to a common phenomenon, we propose that the trajectories of 'the obedience of faith' can be traced throughout a time-period of over two and a half centuries,*³⁹ culminating in Paul's declaration that he has received grace and apostleship *εἰς ὑπακοήν πλστειως ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν*. Moreover, an examination of such

³¹See pp.12f. and the lit. cited. Note, however, Saldarini's caveats about imposing (modern) sociological models on ancient peoples (pp.13-14).

³²W. Meeks' *The First Urban Christians* is referred to in the Conclusions.

³³Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

³⁴*Athens*, pp.15-16. Cf. his discussion of the social settings of Apocalyptic, *The Apocalyptic Imagination* (New York: Crossroad, 1984), pp.29f.

³⁵*Pharisees*, p.14.

³⁶*Pharisees*, e.g., pp.4,79. Cf. J. Neusner, *From Politics to Piety* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1973), p.53. The thesis undergirding Neusner's work is that by the first century the Pharisees were a purity sect practically devoid of political influence. A similar argument has been forwarded by R.A. Horsley and J.S. Hanson (*Bandits, Prophets and Messiahs: Popular Movements in the Time of Jesus* [Minneapolis: Winston Press, 1985]), according to whom the influence of the Jewish peasant classes has been traditionally underestimated.

³⁷Though, as we shall argue below, the conception of faith and obedience in Apocalyptic is by no means at variance with the other varieties of literature. It is to be conceded to Saldarini, however, that detailed work on the structure of Jewish society and the events of history may produce a more sophisticated understanding of apocalyptic movements (*Pharisees*, p.15).

³⁸It shall become apparent that at the heart of obedience stood zeal for the God of Israel and the Torah. The effect of Horsley and Hanson's study of the Zealots is that such zeal transcended party lines and encompassed the rank and file of the people (irrespective of their particular involvement in the Jewish revolt against Rome).

³⁹Inclusive in principle of Jewish documents post-dating the destruction of Jerusalem (e.g., 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch).

writings is surely a prime means of reconstructing Jewish sociology and history from Ben Sira to Paul (and beyond).

Finally, a number of these documents, as they take their place in the company of other Jewish texts, present us with the phenomenon of conversion to Judaism. According to J.R. Rosenbloom, the idea of conversion developed only in response to specific historical circumstances. Writes Rosenbloom:

...one may anticipate or describe particular historical conditions from a knowledge of the attitude and practice of conversion by Jews at any particular time. In other words, the phenomenon of conversion may be seen as one of the basic controls which may be used in the study of Jewish history. It is particularly suited for this role since it is one of the social devices utilized within the Jewish community from its initial entrance into human history.⁴⁰

We shall see that it was precisely conversion to Judaism as opposed to conversion to Pauline Christianity which formed the bone of contention between Paul and his antagonists.

The order in which the texts will be considered is complicated by two factors: (1) the difficulty of fixing precise dates for most of the documents in question; (2) the diversity of genres within this gathering of books. Nevertheless, because of its chronological priority, Sirach has been placed first; but because Wisdom shares the same genre, it has been positioned alongside. Thereafter come 1 and 2 Maccabees, which depict the struggle for the paternal covenant and laws in the midst of Israel's apostasy. Next come the tales of Tobit and Judith, which set before the faithful ideals of the sort of behaviour expected of the partners of Yahweh's covenant, particularly in the face of foreign domination and threat. Then the additions to Daniel, Jeremiah and Esther and 1 Esdras, all of which seek to adapt biblical books to the crisis under the Hellenistic regime, are considered in this order.

III. Presuppositions

Since Paul himself occupies a place within the history of Judaism, it follows that he shared with his non-Christian compatriots basic outlooks and convictions. Not only did both he and his debating partners appeal to the Scriptures of Israel for justification of their respective positions, Paul nowhere, as far as we know, argues for an understanding of 'faith' or 'obedience' which is peculiar to himself. Therefore, the groundwork of this study is laid by the ideas of faith and obedience in the OT.

⁴⁰*Conversion to Judaism* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1978), p.35 (for lit., see pp.161f.). Rosenbloom observes that the actual awareness of conversion came in the 'rabbinic period' (which he dates from 2nd century B.C. until the rise of Islam in the 7th century A.D.), at which time Abraham was seen as the first convert to the one true God, whose role it was 'to bring all mankind to this same God and the religion which embodied the worship of him' (*ibid*).

Since faith in particular has received more than adequate treatment,⁴¹ we simply note in brief those data which provide our basic point of departure.

A. Faith

Faith in the OT is not merely belief in or assent to a given set of propositions. As articulated especially by אֱמוּנָה, 'faith' is both active and passive at the same time. According to E. Perry, "The import of the active sense of *emuna* is "trust and obedience" while the passive sense signifies the condition of sustained trust and obedience which is "trustworthiness".⁴² On this basis, then, it is artificial to distinguish between faith and obedience. As Perry explains:

It is to be further noted from the study of this word that the Old Testament does not set trust and obedience in contrast to each other as separate ways of satisfying the demands of God. *emuna* comprehends the totality of what we commonly mean in the familiar expression "faith and works." Obedience without trust (i.e. obedience not genetically generated from trust) is not the obedience God requires. Only the obedience of trust is reckoned to man as righteousness and everything else is exposed for the sham that it is, "lying wind words," "false lips" and "deceitful ways." Conversely, trust inevitably expresses itself in action. "Trust in the Lord and do good" are two aspects of the same act of will by which man is declared righteous.⁴³

Perry is not alone in his assessment of faith in the Hebrew Scriptures. R. Bultmann can say that faithfulness is obedience; hence, the law and the commandments are among the objects of faith.⁴⁴ D. Hill likewise remarks that 'Judaism has really no place for a rigid distinction between faith and works: faith can only fully exist when it is embodied in works'.⁴⁵ G. Fohrer, then, is able to remark that a systematic exposition of faith in Judaism is unnecessary, impossible and even

⁴¹ Most notably A. Weiser and R. Bultmann, TDNT, VI, pp.174f; A. Jepsen, TDOT, I, pp.292-323; Schlatter, *Glaube*, pp.9f; Lührmann, *Glaube*, pp.31f; E. Perry, 'The Meaning of *emuna* in the Old Testament', JBR 21 (1953), pp.252-56; H.H. Rowley, *The Faith of Israel* (London: SCM, 1956), ch.5; E. Pfeiffer, 'Glaube im Alten Testament. Eine grammatikalisch-lexikalische Nachprüfung gegenwärtiger Theorien', ZAW 71 (1959), pp.151-64; H. Kosmala, 'Der vorchristliche Glaubensbegriff', in *Hebräer - Essener - Christen* (Leiden: Brill, 1959), pp.97-116; J. Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), pp.161f; G. Ebeling, 'Jesus and Faith', in *Word and Faith* (London: SCM, ET 1963), pp.206f; D. Lührmann, 'Pistis in Judentum', ZNW 64 (1973), pp.20f; *idem*, *Glaube*, pp.31f; E. Grässer, *Der Glaube im Hebräerbrief* (Marburg: Elwert, 1965), pp.79f; G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology* (London: SCM, ET 1965), I, pp.355f; W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament* (London: SCM, ET 1967), II, chs.21,22; Pathrapankal, *Metanoia*, pp.52f.,72f; G. Wenham, *Faith in the Old Testament* (Leicester: TSF, 1976); W. Zimmerli, *Old Testament Theology in Outline* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, ET 1978), pp.141f; B.S. Childs, *Old Testament Theology in a Canonical Context* (London: SCM, 1985), chs.17,18; H.-J. Kraus, *Theology of the Psalms* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, ET 1986), pp.154f. For further lit., see Spicq, *Théologie*, I, pp.230-32 (notes), and Jepsen, *art. cit.*, pp.292-93.

⁴² *emuna*', p.254 (Perry shows the overlap of *emunah*, *emeth* and *hesed*). Cf. Pfeiffer, 'Glaube', p.164; Ebeling, 'Jesus', pp.207f; Grässer, *Glaube*, pp.79f.

⁴³ *emuna*', pp.255-56.

⁴⁴ TDNT, VI, pp.199-200. 'The obligation of the people to have faith in Yahweh was precisely an undertaking to remain faithful to the covenant' (Pathrapankal, *Metanoia*, p.77).

⁴⁵ *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), p.145, n.1.

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