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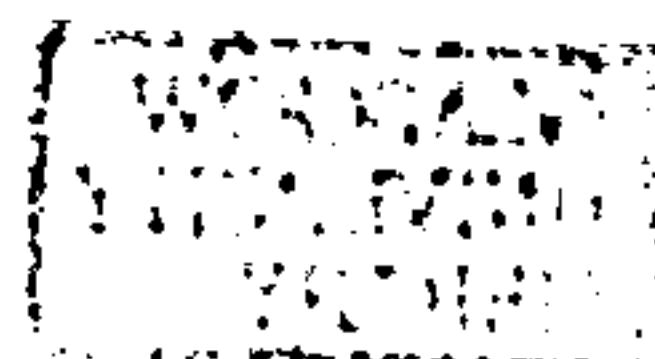
**The Use of *Isaiah* in the Sibylline Oracles, Qumran Literature
and *Romans*
(A Source-influence Study)**

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Divinity
in Candidacy for
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

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Abstract

This thesis is a comparative study of the influence of the Book of Isaiah on the Sibylline Oracles, (some of) the Qumran sectarian writings and *Romans*. Equal time and energy have been devoted to studying the use of *Isaiah* by Paul and some of his kinspeople such as the Jewish Sibyls who are responsible for the Jewish material in Sibylline Oracles 3 and 5 and the Qumran sectarians. This enables a comparison between Paul and other Jewish writers in order that better appreciation of the distinctive features of the Apostle's use of Scripture, both hermeneutical and theological, may be achieved.

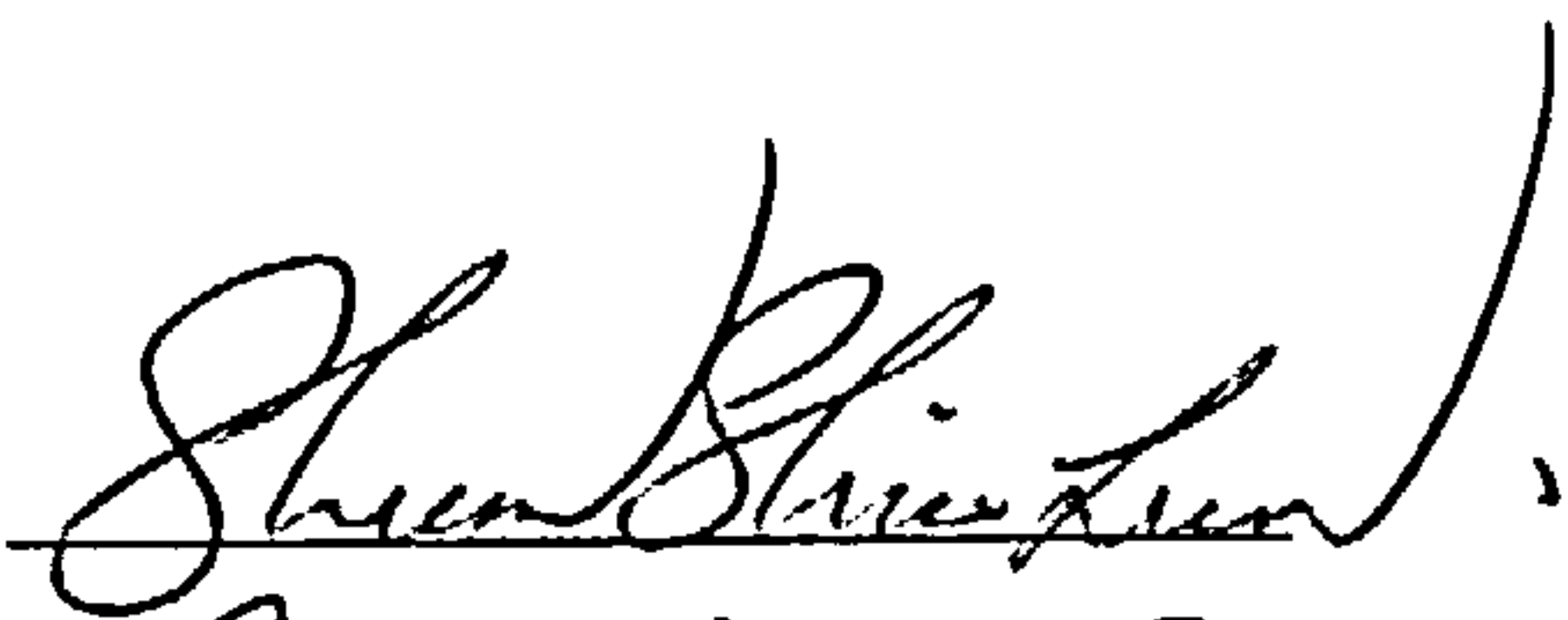
To attain this goal, I have utilized the source-influence approach and the concept of "contextual circles," seeking to appraise from different angles in what way and how much these writers were influenced by the sayings of their predecessor Isaiah. My study has led to the conclusion that the legacy of Isaiah in the Jewish Sibyls, the Qumran sectarians, and especially Paul is profound. Not only in their language have traces of the Isaianic influence readily been found; also in their ideological/ theological thinking and beliefs, the Isaianic tradition plays a significant part.

These writers, in utilizing the Isaianic material, all expressed a deep concern about the future of Israel. Despite this, however, they developed very different understandings of the implications of the prophet's vision about it. Regarding hermeneutical techniques, Paul shows little sign of difference from his fellow Jewish writers, except that a very distinct dimension of "alreadyness" is exhibited in his exposition/appropriation of the prophet's sayings. Most importantly, both the Third Sibyl and Paul utilized the Isaianic material that concerns the destiny of the nations *vis-à-vis* Israel's eschatological revival. However, unlike Paul, the Sibyl failed to see that, in God's salvific plan of all humanity, the salvation of Israel is paradoxically tied up with that of the nations into one complex of eschatological event.

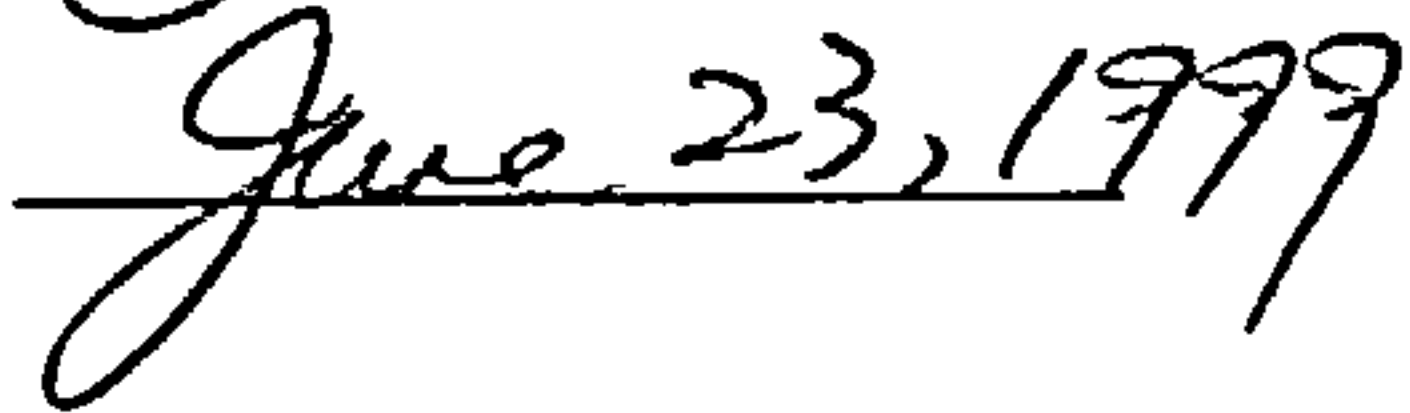
Author's Declaration

I affirm that this thesis is entirely my own work and that all significant quotations have been acknowledged in the footnotes. No part of this thesis has previously been submitted for consideration for any degree.

Signed by

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Shuen Shien Lee", written over a horizontal line.

on

A handwritten date "June 23, 1999" written in cursive script over a horizontal line.

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Abbreviations

In this thesis abbreviations follow the systems set forth by *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* (NY: Doubleday, 1992), volume 1, pages ix-xxxv, with the following exceptions/additions:

<i>Antiq.</i>	Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i>
<i>Apion.</i>	Josephus, <i>Contra Apionem</i>
<i>BI</i>	<i>Biblical Interpretation</i>
BECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
<i>Bell.</i>	Josephus, <i>Bellum Iudaicum</i>
CCWJCW	Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World 200 BC to AD 200
<i>DPL</i>	<i>Dictionary of Paul and His Letters</i> , eds. G.F. Hawthorne, <i>et al.</i> , (Downers Grove/Leicester: IVP, 1993).
<i>DSD</i>	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries. A Journal of Current Research on the Scrolls and Related Literature</i> , eds. G.J. Brooke, <i>et al.</i> , (Leiden: E.J. Brill).
<i>DCH</i>	<i>The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew</i> , 8 vols., ed. D.J.A. Clines (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993-).
<i>EDNT</i>	<i>Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament</i> , 3 vols., eds. H. Balz & G. Schneider (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990-93).
HCS	Hellenistic Culture and Society
<i>HJPAJC</i>	E. Schürer, <i>The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ</i> , 3 vols., rev. & ed. G. Vermes, <i>et al.</i> (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1973-87).
<i>Hypothetica</i>	Philo, <i>Hypothetica</i>
<i>JWSTP</i>	<i>Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period</i> , ed. M.E. Stone (CRINT II.2; Assen: Van Gorcum/ Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984).
<i>Legatio</i>	Philo, <i>De Legatione ad Gaium</i>
<i>mMeg.</i>	The tractate <i>Megillah</i> collected in the Mishnah
<i>mMen.</i>	The tractate <i>Menahoth</i> collected in the Mishnah
<i>Mos.</i>	Philo, <i>Vita Mosis</i>

<i>mR.Sh.</i>	The tractate <i>Rosh ha-Shanah</i> collected in the Mishnah
<i>NIDOTTE</i>	<i>The New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis</i> , 5 vols., ed. W.A. VanGemeren (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1997).
<i>Proc.Amer.</i>	<i>Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society</i>
<i>Phil.Soc.</i>	
SHC	Studies in Hellenistic Civilization
<i>Som.</i>	Philo, <i>De Somniis</i>
<i>Spec.Leg.</i>	Philo, <i>De Specialibus Legibus</i>
<i>Vit.Cont.</i>	Philo, <i>De Vita Contemplativa</i>

Chapter One

Introduction

A. The Subject and Scope of Study

The gospel that he preaches, Paul says, is long promised by God through His prophets in the holy Scriptures; it is concerned with His son, Jesus Christ the Lord (cf. Rom. 1:2-4). To delineate its significance for the Jews and the Gentiles alike, he grounds the gospel about God's deeds through Jesus in the Jewish Scripture. In his letters, Paul finds it natural to appeal to his sacred Scriptures in explicating and supporting his own understanding and application of the gospel of Jesus Christ. The Apostle's language and thought is highly Scripture-shaped; for him, Scripture is not only the literary record of the deeds of God in Israel in the past, but also the source from which he draws inspiration to explicate what God is doing at the present and will do in the future to round off what He has begun. Hence, in this sense, to understand Paul is to understand how Scripture works in/for him.

Yet, to understand how Scripture works in/for Paul, one cannot simply focus on the letters of the Apostle, but attention must also be paid to how Scripture works in/for his fellow kinsmen. In other words, to understand the legacy of the Jewish Scriptures in Paul is a twofold business. It inevitably starts with the Apostle's own writings and then moves beyond that to a comparison of him with other Jewish writers. For only in comparison/contrast to that of his fellow kinsmen will the uniqueness of Paul's use of Scripture be clearly and fully appreciated.

Thus, in the following pages of this thesis I will attempt to tackle this subject (i.e., how Paul used Scripture) by comparing Paul with some of his fellow kinsmen (some possibly contemporary with him) in utilizing their common heritage, the Jewish sacred

Scriptures. Since of Paul's letters¹ *Romans* is widely noted as heavily Scripture-loaded,² this letter will be taken as the sample text of examination. Those that will be picked up for analysis and comparison with Paul are those "Jewish Sibyls" who were responsible for the Jewish material in the Third and Fifth Books of the Sibylline Oracles, and the Qumran sectarians.³ A cursory reading of these writers' works reveals that, of those sacred Scriptures that have left a stamp of influence on these writers, the Book of Isaiah plays a significant part; for this reason, my focus of study will be confined to examining how this Jewish sacred document has influenced these writers. In our examination, particular attention will be paid to the hermeneutical techniques and the theological interests that emerge in these writers' use of *Isaiah*.

The influence of the Isaianic tradition in the Third and Fifth Books of the Sibylline Oracles, though readily felt (esp. in the former), has received little discussion. For instance, H.C.O. Lanchester, in his discussion of the two Oracles, has made no mention of the possible influence of the Isaianic tradition upon the Oracles, although sometimes he made references to *Isaiah* as possible parallels to the sayings of the Sibyls in the notes to his translation.⁴ J.J. Collins has pointed out in passing some traces of the Isaianic influence upon the main core of Sib.Or.3 in his discussion,⁵ though he has also suggested some possible Isaianic parallels in his commentary on the sayings of the Oracles. Thus, it is worthwhile to take a closer look at this subject here.

By contrast, the question of how Scripture is used by the Qumran sectarians and by Paul has long been an important subject in Biblical studies. Much has been written on the topic. As for the sectarian use of Scripture, some have seen the exegetical orientation

¹ By "Paul's letters," I refer to the so-called undisputed seven letters: Rom., 1 & 2 Cor., Gal., 1 Thess., Phil., and Philemon.

² In this letter, some fifty scriptural citations can be found.

³ The literature of the sectarians found at Qumran is vast, so only some of it will be examined in our study; see below chapter 3.

⁴ Cf. H.C.O. Lanchester, "The Sibylline Oracles," in *APOT*, vol.2, pp.371-73.

⁵ J.J. Collins, "The Sibylline Oracles, Book 3," in *OTP*, vol.1, p.357.

of the Qumran sectarians as midrashic or midrash-pesheristic;⁶ others have understood the sectarian view and handling of Scripture in a *raz-pesher* framework.⁷ Still others have related the sectarian interpretation of Scripture to the dream interpretation as found in *Daniel* and in the material of a similar nature in the rabbinic midrashim.⁸ Despite their differing understandings of the characteristics of the sectarian interpretation of Scripture, most of these scholars have focused their interest mainly on the sectarian explicit use of Scripture as found in their pesharim and florilegia, and also what concerns them is often the technical issues like the sectarian interpretive methods and principles, and of how much and in what way the sectarians were actually influenced by their sacred Scriptures.

Related and useful to our study are the works of J. Carmignac and P. Wernberg-Møller.⁹ They both have traced the scriptural material in 1QH, the former giving special attention to the hymns allegedly by the Teacher of Righteousness and the latter focusing

⁶ See, e.g., W.H. Brownlee, "Biblical Interpretation among the Sectaries of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *BA* 14(1951), pp.54-76; E. Slomovic, "Toward an Understanding of the Exegesis in the DSS," *RevQ* 7(1969), pp.3-15; G. Vermes, "The Qumran Interpretation of Scripture in its Historical Setting," in his *Post-Biblical Jewish Studies* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975), pp.37-49; *idem*, "Interpretation, History of - At Qumran and in the targums," *IDB Suppl.*, pp.438-41; G.J. Brooke, "Qumran Pesher: Toward the Redefinition of a Genre," *RevQ* 10(1981), pp.483-503; *idem*, *Exegesis at Qumran: 4QFlorilegium in its Jewish Context* (JSOTS 29; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985).

Some scholars, like K. Stendahl, *The School of Matthew and Its Use of the OT* (Uppsala, 1954), p.184; E. Slomovic, *art.cit.*; and W.H. Brownlee, *The Midrash Pesher of Habakkuk* (SBLMS; Missoula, 1979), use the phrase "midrash-pesher" to describe the sectarian mode of interpretation of Scripture; but this designation is rejected by Brooke (*art.cit.*, p.502.) as "purely tautological."

⁷ See F.F. Bruce, *Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts* (Den Haag : Uitgeverij van Keulen N.V., 1959); *id.*, "Biblical Exposition at Qumran," in *Gospel Perspective III: Studies in Midrash and Historiography*, eds. R.T. France & D. Wenham (Sheffield: JSOT, 1983), pp.77-98.

⁸ See L.H. Silberman, "Unriddling the Riddle," *RevQ* 3(1961), pp.323-64; M. Fishbane, "The Qumran Pesher and Traits of Ancient Hermeneutics," in *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies I* (Jerusalem: Jerusalem Academic Press, 1977), pp.97-114; cf. also I. Fröhlich, "Pesher, Apocalyptic Literature and Qumran," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress*, vol.1, eds. J.T. Barrera & L. Vegas-Montaner (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), pp.295-305.

⁹ J. Carmignac, "Les citations de l'Ancien Testament et spécialement des Poèmes du Serviteur, dans les Hymnes de Qumran," *RevQ* 2(1960), pp.357-94; and P. Wernberg-Møller, "Contribution of the HODAYOT to Biblical Textual Criticism," *Textus* 4(1964), pp.133-75.

only the first three columns and also leaving undiscussed the problem of how the material shaped the thinking of the sectarians. Wernberg-Møller has also discussed the sectarian use of Scripture in 1QS.¹⁰ Recently, J.G. Campbell has made a major contribution to the study of the use of Scripture in the Damascus Document, though his study is confined to only ten columns of the document.¹¹

To the comparative study of the use of Scripture in the sectarian writings and in the NT, J.A. Fitzmyer and J. de Waard have made important contributions.¹² While the former analyzes the explicit use of Scripture in both sets of literature from a contextual and theological perspective, the latter focuses on the text and its transmission. Following in the footsteps of the latter in taking a textual approach, more recently C.D. Stanley and T.H. Lim have also done substantial work on the subject.¹³ Focusing mainly on Paul's use of Scripture, Stanley has paid intensive attention to the techniques in which the sectarians and Paul quoted from the Scriptures, whereas Lim has occupied himself in investigating the varying textual traditions that underlie the scriptural texts that were quoted in the sectarian pesharim and Paul's letters as well as in pointing out their respective distinctive hermeneutical features.

Regarding Paul's use of Scripture, a huge wealth of scholarly work can be listed.

¹⁰ P. Wernberg-Møller, "Some Reflections on the Biblical Material in the Manual of Discipline," *Studia Theologica* 9(1955), pp.40-66.

¹¹ J.G. Campbell, "Scripture in The Damascus Document 1:1-2:1," *JJS* 44(1993), pp.83-99; *idem*, *The Use of Scripture in the Damascus Document 1-8, 19-20* (BZAW 228; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1995).

¹² J.A. Fitzmyer, "The Use of Explicit OT Quotations in Qumran Literature and in the NT," *NTS* 7(1960-61), pp.297-333; reprinted in his *Essays on the Semitic Background of the NT* (SBL & Scholars' Press, 1974), pp.3-58; and J. de Waard, *A Comparative Study of the OT Texts in the DSS and in the NT* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1966).

¹³ C.D. Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture: Citation Technique in the Pauline Epistles and Contemporary Literature* (SNTSMS 74; Cambridge: CUP, 1992); and T.H. Lim, *Holy Scripture in the Qumran Commentaries and Pauline Letters* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).

Three works deserve special mention, however.¹⁴ The first one, written by C.H. Dodd, is not so much concerned with Paul's use of Scripture in particular but with the use of Scripture in the early NT writers. Dodd, in his *According to the Scriptures*, advocates that the OT exerted a profound influence upon the early NT writers to the point that it served as the "substructure" of their thinking and practices.¹⁵ The second one is D.-A. Koch's magisterial work *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums*, in which the techniques of Paul's citing and interpreting Scripture and the function/place of Scripture in his argumentation are discussed in extreme detail. Like Stanley's and Lim's, Koch's work is aimed at the textual and technical issues that are involved in investigating the explicit scriptural citations in Paul's letters.¹⁶ Finally, mention should be made of R.B. Hays's *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*.¹⁷ In his work, Hays drawing on the literary notion of intertextuality (esp. that of metalepsis) reads Paul's letters as literary texts richly embedded with intertextual relations with Scripture and underscores the significance of the original context of Scripture to the understanding of Paul's thoughts.¹⁸

As for the use of the Isaianic tradition in the Qumran sectarian writings, to my knowledge, little has been done, although the importance of the subject has been noted by G.J. Brooke recently.¹⁹ In contrast, the importance of Paul's use of *Isaiah* seems to be

¹⁴ Personally, I find these three works very important in studying the use of Scripture in early NT writers in general and in Paul in particular.

¹⁵ C.H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures: The Substructure of NT Theology* (London: Collins-Fontana, 1965[1952]), p.27.

¹⁶ D.-A. Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangelium* (BHT 69; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1986). In my opinion, the works of Koch, Stanley, and Lim will probably replace the older *Paul's Use of the OT* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1981) by E.E. Ellis.

¹⁷ R.B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven/London: Yale U. Press, 1989); this work will be discussed in the following section.

¹⁸ Hays is surely not the first one who has noted the importance of the original context of Scripture to studying the use of Scripture in Paul and other NT writers; see C.H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures*, p.126; J.A. Fitzmyer, "Use of Explicit OT Quotations," p.57.

¹⁹ See G.J. Brooke, "Isaiah in the Pesharim and Other Qumran Texts," in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah*, vol.2, eds. C.C. Broyles & C.A. Evans (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997),

noted and in a differing degree of detail discussed by some scholars.²⁰ Of these scholars, F. Wilk has recently offered probably the most thorough study on the subject.²¹ In his work, Wilk has launched a detailed scrutiny of Paul's use of *Isaiah*, both explicit and implicit,²² in his letters. Wilk's work resembles Koch's in approach and primary concern, both dealing in a systematic/categorical manner with the way in which Paul quotes and handles the words of Scripture and the function of Scripture in the Apostle's argumentation. Wilk's work is surely important in its own right, yet it fails to offer us a coherent picture showing how the Isaianic material, say, in *Romans* as a whole serves as and helps shape the substructure of the Apostle's theological thinking. Hence, work of this kind needs to be done; and it is this kind of work that this thesis is set to achieve.

Yet, how can we collect the data for our examination, how can we know the data we have got are useful to our study, and how are these data to be analyzed? It is to the task of answering these questions that we now turn.

pp.609-32.

²⁰ C.J.A. Hickling, "Paul's Reading of Isaiah," in *Studia Biblica 1978, III. Papers on Paul and Other NT Authors*, ed. E.A. Livingstone (JSNTS 3; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1980), pp.215-23; D.A. Oss, "A Note on Paul's Use of Isaiah," *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 2(1992), pp.105-12; and *idem*, "Paul's Use of Isaiah and Its Place in His Theology with Special Reference to Romans 9-11," (PhD dissertation, Westminster Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, CA, 1992). (I have not yet had access to Oss's dissertation.)

²¹ F. Wilk, *Die Bedeutung des Jesajabuches für Paulus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998). (Since I came to know Wilk's work after I finished the main body of my thesis, I will not be able to interact with it in my study.)

²² Wilk points out some instances of Paul's implicit use of *Isaiah* in his letters and categorizes them into three classes with regard to their likelihood: (1) zitähnliche Anspielungen; (2) evidente Anspielungen; (3) wahrscheinliche Anspielungen. The instances that he has pointed out are not exhaustive.

B. Methodology

a. Criteria for identifying allusions/echoes

Hearing allusions/echoes²³ of an earlier text embedded in a later text is not always an easy thing. It demands of us a sensitive and imaginative ear that is skillfully attuned to the frequency of the resonance produced by the earlier text. The more our ear is familiar with the sound of the earlier text, the easier it can overhear the echoes, and the clearer the echoes would be. Familiarity with the earlier text is then certainly a prerequisite for detecting its echoes generated in a later text. However, familiarity with earlier texts does not always help us unmistakably identify their echoes in a later text; nor does it help us ascertain whether the echoes heard are real or not. Rather, sometimes it might even delude us, for our knowledge of a certain earlier text does not guarantee that the author of the later text, too, is familiar with it. Because of this, other factors or constraints are to be involved while identifying allusions or echoes in a given text.

Perhaps the need of some commonly agreed constraints may be shown by a close look at the two lists of suggested allusions and echoes given in NA²⁷ and in UBS⁴. Regarding the Isaianic allusions/echoes in Paul's letters, for example, NA²⁷ has offered some forty-six instances, whereas UBS⁴ has identified only twenty-nine instances, of which only nineteen agree with NA²⁷. In fact, these two lists are worked out, or at least adopted, by the same group of scholars who edit these two standard Greek NT texts. Given the same degree of familiarity with the Isaianic text, the difference in the number of instances of the allusions/echoes identified seems to suggest that two different sets of criteria were operative in the identification of the allusions/echoes.

It is admitted that the task of detecting allusions/echoes is inevitably subjective in character. It often appears that everyone does what is right in his or her own eyes. However, detecting allusions/echoes is not a game without rules, though people who play the game follow their own rules. Fortunately, a set of rules (or perhaps better, testing

²³ I follow Hays in defining the two terms "allusion" and "echo" as follows: "*allusion* is used of obvious intertextual references, *echo* of subtler ones." See *Echoes of Scripture*, p.29.

criteria) for the game has recently been put forward by Richard B. Hays and has increasingly been accepted by biblical scholars.²⁴ Hays's rules serve as a good starting point for all studies of the use/influence of the Old Testament in the New. This section is devoted to an evaluation of Hays's testing criteria. And it is also hoped that our evaluation will end up formulating certain (more useful?) criteria as a guide to our following study.

In his provocative book, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*, Hays has used an intertextual approach to investigate how Israel's Scripture is metaleptically echoed in Paul's letters (pp.15-16).²⁵ Before proceeding to his investigation, he suggests seven criteria for "testing claims about the presence and meaning of scriptural echoes in Paul" (pp.29-32). Obviously, these criteria are proposed not to track down Paul's scriptural allusions/ echoes in his letters, but simply to test the claimed ones, though some of them do serve the function of detection.

The first criterion Hays suggests is that of *availability*, which questions whether "the proposed source of the echo was available to the author and/or original readers" (p.29). "In the case of Paul's use of Scripture," Hays says, "we rarely have to worry about this problem. [For Paul's] practice of citation shows that he was acquainted with virtually the whole body of texts that were later acknowledged as canonical within Judaism, and that he expected his readers to share his acknowledgment of these texts as Scripture" (pp.29-30). This criterion is a useful one for testing suggested allusions or echoes, but it is not always as workable as Hays has expected. In many cases, it is very difficult for us to ascertain whether the proposed source of the echo is available to the author and/or the first readers. For instance, the identity of the author of the Third Book of the Sibylline Oracles and its first readers seems mysterious; our knowledge about them is to a large

²⁴ See, e.g., K.H. Jobes, "Jerusalem, our Mother: Metalepsis and Intertextuality in Gal.4:21-31," *WTJ* 55(1993), pp.299-320; S.C. Keesmaat, "Exodus and the Intertextual Transformation of Tradition in Romans 8.14-30," *JSNT* 54(1994), pp.29-56; R.E. Ciampa, *The Presence and Function of Scripture in Galatians 1 and 2* (WUNT 2.102; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1998), pp.24-25.

²⁵ Here and afterwards in this section, the pagination refers to Hays's *Echoes of Scripture*.

extent simply based on a mirror-reading of the book itself. Thus, while detecting allusions to a certain earlier text (e.g., *Isaiah*) in it, it is difficult for us to learn whether that text (i.e., the Book of Isaiah) was really available to the author and/or the first readers.

In the case of Paul, it is admitted that his practice of citing Scripture does display his vast knowledge of the Jewish scriptures. Yet this does not mean to say that Paul was truly familiar with every individual part of the Jewish scriptures. However, Hays seems to imply that Paul's practice of citation shows his familiarity with every single part of the body of texts. This is an unwarranted assumption. On the other hand, here the question, I think, is not only concerned with whether the proposed source of the echo was available to Paul and/or his readers, but also with whether Paul intended an allusion/echo as such and with how we know he did. This point will be followed up below as we discuss the fifth criterion.

Furthermore, when Hays says, "[Paul's] practice of citation shows ... that he expected his readers to share his acknowledgment of these texts as Scripture," he seems to mean that Paul expected his readers to be able to grasp his scriptural allusions or echoes. Again, I think, this is an unwarranted presupposition. To be sure, Paul did sometimes in his letters show clues that he expected his readers to be able to understand him and follow his argumentation; but, it seems to me, he nowhere gave indications that he expected his readers to be able to overhear his scriptural allusions/echoes. What is more, most of Paul's readers were simply scripturally average laypeople, most of whom were gentile converts. How could they be competent to grasp his delicate scriptural allusions/echoes?

In short, the criterion of availability is useful but not always workable, and should be used with caution. As far as Paul's use of Scripture is concerned, it seems dangerous to assume that Paul was so familiar with the Jewish scriptures that he could allude to any text, or any part of a text, in any sentence he wrote. And it also cannot be assumed that he would have expected his readers to overhear the allusions/echoes that we think he made.

The second criterion, *volume*, is primarily concerned with "the degree of explicit

repetition of words or syntactical patterns" (p.30). Besides this, the criterion of volume may also concern: "how distinctive or prominent is the precursor text within Scripture, and how much rhetorical stress does the echo receive in Paul's discourse?" This criterion is certainly useful and important in identifying allusions/echoes. However, in my opinion, two further questions need to be addressed: (1) to what extent does a later text verbally agree with an earlier one that we should consider their relationship to be an allusive one? and (2) how can we tell whether the verbal agreement between the proposed source and the later text is not fortuitous?

Recurrence is the third criterion Hays suggests in his book. This criterion is aimed at checking the frequency with which Paul cites or alludes to the proposed source of an allusion or echo elsewhere in his letters. This too is a useful and important criterion. However, two things should be kept in mind when one utilizes this criterion. First, evidence of the existence of the proposed source of an allusion/echo elsewhere within the same writing is of more significance than that of its existence elsewhere outside of that writing. For example, when Paul's allusive use of Isa.53 in Rom.4:25 is to be examined, evidence of his use of *Isaiah* elsewhere in *Romans* is weightier than evidence in his other letters. For (1) it is possible, considering the time-gap between his letters, that Paul might have forgotten what he said/used earlier (at least the details); and (2) Paul's use of *Isaiah* elsewhere in *Romans* shows that he has some knowledge of *Isaiah* at least at the time of composing that letter.

The second thing that we should bear in mind concerns the varying significance to be attributed to the evidence found within the same document. In securing or testing an alleged allusion (X) of a certain passage (P) in a document (Y), evidence of the explicit use of X (or any other text/s from the same source-writing as X) elsewhere in Y is more important than evidence of the allusive use of X (or of any other text/s from the same writing as X) elsewhere in Y. Put concretely, for instance, in the case of Paul's use of Isa.53 in Rom.4:25, evidence of the explicit citation(s) of Isa.53 or any other text from *Isaiah* elsewhere in *Romans* is weightier than evidence of the allusions/echoes of Isa.53 or any other Isaianic text elsewhere in *Romans*. For the explicit use of a certain earlier

source-writing would imply the conscious knowledge of that writing on the part of the author of the later document. Moreover, as for the importance of evidence of the explicit quotations within the same document, the more specific a quotation from an earlier source-writing, the more significant the evidence that it provides in determining whether the document's author consciously had knowledge of that source-writing when composing her/his work. For example, consider Paul's quotations of Isa.52:5 in Rom.2:24 and Isa.11:10 in Rom.15:12. Since in the latter case "Isaiah" is specifically mentioned, it gives us clearer and weightier evidence than the former in determining whether Paul consciously had knowledge of *Isaiah* when composing *Romans*.

The fourth criterion is that of *thematic coherence*, which asks the question of how well the claimed allusion/echo fits into its new context, and of how it illuminates Paul's argument. In my judgment, this criterion is the most important and helpful one among Hays's seven criteria, for both identifying and testing allusions/echoes. For it highlights the fundamental importance of the context of the text in which an allusion or echo has been detected. However, we should bear in mind that, considering the fact that an earlier text may sometimes be used out of context, the lack of thematic coherence/contextual continuity cannot be taken to discount the possibility of an alleged allusive relationship, if other evidence for that relationship is strong. On the contrary, contextual discontinuity might expose the nature of an allusive relationship.

Historical plausibility, the fifth criterion, draws attention to the author's intention and the original readers' receptivity of the proposed allusion or echo. It is a useful test, but as said above, very often our knowledge about the availability of a proposed allusion's source to the original readers is less than certain. Our uncertain knowledge, or ignorance, of the readers would affect our knowledge about the readers' ability to catch an allusion/echo. For a writing which does not clearly specify its target-group of readers, such as the Gospel of Mark, our historical reconstruction of its readers' setting would be more difficult to ascertain. Then discussion concerning whether the readers could have grasped the allusion/echo would be highly speculative. Perhaps some might contend that whether the first readers could have been aware of the allusions/echoes sometimes matters little,

and that what matters is whether the author generated the allusive effect. In my judgment, such a view might be questioned in this way. If the first readers could not read/hear the allusion/echo, what is then the author's purpose in making such an allusive effect? What theological import would the effect give to the readers? In the case of Phil.1:19, for instance, if the Philippians could not read Paul's allusion to Job13:16LXX, then Job13:16LXX would have no theological impact on them, for no resonance could be generated on the part of the Philippians. In that case, the allusion to Job simply tells us something about Paul himself, and nothing more.

Whether an author could have intended an allusion/echo in a certain text, I think, might be disclosed by a close look at the author's point of argument and the way in which such an alleged allusive effect might work in its context. This would overlap with the concern of the previous criterion (i.e., the criterion of thematic coherence). Thus serious account of the new context of the alleged allusion or echo should be taken in order to expose the author's argument and intention.

Perhaps some might argue that an author, e.g., Paul, could have unconsciously alluded to an earlier text while composing her/his writing. That case, I think, is quite possible. Yet, if an author does unconsciously allude to a certain earlier text in her/his writing, then the original context of that precursor text would play no role in its new context, and its contribution to the new context is at most its plain verbal meaning. For no real contextual connection or transplantation is intended by the author between the original and the new contexts. Again, let us take the case of Phil.1:19 as an example: if Job 13:16LXX was unconsciously alluded to by Paul, then it would exert no theological impact upon the Apostle's saying in the context of Phil.1:19.

History of Interpretation is proposed as the sixth criterion. It asks the question whether other readers, "both critical and pre-critical," have also heard the alleged allusion/echo. The main purpose of this criterion is to gain support from other readers in order to justify one's own reading. According to Hays, "this criterion should rarely be used as a negative test to exclude proposed echoes that commend themselves on other grounds" (p.31). In other words, whether or not one's own reading has found concurrence

with other readers', that reading still stands acceptable provided that it commends itself on other grounds. If so, why should we then check our reading against this criterion? For no proposal is put forward simply on the basis of the criterion of the history of interpretation. In my opinion, such a criterion simply serves the role of a "data-bank" providing useful data for our research, but it can hardly act as a criterion for testing our data, let alone for identifying allusions/echoes.

The final criterion is *satisfaction*, which appeals to other people's judgment on our proposed reading. This criterion to a large degree overlaps with the sixth one, and is the most subjective of the seven testing criteria. Since it questions whether our reading makes sense to other readers, it should be a criterion that other people use to judge our proposal, or one that we use to examine others' reading. Because of this, it is of no use to us in identifying allusions/echoes. Nor is it helpful to us in testing our own proposal. For no one would think her/his own proposal does not make sense of the text itself and/or to other readers, or is unconvincing.

To summarize, although Hays's seven criteria are intended to offer us a useful guide to test the alleged allusions/echoes, they are not unproblematic. Our evaluation has disclosed both their weaknesses and their strengths. We have found that the criteria of *availability* and of *historical plausibility*, though useful, are not always workable, and that both involve a high degree of conjecture. However, the criteria of *volume*, *recurrence*, and *thematic coherence* are found to be quite helpful and reliable, though caution is called for while using them. As for the criteria of *the history of interpretation* and *satisfaction*, our verdict is this: they are much less useful than expected, and cannot be taken as appropriate testing criteria for the examination of alleged allusions or echoes.

Our evaluation has also shown that only some of the criteria Hays suggests are useful in identifying allusions or echoes. In my judgment, the most useful guides are the criteria of *volume* and *thematic coherence*. In addition to these two, *recurrence* is also a useful criterion which counter-checks the data collected on the basis of *volume* and

thematic coherence, though its support is indirect and of secondary importance.²⁶

b. Comments on the Concept of Intertextuality

In his *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*, Hays has not only suggested seven criteria to help identify or test allusions/echoes, which we have just discussed above, but has also introduced and utilized as his approach to the study of Paul's use of Scripture the concept of *metalepsis*, a concept developed by J. Hollander²⁷ in delineating the literary reading strategy of taking a literary text as a chamber of echoes of earlier texts.²⁸ Hays calls his approach an intertextual approach. Like his seven criteria of detecting/testing allusions/echoes, his approach has quickly attracted much attention from and acceptance by biblical scholars.²⁹ In fact, the literary concept of intertextuality has been noted and employed in Biblical studies even before Hays;³⁰ Hays's contribution is probably speeding up its acceptance by biblical scholars. Let us now turn to the concept of intertextuality, seeing briefly how useful it is to Biblical studies.

²⁶ Doubts about the usefulness of Hays' seven criteria are also expressed by B.D. Sommer, "Exegesis, Allusion and Intertextuality in the Hebrew Bible: A Response to Lyle Eslinger," *VT* 46(1996), p.484, n.9; Sommer has also offered suggestions in identifying allusions/echoes. (My conclusions on how to detect/test allusions/echoes and on intertextuality were reached independently of Sommer; for my view of intertextuality, see below.)

²⁷ J. Hollander, *The Figure of Echo: A Mode of Allusion in Milton and After* (Berkeley: U. of California Press, 1981).

²⁸ See R.B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, pp.14-21.

²⁹ For OT studies, see, e.g., *Reading Between Texts: Intertextuality and the Hebrew Bible*, ed. D.N. Fewell (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox, 1992); for NT studies, see, e.g., G.R. O'Day, "Jeremiah 9:22-23 and 1 Corinthians 1:26-31: A Study in Intertextuality," *JBL* 109(1990), pp.259-67; L.A. Jervis, "'But I want you to know...': Paul's Midrashic Intertextual Response to the Corinthian Worshipers (1Cor 11:2-16)," *JBL* 112(1993), pp.231-46; R.L. Brawley, "An Absent Complement and Intertextuality in John 19:28-29," *JBL* 112(1993), pp.427-43; S. Moyise, "Does the NT Quote the OT out of Context?" *ANVIL* 11(1994), pp.133-43; *idem*, *The OT in the Book of Revelation* (JSNTS115; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995).

³⁰ See, e.g., *Intertextuality in Biblical Writings: Essays in honour of Bas van Iersel*, ed., S. Draisma (Kampen: J.H. Kok, 1989); H. van de Sandt, "The Fate of the Gentiles in Joel and Acts," *ETL* 66(1990), pp.56-77; I.R. Kitzberger, "Love and Footwashing: John 13:1-20 and Luke 7:36-50 read Intertextually," *BI* 2(1994), pp.190-206.

The term intertextuality was first employed by J. Kristeva to account for the literary phenomenon of the interdependence of literary texts. For Kristeva, inspired by M. Bakhtin's concept of "literary word," "each word (text) is an intersection of words (texts) where at least one other word (text) can be read;" and "any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another."³¹ That means, any written text is no isolated literary unit; rather, it is a complex whole which derives its existence from other texts. Kristeva's concept of intertextuality is picked up and developed further by other literary critics.³² In general, the concept of intertextuality can be characterized by:

(1) its text-oriented nature. In intertextual phenomena, it is the text and not its author that refers to and assimilates other texts; the author of the text herself/himself is assimilated into the text during the course of her/his writing.³³ For this reason, intertextuality becomes text-focused. Since a written text does not exist by itself but consists of and depends on other (precursor) texts, intertextuality is primarily concerned with the inter-relations between a focused text and the precursor texts (i.e., intertexts) that

³¹ J. Kristeva, *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art*, ed. L.S. Roudiez (tr. T. Gora, et al.; NY: Columbia U. Press/Oxford: Blackwell, 1980), p.66; see also her *Revolution in Poetic Language* (tr. M. Waller; NY: Columbia U. Press, 1984), pp.59-60.

³² For good accounts of the concept and its developments, see O. Miller, "Intertextual Identity," P.W. Nesselroth, "Literary Identity and Contextual Difference," & M. Riffaterre, "The Making of the Text," all in *Identity of the Literary Text*, eds. M.J. Valdés & O. Miller (Toronto: Toronto U. Press, 1985), pp.19-40, 41-53, & 54-70 respectively; *Intertextuality: Theories and Practices*, eds. M. Worton & J. Still (Manchester: Manchester U. Press, 1990), esp. their "Introduction," pp.1-44; *Influence and Intertextuality in Literary History*, eds. J. Clayton & E. Rothstein (Wisconsin: U. of Wisconsin Press, 1991), esp. their "Figures in the Corpus," pp.3-36; H.R. Elam, "Intertextuality," in *The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, eds. A. Preminger & T.V. F. Brogan (NJ: Princeton U. Press, 1993), pp.620-22; and D. Keesey, "Intertextual Criticism: Literature as Context," in his *Contexts for Criticism* (2nd. ed.; Mountain View, CA: Mayfield, 1994[1987]), pp.257-70, and the theoretical essays of N. Frye, J. Culler, and M. Bakhtin (ed. by Keesey) in pp.271-79, 280-89, 290-302 respectively.

³³ See R. Barthes, "The Death of the Author," in his *Image-Music-Text* (tr. S. Heath; London: Fontana Press, 1977), p.143: "It is language which speaks, not the author; to write is, through a requisite impersonality ... to reach that point where only language acts, 'performs,' and not 'me'." Cf. also his "From Work to Text," in *Image-Music-Text*, pp.160-61.

it evokes in its reader.³⁴ The notion that, when embedded in a later text, any text is absorbed and transformed suggests that the precursor text is given "a new meaning/sense" or a new interpretive significance in the later text.³⁵ Therefore, the process of reading a text intertextually starts with identifying/tracing the precursor texts that are embedded in it,³⁶ and is then to be completed by an investigation of how these precursor texts are enriched conceptually in the new literary and cultural context as well as how the later text absorbs and transforms the precursor texts.³⁷ This has significant implications for the study of the use of Scripture in Jewish tradition and especially in the NT writers, for Christians believe that the NT continues, explicates, and fulfills God's revelation in the OT. However, in utilizing the intertextual approach, caution must be exercised to avoid anachronism.

(2) its reader-oriented nature. This is clearly spelled out in R. Barthes's account of intertextuality: "A text is made up of multiple writings, drawn from many cultures and entering into mutual relations of dialogue, parody, contestation, but there is one place where this multiplicity is focused and that place is the reader, not... the author. The reader is the space on which all the quotations that make up a writing are inscribed without any

³⁴ This mutual interpretive relationship is generated due to the fact that any focused text is itself an intertext of another text or even of its intertext(s); see R. Barthes, "From Work to Text," p.160: "The intertextual in which any text is held, it itself being the text-between of another text, is not to be confused with some origin of the text..." (Emphasis mine; "... puisqu'il est lui-même l'entre-texte d'un autre texte...." from *Revue d'Esthétique* 24(1971), p.229). Barthes's *l'entre-texte* is translated as "the intertext" by R. Howard in R. Barthes, *The Rustle of Language* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), p.60.

³⁵ On the distinction between "meaning" and "significance" in literary interpretation, see E.D. Hirsch, Jr., *Validity in Interpretation* (New Haven: Yale U. Press, 1967), pp.8-10; P.W. Nesselroth, "Contextual Difference," p.50.

³⁶ Cf. R.B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, p.17: "To identify allusions is only the beginning of an interpretive process." (My understanding of this point was reached independently of Hays.)

³⁷ Cf. S. Moyise, *The OT in the Book of Revelation*, p.111: "The task of intertextuality is to explore how the source text continues to speak through the new work and how the new work forces new meanings from the source text." I suspect, the second "how" of Moyise's assertion is simply another way of saying the first "how." (Again, my insight into the task of intertextuality was gained independently of Moyise's work.)

of them being lost; a text's unity lies not in its origin but in its destination."³⁸ Barthes's shift of emphasis from the author to the reader is dangerous in that it eliminates the significance of the role of the author/origin of a text for the intertextual reading, thereby implicitly rendering the number of the precursor texts limitless.³⁹ It would readily lead to something equivalent to what S. Sandmel calls "parallelomania."⁴⁰ Also, his reader-oriented notion of intertextuality opens up the possibility of the plurality of meaning in reading a text, for different readers may well have different intertextual readings out of their different life experience.⁴¹

This is not to deny, however, that the reader plays a significant role in the process of reading/interpreting a text. If any written text does not and cannot exist by itself but depends on other texts, and if reading a text demands serious account of the mutual relations between the text read and its precursor texts, then the reader's life experience

³⁸ R. Barthes, "The Death of the Author," p.148; emphasis mine. See also O. Miller, "Intertextual Identity," p.21: "It is the reader, then, who establishes a relationship between a focused text and its intertext, and forges its intertextual identity;" and I.R. Kitzberger, "Love and Footwashing," p.191: "Intertextuality as activated by the reader has for its basis the insight that intertextuality can never be a quality of a text *per se* (her italics), but can only be brought about by a reader who is able to evoke other texts when reading the focused text. Thus, it is always the reader who opens up a text to an intertext."

³⁹ W.S. Vorster, "Intertextuality and Redaktionsgeschichte," in *Intertextuality in Biblical Writings*, p.21, also notes that the number of the precursor texts might be infinite, but he seems to have overlooked the danger of such an implication for Biblical studies.

See another well known intertextualist's view: "L'intertexte est l'ensemble des textes que l'on peut rapprocher de celui que l'on a sous les yeux, l'ensemble des textes que l'on retrouve dans sa mémoire à la lecture d'un passage donné. L'intertexte est donc un corpus indéfini." (M. Riffaterre, "L'Intertexte inconnu," *Littérature* 41(1981), p.4; emphasis mine.)

⁴⁰ S. Sandmel, "Parallelomania," *JBL* 81(1962), pp.1-13.

⁴¹ B.D. Sommer, "Exegesis, Allusion and Intertextuality," p.487, has also noted the danger of the intertextual approach's independence of the author. On the roles of the author and reader in intertextuality (with reference to Biblical studies), see E. van Wolde, "Trendy Intertextuality," in *Intertextuality in Biblical Writings*, pp.43-49.

For a good critical discussion of R. Barthes's notion of "the death of the author," see S. Burke, *The Death and Return of the Author* (2nd. ed.; Edinburgh: Univ. Press, 1998), pp.20-61; on the importance of our knowledge of the author/origin of a text to its interpretation, see K.J. Vanhoozer, *Is there a meaning in this text?* (Leicester: Apollos, 1998), pp.43-97, 201-80.

and awareness of the conventions that underlie the text read is crucial. To read/interpret a text, the reader must share at least the literary conventions that the text read has presupposed. The wider one's knowledge of the conventions involved in reading a text, the deeper s/he can understand the significance of the text read.⁴² This emphasis on the reader's knowledge and awareness of the literary and conceptual past of (the author of) a written text may have positive implications for Biblical studies. In interpreting Scripture, biblical scholars must get themselves familiar with the literary and conceptual conventions that the scriptural texts have presupposed. For a (scriptural) writer can only speak or write through the linguistic and conceptual conventions of the tradition to which s/he belongs.⁴³

(3) its synchronic nature, which in turn suggests its ahistorical character. This is clearly shown in a literary critic's view of intertextual criticism: intertextual relationships "are not genetic but generic, not diachronic but synchronic, not causal but analogical." So for this literary critic, "the question of how much Shakespeare could have known about Sophocles' drama is, on this view, less important than the reciprocal illumination that results."⁴⁴ Viewed from this perspective, biblical scholars must take caution in utilizing the intertextual approach to the interpretation of Scripture. For the approach tends to undermine the importance of the author's knowledge of the alleged precursor texts; and so it goes counter to the basic presupposition of the NT use of the OT, namely that the NT writers speak and think through the literary and conceptual conventions of the Jewish tradition that they know (consciously or subconsciously) and belong to. On this matter, no wonder B.D. Sommer thus says: "An intertextual approach, by its own insistence, cannot contribute to the historian of religion, so that as long as biblical scholars continue to identify themselves as, among other things, historians, diachronic methods remain a

⁴² See esp. M. Riffaterre, "Compulsory reader response: the intertextual drive," in *Intertextuality: Theories and Practices*, pp.56-78; cf. D. Keeseey, *art. cit.*, p.258.

⁴³ This statement alludes to D. Keeseey's: "the poet can speak only through the conventions of poetry." Cited from his *art. cit.*, p.261.

⁴⁴ D. Keeseey, *art. cit.*, p.261.

desideratum."⁴⁵

The above account of the concept of intertextuality may be a little too brief, but, I believe, is clear enough to display the concept's characteristics and its usefulness to Biblical studies. Personally, I share Sommer's reservations about utilizing the intertextual approach to the interpretation of the interrelations between the two Testaments, in view of its latent denial of authorial intentionality and its ahistorical nature. Yet, it does not mean that such an approach does not have its own strengths. The intertextual approach, for instance, emphasizes the reader's knowledge of the linguistic and conceptual conventions that a focused text has presupposed. Perhaps the most important contribution of this approach to (Systematic and) Biblical theology is its notion of the "reciprocal illumination" (in Keesey's words; see above) that an intertextual relationship effects, a notion that implicitly demands an intense contextual comparison of the focused text and its intertext(s). This concept will be picked up as the fundamental rationale in my study of the Isaianic tradition in three major bodies of literature (the Sibylline Oracles, Qumran literature, and *Romans*).

However, this is not to say that I have fully adopted the intertextual approach; my readers will readily know that my approach is indeed very traditional and could fairly be called a modified source-influence approach,⁴⁶ an approach with which intertextualists have striven hard to part company. My approach is traditional, because it was indeed adopted in a study of similar nature by J.A. Fitzmyer more than thirty-five years ago.⁴⁷ In his seminal essay, Fitzmyer utilized a similar approach to tackle the problem about the use of Scripture in Qumran literature and in the NT. The major weakness of Fitzmyer's essay, in my opinion, lies in his implicit definition of the term "context." He seems to have put his focus simply on the immediate literary context of the text(s) studied. In fact,

⁴⁵ B.D. Sommer, "Exegesis, Allusion and Intertextuality," p.489; emphasis mine.

⁴⁶ It could be called a modified intertextual approach; but, I suspect, many "orthodox" intertextualists would probably vigorously object to that, or at most would regard my approach as a "deviant" concept of intertextuality.

⁴⁷ See above n.12.

the notion of "context" is broader than this, as we shall see presently. Before moving on to the notion of context, let us briefly look at what the source-influence approach is about and how it remedies the weakness of the intertextual approach.

Let us begin with Keesey's comment on the intertextual approach, which was quoted earlier (see point 3 of our discussion of intertextuality above). In pointing out the major difference between the intertextual approach and the traditional theory of influence, Keesey writes: the former basically is "not genetic but generic, not diachronic but synchronic, not causal but analogical." So by implication, for him, the source-influence approach is essentially "genetic," "diachronic," and "causal."⁴⁸ The approach is "genetic" and "diachronic" in nature, for it takes serious account of the chronological sequence and connection of the focused text and its intertext(s) (i.e., its source-text/s) and so presupposes a strong historical awareness. Such a historical consciousness remedies the ahistorical intertextual approach. It is "causal" in that it works according to "the principle of causality in which one person (or thing) changes as a result of the action of an other, prior, more powerful force... [and so] presumes a source, an origin, an agency that flows into or acts upon another."⁴⁹ Therefore, to claim that text X is the source of, or influences, text Y is to imply that text Y is explicable in terms of text X and that the latter is its point of origin.⁵⁰ Several implications can be derived from this account of the source-influence approach. First, the source-influence approach is basically concerned with the nature of

⁴⁸ D. Keesey, "Intertextual Criticism," in his *Contexts for Criticism*, p.259; and see also J. Clayton and E. Rothstein, "Figures in the Corpus," pp.3-17; R.F. Lack, "Intertextuality or Influence: Kristeva, Bloom and the Poésies of Isidore Ducasse," in *Intertextuality: Theories and Practices*, eds. M. Worton & J. Still, pp.130-42; H.R. Elam, "Influence," in *The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, pp.605-8; and *idem*, "Intertextuality," pp.620-21.

⁴⁹ S.S. Friedman, "Weavings: Intertextuality and the (Re)Birth of the Author," in *Influence and Intertextuality in Literary History*, eds. J. Clayton & E. Rothstein, p.152.

⁵⁰ Here my statement alludes to that of O. Miller in his "Intertextual Identity," p.28: "To assert that text B is the source of or influences text A is to imply that text B is explicable in terms of text A and that the latter is its point of origin." Frankly, I have difficulty understanding the logic of Miller's assertion; I suspect, the first part of his assertion should have been put in this way: text A is the source of or influences text B.

influence that a prior author/source-text has upon a later one/recipient-text. So, it is linear, a one-way interpretive process which is not concerned with the "reciprocal illumination" that the focused text and its source-text(s) effect. Second, since the influence concerned could be due to the human agency and/or to the text agency, this approach is author-oriented or (author-)text-oriented.⁵¹ Hence, in studying the literary influence, this approach somewhat overlaps with the intertextual approach; and in this sense, a source-text could also be called an intertext. And finally, the influence approach, like the intertextual approach, also demands serious attention to the contexts of the texts involved in the reading/interpretive process.

c. The Notion of "Context"

The problem concerning what precisely is meant/ referred to by the term "context" is controversial among linguists. However, it is generally agreed that the context of any discourse, whether literary or not, includes at least two different types: linguistic and situational. The linguistic context, often called by linguists the co-text, is primarily concerned with the syntagmatic relations of words, phrases, sentences, and so on, in a discourse; put simply, it is "the relevant surrounding text."⁵² The "relevant surrounding text" could be a few adjacent words, an entire sentence, a few sentences, a paragraph (in the case of literary discourse), or even the entire discourse. In other words, the linguistic level of context can even have different levels such as the immediate, the wider, and the still wider levels of context. These contextual sub-levels constitute what M. Silva calls

⁵¹ Cf. C.N. Pondrom, "Influence? Or Intertextuality? The Complicated Connection of Edith Sitwell with Gertrude Stein," in *Influence and Intertextuality in Literary History*, eds. J. Clayton & E. Rothstein, p.208: "... to understand influence is to understand that one has a dialectic between the agency of human subjects and the agency of texts."

⁵² J. Lyons, *Linguistic Semantics* (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), p.271; cf. G. Brown and G. Yule, *Discourse Analysis* (Cambridge: CUP, 1983), pp.46-50. M. Silva, *Biblical Words and their Meaning* (rev. & exp. ed.; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1994), pp.138-44.

"contextual circles."⁵³ The context of situation refers to the life situation in which a discourse is delivered; so, it involves "knowledge of who is speaking, who is listening, what objects are being discussed, and general facts about the world we live in."⁵⁴ These two major types of context play a significant role in deciphering the meaning of a discourse, whether spoken or literary.

In the study that follows, I will pick up this concept of "context," and particularly the notion of "contextual circles." Basically, I will follow Donfried's method⁵⁵ in interpreting a passage, namely, that close attention will be paid to the immediate context⁵⁶ first, and then, if necessary, to the wider context.⁵⁷ Of course, meaning derived from the immediate context should receive priority, for "the smaller the circle, the more likely it is to affect the disputed passage."⁵⁸ Besides the relevant linguistic context, I would also give attention to the theological context of the examined passage, a context which is concerned

⁵³ See M. Silva, *Biblical Words*, pp.156-59. As Silva pointed out, the concept of "contextual circles" and its importance in scriptural interpretation is best illustrated in a study by K.P. Donfried, "The Allegory of the Ten Virgins (Matt 25:1-13): As a Summary of Matthean Theology," *JBL* 93(1974), pp.415-28. For the sake of space, we do not rehearse the details of Donfried's argument. In short, what underlies the concept of "contextual circles" in relation to interpretation is that, in Donfried's words, "one always tries to interpret the text from the smallest possible circle, the one which is closer to it, and only when this does not suffice does one move to the next larger circle" (p.416).

⁵⁴ V. Fromkin and R. Rodman, *An Introduction to Language* (6th. ed.; Orlando, FL: Harcourt Brace, 1998), p.195; cf. also J. Lyons, *Semantics* (Cambridge: CUP, 1977), pp.607-13; *idem*, *Linguistic Semantics*, pp.271, 290f.; F.R. Palmer, *Semantics* (2nd. ed.; Cambridge: CUP, 1981), pp.51-56; G. Brown & G. Yule, *Discourse Analysis*, pp.35-46; M. Silva, *Biblical Words*, pp.144-47.

⁵⁵ See above n.53; actually, K.P. Donfried's method is first suggested by Q. Quesnell, *The Mind of Mark: Interpretation and Method through the Exegesis of Mark 6,2* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1969).

⁵⁶ By "the immediate context," I refer to the smallest possible relevant literary unit in which a text under discussion lies. So, its size varies from case to case.

⁵⁷ My definition of "the wider/larger context" is a little fluid; it at times would refer to the whole chapter in which a text in question lies, and at other times to the entire book.

⁵⁸ M. Silva, *Biblical Words*, p.156.

primarily with the author's key message and concerns as presented in his saying as a whole.

Such a concept of "context" not only helps us better determine the meaning of a text, but also widens our horizon in dealing with the problem of whether an author utilizes another's work "out of context." If it is accepted that meaning of a discourse or of any part of a discourse can be detected according to different levels of context, it is also plausible and indeed necessary to examine according to different contextual levels whether a Jewish writer utilizes Scripture "out of context." From this it follows that it is possible that a scriptural passage is used out of context at one level and yet is not at another level.

However, does it makes sense to ask whether an author does or does not use/cite Scripture out of context? It has been claimed that "every quotation distorts and redefines the 'primary' utterance by relocating it within another linguistic and cultural context."⁵⁹ In other words, any literary transplantation is inevitably out of context. Such a view appears, in one form or another, in the mind of many scholars. For instance, on different occasions, this view is repeatedly appealed to and endorsed by S. Moyise.⁶⁰ However, is this view really true? If so, in what sense? To examine this claim more effectively, let us start with the opinion of Moyise. In the context of discussing "Respect for Context," after briefly surveying some scholars' views he writes:

However, the quotation from Worton and Still puts the matter in a different light: 'every quotation distorts and redefines the "primary" utterance by relocating it within another linguistic and cultural context.'

If this is taken as the starting point, it can be seen that the either/or option is

⁵⁹ M. Worton and J. Still, "Introduction," p.11.

⁶⁰ S. Moyise, "Does the NT Quote the OT out of Context?", pp.137-38; *idem*, *OT in the Book of revelation*, pp.18-19, 112, 139-40. See also R.B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, p.19, who, citing the words of J. Hollander with approval, writes: "The important point ... is that 'the revisionary power of allusive echo generates new figuration.' This phenomenon occurs not only because old voices are overheard in new settings but also because 'the rebounds of intertextual echo generally ... distort the original voice in order to interpret it.'"

misconceived. Every quotation is out of context because it has been relocated. It cannot possibly mean the same thing as it did in its old context, because most of the factors that affect interpretation have changed. A more constructive approach would be to consider how the two contexts might be related, and what effects might be produced by creating a bridge between them.⁶¹

By these words, Moyise is trying to make a point that is clearly presented in his last sentence. In my opinion, Moyise's major point made here is commendable. However, his approval of the view of Worton and Still seems a little too rash. I am not sure what Moyise would think of his own quotation of the words of Worton and Still; does he think that the words of Worton and Still quoted in his book bear a meaning or sense that they were not intended to convey in their original context, i.e., in the utterance of Worton and Still? If he thinks so, why does he not make a note discussing that "distortion and redefinition"? And what sense does his quotation of the words of Worton and Still actually make in the context of his discussion of "Respect for Context"? Is the sense that the words he cited make in his utterance simply the semantic content conveyed by the words themselves (i.e., the plain verbal meaning of the quoted words)? If so, is such a literal sense not related to the original linguistic context against which Moyise understands the words he quoted?

I suspect, however, that, in quoting the words of Worton and Still, Moyise was very confident that the words he quoted (not only in pages 139-140, but elsewhere in his book) did convey a sense or meaning that was, if not exactly, virtually the same as what Worton and Still originally intended by them. In fact, careful examination of the contexts (both old and new) of Moyise's quotation from Worton & Still's essay shows that the words of Worton and Still remain intact with respect to both the quoted words' semantic content and their significance. Viewed from this angle, therefore, it is arguable that not

⁶¹ S. Moyise, *OT in the Book of Revelation*, pp.139-40; emphasis mine. See also his comment in "Does the NT Quote the OT out of Context?", p.138: "... since context is essential for meaning, there is no possibility that a quotation can bear the same meaning in a new composition as it did in the old. The actual words might be the same but all the factors that affect interpretation have changed."

"every quotation distorts and redefines the 'primary' utterance by relocating it within another linguistic and cultural context." At least, in the case of my quotation of Moyise's words above, I am confident that the words quoted here, beginning with "However" and ending with "a bridge between them," are sufficient in length and clear enough in conveying or re-presenting a sense/significance that they were intended to convey in their original context.⁶² And I suspect, such confidence of one's own ability in understanding and quoting other scholars' saying would be commonly shared by/among scholars, for no scholar (under normal conditions) would think that s/he, in quoting another scholar's saying, misrepresents or distorts that quoted scholar's originally intended meaning.⁶³ Of course, it is one thing whether one admits s/he misrepresents other person's saying in citing it; and it is quite another what one actually does. But in that case, what causes problems is the one who makes a quotation, not the quotation itself.

This is not to say that no quotation is out of context, but that it is not always the case that "every quotation distorts... the 'primary' utterance," and that it is not "misconceived" to ask about whether a quotation is out of context or not. In my opinion, the question about whether a quotation is out of context is hard to escape in "consider[ing] how the two contexts might be related."⁶⁴ Asking questions of this sort reflects one's concern to relate contextually the focused text to its source-text; it is indeed part of an interpreting process. In fact, to determine whether a quotation distorts the original utterance and to create a bridge between a later text and its precursor text contextually are, if not the same thing, two faces of the same coin. If a later text can be related contextually to its precursor text, does it not follow that the latter is not utilized by the former out of context? Put differently, if it is shown that a later text utilizes an earlier

⁶² My statement here implies that the length of a quotation can be an important factor affecting whether the quotation distorts the original utterance. However, how long a quotation should be varies from case to case, depending on the co-text of the original utterance.

⁶³ I suspect, arguments like these may also apply to Hays's quotation of J. Hollander's words in discussing the nature of the allusive echoes; see above n.60.

⁶⁴ S. Moyise, *OT in the Book of Revelation*, p.140.

text out of context, does it not imply that no contextual link is successfully detected between that later text and its precursor text? I think the answer is in the affirmative.⁶⁵ Thus, what seems to me important is whether we pay sufficient attention to the contexts involved and what we actually refer to by "context." In other words, to examine the relationship between a later text and its precursor text(s), one should and must carefully scrutinize and compare their respective contexts, noting whether they have any continuity and discontinuity in regard to different contextual levels. The more contextual continuity they show, the less likely that the later text distorts its precursor(s). To achieve such a task, an attentive, comparative analysis of the contexts involved therefore plays a significant part. And it is precisely such a careful comparative context-analysis that the source-influence approach seeks to provide.

Having discussed how to collect the data we need and how to analyze them, let us move on to another important problem which has a bearing on our entire study, namely, "how much did first century ordinary Jews know of the prophetic literature?". Very often, when dealing with the early Christians' use of Scripture, scholars have assumed (whether consciously or not) that first century Jews must have been well familiar with the prophetic literature. True, the prophetic literature is part of the sacred writings of first century Jews, but this does not guarantee that ordinary Jews must have known this literature well. How much first century Jews knew of this part of their sacred Scriptures and in what way and on what occasion(s) they could have learned of it are, in my opinion, important issues, essential to the study of the use of Scripture by the first century Jewish writers in general and the early Christian writers in particular. For the answers to these questions would affect our assessment of the influence that the prophetic literature exerted on their thoughts and so the role that this kind of literature actually played in their daily lives.

⁶⁵ From this perspective, if we at the outset presuppose on the one hand that a quotation is necessarily out of context and on the other hand strive to construct a bridge between its old and new contexts, we are being self-contradictory. For to claim that every quotation is out of context is to imply that no real contextual link is possible between the old and new contexts of the words quoted.

C. How much did first century Jews know of the Prophetic Literature?

It is widely agreed that Torah (i.e., the Mosaic laws) was an essential part of Jewish education throughout the period after the exile.⁶⁶ The Mosaic laws, as recorded and preserved in what we call the Pentateuch, were regarded as a divine gift delivered through Moses, having supreme authority in instructing and guiding the Jewish people in every aspect of life. Whether at home or in the temple/synagogue, therefore, Jewish people had no difficulty learning the Mosaic laws; they learned them, abided by them, and even died for them. But what about the prophetic literature? Did it enjoy a somewhat equal status in Jewish life? How much did the ordinary Jews learn/know about it? According to some scholars, the prophetic literature, alongside the Mosaic laws, was indeed read in synagogue, but reading from the Prophets simply played a secondary role in Scripture reading in the synagogue liturgy in the first century.⁶⁷ Is that true? If so, what can we deduce about first century Jews' knowledge of the Book of Isaiah?

In this section, we will re-evaluate the evidence scattered in the biblical and non-biblical literature, seeing whether these scholars are right and how much we can know about first century Jews' knowledge of the Prophets. The evidence comes from the following five major sources: the NT, the apocrypha, Josephus, Philo, and the Mishnah.

a. Evidence from the NT

The most commonly cited passage to show that first century Jews were familiar

⁶⁶ See S. Safrai, "Education and the Study of the Torah," in *The Jewish People in the First Century*, eds. S. Safrai and M. Stern (CRINT 2.1; Assen: Van Gorcum/ Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976), pp.945-70; *HJPJC*, vol.2, pp.417-22; S.C. Reif, *Judaism and Hebrew Prayer* (Cambridge: CUP, 1993), pp.61-74.

⁶⁷ See A. Büchler, "The Reading of the Law and the Prophets in A Triennial Cycle," *JQR* o.s. 5(1892-93), pp.420-68; 6(1893-94), pp.1-72; *HJPJC*, pp.450-52; K.P. Bland, "Lectionary Cycle, rabbinic," in *IDB-suppl. vol.*, p.538; J. Barr, *Holy Scripture* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1983), p.60; I. Elbogen, *Jewish Liturgy: A Comprehensive History* (tr. R.P. Scheindlin; Philadelphia/Jerusalem: Jewish Publication Society & NY/Jerusalem: Jewish Theo. Seminary of America, 1993), pp.129-63.

with the Prophets is in Luke 4:14-30, where Luke records that Jesus was invited to read a passage from a scroll (βιβλίον) during the Sabbath service in the synagogue. On the basis of the passage, some scholars, e.g., A. Büchler and A. Guilding,⁶⁸ have argued for a well established, periodic lectionary practiced among first century synagogues. A. Guilding has even contended that Isaiah 61:1-2 which Jesus read was the haftarah fixed for that Sabbath. For our purposes, whether the theory of a fixed lectionary can be derived from the passage matters little.⁶⁹ At any rate, Luke 4:14-30 clearly demonstrates that the Prophets were read during the synagogue service.⁷⁰ And it is of particular importance that the passage which, according to Luke, Jesus read was a composite text, conflating Isa.61:1-2a and 58:6. The composite nature of Jesus' reading of *Isaiah* is firmly supported by the fact that no extant textual evidence can be deduced for such a version of Isa.61:1-2 as in Luke 4:18-19. Further, as L. Morris pointed out, the Talmud (*Meg.24a*) prohibits the reading from the Minor Prophets to go backwards, even though skipping is allowed; "there is not the slightest reason for thinking the case was any different with the other prophets."⁷¹ This in turn rules out the possibility that Jesus was

⁶⁸ A. Büchler, "The Reading of the Law and the Prophets in A Triennial Cycle," *JQR* 6(1893-94), pp.11-13; A. Guilding, *The Fourth Gospel and Jewish Lectionary* (Oxford: OUP, 1960), pp.109-10.

⁶⁹ See J.R. Porter, "The Pentateuch and the Triennial Lectionary Cycle: An Examination of a Recent Theory," in *Promise and Fulfilment*, ed. F.F. Bruce (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1963), pp.163-74; L. Morris, *The NT and the Jewish Lectionary* (London: Tyndale Press, 1964), esp. pp.11-52; L. Crockett, "Luke iv:16-30 and the Jewish Lectionary Cycle: A Word of Caution," *JJS* 17(1966), pp.13-46, esp. p.27; and also I.H. Marshall, *Luke* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), p.181.

⁷⁰ Although in the immediate context of Luke 4:16-20 no mention is made of the reading from the Law, it still seems likely that here Luke was speaking of the Scripture reading in the synagogue service. Luke did not mention the reading from the Law here, probably because it was not important for his purpose in this context. *Contra* T.H. Lim, *Holy Scripture in the Qumran Commentaries and Pauline Letters* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), p.156.

It should be noted that, if what is narrated in Luke 4:16-20 was Luke's own fabrication, our knowledge of first century Jews' knowledge of the prophetic literature becomes more speculative.

⁷¹ L. Morris, *Jewish Lectionary*, pp.21-22.

responsible for the conflation of these two Isaianic passages.⁷² All this seems to suggest that the scroll (βιβλίον) from which Jesus read was not the scroll of Isaiah itself, but some scroll of scriptural collection.⁷³ If that is the case, it seems plausible to think that, though the prophetic literature was read in synagogues, knowledge of it conveyed to the Jews was fragmentary and unsystematic.⁷⁴ Considering this, it is hard to tell with certainty how much the Prophets were familiar to the Jewish people of our period.

Two other NT passages deserving discussion are in Acts 13:15 and 13:27.⁷⁵ According to Acts 13:15, after the reading from the Law and the Prophets, Paul and Barnabas were asked to say something, perhaps to give a sermon on what was read. Unlike Luke 4:16ff., reading of the Law and the Prophets is clearly mentioned; it is then

⁷² F. Bovon, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas* (EKK III/1; Zürich: Benziger/ Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1989), p.211, finds it possible to regard what Jesus read as pre-arranged: "Lukas deutet vielleicht an, daß Jesus selbst die Stelle ausgesucht (»gefunden«) hat, es ist aber auch möglich, daß sie für diesen Tag vorgesehen war oder daß sie Jesus durch das Los zugeteilt wurde." (Emphasis mine.)

⁷³ Among many others, D.L. Bock, *Luke, vol.1- 1:1-9:50* (BECNT 3A; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1994), p.404, tends to think that Jesus read directly from the Isaiah Scroll; whereas T.H. Lim, *Holy Scripture*, pp.155-56, advocates that Jesus read "from a collection of excerpts used in liturgy," "not from a biblical text of Isaiah."

See also I. Elbogen, *Jewish Liturgy*, p.145, where he comments: "The Haftaret were not always written, as described in Luke, out of a complete book of that prophet, and certainly not from scrolls containing all the Prophets, for such books were of the greatest rarity (see *Soferim* 3:5). But already in ancient times there were special Haftara scrolls, in which all the Haftaret and only the Haftaret were written." (Emphasis mine.)

⁷⁴ This seems to confirm most scholars' view of the reading from the Prophets in the synagogue service; see A. Büchler, "The Reading of the Law and the Prophets in A Triennial Cycle," *JQR* o.s. 6(1893-94), pp.11-12; K.P. Bland, "Lectionary Cycle, rabbinic," p.538; J. Barr, *Holy Scripture*, p.60; J. Barton, *Oracles of God* (Oxford: OUP, 1986), pp.14, 16-17; I. Elbogen, *Jewish Liturgy*, p.144.

⁷⁵ On the historical reliability of Acts in general, see C.J. Hemer, "Luke the Historian," *BJRL* 60(1977-78), pp.28-51; I.H. Marshall, *Acts* (TNTC; Leicester: IVP, 1980), pp.34-44; F.F. Bruce, "The Acts of the Apostles: Historical Record or Theological Reconstruction?" *ANRW* II.25.3 (1985), pp.2569-603, esp. pp.2575-82; G. Lüdemann, "Acts of the Apostles as a Historical Source," in *The Social World of Formative Christianity and Judaism*, eds. J. Neunser, et al. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), pp.109-25; J.D.G. Dunn, *The Acts of the Apostle* (EC; Peterborough: Epworth Press, 1996), pp. xv-xix. Concerning Luke's account of the event recorded in Acts 13:15-27, I fail to see any reason to regard it as unreliable.

reasonable to understand "the reading of the Law and the Prophets" as referring to the seder and the haftarah lections respectively, as most commentators have done.⁷⁶ Despite this, however, some difficulty arises in ascertaining the meaning of the term "Prophets." According to J. Barton, the term "Prophets" was certainly a fluid one to first century Jews; it was not taken to refer definitely to the prophetic writings or to what we have in our Bible today. Rather, all writings with scriptural status outside the Mosaic Law could be taken as "Prophets."⁷⁷ In other words, even the books generally taken as the Writings like the Song of Songs were also placed under the category "the Prophets." So it is hard to be certain what is referred to when "the Prophets" are mentioned. Though the fact that the Writings, except for the Psalms, were rarely read in the synagogue may help solve the problem,⁷⁸ we are still left with difficulty in determining whether the haftarah read were taken from what we have called today the former Prophets like *Joshua, Kings*, or the latter Prophets such as the major and the minor Prophets.⁷⁹

Acts 13:27 offers us further details about Scripture reading in the temple at Jerusalem. According to the context, Paul is accusing the residents of Jerusalem and their leaders of not understanding "the words of the prophets." Paul qualifies "the words of the prophets" as "read every Sabbath;" thus, the phrase very likely refers to the haftarah lection. Beyond this, however, the context here tells us nothing about the content of the

⁷⁶ E.g., I.H. Marshall, *Acts*, p.222; F.F. Bruce, *The Book of the Acts* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988, rev.ed.), p.252; *idem. The Acts of the Apostles: Greek Text with Introduction and Commentary* (3rd. rev. & enlarged ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), pp.301-2; C.K. Barrett, *Acts 1-14* (ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1994), pp.628-29; B. Witherington, III, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), p.406; R. Pesch, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (Apg 13-28) (EKK V/2; Zürich: Benziger/Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1986), pp.33-34; J. Jervell, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (KEK 3; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), p.353.

⁷⁷ J. Barton, *Oracles of God*, pp.35-95, esp. pp.44-57; cf. J. Barr, *Holy Scripture*, pp.54-56.

⁷⁸ Cf. I. Elbogen, *Jewish Liturgy*, pp.149-51.

⁷⁹ This point is not to deny that the latter Prophets were read, but simply to highlight the fact that any reading from the former Prophets would affect the frequency of reading from the latter prophetic writings.

haftaroth read in the Sabbath service, even though it implicitly suggests that "the words of the prophets," at least for Paul, have something to do with "him," i.e., Jesus.

In short, the NT evidence indicates that the Prophets were read in the synagogue services, and that they were read periodically, perhaps every Sabbath. Importantly, as Luke 4:16-19 shows, synagogue readings from the Prophets are probably fragmentary and unsystematic. Apart from this, no further information can be deduced about the reading of the Prophets in the synagogue. Hence, knowledge of first century Jews' acquaintance with the prophetic literature can hardly be determined with certainty.

b. Evidence from the Apocrypha

Our first datum for examination in this category comes from 2 Maccabees 15:9, in which Judas Maccabeus was said to have encouraged the Jews for battle from the Law and the Prophets. As J.A. Goldstein comments,⁸⁰ Judas probably cited examples of victories from the Law and the Prophets, showing how God the Almighty had fought for Israel and destroyed her enemies in the former times. The passage, in my judgment, does not offer us great help to support the view that the prophetic writings were familiar to Jewish people at large in the first century BCE or earlier, since the personal background of Judas Maccabeus makes the event quite distinct. Judas was of priestly background (1 Macc.2:1), so it was quite easy for him to have access to the Jewish scriptures. Moreover, the phrase "the Prophets" is not necessarily to be interpreted as referring to what we call the major prophetic writings such as *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*, etc.; it could well be the so-called former prophetic writings.

Another apocryphal passage that seems to be the strongest piece of evidence that the Prophets were well known among Jewish people is in 4 Macc.18:6-24. *4 Maccabees* 8:1-18:19 narrates the stories of the martyrdom of a mother and her seven sons. 4Macc.18:6-19 records the mother's final address to her youngest son, which stresses her own chastity and her husband's proper education of their seven sons. The words of the

⁸⁰ J.A. Goldstein, *II Maccabees* (AB 41a; NY: Doubleday, 1983), p.497.

mother seem to testify that in the family the children were taught, from their childhood, by their father from the Prophets as well as the Law. A catena of allusions to biblical events and scriptural citations leaves its reader with the impression that the seven sons were well versed with the prophetic writings. These are, for instance, the stories of Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael in the furnace and Daniel in the lion's den (cf. 16:21); citations from *Isaiah* (43:2) and *Ezekiel* (37:2-3), and even from Psalms and Proverbs, are quoted for the purpose of encouragement for martyrdom.

It is agreed among scholars that the primary source that lies behind the story is 2 Macc.7:1-42. According to 2 Macc.7, only the Law was mentioned throughout the chapter (7:2,6,9,30); in the mother's address, no scriptural reference was made to the Prophets but only to the Law (7:23). We do not know from where our author of 4 Macc. got the details of the mother's address. Perhaps, as H. Anderson suggests, he was drawing on the materials from sources other than 2 Macc., e.g., from "developments of the tale within ongoing oral tradition."⁸¹

If the details did come from the "developments of the tale within ongoing oral tradition," it is then difficult to ascertain whether they were really historical, showing the actual situation of the family. Could it be that they were simply fictional devices, added to produce the effects of pathos on the readers/hearers for the purpose of exhortation? In view of the context of the passage and the theological theme of the biblical allusions and scriptural citations, I think, this could well be the case. In fact, even if the details are reliable, representing real historical facts, it could also be possible that these details were added here as rhetorical devices to produce the effects of pathos on the readers. If this is correct, we can learn that our author's chief aim of adding the details was not to give information about the pious practices of a Jewish family of the time, but simply to highlight the mother's exhortation to her sons to die a noble death. The larger literary context represents his theological/philosophical interest in citing the story, namely, that "devout reason is master of all emotions, not only of sufferings from within, but also of

⁸¹ H. Anderson, "4 Maccabees," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. J.H. Charlesworth, vol. 2 (NY: Doubleday, 1985), p.541.

those from without" (18:2; NRSV).

Let us suppose that 4 Macc.8:6-19 does actually indicate the pious practices of the family. As we noted above, the stories of Daniel in the den of lions and of his three friends in the fire, and Ezekiel's vision of the dry bones are cited and/or alluded to in the passage. All of these stories were well known in Jewish tradition at least around the turn of the era. The existence of the apocrypha *Bel and the Dragon*, *the Prayer of Azariah*, and *the Songs of the Three Jews* betrays the popularity of the stories of Daniel and his three friends in Jewish tradition; and the discovery of an apocryphal work at Qumran, 4QSecond/Pseudo-Ezekiel^a (4Q385; fragments 2 & 3), shows that Ezekiel's vision of the dry bones was also well known at least in the late Hasmonaean or early Herodian period.⁸² Considering this, it is plausible to contend that the seven sons were taught by their father simply with some story-like extracts from the prophetic literature. Furthermore, how far could what 4 Macc.8:6-19 presents to us be generalized to demonstrate that Jewish children in our author's time were well taught at home in the Jewish Scriptures?

In brief, the passage, 4 Macc.18:6-19, cannot serve as a piece of evidence showing a general picture of ancient Jewish family religious education; this is very likely not the design of 4 Macc's author. Rather, if the details therein are historically reliable, the passage at most shows us something about a particular family, namely, that the children of the family were well(?) nurtured by their father with the Jewish Scriptures, perhaps with some well-known story-like scriptural extracts.

c. Evidence from Josephus

Evidence from Josephus concerning Jewish people's familiarity with the prophetic literature is also small. For Josephus, the Torah enjoys an insurmountable status in Jewish legal and religious affairs. Josephus even urges without reserve in *Antiq.*4.211 that the

⁸² G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (rev. & extd. 4th.ed.; London: Penguin, 1995), p.327, sees this fragment as written roughly in mid first century BCE. For English texts see G. Vermes, *op.cit.*, pp.327-28, and F.G. Martinez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), p.286; for the Hebrew text, see R. Eisenman and M. Wise, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered* (NY/London: Penguin, 1993), p.61.

laws should be taught to children as the first thing they are taught, and claims that the laws will be "a source of felicity."⁸³ *Apion*.2.204 also strikes the same note that Jewish children "should be taught to read, and shall learn both the laws and the deeds of their forefathers, in order that they may imitate the latter, and, being grounded in the former, may neither transgress nor have any excuse for being ignorant of them."⁸⁴

The two passages cited above show that it is the Torah, not the Prophets, that plays a significant part in Jewish life, both religious and social. In both passages, no mention is made of the prophetic literature. Perhaps some might argue that the phrase "the deeds of their forefathers" (τῶν προγόνων τὰς πράξεις) in *Apion*.2.204 may refer to what is recorded in the historical (i.e., so-called former prophetic) books of Jewish Scripture. But, in my view, this reading, though not impossible, remains speculative. The term πρόγονος used here occurs fourteen times in Josephus' *Contra Apionem*, and, of these, six times in Book 2.⁸⁵ Of its six occurrences in Book 2, the term is used in 2.6, 28, 157, 289, to refer exclusively to the Exodus generation.⁸⁶ Moreover, throughout *Apion*.2, Josephus was trying to refute as unfounded and "pure buffoonery" Apion's sayings about the origin of the Jewish people (cf. *Apion*.2.1-4). For Apion saw Moses as "a native of Heliopolis," and those who followed his lead to depart from Egypt as Egyptians "expelled from that country in consequence of contagious diseases or any similar affliction."⁸⁷ So the central concern of Josephus throughout is to show the real origin of the Exodus generation and hence of the nation Israel. In view of all this, it is not unfounded to say that, by the phrase τῶν προγόνων τὰς πράξεις here, Josephus meant particularly what the patriarchs (i.e., Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph) and the Exodus generation had

⁸³ *Antiq.*4.211; translation is based on Loeb Classical Library, *Josephus*, vol.4, (MA: Harvard U. Press, 1930), p.557.

⁸⁴ *Josephus*, vol.1, (LCL; MA: Harvard U. Press, 1926), p.375.

⁸⁵ *Apion*.2.6, 28, 48, 157, 204 (here), and 289.

⁸⁶ In *Apion*.2.48, the term is used to refer to the Macedonian ancestors.

⁸⁷ *Apion*.2.8-10; *Josephus*, LCL, vol. 1, p.295. Cf. also *Apion*.2.289.

done before God. On the other hand, even if the sense of the phrase can be extended to refer to what is recorded about the Israelites in the prophetic literature, it is unclear in the context that the prophetic literature enjoys a status equal to the Torah and so should be studied intensively and systematically.⁸⁸

In his writings, Josephus also mentioned the weekly reading of the Law. In *Antiq.* 16.43, the event of the Ionian Jews' complaint against the Greeks before Agrippa was recorded. The Greeks were censured for having taken away the privileges of the Jews unjustly. For instance, out of a hatred toward Jewish religion, they laid hands on the money contributed to God, openly robbed it, imposed taxes upon the Jews, and took the Jews to court and other public places of business even on holy days.⁸⁹ In the pleading assigned to Nicolas for the Jews, it was reported that the Jews gave "every seventh day over to the study of [their] customs and law"⁹⁰ so as to avoid committing sins. The notion of Sabbath reading of the Law also occurs elsewhere in Josephus' writings. In *Apion.* 2.175, Josephus mentioned that Jews gathered together every week for the hearing of the Law and for learning it thoroughly.

These two passages concur with what we have known above from Luke 4:14-30 and Acts 13:15,27 that Jewish people assembled together on Sabbaths to read and study their Scripture. However, neither *Antiq.* 16.43 nor *Apion.* 2.175 says anything about the reading of the Prophets. In the latter passage, it is clear that Josephus surely had no prophetic literature in mind when he referred to the Law. For there he was making a comparison of the Jews' law-giver Moses with legislators of other nations.

As for *Antiq.* 16.43, since Josephus very probably recorded the defense of Nicolas on behalf of the Jews not in detail, perhaps the phrase "the teaching of our customs and law" (τῇ μαθήσει τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐθῶν καὶ νόμου) may have included reading/study of the Prophets; but this remains a conjecture and hence uncertain. We do not have

⁸⁸ For the implication of this point see above, n.79.

⁸⁹ Cf. *Antiq.* 16.45.

⁹⁰ *Josephus*, vol.8, (LCL; MA: Harvard U. Press, 1963), p.225.

enough evidence to support such a reading of Josephus. Of course, on the other hand, we cannot argue from silence that since the prophetic literature was not mentioned, it must have been excluded from the syllabus of Jewish learning on "every seventh day." For that seems to be contrary to the evidence from the NT. Thus, because of the vagueness of the context in this matter, no firm conclusion can be drawn on the basis of this passage.

In Josephus' writings, there is one passage that exhibits his awareness of, and veneration for, the prophetic writings, namely, *Apion*.1.37-43. Very often, this passage is cited by scholars to demonstrate that Hebrew Scripture was reckoned as tripartite even by Josephus himself, and that Hebrew Scripture had been canonized and closed by his time. For our purposes, these theories will not receive detailed discussion.⁹¹ Our chief concern is whether this passage offers us any clues from which we can draw a picture of Jews' knowledge of the Prophets.

According to *Apion*.1.37-43, several observations can be made. First, the immediate context suggests that *Apion*.1.37-43 is polemical in function, written to "commend Judaism to people familiar with Greek literature."⁹² The few yet reliable and consistent Jewish scriptures are put in contrast with the multitude of mutually incompatible books accepted by Greeks. Second, the books Josephus mentioned, except "the remaining four books," are seen primarily as historical in nature. The first five books are Moses', "comprising the laws and the traditional history from the birth of man down to the death of the law-giver" (*Apion*.1.39). The other thirteen, written by the divinely inspired prophets subsequent to Moses, cover the history from the death of Moses the law-giver till Artaxerxes (*Apion*.1.40). It is unclear whether for Josephus these prophetic books enjoyed a status equal to the five books of Moses, whereas the fact that Josephus saw the books as history reflects his apologetic purposes.⁹³ Third, the twenty-two Jewish

⁹¹ For detailed discussion, see J. Barr, *Holy Scripture*, pp.55-56; J. Barton, *Oracles of God*, pp.25-27, 58-60.

⁹² J. Barton, *Oracles of God*, p.59.

⁹³ A.C. Sundberg, "The Old Testament of the Early Church," *HTR* 51(1958), pp.209-10.

scriptural books are granted an authoritative, somewhat divine status, and are venerated by Jewish people as the true guide for life. Jews regarded "them as the decrees of God," abided by them, and even died for them (*Apion*.1.42).

Throughout the passage, no explicit reference is made at all to the study of those twenty-two scriptural books by the Jews. That must then be read between the lines of the passage. The phrase "to abide by them" (τούτοις ἐμμένειν) in *Apion*.1.42 is perhaps the most useful clue that the prophetic books, as well as the laws, may have received intensive study or reading. However, such a reading, though possible, remains to a large extent speculative and debatable. For it is argued from logic, not from facts. On the other hand, even if the phrase does imply this, we still cannot be certain on its basis how much the prophetic books were known by Jewish people at large. Nor can we take it for granted that since Jewish people regarded the prophetic books as God's decrees and abided by them, they must have been very familiar with them.

In sum, evidence from Josephus demonstrates: the Torah seems to have played a dominant part in Jewish life. Jews gathered together every seventh day to read and study their laws and customs. Alongside the laws of Moses, Jews treasured as divinely inspired decrees thirteen books written by the prophets subsequent to Moses and the "remaining four books;" and they adhered to them. However, evidence as to how much they were familiar with those writings seems too scant to say anything with confidence.

d. Evidence from Philo

Apart from Josephus, Philo also offers us evidence of first century Jews' learning of their "Scripture." Here is a brief summary of the related passages found in Philo's writings:

1. *Spec. Leg.* 2.62-63

On the seventh days, the Jews gather together to learn their customs and religious instructions, in order to improve lives.

Neither the Torah nor the Prophets are mentioned.

2. *Prob.* 81-83

On the seventh days, the Jews gather together in the synagogues. They sit according to their age in classes, the younger sitting under the elder, and listen to the reading of "the books" (τὰς βίβλους) and its interpretation. Thus, Jewish people are taught lessons about "love of God," "love of virtue," and "love of men."⁹⁴

3. *Vit. Cont.* 29-33

On the seventh days, the Jews come together and are led by a senior to investigate the precise meaning of what they have confessed.

4. *Mos.* 2.216

On the seventh day, Jewish people "occupy themselves with the philosophy of their fathers (τὴν πατριον φιλοσοφίαν), dedicating that time to the acquiring of knowledge and the study of the truths of nature."

Neither the Torah nor the Prophets are explicitly mentioned; but the phrase τὴν πατριον φιλοσοφίαν may imply that it was their sacred scriptures that the Jews studied.

5. *Hypothetica* 7.11-12

The Jews have "expert knowledge of their ancestral laws and customs" (τῶν πατρίων νόμων καὶ ἐθῶν ἐμπείρως), for they gather together on the seventh days "to hear the laws (τῶν νόμων) read" and have someone expound what is read.

Reading and interpretation of the sacred laws is mentioned.

6. *Som.* 2.127

This passage indirectly shows that, on the Sabbaths, the Jews would sit "in [their] conventicles and assemble [their] regular company and read in security [their] holy books (τὰς ἱερὰς βίβλους), expounding any obscure point and in leisurely comfort discussing at length [their] ancestral philosophy (τῇ πατρίῳ φιλοσοφίᾳ)."

7. *Legatio.* 156-157

The Jews habitually visit their "houses of prayer" (προσευχᾶς), and most especially on the sacred Sabbaths, to receive "training in their ancestral philosophy" (τὴν πατριον... φιλοσοφίαν) and offer contributions to Jerusalem.

⁹⁴ Here and afterwards, all translations are taken from Loeb Classical Library's *Philo* (10 vols; MA: Harvard U. Press, 1929-62).

8. *Legatio*. 312-313

Jewish assemblies in the synagogues and contributions to the temple of Jerusalem are mentioned.

All the passages summarized and commented above show, first, that ancient Jewish people habitually, and most especially on the Sabbaths, gathered together to study their laws and customs; second, that sometimes (?) interpretation followed the reading of "the books/laws" for clarification of the meaning; and third, that learning their "laws" and "ancestral philosophy" was of paramount significance to the Jews. However, none of the passages specifically mentions the study of the Prophets during the Jewish gatherings. Perhaps, this is because it was not Philo's aim to offer a detailed and specific depiction of ancient Jewish religious learning, but simply to highlight what was really worth pursuing, both religiously and intellectually, to the Jews in contrast to other nations' intellectual pursuit. For Philo, the five Books of Moses occupy a position of utmost importance in Jewish life; thus, the fact that he does not mention Jewish study/learning of the prophetic literature seems unsurprising. This does not necessarily imply that the prophetic literature was not utilized in the synagogue liturgy.⁹⁵ Because of this, regarding our subject in question, the evidence from Philo seems a little obscure.

e. Evidence from the Mishnah

In the Mishnah, our final source of evidence, some passages are found that the Prophets were read during the Jewish assemblies. These are *mMeg*.4.1-6, 10 and *mR.Sh*.4.6. In these passages, reading from the Prophets is mentioned; a closer look at them leads us to the opinion that the reading of the prophetic writings seems to have been secondary in predominance, though not in significance, in the practice of Scripture reading in the synagogue. In *mMeg*.4.2, it is commanded that "when the Additional Prayer is appointed and it is not a Festival-day, the Law is read by four. On a Festival-day

⁹⁵ See Y. Amir, "Authority and Interpretation of Scripture in the Writings of Philo," in *Mikra*, ed. M.J. Mulder, (CRINT 2.1; Assen/Maastricht: Van Gorcum/ Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), pp.422-23, 431, on Philo's view of the nature of the prophetic literature.

it is read by five, on the Day of Atonement by six, and on the Sabbath by seven. They may not take from them but they may add to them, and they close with a reading from the Prophets."⁹⁶ And in 4.4, it is written that "[h]e that reads in the Law may not read less than three verses; he may not read to the interpreter more than one verse, or, in a reading from the Prophets, three verses.... They may leave out verses in the Prophets, not in the Law."⁹⁷ These two passages suggest that: first, Scripture reading was not confined to the Sabbaths and the festival days; second, the Law was read by more than one person while the Prophets probably by one;⁹⁸ and finally, the reader of the Law was not allowed to leave out any verses whereas that of the Prophets was.

Of particular importance is *mMeg.* 4:10, which thus runs: "The Blessing of the Priests and the story of David and the story of Amnon are read but not interpreted. They may not use the chapter of the Chariot as a reading from the Prophets; but R. Judah permits it. R. Eliezer says: They do not use the chapter *Cause Jerusalem to know* (italics original) as a reading from the Prophets." Here, the stories of David and of Amnon are mentioned; this evidently shows that what we call the former prophetic books are read in the synagogue service. Apart from these stories, the chapter of the Chariot⁹⁹ and *Cause Jerusalem to know*¹⁰⁰ are also mentioned and prohibited by some rabbis to be read in the service. From this, we can deduce that the reading of the Prophets was selective, although it is unclear by what criteria the selection was made. In other words, the prophetic literature is not read in the synagogue service in its entirety.

In *mR.Sh.* 4:6, it is recorded that "they begin with verses from the Law and end with verses from the Prophets. R. Jose says: If a man ended with verses from the Law he

⁹⁶ H. Danby, *The Mishnah* (Oxford: OUP, 1933), p.206.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ Cf. *HJPAJC*, vol.2, pp.451-52; I. Elbogen, *Jewish Liturgy*, p.146.

⁹⁹ According to Danby, *op.cit.*, p.207, n.17, it refers to Eze.1:4ff.; cf. also I. Elbogen, *Jewish Liturgy*, p.144.

¹⁰⁰ According to Danby, *op.cit.*, p.207, n.18, it is Eze.16:1 ff.; cf. again I. Elbogen, *Jewish Liturgy*, p.144.

has fulfilled his obligation." It is not clear from the context of the passage to whom "they" refers and on what occasion this happens; however, it seems likely that Scripture reading in synagogues is the subject of this passage. The final addition of the words of R. Jose seems to suggest that, for some rabbis, reading from the Prophets is of less importance.

mMeg. 4.1-6,10 and *mR.Sh.* 4.6 concur with what our biblical evidence (Luke 4:14-30 and Acts 13:15,27) suggests, and give further description as to the procedure of the Scripture reading in the synagogal liturgy. Also, they seem to confirm the impression that the Prophets played a subsidiary part in Jewish pious learning of ancient Judaism (cf. above p.27). Despite this, however, in view of the late date of the mishnaic evidence, it might be argued that the mishnaic evidence only provides us a picture of the Jewish Scripture reading at a later time. In my judgment, this is not necessarily so. It is true that the Mishnah was a literary achievement of the rabbis in the late second century CE, but not all of the material collected therein is necessarily that late.¹⁰¹ Indeed, in *mR.Sh.* 4, material both earlier and later than 70 CE is preserved. This is clearly revealed in an interesting statement which appears repeatedly in this section and which was apparently intended to distinguish the early Jewish synagogal practices from the later ones: "After the Temple was destroyed Rabban Johanan b. Zakkai ordained that..." (4:1, 3, 4). Moreover, the mishnaic evidence is useful for our purposes, "because synagogue tradition as liturgy was likely to have been conservative in its development and because the synagogue was an old institution by this point."¹⁰² Of course, this is not to say that the Mishnah always reliably tells us about the life of first century Jews; caution must be taken in using its evidence. However, in this case, I think, our mishnaic evidence is probably reliable and does show that first century Jews indeed had opportunity to get themselves familiar with the prophetic writings; but the evidence is not sufficient and unambiguous enough to show how much this body of literature was known to ordinary Jews.

¹⁰¹ For a brief discussion of the Mishnah, see R. Brooks, "Mishnah," *ABD*, vol.4, pp.871-73.

¹⁰² D.L. Bock, *Luke, vol.1- 1:1-9:50*, p.403, n.18.

f. Conclusion

In sum, our assessment of all the evidence available as to first century Jews' possible acquaintance of the Prophets, leads us to the following verdict: First century Jewish people did have the opportunity to read and study the Prophets, since the Prophets were read (at least) every Sabbath in the synagogue. However, because of the fluidity of the word "Prophets" to first century Jews and because of the vagueness of some of the evidence, we cannot be certain how well the Prophets were known to the Jewish people at large in the first century. If our reading of some of the evidence, such as Luke 4:16-18 and the records of the Mishnah, is on target, the Prophets were probably known to the first century ordinary Jews simply in a fragmentary/selective way.

This then alerts us to the danger of making bold claims or shakily founded presuppositions about the knowledge of the prophetic literature in general and the Book of Isaiah in particular on the part of the early Jewish Christians and writers, and above all on the part of the Gentile Christians. What is more, it also cautions us that, if the Law and the Prophets vie for acceptance as an OT source-text of a scriptural citation which is not clearly specified or of an alleged allusion in a given NT passage, the former should have priority over the latter, provided that they show equal or approximate weight of linguistic, thematic, and contextual evidence.

D. Recent Research on the Text of *Isaiah*

Since my study is concerned with the use of *Isaiah* in the three selected bodies of literature, it is necessary to take a brief look at the recent research on the text of the Book of Isaiah, both Hebrew and Greek. To do so will help us better understand the nature of the Isaianic text itself and its possible bearing on our assessment of the use of *Isaiah* in the writings under examination.

Before the discovery of the two Isaiah scrolls at Qumran in 1947, the Hebrew text of *Isaiah* was generally based on the Masoretic consonantal text-tradition, a group of manuscripts whose final form was probably determined in the early Middle Ages (i.e., c.

the ninth century CE).¹⁰³ The two Isaiah scrolls found at Qumran offer great help in reconstructing or affirming the original text-form of the Book of Isaiah. However, recent research on these Isaiah scrolls (esp. on the so-called Great Isaiah Scroll, 1QIsa^a) shows that their importance lies far beyond this.

In an article of 1962, S. Talmon carefully examined 1QIsa^a and concluded that 1QIsa^a bears witness to an ancient exegesis of the Book of Isaiah. Talmon's approach is important in that he did not first set MT Isa "as a yardstick to measure the textual tradition" of 1QIsa^a.¹⁰⁴ For Talmon, a comparison of 1QIsa^a with the MT is called for only after a comparison of 1QIsa^a with other extra-Masoretic versions, the LXX, the Peshitta, and the Targum.

Talmon's main thesis has since been tested and confirmed, in one way or another, by many other scholars. For instance, having intensively studied 1QIsa^a and its literary relationship with MT Isa, J.R. Rosenbloom posits that 1QIsa^a "may be seen as an interpretative copy of the MT [Isa] and at the same time a manuscript closely related to the MT. The purpose of its composition seems to have been the production of a simplified version of the MT, a version which would eliminate many of the difficulties which the MT would present to those for whom Hebrew was not a primary language."¹⁰⁵ J. Hoegenhaven has also compared 1QIsa^a and MT Isa and drawn the conclusion that 1QIsa^a seems to have been more influenced by "conscious alterations arising from exegetical consideration" than MT Isa. Following F.M. Cross, he also sees that 1QIsa^a and MT Isa seem to present two branches of the same Palestinian family, "the branch reflected in MT being in general more reliable in regard to preservation of a more original

¹⁰³ For general discussions of the Masoretic text-tradition, see E. Würthwein, *The Text of the Old Testament* (tr. E.F. Rhodes; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979), pp.12-29; E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Assen/Maastricht: Van Gorcum/ Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), pp.22-79.

¹⁰⁴ S. Talmon, "DSIa as a Witness to Ancient Exegesis of the Book of Isaiah," *ASTI* 1(1962), pp.62-72; words cited from p.63.

¹⁰⁵ J.R. Rosenbloom, *The Dead Sea Isaiah Scroll: A Literary Analysis* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1970), p.81.

text-form."¹⁰⁶ Most recently, J.W. Olley¹⁰⁷ and O.H. Steck¹⁰⁸ have also independently come to the conclusion that the text-segmentation in 1QIsa^a testifies to the sectarian exegetical endeavor, which was aimed at making the Book of Isaiah more readable for the sectarian readers.¹⁰⁹

While all these scholars have focused their attention on 1QIsa^a, F.J. Morrow has made a significant contribution to the study of other *Isaiah* manuscripts found at Qumran. In his doctoral dissertation, Morrow has carefully examined all nineteen¹¹⁰ Dead Sea manuscripts of *Isaiah* and concluded that most of the variants examined and presented¹¹¹

¹⁰⁶ J. Hoegenhaven, "The First Isaiah Scroll from Qumran (1QIs^a) and the Massoretic Text. Some Reflections with regard to Isaiah 1-12," *JSOT* 28(1984), pp.17-35; words cited from p.31.

¹⁰⁷ J.W. Olley, "'Hear the Word of Yahweh': The Structure of the Book of Isaiah in 1QIsa^a," *VT* 43(1993), pp.19-49.

¹⁰⁸ O.H. Steck, *Die erste Jesajarolle von Qumran (1QIS^a): 1. Schreibweise als Leseanleitung für ein Prophetenbuch; und 2. Textheft* (2 vols.; SBS 173/1-2; Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1998). Steck concludes, "Unsere Untersuchung ist zu dem Ergebnis gekommen, daß 1QIs^a eine Präsentation des Jes-Textes überliefert, in der diese angebrachten Lesesignale von allenfalls indirekter Wirkung gleichwohl aus einer sachlich sehr überlegten Durcharbeitung und Rezeption des Gesamttextes dieses Prophetenbuches stammen." (Vol.1, p.182.)

¹⁰⁹ See also F.J. Gonçalves, "The Isaiah Scroll," in *ABD*, vol.3, pp.470-72, who chooses Isa.8:11 as an example to show that 1QIsa^a seeks to update Isaiah's message for its readers; A. van der Kooij, "1QIsa^a Col.VIII, 4-11 (Isa 8,11-18): A Contextual Approach of Its Variants," *RevQ* 13(1988), pp.569-81, who, using a contextual approach to the sectarian reading of Isa.8:11-18, concludes that 1QIsa^a presents not "a text witness, but ... a piece of Jewish literature on its own against the background of its own milieu" (p.581).

For a general discussion of the text of Isa. at Qumran, see E. Tov, "The Text of Isaiah at Qumran," in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition*, vol.2, eds. C.C. Broyles & C.A. Evans (VTSup 70,2; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), pp.491-511.

¹¹⁰ Of these 19 manuscripts, two are from Cave 1, sixteen from Cave 4, one from Cave 5, and one from Murabba'ât.

¹¹¹ Although he has examined all the variants found in the Qumran *Isaiah* manuscripts, F.J. Morrow does not present and discuss the variants that emerged in 1QIsa^a and 1QIsa^b on the grounds that they have already been treated by someone else. Thus, his focus is mainly on those variants that are found in Cave 4 *Isaiah* manuscripts; see his "The Text of Isaiah at Qumran," PhD Dissertation, Catholic University of America, 1973, p.1.

in his study "could be explained in terms of a number of tendencies... [which in turn] reflect a certain fluidity of the text [of *Isaiah*] in this period."¹¹² These variants, Morrow further suggests, represent a kind of text-tradition of *Isaiah* which is closer to MT Isa than to 1QIsa^a and which, along with MT Isa and 1QIsa^a, seems to have served as one of the three text-types of *Isaiah* at Qumran.

Compared with 1QIsa^a, 1QIsa^b has received little discussion among scholars. This is probably due to the fact that this Qumran Isaiah Scroll is incomplete and that it in many respects resembles the MT tradition.¹¹³ Recently, A. van der Kooij has examined this Scroll and located its composition/production at the beginning of the first century CE.¹¹⁴ This scroll, van der Kooij comments, is paleographically younger than 1QIsa^a, but its orthography belongs to an earlier stage than that of the latter. In view of this and its far-reaching agreement with MT Isa, van der Kooij regards 1QIsa^b not only as an old text-form but also as the forerunner of the proto-masoretic text.¹¹⁵

The contribution of van der Kooij is not limited to his study of 1QIsa^b. In his work, he also has discussed 1QIsa^a, the LXX, Theod Isa, Aq Isa, Targ Isa, Sym Isa, Peš Isa, and Vulg Isa. Considering the dating of these versions, the first five mentioned seem the most important for our study. For van der Kooij, these five text-types of *Isaiah* originate in the priestly circles.¹¹⁶ LXX Isa and 1QIsa^a present their composers' efforts to update or

¹¹² F.J. Morrow, "The Text of Isaiah at Qumran," p.171. The tendencies that Morrow has observed in this study are: "(1) the breakdown of Hebrew grammar and usage, (2) the breakdown of Hebrew pronunciation, (3) the substitution of more normal or current diction, including the interpretation of difficult or unusual words in terms of what is known, (4) a harmonizing tendency with regard to person, and (5) the influence of similar Biblical passages on each other."

¹¹³ For lists of the variants of 1QIsa^b with regard to the MT, see S. Loewinger, "The Variants of DSii," *VT* 4(1954), pp.155-63; F.J. Morrow, "The Text of Isaiah at Qumran," pp.187-88.

¹¹⁴ A. van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches* (OBO 35; Freiburg, Schweiz: Universitätsverlag/ Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981), p.123.

¹¹⁵ A. van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen*, p.124.

¹¹⁶ A. van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen*, pp.117-18, 215-18.

"actualize" the message of Isaiah by means of a "fulfillment-interpretation" (*Erfüllungsinterpretation*) hermeneutic.¹¹⁷ They are "mutually illustrative," not only with regard to their free approach, but also in the way in which both authors have used this free approach.¹¹⁸ Theod Isa, Aq Isa, and Targ Isa, in van der Kooij's view, though products of post-70 CE,¹¹⁹ represent certain independent text-types of *Isaiah* which are proto-masoretic.¹²⁰

Van der Kooij has provided an important service in examining different versions of *Isaiah* and their relations to MT Isa. Recently, D. Barthélemy has also made an important contribution to the study of the textual variants in the Book of Isaiah. In his

¹¹⁷ A. van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen*, p.117; cf. also his "1QIsa^a Col. VIII, 4-11," p.581; and "Accident or Method? On 'Analogical' Interpretation in the Old Greek of Isaiah and in 1QIsa^a," *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 43(1986), col.375.

In fact, the efforts of LXX Isa's translators to update Isaiah's message have long been noted by I.L. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1948), esp. pp.70-94. The efforts of the Qumran sectarians to "actualize" the prophet's sayings in 1QIsa^a have also been pointed out by A. Rubinstein, "The Theological Aspect of Some Variant Readings in the Isaiah Scroll," *JJS* 6(1955), pp.187-200.

¹¹⁸ A. van der Kooij, "The Old Greek of Isaiah in relation to the Qumran Texts of Isaiah: Some General Comments," in *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings - Papers presented to the International Symposium on the Septuagint and Its Relations to the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Writings* (Manchester, 1990), eds. G.J. Brooke & B. Lindars, S.S.F. (SBLSCS 33; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1992), p.208.

For a discussion of what van der Kooij means by "a free translation/approach," see his "Isaiah in the Septuagint," in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition*, vol.2, eds. C.C. Broyles & C.A. Evans (VTSup 70,2; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), pp.513-529, esp. pp.518-19; and *idem*, *The Oracle of Tyre: The Septuagint of Isaiah XXIII as Version and Vision* (VTSup 71; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998), pp.12-13.

¹¹⁹ Note van der Kooij's conclusion about the date of the present form of Theod Isa: "Schliesslich sei zur Datierung von Theod/KR Jes noch folgendes bemerkt: da Indizien dafür vorliegen, dass Theod Jes zur Zeit Hillels verfasst wurde, dürfte diese Revision der alten LXX Jes vielleicht bereits gegen Ende des letzten vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts entstanden sein." (*Die alten Textzeugen*, p.155). In the latter clause, van der Kooij is speaking of the dating of the so-called proto-/Ur-Theodotion; cf. also *Die alten Textzeugen*, pp.128-30, 142-43.

¹²⁰ See A. van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen*, pp.156, 214-15.

valuable work,¹²¹ he (and his ABU colleagues) has listed about 346 textual "difficulties" on the basis of five major modern translations¹²² of the Book of Isaiah. Apart from giving the textual evidence, he has discussed each variant reading in detail. His work testifies to the diversity of the text of *Isaiah*.

The above survey of recent research on the variant versions of the text of *Isaiah*, whether Hebrew or Greek, has clearly demonstrated at least two things, which will have significant bearings on our investigation of the use of the Isaianic tradition in the three selected bodies of literature. First, it shows that, around the turn of the era, the text of *Isaiah* was so diverse that there was no such thing as the standard text of *Isaiah*. This will surely alert us not to make rash judgment about the textual differences between our extant versions of *Isaiah* and the Isaianic lemmata that are found in the writings under discussion. Such a great textual diversity opens up to us the possibility that the textual variations that are found in, e.g., Paul's or the sectarians' (esp. explicit) use of *Isaiah* may be due to some variant versions of *Isaiah* that were available to these writers and yet lost in the course of time.

Secondly, from the above survey of recent research on the variant versions of the Isaianic text, we learn that not only are the Greek or Aramaic versions of *Isaiah* products of later translators' interpretation, but even some of the old Hebrew versions, like 1QIsa^a, are also affected by numerous interpretive "updatings/actualizations." This cautions us to be alert to any textual change in different versions of *Isaiah*, whether Hebrew or Greek. We also have to consider seriously whether the Sibyls, the sectarians, and Paul would have been aware of such textual alterations; this is a question which would certainly affect our assessment of these writers' interpretation and application of the Isaianic tradition.

¹²¹ D. Barthélemy, *Critique Textuelle de L'Ancien Testament, 2: Isaïe, Jérémie, Lamentations* (OBO 50/2; Fribourg: Editions Universitaires/ Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986).

¹²² These are RSV, NEB, La Bible de Jérusalem, Revidierte Lutherbibel, and La Traduction Oecuménique de la Bible.

All this calls for a careful textual comparison as an integral part of our study of the use of the Isaianic tradition in the literature under examination. So, it is justified and indeed necessary to print out the relevant texts in their original languages. However, due to limitations of time and space, it is not possible to give all textual variants in every case under discussion; rather, only the most relevant and significant will be discussed in due course.¹²³

Having set the stage for our study, let us now proceed to the texts themselves. In examining the texts, I will concern myself mainly with the questions (1) how the Isaianic material is to be identified; (2) how the detected Isaianic material is utilized by the writers of the texts under discussion; and (3) what kind of influence the Isaianic material has exerted on them. Also, before analyzing the Isaianic material in each document, I will discuss significant historical and/or literary questions relating to that document, as they concern my analysis.

¹²³ See below sections B.a.3; B.a.8; D.a.6; D.a.9; D.a.14; and F.a.1 of Chapter Three; and B.a.6; B.a.8; C.a.1; C.a.2; C.a.9; C.a.10; and D.a.1 of Chapter Four.

Chapter Two

The Use of *Isaiah* in the Third and Fifth Books of the Sibylline Oracles

A. A Quest for the Socio-historical Setting of Sib.Or.3

Of the twelve books¹ of the Sibylline Oracles that have survived and been transmitted to us, Book 3 is most likely the most important one, for it contains the oldest Sibylline oracles. Sib.Or.3 is a composite work consisting of Sibylline oracular texts dating from various periods. Most scholars,² based on manuscript evidence, have come to the consensus that lines 1-96 of the present Book 3 are not original and hence should be dissociated from the rest of the Book. On the other hand, within the rest of the Book, lines 350-488 too are regarded by some scholars³ as additions from different sources of different periods.

Indeed, in Sib.Or.3, oracles of different periods were stitched together, skillfully or unskillfully, by a single hand or more for a particular purpose. Its composite nature

¹ According to A. Kurfess, "Sibylline Tradition," in *New Testament Apocrypha*, vol.2 (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1965), p.707, there is no book missing between Book 8 and Book 11. The present Books 11-14 are thus numbered instead of nos. 9-12, simply because of the numbering in the manuscript group Ω of the tradition. In group Ω , as A. Rzach points out, a ninth book is found to be identical with the present Book 6 of groups Φ and ψ , and a tenth book with the present Book 4 of the two groups (see "Sibyllinische Orakel," PW II.2.A (1923), col. 2120).

² An exception is V. Nikiprowetzky, *La Troisième Sibylle* (Etudes Juives IX; Paris: Mouton, 1970), pp.60-66, 217-22, who argues that lines 1-96 could have been originally part of Sib.Or.3.

³ For instance, J.J. Collins, *The Sibylline Oracles of Egyptian Judaism* (SBLDS 13; Missoula: Scholars' Press, 1974, pp.27-28; *idem*, "The Sibylline Oracles," in *OTP*, vol.1, pp.354, 357-59; and M. Goodman, "The Sibylline Oracles" in *HJPJC.*, vol.3.1, pp.633-37, esp. p.635.

clearly suggests that the oracles contained in the Book had undergone a certain process of redaction. Because of this, it is very difficult to fix the Book at a specific date for its composition. However, its date of composition is closely related to its socio-historical setting, which is of great importance to us in understanding the dozen Isaianic allusions/echoes in the Book. In view of this, what seems to me reasonable and necessary, though difficult, is at first to find out the possible range of date for the composition of the main core of the Book and its historical setting, and then the date and setting of the final redaction, or compilation, of the Book as it now stands.

To begin with, on the basis of manuscript evidence, we accept the current view that lines 1-96 of the present Third Sibylline text are not original materials; hence, what initially constitutes the main body of the Third Sibyl's Oracle survives in lines 97-829. Careful reading of these lines would lead us to notice three passages (i.e., lines 191-95, 314-18, and 601-10) that might provide a clue to the date of composition of the main body. Common to these three passages is the mention of a "seventh king" who was of Greek origin yet exercising his reign in Egypt. Many scholars⁴ see Ptolemy VI Philometor as the most likely candidate for that "seventh king," even though they admit that there are two other possible identifications: Ptolemy VIII Physcon (i.e., Euergetes II) and Ptolemy VII Neos Philopator.⁵ Yet, despite their agreement, they are hardly of the same understanding of the significance of such an identification in relation to both the

⁴ For instance, H.C.O. Lanchester, "The Sibylline Oracles," in *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, ed. R.H. Charles, vol.2 (Oxford: OUP, 1913), p.372; J.J. Collins, *Egyptian Judaism*, pp.29-32; M. Goodman, "The Sibylline Oracles," p.636; A. Momigliano, "La Portata Storica dei Vaticini sul Settimo Re nel Terzo Libro Oracoli Sibillini," in *Forma Futuri. Studi in onore del Cardinale Michele Pellgrino*, Bottega d'Erasmus, Torino, 1975, pp.1079-84, reprinted in *Sesto Contributo alla Storia degli Studi Classici e del Mondo Antico*, tomo secondo, (Roma, 1980), pp.551-9, p.555; *idem*, "Sibylline Oracles," in *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. M. Eliade, vol.13 (NY/London: Macmillan, 1987), p.307.

Again, V. Nikiprowetzky, *op. cit.*, p.215, is an exception; he contends that the "seventh king" referred to should be identified with Cleopatra VII; for criticisms of Nikiprowetzky's view, see A. Momigliano, *art.cit.*, p.557, and E.S. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism: The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition* (HCS 30; Berkeley: U. of California Press, 1998), p.272, n.109.

⁵ An excellent discussion of the criteria for the identification can be found in M. Goodman, "The Sibylline Oracles," p.636, n.211.

composition and the date of Sib.Or.3.

For instance, based on the identification of the "seventh king" with Ptolemy VI Philometor, J.J. Collins contends that lines 97-439 and 489-829 of Sib.Or.3 were probably compiled in the mid-second century BCE.⁶ It is obvious enough that Collins has seen the allusions to the seventh Ptolemaic king (i.e., Ptolemy VI Philometor) as a crucial clue to the date of the three references, indeed of the whole main body. However, M. Goodman, though admitting that the identification of the "seventh king" with Philometor could help locate Sib.Or.3 at the mid-second century BCE and that the three "seventh king" references could indicate the planned homogeneity of the whole Oracle (i.e., lines 97-829),⁷ argues that the Oracle is not a literary unity and proposes a later date of compilation for it, namely, from the mid-first century BCE to a date before the destruction of the Temple.⁸ Again, A. Momigliano, reading those "seventh king" references as to Philometor or Neos Philopator, has regarded their historical setting as in the Maccabean revolt, which suggests Sib.Or.3 (apart from lines 1-96; 178-191; 350-366; and perhaps 520-536) was probably composed or compiled during the period of 170-160 BCE.⁹ These proposed readings of the references and their implications will receive scrutiny in due course. But for the moment, it is necessary to deal with another important problem first, i.e., whether the number *seven* employed by the Sibyl of Sib.Or.3 should be understood symbolically or literally.

Most recently, E.S. Gruen contends that the identification of the "seventh king" with a specific individual in ancient history is unwarranted and doomed to failure. In

⁶ J.J. Collins, *Egyptian Judaism*, pp.28-33; *idem*, *Between Athens and Jerusalem* (NY: Crossroad, 1983), pp.61-61; *idem*, "The Development of the Sibylline Tradition," *ANRW* II.20.1 (1987), pp.430-1; and most recently his "The Sibyl and the Potter: Political Propaganda in Ptolemaic Egypt," in *Religious Propaganda and Missionary Competition in the NT World*, eds. L. Bormann, *et al.* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), pp.57-69, esp. p.59.

⁷ M. Goodman, "The Sibylline Oracles," p.635.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p.637.

⁹ A. Momigliano, "La Portata Storica dei Vaticini sul Settimo Re," pp.553-8, esp. p.555.

Gruen's view, such an identification betrays a failure to appreciate the apocalyptic nature of Sib.Or.3. He thinks that the references to the "seventh king" are simply literary devices, characteristic of apocalyptic literature, which serve to pinpoint an eschatological time when something divine in origin would happen. For the number *seven* "possessed high symbolic import for Jews"¹⁰ and hence can scarcely be taken literally as having historical significance. Besides, Gruen notes, "the Greek rulers of Egypt nowhere identified themselves by numbers."¹¹ The numbering system is simply a modern invention for convenience's sake. Gruen's protest against identifying the "seventh king" with a specific historical figure surely has important bearing on dating Sib.Or.3; it at least invites attention to the apocalyptic nature of Sib.Or.3. However, the grounds he has formulated for his thesis are not conclusive.

In the first place, contexts where the "seventh king" is referred to appear to demonstrate clearly enough that the Third Sibyl had a specific historical figure in mind while delivering her¹² message. Our Sibyl's mention of the "seventh king" is progressively made obvious. In the first two instances (lines 192-193 and 314-318), the origin of the "seventh king" was spelled out: the king was of Greek origin and exercising his reign in Egypt.¹³ Perhaps here the details are not clear enough to draw any firm conclusion; but

¹⁰ E.S. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*, p.277.

¹¹ *Ibid*, p.276.

¹² The use of a third person feminine pronoun does not necessarily mean that the Sibyl is a real figure or that the author of Sib.Or.3 must have been a woman; it is used here and afterwards for the sake of convenience.

¹³ Lines 192-193 run thus: ἄχρι πρὸς ἑβδομάτην βασιλίδα, ἧς βασιλεύσει Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύς, ὃς ἀφ' Ἑλλήνων γένος ἔσται. And lines 314-318: ἥξει σοι πληγὴ μεγάλη, Αἴγυπτε, πρὸς οἴκους, δεινὴ, ἣν οὐπω ποτ' ἐπήλπισας ἐρχομένην σοι. ῥομφαία γὰρ διελεύσεται διὰ μέσον σεῖο, σκορπισμὸς δέ τε καὶ θάνατος καὶ λιμὸς ἐφέξει ἑβδομάτη γενεῇ βασιλῆων, καὶ τότε παύσῃ.

in the third mentioning of the king (lines 608-610),¹⁴ the youth or newness¹⁵ of the Greco-Egyptian king was highlighted, and that king was "numbered from the dynasty of the Greeks." "Destruction will fall upon Egypt in the time of the young (or new) seventh king reckoned from the rule of the Greeks."¹⁶ The destruction was to be brought about by a foreign king who was from Asia. Here Gruen argues that the traditional view, that the young king was Philometor while the king from Asia was Antiochus IV Epiphanes, "encounters serious stumbling blocks. [For i]f the Sibyl intended Antiochus IV as the Asian king, her timing would have to be very precise indeed. Seleucid success and deposition of the Ptolemies came as [a?] consequence of Epiphanes' first invasion in 170; the second, in 168, was thwarted by Rome and followed by reinstatement of Ptolemaic authority. An *ex eventu* prophecy would make no sense except in that narrow corridor of time -- far too tight a squeeze."¹⁷ In my opinion, Gruen's argument is indecisive, for here the clue for identifying the "seventh king" does not hinge on the reference to the king from Asia but on the context itself. Whether or not our Sibyl had identified Antiochus IV as the Asian king¹⁸ does not determine whether she had in mind a specific historical individual for the "seventh king," for the immediate context (lines 609-610) explicitly states that that "seventh king" was "numbered from the dynasty of the Greeks, which the Macedonians, wonderful men, will found."

In the second place, regarding numbering the Greek rulers of Egypt, Gruen points out that since the practice is modern and "lack[s] ancient authority," the numeral *seven* is most likely to be understood in a symbolic way. True, we have no evidence that the Ptolemaic kings identified themselves by numbers; and on the contrary, we do have

¹⁴ Lines 608-610: ὁππόταν Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς νέος ἑβδομος ἄρχῃ τῆς ἰδίας γαίης ἀριθμούμενος ἐξ Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῆς, ἧς ἄρξουσι Μακεδόνες ἄσπετοι ἄνδρες.

¹⁵ The adjective νέος could mean either young or new; cf. LSJM, p.1169; BAGD, p.536.

¹⁶ E.S. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*, p.274; emphasis mine.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.275; italics his.

¹⁸ The problem as to whether the Sibyl had Antiochus IV in mind by the reference to the Asian king will be discussed later.

evidence that the number *seven* was much used as a literary device in apocalyptic literature during the centuries around the turn of the era.¹⁹ Indeed, at first glance, the apocalyptic nature of Sib.Or.3 may lend support to the conclusion that our Sibyl may well have intended the numeral *seven* to carry theological, symbolic meaning rather than historical reference. Despite this, however, the likelihood cannot entirely be dismissed that our Sibyl's references to the "seventh king" could be clues for dating. In fact, numerical references in apocalyptic literature are not necessarily always to be interpreted symbolically; for instance, 1 Enoch 60:8 "my grandfather [Enoch] was taken, the seventh from Adam" is probably a good example (cf. Gen.5:1-24; Jude 14).²⁰ Also, if the number *seven* were to be understood merely in a theological, symbolic way, what about our Sibyl's other descriptions of the "seventh king" such as "king of Egypt," "of the Greeks by race," and especially "numbered from the dynasty of the Greeks which the Macedonians, wonderful men, will found?" Are these descriptions also to be understood symbolically? Why did our Sibyl give these descriptions about the "seventh king?" What is the significance of these phrases in their own contexts? I think the most natural way to understand these descriptions, including the number *seven*, is to see them as bearing historical significance, showing that by them our Sibyl did have a certain figure in mind while writing.²¹

¹⁹ For instance, in *1 Enoch* (used 34 times; with multiples of *seven*: *fourteen*, 5 times; *seventy*, twice), *Daniel* (if it was a document of the second century BC; used 5 times in chs.1-6; and in chs.7-12, with multiples of *seven*, half a dozen), *4Ezra* 3-14 (used 21 times, and once with the multiple *seventy*; interestingly, the book consists of seven visions), and *Revelation* (used 57 times). For discussion of the prevalence of the numeral *seven* during the time stated, see A. Yarbro-Collins, "Numeral Symbolism in Jewish and Early Christian Apocalyptic Literature," in *ANRW* II.21.2 (1984), pp.1253-57.

²⁰ The "seventy years" in Dan.9:1 might be another good example, though it could be a round number indicating a lifetime of a long generation (cf. Ps.90:10; Isa.23:15); its historical reference is certainly to the Exile. For exegetical discussions of the passage, see J.J. Collins, *Daniel* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1993), p.349; J.E. Goldingay, *Daniel* (WBC 30; Texas: Word, 1989), pp.239 & 263. See also Rev.1:4, where the "seven churches" are certainly more than symbolic.

²¹ To be sure, Sib.Or.3 carries some apocalyptic marks, such as an expectation of divine judgment upon the wicked/immoral nations and divine vindication/deliverance of the elect,

Moreover, considering that no further descriptions were made of the "seventh king" in the Oracle, it seems likely that such a figure played just a minor role in our Sibyl's Oracle. If so, it is certainly justifiable for the Sibyl to mention him only allusively. In short, Gruen has underestimated the historical implications of the number *seven* by overstating the apocalyptic character of Sib.Or.3. His objection against the identification of the "seventh king" with a historical Greco-Egyptian king can hardly be sustained.

Who was the mysterious "seventh king" then? Was our Sibyl composing the Oracle (at least, these king references) during the lifetime of that "seventh king?" Where did she compose it? As said earlier, Ptolemy VI Philometor has been seen among scholars as a favorite choice. However, due to the ambiguity in meaning of the term νέος (young or new) in Sib.Or.3:608, the "seventh king" could also be Neos Philopator, whose name bears exactly the same term νέος, or Ptolemy VIII Physcon, who succeeded Philometor after his tragic death. Of course, whether Alexander the Great was counted as the first Greek king in Egypt is also a determining factor, but it is hardly decisive.

Whether or not our Sibyl composed her oracle during the reign of the "seventh king" is crucial to our quest of the setting of the Oracle, but it seems difficult to be certain.

messianic hope, and pseudonymity. But it does also lack certain significant/typical apocalyptic features, e.g., angelic intervention/mediation, vision reports, and heavenly journeys, as regards form, and belief in an afterlife and dualistic/symbolic-universe worldview, as far as content is concerned. Further, I doubt that Gruen is right in thinking that in Jewish apocalyptic literature there would be a word of hope for salvation for the non-elect. All this seems to suggest that Sib.Or.3 is likely proto-/ quasi-apocalyptic, or at least that it is not as apocalyptic as Gruen has claimed. If that is the case, doubt would be thrown upon his claim that the number *seven* should be taken merely in a symbolic way. See J.J. Collins, *Egyptian Judaism*, pp.97-115, esp. pp.106-13, for discussion of Sib.Or.3's apocalyptic characteristics.

For a general discussion of the nature of apocalyptic literature, cf. P.D. Hanson, "Jewish Apocalyptic against its Near Eastern Environment," *RB* 78(1971), pp.31-58; *idem*, "Apocalypticism," *IDBSup*, pp.28-34; *idem*, "Apocalypses and Apocalypticism - Genre and Introductory Overview," *ABD*, vol.1, pp.279-82; and J.J. Collins's, "Apocalyptic Eschatology as the Transcendence of Death," *CBQ* 36(1974), pp.21-43; and *idem*, "Early Jewish Apocalypticism," *ABD*, vol.1, pp.282-87. Hanson's and Collins's views can be counterbalanced by Robert R. Wilson, "From Prophecy to Apocalyptic: Reflections on the Shape of Israelite Religion," *Semeia* 21(1981), pp.79-95; *idem*, "The Problems of Describing Apocalyptic Discourse," *Semeia* 21(1981), pp.133-36; L.L. Grabbe, "The Social Setting of Early Jewish Apocalypticism," *JSP* 4(1989), pp.27-47; and S.L. Cook, *Prophecy and Apocalypticism*, (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), pp.19-35.

Perhaps a closer look at the function of the five major "king" references²² in the Book may be helpful to reach a fair conclusion. Careful reading of those "seventh king" passages shows that, for the Sibyl, something great and special will happen during the reign of the "seventh king."²³ Yet, whether the "seventh king" was seen as the agent who initiated that "something" to take place remains unclear. According to the context, it appears very likely that our Sibyl had seen the reign of the "seventh king" as simply marking a time when the great God of the Jews would do something to both the foreign nations and His own people.²⁴ In other words, the references to the "seventh king" merely serve as time-markers, by which our Sibyl pinpointed a specific time when she expected God would rescue His people and inaugurate an eschatological kingdom (cf. lines 701ff.; 767-808).

Right after the third "seventh king" reference, a king coming from Asia is introduced into the scene in lines 611-618. According to the context, the mention of the coming of that Asian king here appears to be resumptive,²⁵ carrying on the theme of the infliction of disasters on all mortals by the Immortal mentioned in the preceding lines (esp. 601-603). This implies that the attack on Egypt by that "king from Asia" would very probably have occurred in the reign of the "seventh king." Some scholars have read in

²² In addition to the three "seventh king" references in lines 192, 318, and 608, there are two other "king" references in SibOr.3: in lines 611ff., where a king coming from Aisa is mentioned; and in lines 652ff., where "a king from the sun" is referred to.

²³ Note the phrases "ἄχρι πρὸς ἑβδομάτην βασιληίδα, ἧς βασιλεύσει Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύς" in line 192, "ἥξει σοι πληγὴ μεγάλη, Αἴγυπτε, πρὸς οἴκους...σκορπισμὸς δέ τε καὶ θάνατος καὶ λιμὸς ἐφέξει ἑβδομάτη γενεῇ βασιλῆων, καὶ τότε παύση" in 314-318, and "ὀππότεν Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς νέος ἑβδομος ἄρχῃ τῆς ιδίης γαίης..." in line 608f..

²⁴ See lines 300-301 and 601-620, where God was explicitly seen as the agent inflicting disasters and judgment upon the nations and blessing the elect. *Contra* J.J. Collins, who, by identifying the "seventh king" with "the king from the sun" in lines 652-656, contends that the "seventh king" should be the agent who initiated the messianic age; see his *Egyptian Judaism*, pp.38-44; *Between Athens and Jerusalem*, pp.63-71; and "Messianism in the Maccabean Period," in *Judaisms and Their Messiahs at the Turn of the Era*, eds. J. Neusner, *et al.* (Cambridge: CUP, 1987), pp.98-99. Collins's equation of the two kingly figures is unwarranted (see below).

²⁵ Note the particle δ' (δὲ) in line 611, which is here probably resumptive; cf. BAGD, s.v., 3, p.171.

lines 611-618 an allusion to the Seleucid king Antiochus IV Epiphanes,²⁶ who twice invaded Egypt in 170-168 BCE.²⁷ Others think that it is simply a general reference to a traditional enemy of Egypt.²⁸ For in Egyptian tradition,²⁹ a king from Asia has long been seen as enemy of Egypt. Both views are possible.

However, two pieces of information pull us to take the former view as likely. First, in line 615 we are told that the "Asian king" after plundering the "kingdom of Egypt" returned home by sea (ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης); and we also learn from historians that Antiochus IV restored his fleet³⁰ and did attack Egypt in 168 BCE with his fleet.³¹ This parallel is very striking. Second, as D. Mendels has pointed out, "some of the Seleucid kings put the... title ['Asia's ruler'] on their coins" and, above all, "in a dedication to Antiochus IV, he is called 'savior of Asia'."³² All this renders it plausible to identify the "king from Asia" as Antiochus IV. If that is the case, this reference to the "king from Asia" would help us locate the date of the Sibyl's Oracle: probably after 168

²⁶ For instance, H.C.O. Lanchester, "The Sibylline Oracles," p.372; A. Momigliano, "La Portata Storica dei Vaticini sul Settimo Re," p.555. Cf. J.J. Collins, *Egyptian Judaism*, pp.39-40, who thus reads the reference but goes on to posit that "Antiochus Epiphanes... was the last of a series of oppressors who invaded Egypt from Asia."

²⁷ For a brief account of Antiochus IV Epiphanes' invasion of Egypt, see E. Bevan, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty* (London: Methuen, 1927), pp.282-86.

²⁸ So J.J. Collins, "The Sibylline Oracles," p.375, note v3; E.S. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*, p.275.

²⁹ J.J. Collins, *Egyptian Judaism*, p.40, has gathered some evidence from the Egyptian prophetic literature.

³⁰ D. Musti, "Syria and the East," in the 2nd.ed. of *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol.7/1- *The Hellenistic World*, eds., F.W. Walbank, et al. (Cambridge: CUP, 1984), p.192.

³¹ See E. Bevan, *Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p.286; P. Green, *Alexander to Actium* (HCS 1: U. of California Press, 1990), p.430.

³² Cited from D. Mendels, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Nationalism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), p.89 and p.103, n.42, respectively. See E.R. Goodenough, "The Political Philosophy of Hellenistic Kingship," *Yale Classical Studies* 1 (1928), p.98, who also notes that "Antiochus IV Epiphanes is called σωτήρ της 'Ασίας καὶ κτίστου τῆς πόλεως." For a fuller Greek text, see P. Wendland, "ΣΩΤΗΡ," *ZNW* 5(1904), p.339, n.5.

BCE.

In lines 652-656, a king was said to be sent by God from the sun. Most scholars have seen this reference to a king from the sun as clearly messianic. Among them, J.J. Collins has put forward a detailed account of the theological significance of that reference, which deserves discussion. He has thus summarized his theory:

This king... is not said to be of the line of David, or even Jewish. Elsewhere the Sibyl repeatedly says that the turning point of history will come in "the seventh reign, when a king of Egypt, who will be of the Greeks by race, will rule" (Sib.Or.3:193, compare 318, 608) - i.e., the seventh king of the Ptolemaic line, either Ptolmy VI Philometor ... or, more probably, his anticipated successor, Ptolemy Neos Philopator. Sibylline Oracles 3:652-56 most probably refers to the same king. The phrase "king from the sun" is rooted in Egyptian mythology and is also found in an Egyptian eschatological prophecy of the Hellenistic period, the Potter's Oracle.... Sibylline Oracle 3 was composed by a follower of Onias IV, the heir to the Jewish High Priesthood who became a general in the army of Ptolemy Philometor.... [T]he oracle expresses the views of Jews who looked to the military and political power of Egypt to deliver Judea from the threat of the Syrian Seleucids.³³

It is obvious that the main plank of his argument pivots on the phrase "king from the sun," which finds a parallel in an Egyptian prophetic document, the Potter's Oracle. Based on the parallel, Collins has identified the "seventh king" (in 193, 318, 608) with the "king from the sun" and argued that it was the "seventh king" who as Messiah of God would inaugurate the eschatological political³⁴ kingdom.³⁵ In my opinion, there is nothing in the context of the reference (or even of the whole oracle) that can be drawn on to justify Collins's equation of the two kingly figures. True, the king from the sun "is not said to be of the line of David, or even Jewish." But, nor is it said either that the king is

³³ J.J. Collins, "Messianism in the Maccabean Period," p.99; emphasis mine.

³⁴ See J.J. Collins, "A Symbol of Otherness: Circumcision and Salvation in the First Century," in *"To See Ourselves as Others See Us" - Christians, Jews, "Others" in Late Antiquity*, eds. J. Neusner & E.S. Frerichs (Chico, California: Scholars' Press, 1985), p.165.

³⁵ Collins's view is adopted by many scholars; see recent works, e.g., by L.L. Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian* (London: SCM, 1994), p.563; K.E. Pomykala, *The Davidic Dynasty Tradition in Early Judaism* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars' Press, 1995), pp.256-58; G.S. Oegema, *The Anointed and His People* (JSPS 27; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), pp.81-85.

not to be Jewish or even of the line of David. Collins's argument is certainly an argument from silence. Admittedly, it is very difficult to ascertain with confidence the real identity of that king; yet, the possibility that he may have been Jewish cannot be denied.

The phrase "ἀπ' ἡλίου... βασιλῆα (a king from the sun)," which also appears in the Potter's Oracle,³⁶ is crucial to Collins's theory. Its appearance in the Egyptian prophetic document has led him to conclude that the expected Messiah was a Ptolemy. Such a conclusion is problematic, however. It seems better to see the occurrence of the phrase in the Potter's Oracle as merely suggesting that our Sibyl might have been familiar with Egyptian literature and that she might have composed her Oracle in Egypt.³⁷ Perhaps the Sibyl might have adopted the language of the Egyptian document to serve the Jewish messianic hope, but this hardly necessarily warrants a Ptolemaic Messiah. Rather than being ideologically influenced by the Potter's Oracle, I suggest, our Sibyl's thought was greatly shaped by the Isaianic tradition. For the phrase here very probably alludes to Isa.41:25,³⁸ where a similar one "τὸν ἀφ' ἡλίου ἀνατολῶν (the one from the rising of the sun)" is found. More than two decades ago, Collins rejected this allusion for the

³⁶ An English translation with a brief discussion of the Potter's Oracle can be found in C.C. McCown, "Hebrew and Egyptian Apocalyptic Literature," *HTR* 18(1925), pp.397-401. Cf. L. Koenen, "The Prophecies of a Potter: A Prophecy of World Renewal Becomes an Apocalypse," in *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology*, ed. D.H. Samuel (Toronto: A.M. Hakkert, 1970), pp.249-54.

³⁷ Similarly, the mention of the king from Asia as enemy of Egypt in lines 611-615 may also serve the same purpose, suggesting the place of composition as Egypt.

³⁸ Our Sibyl's review of the history of Israel's exile in lines 265-294 (esp. 286) certainly justifies the suggestion that she may have had Isa.41:25 (and 41:2 as well) in mind while making in line 652 the reference to a king from the sun. And, as we shall see, a considerable number of Isaianic allusions/echoes is found in Sib.Or.3, which, indirectly, strengthens the likelihood of this allusion.

Isa.41:25 LXX runs: ἐγὼ δὲ ἤγειρα τὸν ἀπο βορρᾶ καὶ τὸν ἀφ' ἡλίου ἀνατολῶν, κληθήσονται τῷ ὀνόματί μου...; and cf. also Isa.41:2 LXX: τίς ἐξήγειρεν ἀπο ἀνατολῶν δικαιοσύνην, ἐκάλεσεν αὐτήν κατὰ πόδας αὐτοῦ, καὶ πορεύσεται; δώσει ἐναντίον ἐθνῶν καὶ βασιλεῖς ἐκστήσει καὶ δώσει εἰς γῆν τὰς μαχαίρας αὐτῶν καὶ ὡς φρύγανα ἐξωσμένα τὰ τόξα αὐτῶν.

reason that the phrase in Isa.41:25 is not the same as that in Sib.Or.3:652.³⁹ He then argued that the phrase "ἀπ' ἡλίου (from the sun)" here cannot be taken to mean "from the east."

However, A. Chester, citing H. Schwier,⁴⁰ has recently offered us an important piece of evidence that shows that the phrase "ἀπ' ἡλίου" in line 652 could be understood in this way. Chester points out that Collins has overlooked "the similar expression in Phlegon, *Mirabilia* 3:7: '...ἐξ Ἀσίας ὅθεν ἡλίου ἀνατολαί εἰσιν', where the identification is specifically with Asia (for which 'the East' could be used interchangeably)."⁴¹ That expression surely throws doubt upon Collins's claim that the phrase "ἀπ' ἡλίου" does not imply the sense of "from the east." Chester goes on to state that the phrase could be a contracted form of ἐξ ἀνατολῶν ἡλίου meaning "from the east,"⁴² which is almost exactly the same as the phrase found in Isa.41:25. If that is the case, "the reference to a Ptolemaic king in Sib.Or.3 is by no means as straightforward as Collins implies."⁴³ To be sure, in Isa.41:2 and 41:25 a non-Jewish Messiah (i.e., the Persian king Cyrus) is meant; yet, the context of our Sibylline passage here scarcely justifies a conceptual totality transfer. On the contrary, lines 655-656 evidently say that the "king from the sun" is entirely subject to God's will and His Law. In view of her repeated exhortations to the Greeks, in which she depicted them as idolatrous and proud (cf. lines 547-557, 738-739), it seems less likely that the Sibyl, at least at the time of

³⁹ See his *Egyptian Judaism*, pp.40-41.

⁴⁰ H. Schwier, *Tempel und Tempelzerstörung: Untersuchungen zu den theologischen und ideologischen Faktoren im ersten jüdisch-römischen Krieg (66-74 n. Chr.)* (NTOA 11; Freiburg/Göttingen, 1989), pp.236-37, 242-43; esp. p.36.

⁴¹ A. Chester, "Jewish Messianic Expectations and Mediatorial Figures and Pauline Theology," in *Paulus und das antike Judentum*, hrsg. von M. Hengel und U. Heckel (WUNT 58; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1990), p.35, n.50; cf. *idem*, "The Sibyl and the Temple," in *Templum Amicitiae: Essays on the Second Temple presented to E. Bammel*, ed. W. Horbury (JSNTS 48; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), p.42, n.13.

⁴² A. Chester, "Jewish Messianic Expectations," p.35, n.50.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

composing her Oracle, would have regarded the "seventh king" as godly and observant to God's Law. Indeed, throughout her Oracle, the Sibyl nowhere said that the "seventh king" was godly. Such complete silence of the Sibyl in this matter is striking, if she really regarded him as God's anointed one to bring about the eschatological kingdom, as Collins believed.

To summarize, the Third Sibyl, by the "seventh king" references, pinpointed a specific time when divine deliverance of the Jews (our Sibyl's kinspeople) and divine judgment upon the immoral nations would take place. Her mention of the "king from Asia" further betrayed clues for the date of her writing. By the reference to the "king from the sun," she conveyed to her Jewish audience a messianic hope which in her sight would find its imminent fulfillment. The messianic figure she expected probably is a godly figure, the agent of the great God who will execute His design, both salvific and judgmental.

Regarding the date of composition of the Oracle (at least, the five "king" references), our discussion has led us to note that the mood of the Sibyl's language throughout is vivid and intense. This may suggest that her words of judgment and deliverance would make best sense if they were composed during the reign of the "seventh king."⁴⁴ In fact, our Sibyl intentionally hid the identity of the "seventh king" by number, probably because she thought her audience would have known who he was. Such a way of designating him might well imply that she was composing her Oracle during his lifetime. If that is the case, then, given the possibility of taking Alexander the Great as the first Greek king in Egypt and the ambiguity of the term *vēoc* in the third "seventh king" reference, the "king" references (or perhaps the central core of Sib.Or. 3:97-829) can be fairly dated within a wide range of time during which Philometor, his son Neos Philopator, and Physcon were (successively) kings of Egypt, namely, 181-116 BCE. And such a date can even be narrowed down to 168-145 BCE, considering that the Sibyl's reference of the "king from Asia" was probably to Antiochus IV and that, as noted

⁴⁴ So A. Momigliano, "La Portata Storica dei Vaticini sul Settimo Re," p.555.

above, the attack of that "king from Asia" on Egypt was very probably seen by the Sibyl to occur in the reign of the "seventh king."

So, what is the politico-historical setting of the main core of Sib.Or.3? Looking closely at the history of Egypt and Palestine during the period of 168-145 BCE, one would readily notice at least two important events that deeply concerned the Jewish communities in both regions: the flight of Onias IV into Egypt and his establishment of a religious cult at Leontopolis, and the Maccabean revolt against the Seleucid rule.

The story of Onias IV was recorded by Josephus in his writings. According to Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum* 1.31-33 and 7.423-32, during the reign of Ptolemy VI (Philometor), the Seleucid king Antiochus IV Epiphanes "plundered the Temple and interrupted... the regular course of the daily sacrifices."⁴⁵ At that time, the high priest Onias III, son of Simon II, "made his escape to Ptolemy and, obtaining from him a site in the nome of Heliopolis, built a small town on the model of Jerusalem and a temple resembling ours."⁴⁶ Also in his *Antiquities* 12.387-88; 13.62-73, 285; and 20.236, we are told about this event in more detail but with discrepancies: The temple at Leontopolis was built by Onias IV, son of Onias III; and that temple was originally a ruined pagan temple, which was simply "cleansed" for the purpose of Onias IV. Ironically enough, the question of whether it is appropriate to use a pagan temple "built in a place so wild and full of sacred animals"⁴⁷ for the worship of the true God of Israel, was raised even by the pagan king Ptolemy VI Philometor and his queen Cleopatra.

Despite the discrepancies present in Josephus' accounts,⁴⁸ we can see that the

⁴⁵ Translation is based on H.St.J. Thackeray's in Loeb Classical Library, *Josephus* (MA/London: Harvard U. Press, 1927), vol.2, p.19.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Antiq.* 13.70. R. Marcus's translation in LCL, *Josephus* (MA/London: Harvard U. Press, 1933), vol.7, p.261.

⁴⁸ On the discrepancies in Josephus' accounts, see R. Hayward, "The Jewish Temple at Leontopolis: A Reconsideration," *JJS* 33(1982), p.430, who suggests that Josephus "has used different sources which he has failed to reconcile with one another in compiling his work." But he does not discuss why Josephus "should have allowed these discrepancies to remain."

temple at Leontopolis was intended to serve as a religious center for Egyptian Jewry so that they could "come together in mutual harmony and serve [the king's] interests."⁴⁹ However, "[o]nly a limited proportion of the Jewish population could have been drawn to the remote village of Leontopolis," as H. Hegermann has noted.⁵⁰ In fact, according to V.A. Tcherikover, this is not only because Leontopolis, a far-off village, was not the center of Egyptian Jewry, but also because the Egyptian Jews were at that time attracted to what was happening in their homeland Palestine - the newly exploded Maccabean revolt. They showed sympathy to the Hasmoneans.⁵¹

Besides, in the Jewish Alexandrian literature, no reference has been found to the Leontopolis temple and its related religious cult. Rather, we do have evidence from *the Letter of Aristeas*, *3 Maccabees*, and Philo's writings (e.g., *De Specialibus Legibus*, 1.67-70) that the Egyptian Jews were still faithful to the Jerusalem Temple and its religious institution. These documents show that pilgrimages to the Temple in Jerusalem were quite popular throughout the Hellenistic period, and even so during the time of Onias IV, "after the annulment of the decrees of Antiochus and the restoration of the divine cult at Jerusalem."⁵²

All this of course cannot deny the possibility that our Sibyl, standing on the side of Onias IV, promised to the Egyptian Jews a Ptolemaic Messiah and urged them to look forward to "the military and political power of Egypt to deliver Judea from the threat of the Syrian Seleucids," as Collins has posited (see above). Yet it shows that the majority

⁴⁹ *Antiq.* 13.67; Marcus's translation. On the real intention of building the temple, see V.A. Tcherikover, "Prolegomena," in *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*, eds., V.A. Tcherikover and A. Fuks (Jerusalem: Magnes Press/ MA: Harvard U. Press, 1957), vol.1, pp.45-46.

⁵⁰ H. Hegermann, "The Diaspora in the Hellenistic Age," in *CHJ*, vol.2, p.141.

⁵¹ V.A. Tcherikover, "Prolegomena," p.46.

⁵² V.A. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* (NY: Atheneum, 1977[1959]), p.278; also cf., *idem*, "Prolegomena," p.45.

of the Egyptian Jews were not moved toward such a "deviant" cult as that of Onias IV.⁵³ Moreover, it is striking that there is no reference or allusion in Sib.Or.3 that reveals any certain connection between its author and the Onian "cult."⁵⁴ If the Sibyl of the Oracle really was a follower of Onias IV, as Collins maintains, it seems extremely odd that she had made no mention whatsoever of the Leontopolis temple and its related cultic institution. If pilgrimages to the Jerusalem Temple were in vogue throughout the Hellenistic age, then the numerous sayings about the temple of the great God in Sib.Or.3 were very probably directed to the Temple in Jerusalem. By these temple sayings, our Sibyl may have implicitly pointed her readers to the origin of the help they should await.

The second important event during 168-145 BCE is the Maccabean revolt. To the Palestinian Jews who had long been living under the yoke of foreign powers (e.g., the Persian, the Greek, and the Seleucid), hopes for changes appeared to be real only in the world of dreams. Until the 60s of the second century BCE, no one would imagine that Palestine could have been restored to the control of Jews themselves. It was in such a political and psychological atmosphere that the Maccabean revolt exploded. Like a gleam in the darkness, the movement, at least at its start, would no doubt have been expected to promise hopes for a better future. Not only Palestinian Jewry but also those in the Diaspora must have kept an eye on its development⁵⁵ and looked forward to the dawn of happier days, or even to the restoration of the Davidic kingdom.⁵⁶

⁵³ According to the later Jewish tradition, curiously, the Leontopolis temple was known but not condemned. Note, e.g., *mMen.13:10* - "If he offered it [i.e., a Whole-offering] in the House of Onias he has not fulfilled his obligation" - which nonetheless seems to deny the legitimacy of services rendered at the Leontopolis temple.

⁵⁴ Even Collins himself admits this; see *Egyptian Judaism*, p.53.

⁵⁵ Among those in the Diaspora who kept an eye on the movement were at least the translators of *Isaiah*; see I.L. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1948), 70-94, who has noted these translators' efforts to contemporize the message of Isaiah for their readers in Egypt by means of allusions to the events happening in Palestine during this time.

⁵⁶ Of course there must have been some, like Onias IV and those renegades, who expressed a hesitant or even hostile attitude toward the revolt.

Space does not allow us to have a full discussion of the revolt, but we may summarize it in brief.⁵⁷ *1 Maccabees* has given us an account of the first few decades of the revolting movement.⁵⁸ According to 1 Macc., the Revolt is related to the invasion of Palestine by Antiochus IV Epiphanes, who plundered the city Jerusalem, defiled the holy Temple, and decreed to install Gentile cults in Jerusalem, and also to the fact that, under Antiochus IV's influence, many Jews gave up their fathers' religion and "did evil in the land" (1:52 NRSV).

That the Maccabean revolt greatly influenced the life of Palestinian Jewry seems clear enough; *1 Maccabees* and *2 Maccabees* provide us sufficient evidence for that. For our purposes, however, how much influence the revolt exerted on Diaspora Jewry appears to be of greater importance. As we have noted, during the Hellenistic period, Egyptian Jews kept close contact with their countrymen in Palestine; they remained loyal to the Jerusalem-temple cult by making pilgrimages there. They also brought to Jerusalem money collected for the Temple.⁵⁹ Thus, it is hard to believe that these Egyptian Jews were ignorant of what was going on in their homeland and immune to its influence. What happened there certainly concerned them. In view of this, it seems likely that a national feeling toward Palestine was stirred up among common Egyptian Jews. Such national feeling would probably have fluctuated according to the ups and downs of the Maccabees; it would also probably have varied from individual to individual even among the Egyptian

⁵⁷ On scholarly discussions of the history of the revolt and its related issues, see L.L. Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian*, pp.221-311; cf. also N. Hyldahl, "The Maccabean Rebellion and the Question of 'Hellenization'," in *Religion and Religious Practices in the Seleucid Kingdom*, eds. P. Bilde, et al. (SHC 1; Aarhus: Aarhus U. Press, 1990), pp.188-203; E.S. Gruen, "Hellenism and Persecution : Antiochus IV and the Jews," in *Hellenistic History and Culture*, ed. P. Green (HCS 9; Berkeley: U. of California Press, 1993), pp.238-64 (& M.G. Morgan's response in pp.264-69 & discussion in pp.269-74); R. Goldenberg, *The Nations that Know Thee Not* (Biblical Seminar 52; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), pp.33-41.

⁵⁸ Fragmentary narratives of the revolt can also be found in Josephus' *Bell.* 1.19; 2.344; 5.139; *Antiq.* 12.266; 17.162.

⁵⁹ See V.A. Tcherikover, "Prolegomena," p.45. A detailed account of the relations between Palestine and the Diaspora can be found in J.M.G. Barclay, *Mediterranean Diaspora*, pp.418-24.

Jews. One thing must be highlighted in considering the significance of the movement for the Diaspora Jews during this period, namely, that there was a vacuum in the office of high priest in the Jerusalem temple during 159-152 BCE (cf. 1 Macc.9:54-57).⁶⁰ The event of a seven-year high-priest vacancy in Jerusalem has been a matter of contention among historians. But it seems that many scholars today have accepted this as true,⁶¹ though there are a few exceptions.⁶² As a pious Jew who showed loyalty to the Jerusalem Temple and its religious institutions, the Third Sibyl would hardly have escaped from the impact of all these events.

To review the politico-historical situation during 168-145 BCE, one should not overlook the history of Egypt during this time. The years from 170-160 BCE, according to E. Bevan,⁶³ were surely a difficult decade to Philometor: twice invaded by Antiochus IV Epiphanes, Dionysius' riot, strife and civil war between him and his brother Physcon (Euergetes II), the king's exile to Rome, and Physcon's transfer to the throne. However, despite these, the rest of the time of Philometor's reign was probably peaceful.⁶⁴ More important is that during this time Jews continued to enjoy the favor of the king. All this

⁶⁰ Cf. Josephus, *Antiquities* 20.237, where he mentions a lapse of 7 years; and *Antiquities* 12.414, 419, 434; 13.46, where he records a lapse of 4 years. I think the first datum is more reliable. This is agreed among many scholars.

⁶¹ See, e.g., H. Jagersma, *A History of Israel to Bar Kochba* - Part 2 (tr. J. Bowden; London: SCM, 1985), p.65; D. Mendels, *Jewish Nationalism*, pp.131, 133; J.H. Hayes & S.R. Mandell, *The Jewish People in Classical Antiquity* (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox, 1998), pp.78, 79.

⁶² Exceptions are H. Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran: On the Essenes, Qumran, John the Baptist, and Jesus* (Leiden: E.J. Brill/ Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), pp.147-48, who argues that during 159-152 BCE there was in fact a high priest in the Jerusalem temple, who was the enigmatic figure commonly called in the Qumran writings "the Teacher of Righteousness;" and R. Doran, "The First Book of Maccabees," in *The New Interpreter's Bible*, vol.4, ed. L. Keck (Nashville: Abingdon, 1996), p.116-17.

⁶³ E. Bevan, *Ptolemaic Dynasty*, pp.282-92.

⁶⁴ We do not have much evidence about this period; for a brief discussion, see E. Bevan, *Ptolemaic Dynasty*, pp.293-305.

might offer us insights into what occasioned the Sibyl's exhortations to the Greeks.⁶⁵

In sum, we have shown in the preceding pages that in our present Third Sibylline Oracle (i.e., lines 97-829), there are some materials (at least the "king" references) which comprised the main core of the Oracle and which were very probably composed during 168-145 BCE. We have also reviewed the politico-historical situation of Egypt and Palestine by highlighting some important incidents during this time. Let us now turn to the materials in the present Third Sibylline Oracle that are of later hands, briefly discussing their possible dating and the implications of their presence in the Oracle.

The most conspicuous can be found in the lines 350-488, as many scholars have noted.⁶⁶ This section consists of numerous separate sayings which can be identified according to their content. Lines 350-380 clearly represents an attack against Rome; scholars often regard these lines as referring to the "massacres of Romans in Asia under Mithridates or to the campaign of Cleopatra in Rome."⁶⁷ Accordingly, they could be dated around the mid-first century BCE, while the place of composition or compilation is by no means clear, possibly in Egypt. Lines 381-387 and 388-400 can be read as alluding to Alexander the Great and Antiochus IV Epiphanes respectively. If the "horn growing on the side" in line 400 was Zabines, then at least lines 396-400 must have been composed between 129-122 BCE. Lines 401-463 are generally seen as part of the Oracle of the Erythrean Sibyl, which are probably non-Jewish in origin and older. They were incorporated here probably because of thematic concurrence - prophecies against the nations. It is difficult to determine the date of this compilation, since they could be compiled either by our Sibyl herself or by a later hand. Lines 464-469 and 470-473 are later additions too, referring respectively to the Roman civil war and the Mithridatic wars. Thus, these lines could have been compiled at a date no earlier than 90-88 BCE. Finally,

⁶⁵ See lines 545-572, 624-634 (arguably not only to Greeks), and 732-740.

⁶⁶ In addition to those listed above in n.3, see H.C.O. Lanchester, "The Sibylline Oracles," pp.371-72. The following identification of historical events in Sib.Or.3:350-488 and 1-96 is largely based on theirs.

⁶⁷ M. Goodman, "The Sibylline Oracles," p.636.

lines 483ff. probably allude to the fall of Carthage and Corinth in 146 BCE. In view of their possible date, these lines could be either original to the Third Sibyl or of later hand; but we have no evidence for a definite conclusion.

If these identifications are correct, then we can see that throughout the years subsequent to its composition, the main core of the Oracle had undergone a process of compilation. Separate sayings were inserted into the main core by different persons at different times or at least by a single hand at a later time. Noticeably, those materials that were incorporated in the Oracle represent a tendency to deepen the hostility toward the nations, especially toward the Romans. These hostile sayings toward foreign nations may suggest something about the socio-historical settings of these compilers and those of their reader communities throughout the process of compilation. Precise dating of the insertion of these materials is impossible. However, since the events to which they refer are very close in time to one another, the anti-Roman sayings in the lines 350-488 might have been compiled by a single hand at a time when he and his community were hostile to the Romans. If that is the case, these anti-Roman materials would probably be added no earlier than the first century BCE. In fact, such an anti-Roman spirit is not only present in this section, but also in the main core of the Oracle. For instance, in lines 175-187,⁶⁸ a polemic against Roman homosexual practices can be read (cf. line 764).

This anti-Roman tone can also be heard in lines 1-96, which, as said above, are apparently later than the main core of Sib.Or.3:97-829. In lines 46-92, at least two separate sayings against the Romans were put together. Lines 46-62 and 75-92 could probably be located at the time of the second triumvirate in the late Roman republic, namely, 42-32 BCE.⁶⁹ The dating of lines 63-74 is controversial. The whole issue hinges on the phrase "ἐκ Σεβαστηνῶν" in line 63. The phrase could mean "from the people of

⁶⁸ These lines are regarded as original because here Rome was seen "as a remote and unfamiliar power." See J.J. Collins, "The Sibylline Oracles," in *OTP*, vol.1, p.366, note w; and H.C.O. Lanchester, "The Sibylline Oracles," p.382. *Contra* A. Momigliano, "La Portata Storica dei Vaticini sul Settimo Re," p.555, who rejects these lines as unoriginal.

⁶⁹ J.J. Collins, "The Sibylline Oracles," p.360; M. Goodman, "The Sibylline Oracles," p.640.

Samaria," since Samaria was renamed by Herod as Sebaste in 25 BCE in honor of Caesar Augustus,⁷⁰ or simply "from the Sebastoi," and hence from the line of Augustus, for Augustus was called in Greek Sebastos.⁷¹ If the phrase is referring to the city Samaria, then an anti-Christ⁷² from there is expected, and so the date of the reference should be no earlier than 25 BCE. If the phrase is taken as a reference to a figure from the line of Augustus, then Nero was very probably the anti-christ figure Beliar, and hence a date after 70CE. We lack sufficient evidence for a firm conclusion; either interpretation is then possible. If the latter case is accepted, the anti-Roman tone would be intensified.

The date of the lines 1-45 probably cannot be recovered. Their affinity to the Sibylline fragments preserved in Theophilus cannot offer much help in dating; yet, their conceptual similarities to the Jewish Pseudo-Orphic fragments and Philo's writings may suggest a date from the second century BCE to the first century CE.⁷³ But such a date is too wide to be conclusive. These lines, however, do represent strong thematic concurrence with Sib.Or. 3:97-829, for instance, monotheism (lines 11ff./629, 760f.), anti-idolatry (lines 29ff./546f., 554, 604ff., 763), and condemnation of sexual perversion (lines 43ff./185ff., 764). These concurrences perhaps give reasons why lines 1-96 were linked to Sib.Or.3:97-829 to form our present Third Oracle. At any rate, it is clear that lines 1-96 and 97-829 joined together exhibit their compilers' deep hatred toward the Romans. These two collections of oracles show that, around the turn of the era, Romans had become the chief enemy of most⁷⁴ of the Jews. Of course in Sib.Or.3 other nations

⁷⁰ See J.D. Purvis, "Samaria," *ABD*, vol.5, p.915.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² The name Βελίαρ (Beliar) in line 63 undoubtedly suggests an anti-theos or anti-christ figure. See O. Böcher, v.s., *EDNT*, vol.1, p.212; W. Foerster, v.s., *TDNT*, vol.1, p.607; T.J. Lewis, "Belial," *ABD*, vol.1, pp.654-6.

⁷³ J.J. Collins, *Egyptian Judaism*, p.64; *idem*, "The Development of the Sibylline Tradition," p.434. On the Pseudo-Orphic fragments, see M. Goodman, "Forged Verses of Greek Poets," in *HJPAJC*, vol.3.1, pp.661ff.; and M. Lafarque, "Orphica," in *OTP*, vol.2, pp.795-801.

⁷⁴ A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1985), pp.13-17, points out that, during this time, some circles of Jews were pro-Roman.

such as Greeks were, sometimes quite severely, attacked too, but the main target was Romans.⁷⁵ This perhaps explains why the later compiler(s) did not eliminate the "words of conversion," which were originally addressed (mainly) to the Greeks.

The presence of these "words of conversion" may indeed reflect the complexity of the national feeling of these Jewish compilers themselves. To be sure, (Egyptian) Jews suffered a lot from other nations such as Greeks and Egyptian natives, and they were deeply convinced that these nations deserve divine judgment simply because of their sins. But knowing that these nations too were sharing the harsh yoke of the Romans, our Jewish compilers probably left the Gentiles (perhaps except the Romans) a gleam of hope of salvation. Whether these compilers did this out of sincere sympathy toward the nations is hard to say; yet, the view that our present Third Sibylline Oracle presents a hope of salvation for the Gentiles seems not far from the mark.

B. The Isaianic Tradition in the Third Sibylline Oracle

The influence of the Isaianic tradition upon our present Third Sibylline Oracle seems obvious enough (cf., e.g., lines 788-795). With a quick look at the margin of J.J. Collins's English translation in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (vol.1; ed. by J.H. Charlesworth), one will find that more than two dozen Isaianic allusions or echoes have been suggested.⁷⁶ In fact, as we shall see below, there are yet some more to be identified.

⁷⁵ So E.S. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*, pp.285-88; M. Simon, "Sur quelques aspects des Oracles Sibyllins juifs," in *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and in the Near East*, ed. D. Hellholm (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1983), pp.220-21.

⁷⁶ Collins's suggestions are incorporated and assessed in my discussion; they are marked with an underline, e.g., Isa.40:19. However, some of them which I find unlikely are ruled out. For instance, Collins has suggested Isa.47:8 and 40:4 to be the OT sources of Sib.Or.3:77 and 3:680 respectively. In the former case, apart from the occurrence of the word group "widow/widowhood" (χήρη in Sib.Or.3:78; χήρα in Isa.47:8 & χηρεία in Isa.47:9b), nothing suggests an allusive relationship between the two passages. In the latter case, what links Sib.Or.3:680 to Isa.40:4 is the words "hill" (βουνός) and "mountain" (ὄρος). Yet, such a verbal link is not strong enough to sustain their allusive relationship. For these two words are quite common in the OT.

In the following pages, we will attempt to detect and examine the Isaianic allusions/echoes in Sib.Or.3, and will also highlight the Isaianic themes that emerge in the Oracle. Finally, reflection will be made on the "use" of the Isaianic tradition in the Oracle in relation to the socio-historical setting that we have reconstructed above.

a. Analysis of the data

1. Sib.Or.3:11f.→Isa.37:16ff. & Isa.45:5⁷⁷ ; Sib.Or.3:13ff.→Isa.40:19⁷⁸

Sib.Or.3:11 εἷς θεός ἐστι μόναρχος ἀθέφατος αἰθέρι ναίων

αὐτοφυῆς ἀόρατος ὁρώμενος αὐτὸς ἅπαντα·

ὃν χεῖρ οὐκ ἐποίησε λιθοξόος οὐδ' ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ

τέχνησ' ἀνθρώπου φαίνει τύπος οὐδ' ἐλέφαντος·

Isa.37:16 Κύριε σαβαωθ ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν χερουβιν, σὺ θεὸς μόνος εἰ πάσης βασιλείας τῆς οἰκουμένης, σὺ ἐποίησας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.

Isa.40:19 μὴ εἰκόνα ἐποίησε τέκτων, ἥ χρυσοχόος χωνεύσας χρυσίον περιεχρύσωσεν αὐτόν, ὁμοίωμα κατεσκεύασεν αὐτόν;

Isa.45:5 ὅτι ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεός, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι πλὴν ἐμοῦ θεός, ...

The first passage that invites our discussion is in lines 8-35. The context of the whole passage is clearly that of judgment over pagan idolatry and of exaltation of the Jewish God. As J.J. Collins has proposed, here we can read an echo of Isa.40:18-26 in lines 13-14. The verbal agreement between Isa.40:18-26 and Sib.Or.3;13-14 justifies such a reading. What links Sib.Or. 3:13-14 to Isa.40:18-26 (esp. 18-19) is their use of the terms ἐποίησεν and χρυσίον and its cognates. Hence the motif of making a golden image occurs in both passages. Despite the fact that the motif is quite common in the OT tradition, the allusive relation of lines 13-14 to Isa.40:18-26 can stand securely. For a comparison of these two passages discovers their thematic continuities: Isa.40:18-26

⁷⁷ Isa.45:5 is here taken as a sample text that represents the Isaianic monotheistic belief.

⁷⁸ Actually Collins has suggested Isa.40:18-26.

stresses the incommensurability of Yahweh, and Sib.Or.3:13-14 underscores that God is beyond human imagination yet reveals Himself as the eternal Sovereign. Based on this observation, it seems plausible to conclude that Isa.40:18ff. is alluded to/echoed in our present Sibylline passage.

Apart from Isa.40:18-26, two other Isaianic passages can also be identified as being alluded to in lines 13-14, i.e., Isa.37:16ff. and Isa.45. Isa.37:16ff. is part of Hezekiah's prayer to Yahweh for help after receiving the letter from the Assyrian messengers. In Isa.37:16-26, we find several distinctive elements that also appear in Sib.Or.3:8-35. For instance, the notion that God is unique occurs in both Sib.Or.3:11 and Isa.37:20c; that God is heavenly/spiritual, in Sib.Or.3:19 and Isa.37:16b; that God is Creator of heaven and earth, in Sib.Or.3:20f.,35 and Isa.37:16c; and that God is no work of men's hands, in Sib.Or.3:13-14 and Isa.37:19b. All these together forcefully suggest an intertextual relationship between the two passages. Thematically, both of them represent the Jewish monotheistic belief, stressing Yahweh's supreme sovereignty over all idols/ worldly kingdoms. However, the likelihood of their allusive relationship may be diminished by the fact that the story of Hezekiah's prayer and Israel's miraculous deliverance from Assyria is also mentioned elsewhere (cf. 2Chr.32; Sir.48:17-22; 1Macc.7:41; 2Macc.8:19; 15:22; esp. 2Kings 19). At any rate, the allusive relationship between Sib.Or.3:11ff. and Isa.37:16ff. seems at least possible.

Another Isaianic passage that probably shaped the thought of the author of lines 8-35 is Isa.45, where Jewish monotheism and anti-idolatry are predominant motifs. The motif of the supreme uniqueness of Yahweh recurs several times throughout the whole chapter (Isa.45:5,6,14b,18c,21-22). This motif is very distinctive in Isa.40-55.⁷⁹ According to C. Westermann, statements about Yahweh's uniqueness in Isa.40-55 do "not mean uniqueness as regards existence but that God is unique in the sense that he is the only God who acts in history seen as a whole."⁸⁰ Here the author of lines 8-35 not only

⁷⁹ See also Isa.43:10-13; 44:6-8; 46:9.

⁸⁰ C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1969), p.17.

embraces this understanding of the theological significance of Jewish monotheism, but also goes so far as to advance the view that Yahweh's uniqueness should be understood as "uniqueness as regards existence." The fact that the Jewish God is depicted with Greek philosophical terms such as "ineffable" (ἄθεσφατος), "self-begotten" (αὐτοφυής), "invisible" (ἄόρατος), and "immortal" (ἄθανάτος), suggests that the author, being influenced by Hellenistic culture, not only understood the character of God in relation to His work in history, but ontologically in respect of His being (cf. line 16). Concerning denunciation of idolatry, both Second Isaiah and our author ground God's demand of the true worship of human beings in His identity as Creator of human beings as well as of heaven and earth (cf. lines 27-35 and Isa.45:18-21).

Lines 29-33 betray the place of composition as in Egypt and hence the target of polemic as Egyptians. As we have seen previously, the date of these lines is unknown, so this makes it difficult to reconstruct their socio-historical setting. In any case, it appears clear enough that the Sibyl utilized the Isaianic motifs of monotheism and anti-idolatry to launch an attack against the Egyptian idolatrous practices. By stressing that God is the unique One and Creator of all humanity, the Sibyl assures her reader of divine punishment of the idolatrous Egyptians.

2. Sib.Or.3:81-82 → Isa.34:4

Sib.Or.3:81 χηρεύσει κόσμου, ὅπταν θεὸς αἰθέρι ναίων

3:82 οὐρανὸν εἰλίξῃ, καθ' ἃπερ βιβλίον εἰλεῖται·

Isa.34:4 καὶ ἐλιγήσεται ὁ οὐρανὸς ὡς βιβλίον, ...

That Sib.Or.3:81 ff. has an Isaianic background is clear enough. Both thematic and linguistic evidence offers strong support for the case. Both of the passages, by using the imagery of rolling up the heaven as a scroll, which is unique to Isa.34:4 in the OT, speak of God's judgmental power over the earth. Here we can see that, in order to deliver his/her message of condemnation against the ungodly world, the author of Sib.Or. 3:75-92 drew on the Isaianic language of divine judgment on the nations.

3. Sib.Or.3:100 → Isa.14:13,14

Sib.Or.3:100	καὶ βούλονται ἀναβῆν' εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα·
Isa.14:13,14	... Εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβήσομαι, ἐπάνω τῶν ἄστρον τοῦ θεοῦ θήσω τὸν θρόνον μου,... ἀναβήσομαι ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν,

Obviously enough, in Sib.Or.3:100 the story of the Tower of Babel is alluded to (cf. lines 98-99). Here the point is the arrogance of human beings. Yet, in addition to the Genesis story, we can also overhear an Isaianic allusion in this line. Line 100 mentions that humankind was so arrogant and ambitious that "they [even] wanted to go up to starry heaven." This saying surely will recall to mind what is said in Isa.14:13-14 of the arrogant ancient city Babylon. Indeed, not long after line 100, the city Babylon is mentioned as a typical example of human arrogance and intentional opposition to God (line 104). Here, material from Isaiah's oracles of judgment is again utilized in the Sibyl's review of human history.

4. Sib.Or.3:225 → Isa.47:12; Sib.Or.3:226, 229 → Isa.8:19 & 44:25

Sib.Or.3:225	οὐ μάντεις, οὐ φαρμακοὺς, οὐ μὲν ἐπαιδοὺς,
3:226	οὐ μύθων μωρῶν ἀπάτας ἐγγαστριμύθων,
3:227	οὐδέ τε Χαλδαίων τὰ προμάντια ἀστρολογοῦσιν
3:229	ὅσα κεν ἄφρονες ἄνδρες ἐρευνώωσι κατ' ἡμᾶρ
Isa.47:12	στήθι νῦν ἐν ταῖς ἐπαιδαῖς σου καὶ τῇ πολλῇ φαρμακείᾳ σου...
8:19	... Ζητήσατε τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς φωοῦντας καὶ τοὺς ἐγγαστριμύθους...
44:25	τίς ἕτερος διασκεδάσει σημεῖα ἐγγαστριμύθων καὶ μαντείας ἀπὸ καρδίας... μωρεῶν

J.J. Collins has suggested some Isaianic allusions/parallels in lines 225-230. The allusion/echo of Isa.47:12 in line 225 seems possible. What links these two texts together is the terms "sorcerers/sorcery" (φαρμακοὺς in line 225; φαρμακείᾳ in Isa.47:12) and "soothsayers" (ἐπαιδοὺς in 225; ἐπαιδαῖς in Isa.47:12). They both condemn the well-known divining practices of the Chaldeans/Babylonians. Yet, it should be noted that

Babylonian practices of divination and sorcery were quite well known in the ancient world. This makes it difficult to determine with confidence whether the Sibyl here had particularly that Isaianic text in mind.

Apart from the alleged relation between line 225 and Isa. 47:12, two other Isaianic passages are also suggested as the OT backdrop of Sib.Or.3:226-229, namely, Isa.8:19f. and 44:25. Linguistic evidence leads us to think it unlikely that Isa.8:19f. is alluded to in our Sibylline passage. By comparison, Isa.44:25 seems to stand thematically closer to Sib.Or.3:226-229. Line 226 bears some (albeit rather thin) verbal similarity to Isa.44:25, and lines 226-229 agreeing with this Isaianic passage⁸¹ condemn the Babylonians' divining practices as foolish. That the Sibyl may have been familiar with this passage may possibly be supported by the fact that this passage's wider context is concerned with Yahweh's use of a pagan king (Cyrus) to liberate the exiles in Babylon, a historical event that is alluded to later in lines 286ff.. All this, therefore, points to the fact that the Sibyl's language bears the marks of the influence of the Isaianic tradition. However, the fact that the Babylonian practices of divination and astrological predictions were well known in antiquity renders such a claim of a relationship between Sib.Or.3:226-230 and Isa.44:25 only possible. Perhaps it is better to consider this relationship a parallel rather than an allusion or echo.

5. Sib.Or.3:286 → Isa.44:27-45:1

From line 280 onwards, our Jewish Sibyl reviews the history of Israel's exile and restoration. In line 286 the king sent by God probably alludes to the Persian king Cyrus, who for Second Isaiah was Yahweh's anointed one (i.e., *χρίστος* = messiah; cf. Isa.44:28; 45:1) in liberating the Israelite exiles in Babylonia. The implicit reference to Cyrus here may suggest that the Sibyl was familiar with and influenced by the Isaianic tradition. This may further be strengthened by the observation that both Sib.Or.3:290 and

⁸¹ Note that Isa.44:25 probably has the Israelite exile in Babylonia as its historical background; see C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66*, pp.155-57; R.N. Whybray, *Isaiah 40-66* (NCBC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981), p.103.

Isa.44:28 mention the rebuilding of the temple of God. Indeed, J.J. Collins has also noted such a relationship between Sib.Or.3:286 and the story of Cyrus in *Second Isaiah*.

To be sure, the allusive relationship of the Sibyl's saying to the story of the Persian king seems very difficult to deny. On further reflection, however, a problem arises as to whether the Sibyl's saying here was based on her knowledge of Israel's history or on the Isaianic tradition or both. For such references to Cyrus and the rebuilding of God's temple might well have been made on the basis of the Sibyl's knowledge of Israel's history rather than on the Isaianic tradition itself. The fact that no verbal traces of the Isaianic passage can be found in line 286 might also suggest that Sib.Or.3:286-290 was not based on Isa..44:27-45:1. Despite this, considering the Sibyl's intense indebtedness to the Isaianic tradition in her Oracle, as seen earlier and as will be shown below, I am nonetheless inclined to take a both-and position, namely, that the Sibyl's composition of Sib.Or.3:286 was based on her knowledge of both Israel's history and Isa.44:27-45:1.

6. Sib.Or.3:287 → Isa.66:16

Sib.Or.3:287	κρινεῖ δ' ἄνδρα ἕκαστον ἐν αἵματι καὶ πυρὸς αὐτῇ.
Isa.66:16	ἐν γὰρ τῷ πυρὶ κυρίου κριθήσεται πᾶσα ἡ γῆ καὶ ἐν τῇ ῥομφαίᾳ αὐτοῦ πᾶσα σὰρξ.

That an allusion to Isa.66:16 can be read in line 287 is supported by their verbal agreement. According to its context, Isa.66:16 demonstrates Yahweh's judgment in anger over the nations (i.e., Jerusalem's enemies); Yahweh comes to take revenge on those who ill-treated his elect Israel. Here Sib.Or.3:286-294 does not make any explicit reference to the nations (except "the kings of the Persians" in 291, who are said to have helped the exiles to build a new temple), nor Israel's enemies. But the notion of the heavenly God taking revenge on the disobedient and ungodly appears to be implied in the Sibyl's language. At any rate, line 287 evidently presents the Jewish God as a universal, honorific judge of all humanity. This is exactly in harmony with Isa.66:16.

7. Sib.Or.3:300ff. → Isa.13 & 47⁸²

At the start of a series of woes against the nations in lines 295-349, the Sibyl announces divine judgment on Babylon. "A heavenly eternal destruction" is prophesied on this famous ancient city. Here one may detect an allusion or echo of Isa.13 and Isa.47, both of which launched an attack against Babylon. True, thematic concurrence between Sib.Or.3:300-313 and Isa.13 and Isa.47 seems to justify this reading. Yet, prophecy about God's judgment on Babylon is not unique to the Isaianic tradition; it also occurs, e.g., in Jer.50-51; Hab.2:5-20. In view of this, therefore, it seems better to regard Sib.Or.3:300-313 as a parallel to the whole tradition of prophetic oracle about God's judgment on Babylon.⁸³

8. Sib.Or.3:314ff. → Isa.19

In the case of Collins's alleged relationship between lines 314-318 and Isa.19, no decisive verbal link can be found between the two passages.⁸⁴ This of course cannot disprove the claim that lines 314-318 allude to/echo Isa.19. Perhaps one might contend that the Sibyl here imitated the Isaianic tradition (e.g., chs.13-23) to launch a series of attacks on foreign nations, and hence that the influence of Isa.19 on the present text is implicitly present. In my view, this is implausible. Prophecy against foreign peoples is a typical feature of almost all biblical prophetic literature (e.g., Jer.46-51; Eze.25-32; Amos 1-2; Obad.vv.1-14; Nah.1-3; Zeph.2:4-15; cf. Hab.2:5-20; Zech.9:1-8). Thus, it is not necessarily the case that our Sibyl was indebted to the Isaianic tradition in adopting the genre of prophecy against foreign nations. Even if it is true that the Sibyl was

⁸² Note that there may be some mistake in the Isaianic reference made in the marginal note of Collins's English translation. The reference possibly should be to Isa.13 and 47, not Isa.13:47. Due to their length, the texts of the passages will not be reproduced here.

⁸³ For similar reasons, Collins's suggestions of the allusions to Isa.19, 44:8-20, and 30:30 & 29:6 in lines 314ff., 586-590, and 689-692 respectively are regarded as unlikely and so ruled out in our discussion. In all these cases, linguistic evidence for the alleged relationship is very thin, and the theme that is expressed in each Sibylline passage is not uniquely Isaianic.

⁸⁴ Because of this, the texts of these passages are not printed here in order to save space.

indebted to the Isaianic tradition for the genre, it cannot be proved that she had Isa.19 in particular in mind when prophesying against Egypt. It is one thing to say that the Sibyl imitated the prophetic writing in launching attacks on foreign nations; but it is another to claim that the Sibyl was influenced particularly by Isa.19, for there is no linguistic evidence for the claim.

9. Sib.Or.3:357→Isa.47:1

Sib.Or.3:357	Ῥώμη, παρθένε, πολλάκι σοῖσι πολυμνήστοισι γάμοισιν
Isa.47:1	Κατάβηθι κάθισον ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, παρθένος θυγάτηρ Βαβυλῶνος,...

In line 357, one may catch at most an "echo" of the Isaianic tradition (47:1). Linguistic evidence is very thin; what bridges these two texts is simply the term "virgin" (παρθένος). Contextual reading of these passages offers us just a little stronger evidence for their allusive connection. Both of them deliver oracles against foreign nations - Isa.47:1 attacking Babylon, and Sib.Or. 3:350-380 prophesying against Rome. As we have already noted, lines 350-380 could probably be dated around the mid-first century BCE. There is evidence that, during the decades around the turn of the era, Rome was regarded as an "anti-type" of the ancient city Babylon, which is the prototype of all anti-theos powers (cf. 1QpHab.2:12-6:12; 1Pet.5:13; Rev.14:8; 16:19; 17:5; 18:2,10,21; Sib.Or. 5:143; 4Ezra; 2Baruch).⁸⁵ This then would lend some support to the suggestion that the author of lines 350-380 might have imitated the Isaianic passage by crafting her language in a similar pattern. If that were the case, the intertextual relationship between Isa.47:1 and Sib.Or.3:357 is at best some kind of linguistic imitation and the impact of the former's theological significance on the context of the latter is very remote.

10. Sib.Or.3:360 → Isa.14:12,15

Sib.Or.3:360	κείρει ἡδὲ δίκην διέπουσα ἅπ' οὐρανόθεν ποτὶ γαῖαν
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⁸⁵ See A.W. Fortune, "Babylon in the NT," in *ISBE*, rev. ed., G.W. Bromiley, vol.2, p.391; K.G. Kuhn, "Βαβυλῶν," in *TDNT*, vol.1, pp.514-17.

Isa.14:12,15 πῶς ἐξέπεσεν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὁ ἐωσφόρος ὁ πρωὶ ἀνατέλλων; συντρίβη εἰς τὴν γῆν ὁ ἀποστέλλων πρὸς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη.... νῦν δὲ εἰς ᾧδου καταβήσῃ καὶ εἰς τὰ θεμέλια τῆς γῆς.

The allusive connection between the Sibylline and the Isaianic passages is suggested by the phrase "cast from heaven to earth" (κείρει... ἀπ' οὐρανόθεν ποτὶ γαῖαν), which represents a notion quite distinctive to Isa.14. According to Isa.14:12-15, Babylon was hurled from heaven to earth because of its arrogance. As we have just seen above, the author of lines 350-380 might have regarded Rome as an "anti-type" of Babylon, so the connection of Sib.Or.3:359-360 to Isa.14:12-15 too was also possibly achieved by such a "typological understanding" of Babylon in Isa.14:4. There is a contextual difference between these two passages, however. In Isa.14:12-15, the fall of Babylon is clearly permanent; but here the fall of Rome seems temporary and Rome will eventually be restored to its glory (line 361). This difference is nonetheless insufficient to rule out the possibility of their intertextual relationship, in view of their distinctive thematic connection; rather, it suggests that the influence of the Isaianic tradition detected here is probably simply linguistic. That means, the Sibyl here picked up the language of Isaiah and its plain verbal meaning to express her own message.

11. Sib.Or.3:533-534 → Isa.30:17

Sib.Or.3:533-534 φεύξονται δ' ἑκατόν, εἰς δ' αὐτοὺς πάντας ὀλέσσει·
πέντε δὲ κινήσουσι βαρὺν χόλον· ...

Isa.30:17 διὰ φωνὴν ἐνὸς φεύξονται χίλιοι, καὶ διὰ φωνὴν πέντε
φεύξονται πολλοί,...

That Sib.Or.3:533-534 alludes to Isa.30:17 is clearly manifested by their verbal proximity, although Deut.32:30 may also vie for acceptance as the underlying text of our Sibylline passage. Indeed, lines 520-540 are heavily loaded with Deuteronomic allusions (e.g., lines 528-529→Deut.28:48-49; line 531→Deut.28:23,31,51; line 539→Deut.28:23); yet in this case, the verbal agreement of Deut.32:30 and Sib.Or.3:533-534 is not strong

enough to build up an allusive connection.⁸⁶ Comparing Deut.32:30 and Isa.30:17 with Sib.Or. 3:533-534 respectively, further, we find that the immediate context of Isa.30:17 better fits that of the Sibylline passage. Both Isa.30:17 and Sib.Or.3:533-534 represent the severity of divine judgment. Here the Sibyl derived from Isaiah's oracle of judgment a powerful mode of expression to depict the fierceness of destruction brought about by the "vast barbarian people" upon the Greeks (cf. line 520: πολὺν βάρβαρον ἔθνος).

12. Sib.Or.3:542b-544 → Isa.66:16

Sib.Or.3:542b	... καὶ πῦρ ἐπὶ γαίης κατθήσει πολὺν ἱστὸν, ὃς οὐρανὸν ἔκτισε καὶ γῆν· πάντων δ' ἀνθρώπων τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἔσσεται αὐτίς.
Isa.66:16	ἐν γὰρ τῷ πυρὶ κυρίου κριθήσεται πᾶσα ἡ γῆ καὶ ἐν τῇ ρόμφαίᾳ αὐτοῦ πᾶσα σὰρξ·

Sib.Or.3:542b-544 represents three key themes which can also be found in Isa.66. First, God is creator of heaven and earth. This finds an echo in the larger context of Isa.66:16. In Isa.66:1-2,22, the belief of God Yahweh as creator of the new heaven and the new earth as well as of heaven and earth is emphasized. Second, God will judge the world with fire. This agrees exactly with the point of the present Isaianic passage. Third, survivors after divine judgment will be few. This too is precisely what is implied by Isa.66:16c. These thematic concurrences cumulatively suggest the existence of an intertextual link between Sib.Or.3:542b-544 and Isa.66:16. This reading can be strengthened by the fact that Isa.66:16 is alluded to in line 287, as we saw earlier.⁸⁷

13. Sib.Or.3:604-607 → Isa.2:18-21

Sib.Or.3:606	εἶδωλα... χειροποίητα σέβοντες, ἃ ῥίψουσιν βροτοὶ αὐτοί
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⁸⁶ Deut.30:32 LXX runs: πῶς διώξεται εἰς χιλίους καὶ δύο μετακινήσουσιν μυριάδας....

⁸⁷ According to J.J. Collins, lines 287 and 542-544 are originally part of the main corpus of the present Third Sibylline Oracle; see "The Sibylline Oracles," p.354.

3:607	ἐν σχισμαῖς πετρῶν κατακρύψαντες δι' ὄνειδος,
Isa.2:18-21	καὶ τὰ χειροποίητα πάντα κατακρύψουσιν εἰσενέγκαντες εἰς τὰ σπήλαια καὶ εἰς τὰς σχισμὰς τῶν πετρῶν καὶ ... τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν... καὶ εἰς τὰς σχισμὰς τῶν πετρῶν ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ φόβου κυρίου

Collins's suggestion of the allusion/echo of Isa.31:7 in Sib.Or.3:605-606 can be rejected after a comparison of the two alleged Isaianic texts (i.e., Isa.2:18-21 & 31:7) with the Sibylline one. Both linguistic and thematic evidence exhibits that Isa.2:18-21 is preferable to Isa.31:7 as the OT source-text of lines 605-606, and indeed of lines 604-607. In lines 601-607, judgment is announced upon all mortals who honor idols rather than him who begets them. In Isa.2:18-21 - originally directed at Judah - a universal judgment on all humanity is implied as the effect of the coming of the Lord's Day (cf. vv.19-21). Furthermore, the phrase *σχισμαῖς πετρῶν* in Sib.Or.3:607 clearly agrees with the phrase *τὰς σχισμὰς τῶν πετρῶν* in Isa.2:19,21, which occurs only here in the LXX. Hence this confirms the relationship between Sib.Or.3:604-607 and Isa.2:18-21.⁸⁸ Here the Sibyl derived a distinctive phrase from the prophet's oracle of judgment to depict vividly what mortals would do to hide their folly.

14. Sib.Or.3:629 → Isa.43:10; 45:5

Sib.Or.3:629	αὐτὸς γὰρ μόνος ἐστὶ θεὸς οὐκ ἔστιν ἕτ' ἄλλος.
Isa.43:10	... ἔμπροσθέν μου οὐκ ἐγένετο ἄλλος θεός καὶ μετ' ἐμὲ οὐκ ἔσται.
Isa.45:5	ὅτι ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεός, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἕτι πλὴν ἐμοῦ θεός, ...

That line 629 demonstrates the influence of the Isaianic tradition on the thought of the Sibyl is evident. The Jewish Sibyl here has virtually reproduced the exact wording of Second Isaiah to express her monotheistic belief, which is characteristic of Israel's post-

⁸⁸ So H.B. Swete, *Introduction to the Greek OT* (repr.; MA: Hendricksen, 1989), p.372.

exilic religious tradition. For the Sibyl, man⁸⁹ needs to turn back to God, to be converted to Him, to propitiate Him, to sacrifice to Him, and to honor Him, simply because Yahweh the great Jewish God alone is God, and God of all humanity (cf. lines 604-605). It is clear that her monotheistic belief deeply affects her thinking and dictates her ethical demands on her audience.

15. Sib.Or.3:652 → Isa.41:25 & Sib.Or.3:655-656 → Isa.11:3-5

Sib.Or.3:652	καὶ τότε ἅπ' ἡλίοιο θεὸς πέμψει βασιλῆα,
3:653	ὃς πᾶσαν γαῖαν παύσει μολέμοιο κακοῖο,
3:654	οὓς μὲν ἄρα κτείνας, οἷς δ' ὄρκια πιστὰ τελέσσας.
3:655	οὐδέ γε ταῖς ἰδίαις βουλαῖς τάδε πάντα ποιήσει,
3:656	ἀλλὰ θεοῦ μεγάλιοι πιθήσας δόγμασιν ἐσθλοῖς.
Isa.41:25	ἐγὼ δὲ ἤγειρα τὸν ἀπὸ βορρᾶ καὶ τὸν ἀφ' ἡλίου ἀνατολῶν...
Isa.11:3-5	ἐμπλήσει αὐτὸν πνεῦμα φόβου θεοῦ. οὐ κατὰ τὴν δόξαν κρινεῖ οὐδὲ κατὰ τὴν λαλιὰν ἐλέγξει, ... καὶ πατάξει γῆν τῷ λόγῳ ... αὐτοῦ καὶ ... ἀνελεῖ ἀσεβῆ· καὶ ἔσται ... ἀληθεὶς εἰλημένος τὰς πλευράς.

The intertextual relation of Sib.Or.3:652 to Isa.41:25 hinges largely on the equation of the phrase ἅπ' ἡλίοιο with those ἀφ' ἡλίου ἀνατολῶν in Isa.41:25 (and ἅπ' ἀνατολῶν in Isa.41:2). As we have already noted, such an equation is rejected by J.J. Collins, who instead contends that Sib.Or.3:652 represents a close connection with an Egyptian prophetic writing, namely, the Potter's Oracle, in which the phrase ἅπ' ἡλίοιο is also found. Detailed arguments against Collins's interpretation of that line have been put forward above, and do not need to be repeated. For the moment what seems necessary is to compare the contexts of these two texts, seeing what theological

⁸⁹ E.S. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*, p.287, n.181, suggests that here the Sibyl's exhortation "must be directed to Greeks." However, this is not necessarily the case, considering the Sibyl's repeated use of πάντων ἀνθρώπων in lines 544, 594f., 604, and πάντεσσι βροτοῖσιν in line 601; such a repeated use of "all" may imply a sense broader than Gruen has allowed.

nuances can be generated by such an allusive language effect.

As the context of Isa.41:25 shows, the one who will come from "the rising of the sun" has received little description. Syntactically, the parallel structure of the verse indicates that that person was also regarded as coming from the north. Such a depiction was not picked up by the Sibyl probably because it did not fit her socio-political context. In spite of the lack of further descriptions of the figure in Isa.41:25 LXX, I believe, the Sibyl could certainly have identified that figure as the same one as prophesied in Isa.44:28 and 45:1,13 - the Persian king Cyrus. In Isa.40-55 (esp. Isa.45), Cyrus is depicted as the anointed one of Yahweh. He, even yet without acknowledging God's name, executes all His will; his right hand is upheld by Yahweh; he subdues the nations; and also he will play a vital role in God's deliverance of His people exiled in Babylonia (cf. Isa.45:1-7, 13). For Second Isaiah, the future of Israel is entirely reliant upon this king Cyrus who will come "from the rising of the sun."

By contrast, our Sibyl's portrait of "the king from the sun" is less dramatic and curiously brief. For the Sibyl, the king from the sun, though involved in "killing" and "imposing oaths of loyalty on" people (line 654), basically will be a peaceful king. He is an obedient servant doing nothing of his own accord but by "the noble teachings of the great God." Sayings about that king appear only here, and reference to him is no longer made at all in the Sibyl's subsequent oracles about the salvation of the elect and the eschatological kingdom. Thus it is not clear what role he will play in these events. Neither is it made clear whether these events prophesied by the Sibyl are inaugurated by the coming of that king. Instead, what is clear throughout the lines of the Sibyl's prophecy is that God is the ultimate director of all these events and the king from the sun is simply one of His chessmen on the chessboard moving exactly in accord with His design.

The difference in depiction of the kings in *Second Isaiah* and in Sib.Or.3 reflects the difference of our Sibyl's political setting to that of Second Isaiah the prophet. Here the emphasis put on the king's role in ending evil war presents the essential component of our Sibyl's messianic expectation - socio-political/military peace. Indeed, the motif of peace repeatedly occurs throughout the subsequent oracles, e.g., in lines 702-709; 751-

756; 777-795. The emphasis on the peaceful role of a coming king recalls to us another well-known messianic passage in the Book of Isaiah, namely, Isa. 11:3-5.

In Isa. 11:3-5, the shoot from the stump of Jesse is depicted as a messianic figure whose primary task is to bring salvation and peace to the elect of Israel. That messianic figure is also characterized by justice and righteousness (cf. vv. 3, 5). He is a godly person and possesses the spirit of the fear of God. In Isa. 11:11-14, that root of Jesse is even said to become ruler over the Gentiles. Many of these qualities of that kingly figure find echoes in Sib.Or.3:655-656. That our Sibyl was familiar with and influenced by this passage is confirmed by her beautiful description of the peaceful state of the eschatological kingdom in lines 788-795, where, as we shall see, an almost word-for-word citation from Isa. 11:6-9 can be read. So it is not unfounded to suggest that Isa. 11:1-14 is probably one of the messianic texts in *Isaiah* that shaped the Third Sibyl's messianic hope. If such a reading of Sib.Or.3:652-656 is accepted, the presence of the "words of conversion" throughout the second half of the Third Oracle can be explained: our Sibyl, following Isa. 11:1-14, had not only offered her Jewish readers a messianic expectation, but opened up to her contemporary foreign nations, especially the Greeks, a door of hope of salvation (perhaps better, a bright future).

16. Sib.Or.3:672-673 → Isa.66:16

Sib.Or.3:672f. ... ἀπ' οὐρανóθεν⁹⁰ δὲ πεσοῦνται ῥομφαῖαι πύρινοι κατὰ γαῖαν....

Isa.66:16 ἐν γὰρ τῷ πυρὶ κυρίου κριθήσεται πᾶσα ἡ γῆ καὶ ἐν τῇ ῥομφαίᾳ αὐτοῦ πᾶσα σὰρξ.

The notion that "fiery swords will fall from heaven" in lines 672-673 very probably betrays the influence of the Isaianic tradition (66:16). The context here evidently concurs with that of Isa.66:16, both of them portraying God's judgment upon the nations as cosmic and completely destructive.

⁹⁰ Here the phrase ἀπ' οὐρανóθεν parallels ἐκ μεγάλου θεοῦ in line 671.

17. Sib.Or.3:682-685 → Isa.30:25

Sib.Or.3:682f. ἡέριαι δὲ φάραγγες ἐν οὖρεσιν ὑψηλοῖσιν ἔσσονται πλήρεις
νεκύων·

3:685 τείχεα δ' εὐποίητα χαμαὶ πεσέονται ἅπαντα

Isa.30:25 καὶ ἔσται ἐπὶ παντὸς ὄρους ὑψηλοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ παντὸς βουνοῦ
μετεώρου ὕδωρ διαπορευόμενον... ὅταν ἀπόλωνται πολλοὶ
καὶ ὅταν πέσωσιν πύργοι

J.J. Collins has suggested an allusion/echo of Isa.30:25 in lines 682f.. Such a relation can be based on linguistic and thematic grounds. Linguistically, the proximity of the phrase οὖρεσιν ὑψηλοῖσιν in line 682 to that (ὄρους ὑψηλοῦ) in Isa.30:25 and of τείχεα... εὐποίητα χαμαὶ πεσέονται in line 685 to πέσωσιν πύργοι in Isa.30:25 may evoke some connection of these passages. Thematically, moreover, these two passages are close to each other. The phrases ὅταν ἀπόλωνται πολλοὶ and ὅταν πέσωσιν πύργοι in Isa.30:25b LXX clearly suggest the scene of war in which killing of men and destruction are expected, a scene akin to that of the present Sibylline passage. Although the verbal connection between Sib.Or.3:682-685 and Isa.30:25 are not uniquely Isaianic,⁹¹ all of these cumulatively sustain the case that an allusive relation exists between Sib.Or.3:682f. and Isa.30:25. This may also be strengthened by the allusion of Isa.30:17 in lines 533-534, which we discussed above.

Despite this, however, a contextual discontinuity is noted between these passages. In the Isaianic passage the prophet assures his audience that Yahweh's salvation and blessings will eventually come upon Israel in spite of her present sins. By contrast, our Sibylline passage is primarily judgmental and destructive in effect. This contextual discontinuity cannot discount the possibility of an allusive relationship between the two passages; instead, it seems to imply that the Sibyl here simply drew from the Isaianic passage a few words for her purpose.

⁹¹ The phrases (i.e., οὖρεσιν ὑψηλοῖσιν in line 682 and ὄρους ὑψηλοῦ in Isa.30:25) that are common to both passages also occur in Joel 2:5; Amos 4:13; Mic.1:3,4; 4:1.

18. Sib.Or.3:709 → Isa.41:10; Isaiah's "the Holy One"

Sib.Or.3:708-9 ...μάλα δ' ἔσσεται αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς ὑπέρμαχος ἀθάνατος καὶ
χεὶρ Ἁγίοιο.

Isa.41:10 ... καὶ ἠσφαλισάμην σε τῇ δεξιᾷ τῇ δικαίᾳ μου.

On linguistic grounds, it is implausible to claim an allusive relationship between Sib.Or.3:709 and Isa.41:10, as Collins did. Though both passages convey the theme that God's help is with His people, such thematic resemblance is not strong enough to sustain their alleged allusive relationship, considering that this theme is quite common in the OT.

Though rejecting Isa.41:10 as the source-text of Sib.Or.3:709, I still feel the Isaianic influence here. The designation of God as "the Holy One" (Ἁγίοιο) here may imply the Sibyl's indebtedness to the Isaianic tradition. Although the notion that God is holy is probably pre-Isaianic (cf. Lev.19:1; Exod.3:15; 19:6; Hos.11:9,12), or at least not exclusively Isaianic (cf. 2Kings 19:22; Jer.50:29; 51:5; Ps.70:22; 77:41; 88:19 LXX), it is very common in *Isaiah* that God is directly designated with the epithet "the Holy One (of Israel/Jacob)" and its like.⁹² This motif is so distinctive and prevalent in *Isaiah* that one cannot help recalling the Isaianic tradition while reading this Sibylline passage. Thus, it is reasonable to believe that the distinctive and frequently used Isaianic epithet "the Holy One" has moved our Sibyl and inspired her in her portrait of the great God. In fact, it appears also likely that the variety of designations with which she called God in the Oracle may be the product of the influence of the Isaianic tradition, in which diverse epithets for Yahweh are coined. (See also our discussion of Sib.Or.3:717-719 below.)

19. Sib.Or.3:710 → Isa.49:1 & Isa.51:5

Sib.Or.3:710 καὶ τότε δὴ νῆσοι πᾶσαι πόλιές τ' ἐρέουσιν,

Isa.49:1 Ἀκούσατέ μου, νῆσοι, καὶ ποσέχετε, ἔθνη: ...

Isa.51:5 ἐγγίξει ταχὺ ἡ δικαιοσύνη μου, καὶ ἐξελεύσεται τὸ σωτήριόν μου, καὶ εἰς τὸν βραχίονά μου ἔθνη ἐλπιούσιν· ἐμὲ νῆσοι

⁹² Isa.1:4; 5:19, 24; 10:20; 12:6; 17:7; 29:19, 23; 30:11-12, 15; 31:1; 37:23; 41:14, 16, 20; 48:17; 49:7(twice); 54:5; 55:5; 57:15; 60:9, 14; cf. 6:3.

ὑπομενοῦσιν καὶ εἰς τὸν βραχίονά μου ἐλπιοῦσιν.

Sib.Or.3:710-723 presents a monologue of "delightful utterance" that is supposedly attributed to the "islands (νῆσοι) and cities," which, as the context shows, are most probably referring to the nations. The monologue is divided into two parts, the first part (lines 711-713) expressing the astonishment of the "islands and cities" after they have seen what God has done to His people, and the second one (716-723) representing their sorrow concerning their sinful past and "conversion" to God. Noticeably, the sayings in lines 716-723 are put by the Sibyl on the mouth of the nations so as to express (on their behalf) their penitence and active conversion to God. No doubt, the purpose of introducing the supposed "confession" of the nations here is to highlight the magnificence of God's wonderful deeds for His people. But, at the same time, this "confession" evokes a hope of salvation for the nations.

One might understand lines 710-723 as merely representing the Sibyl's conviction of the eschatological subjugation of the nations to God and His people. Such an understanding, however, fails to see one thing: why did the Sibyl leave, at least implicitly, chances for the nations to "ponder the Law of the Most High God"? In my opinion, the Sibyl's use of the first person plural and dramatic details (like the nations' confession as having gone astray and willingness to ponder God's Law) in her account of the nations' "confession" are striking; these may well imply that the Sibyl regarded the turning or subjugation of the nations to God as sincere and willing. Thus, the whole passage (lines 702-731) brings out the Sibyl's underlying conviction that in the last days (whenever it will be), God's salvation of and blessings upon His people will extend to the nations. It is against this eschatological horizon that our Sibyl's words of exhortation to the Greeks come forth in the following lines (732-740).

The motif of the extension of God's blessings to the nations also occurs in the Isaianic tradition. Of a number of Isaianic passages that share the same motif, Isa.49:1 ff. and Isa.51:4-6 can be suggested as the underlying OT sources of Sib.Or.3:710ff. In Isa.49:1 and Isa.51:5, the term "islands" (νῆσοι) is employed figuratively to refer to the

nations/Gentiles.⁹³ In Isa.49:1, the "islands" are summoned to be witnesses of what Yahweh is about to do to His people Israel through His servant; and they too in turn will enjoy Yahweh's blessings through the same servant. In Isa.51:5, it is also stated that "islands" (i.e., Gentiles) shall rely on Yahweh for salvation. The term "islands" (νῆσοι) links them to our present Sibylline passage (line 710). Although such a verbal link is a little weak, on thematic grounds it can be concluded with some confidence that the belief that lies behind our Sibyl's language, that God's eschatological blessings upon his people will extend to foreign nations, is probably inspired and evoked by the Isaianic tradition.

20. Sib.Or.3:716-731 → Isa.57:15; 2:3-4 & 53:6

Sib.Or.3:717	ἀθάνατον βασιλῆα θεόν μέγαν ἀέναόν τε.
3:718	πέμπωμεν πρὸς ναόν, ἐπεὶ μόνος ἐστὶ δυνάστης·
3:719	καὶ <u>νόμον ὑψίστοιο θεοῦ φραζώμεθα</u> πάντες,
3:721	ἡμεῖς δ' ἀθανάτοιο τρίβου πεπλανημένοι ἡμεν,
3:727	ἐχθρῶν ὄπλα ποριζόμενοι κατὰ γαῖαν ἅπασαν
3:731	οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκ δρυμοῦ ξύλα κόψεται εἰς πυρὸς αὐγὴν.
Isa.57:15	... ὁ ὑψιστος ὁ ἐν ὑψηλοῖς κατοικῶν τὸν αἰῶνα, ἅγιος ἐν ἁγίοις ὄνομα αὐτῷ... διδοὺς ζωὴν τοῖς συντετριμμένοις τὴν καρδίαν.
Isa.2:3-4	καὶ πορεύσονται ἔθνη πολλὰ καὶ ἐροῦσι Δεῦτε ἀναβῶμεν ... εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ Ἰακωβ, καὶ ἀναγγελεῖ ἡμῖν τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ <u>πορευσόμεθα ἐν αὐτῇ· ἐκ γὰρ Σιων ἐξελεύσεται νόμος....</u> καὶ συγκόψουσι τὰς μαχαίρας αὐτῶν εἰς ἄροτρα καὶ τὰς ζιβύνας αὐτῶν εἰς δρέπανα, ... καὶ οὐ μὴ μάθωσιν ἔτι πολεμεῖν.

⁹³ This is suggested by the parallel structure of the verses. Moreover, in Isa.42:4, a verse that bears the same motif as that of Isa.49:1ff. & 51:4-6, the LXX renders the Hebrew clause (42:4b MT) יִיחִילוּ אֲנִי וְעַמִּי לְתוֹרַת יְהוָה as καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ἔθνη ἐλπιοῦσιν. This rendering clearly shows that some circles of Jews had understood the term אֲנִי (whose Greek equivalent is νῆσοι; cf. Isa.20:6; 23:6) figuratively as a reference to ἔθνη.

Isa.53:6 πάντες ὡς πρόβατα ἐπλανήθημεν, ἄνθρωπος τῇ ὁδῷ αὐτοῦ
ἐπλανήθη....

Sib.Or.3:716-723 constitutes the "delightful utterance" (ἡδὺν... λόγον ἄξουσιν) of the "islands and cities" (i.e., the nations). Here the epithets for God, "immortal king" (ἄθάνατον βασιλῆα) and "eternal God" (θεόν ... ἀέναν) in 717, and "the Most High God" (ὑψίστοιο θεοῦ) in 719, may derive from Isa.57:15, where God is called ὁ ὑψιστος ὁ ἐν ὑψηλοῖς κατοικῶν τὸν αἰῶνα, ἅγιος ἐν ἁγίοις ὄνομα αὐτῷ.⁹⁴ The immediate context of Isa.57:15 presents us with an oracle that proclaims salvation to those (i.e., returned Israelites) who are fainted/broken-hearted. It does not differ much from the context of lines 716-723, in which the salvation of the nations is implied, as we have noted above. It seems likely that, by generalizing the addressee of the oracle, the Jewish Sibyl makes the oracle applicable to the nations who are said to sorrowfully "fall upon the ground and entreat" the Jewish God.

Another Isaianic allusion/echo that can be detected in this passage 716-730 is Isa.2:3-4. The allusive relationship between lines 716-730 and Isa.2:3-4 is established both linguistically and thematically. Linguistically, it is plain that lines 718-719 stand close to Isa.2:3. Thematically, the Sibylline passage agrees in at least two ways with the Isaianic one: first, nations will make pilgrimage to the Temple at Jerusalem and embrace the Jewish Law (cf. lines 718-719 and Isa.2:3); and second, a peaceful world is being looked forward to (cf. lines 727-731 and Isa.2:4). Here we can see that the Isaianic motif of the salvation of the nations emerges in our Sibyl's eschatological agenda.

The third Isaianic passage alluded to in lines 716-730 can be identified as Isa.53:6 (in line 721). Isa.53:6 is located at the last Servant Song in *Second Isaiah*, where men (i.e., Israelites) are said as having gone astray from the way of God. It is obvious that such a motif can be read in the alleged confession of sin of the nations. It is also noteworthy that both line 721 and Isa.53:6 have employed the same verb πλανᾶω to express the notion of going astray from God. In Isa.53:6 those gone astray are evidently

⁹⁴ It is also worth noting that the last phrase cited from Isa.57:15 finds an echo in line 709. See Isa.14:14 too, where God is designated as the Most High One.

Israelites, while here the nations are said to have gone astray from God. The change of the referent seems to imply that the Sibyl was indebted to the Isaianic tradition simply on the linguistic level.

In short, behind the language of Sib.Or.3:716-731 lie at least three Isaianic passages which noticeably in their original contexts represent the motif of Yahweh's salvation and blessings on His chosen. These passages here have contributed in different ways to the Sibyl's thinking about God and the fate of the non-Jewish peoples. In her vision, Israel's eschatological blessings will one day extend to the foreign nations.

21. Sib.Or.3:742 → Isa.2:12

Sib.Or.3:742 εἰς δὲ βροτοὺς ἥξει κρίσις ἀθανάτοιο θεοῖο,

Isa.2:12 ἡμέρα γὰρ κυρίου σαβαωθ ἐπὶ πάντα ὑβριστὴν καὶ
 ὑπερήφανον καὶ ἐπὶ πάντα ὑψηλὸν καὶ μετέωρον, καὶ
 ταπεινωθήσονται....

Though Sib.Or.3:742 shares a similar motif with Isa.2:12 - divine judgment upon all (wicked) mortals, it appears difficult to build up any real intertextual connection between them as suggested by Collins, in view of their great differences in wording. Further, the alleged relationship between these passages is also undermined by the fact that the motif of divine judgment or of the day of the Lord is quite prevalent in the OT prophetic tradition (e.g., Amos; Joel). However, considering the continuing influence of Isa.2 upon the Sibyl's thought, it seems not unreasonable to regard such a relation as at least possible. If that intertextual relation is granted, such a relation is evidently some kind of thematic borrowing.

22. Sib.Or.3:751-761 → Isa.2:2-4; Isa.45:5 & Isa.66:16

Sib.Or.3:751 ... οὐδὲ μάχαιρα κατὰ χθονὸς οὐδὲ κυδοιμός·

3:753 οὐ πόλεμος οὐδ' αὖτε κατὰ χθονὸς αὐχμὸς ἔτ' ἔσται,

3:755 ἀλλὰ μὲν εἰρήνην μεγάλην κατὰ γαῖαν ἅπασαν,

3:756 καὶ βασιλεὺς βασιλῇ φίλος μέχρι τέρματος ἔσται

3:757f.	αἰῶνος, κοινόν τε νόμον κατὰ γαῖαν ἅπασαν ἀνθρώποις τελέσειεν ... ἀθάνατος, ...
3:760	αὐτὸς γὰρ μόνος ἐστὶ θεὸς οὐκ ἔστιν ἕτ' ἄλλος·
3:761	αὐτὸς καὶ πυρὶ φλέξειεν χαλεπῶν γένος ἀνδρῶν.
Isa.2:2-4	... καὶ ἤξουσιν ἐπ' αὐτὸ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ πορεύσονται ἔθνη πολλὰ καὶ ἐροῦσι Δεῦτε ἀναβῶμεν ... εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ Ἰακωβ, καὶ ἀναγγελεῖ ἡμῖν τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ πορευσόμεθα ἐν αὐτῇ· ἐκ γὰρ Σιων ἐξελεύσεται νόμος.... καὶ συγκόψουσι τὰς μαχαίρας αὐτῶν εἰς ἄροτρα καὶ τὰς ζιβύνας αὐτῶν εἰς δρέπανα, καὶ οὐ λήμψεται ἔτι ἔθνος ἐπ' ἔθνος μάχαιραν, καὶ οὐ μὴ μάθωσιν ἔτι πολεμεῖν.
Isa.45:5	ὅτι ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεός, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι πλὴν ἐμοῦ θεός, ...
Isa.66:16	ἐν γὰρ τῷ πυρὶ κυρίου κριθήσεται πᾶσα ἡ γῆ καὶ ἐν τῇ ρομφαίᾳ αὐτοῦ πᾶσα σὰρξ·

In Sib.Or.3:751-761, Isaianic allusions/echoes are easily overheard. The motif of political and military peace recurs (cf. lines 751-756 and Isa.2:4), and the theme of divine establishment of a "law" for all humanity is highlighted (cf. lines 757-759 and Isa.2:3d LXX).⁹⁵ Also noted are the Jewish monotheistic belief (line 760) and the deep conviction of divine retribution on evil men (cf. line 761 and Isa. 66:16). In brief, our present passage is heavily loaded with Isaianic concepts.

Interestingly, like lines 702-731, which are followed by a few lines (732-740) about exhortation to Greece, lines 744-761 also go along with a word urging (perhaps non-Jewish) people to abandon their evil way of life and instead "worship the Living One" (cf. lines 762-766). Such an attitude toward the non-Jewish peoples is probably shaped by the theology of the Isaianic tradition (esp. *Second Isaiah*) vis-à-vis the fate of foreign nations.

⁹⁵ Note that lines 751-759 intratextually echo lines 702-731, where an Isaianic allusion/echo (2:3-4) has been identified.

23. Sib.Or.3:772f. → Isa.2:2-3

Sib.Or.3:772f. πάσης δ' ἐκ γαίης λίβανον καὶ δῶρα πρὸς οἴκους οἴσουσιν
μεγάλοιο θεοῦ·

Isa.2:2-3 καὶ ἤξουσιν ἐπ' αὐτὸ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ πορεύσονται ἔθνη
πολλὰ καὶ ἐροῦσι Δεῦτε ἀναβῶμεν ... εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ
Ἰακωβ, καὶ ἀναγγελεῖ ἡμῖν τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ πορευσόμεθα
ἐν αὐτῇ· ...

In lines 772f., the motif of foreign nations making pilgrimages to the Temple of God recurs. As we have seen above, Isa.2:3-4 serves as one of the Isaianic passages that exerted influence on the Sibyl's eschatological imagination. It then seems likely that the underlying OT force here is also Isaianic. As for the identity of those who will bring "incense and gifts to the house of the great God," the context suggests that it is mixed, embracing both the pious Jews and the nations. If that is the case, we can learn that foreign nations will play an active part in the eschatological vision of the Sibyl.

24. Sib.Or.3:785-787 → Isa.12:6; 60:1; & Isa.65:17-18

Sib.Or.3:785 εὐφράνθητι, κόρη, καὶ ἀγάλλεο· σοὶ γὰρ ἔδωκεν
εὐφροσύνην αἰῶνος, ὃς οὐρανὸν ἔκτισε καὶ γῆν.
ἐν σοὶ δ' οἰκήσει· σοὶ δ' ἔσσεται ἀθάνατον φῶς·

Isa.12:6 ἀγαλλιᾶσθε καὶ εὐφραίνεσθε, οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Σιων, ὅτι
ὑψώθη ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἐν μέσῳ σου.

Isa.60:1 Φωτίζου φωτίζου, Ἱερουσαλημ, ἦκει γὰρ σου τὸ φῶς....

Isa.65:17-18 ἔσται γὰρ ὁ οὐρανὸς καινὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ καινὴ, ... ἀλλ'
εὐφροσύνην καὶ ἀγαλλίαμα εὐρήσουσιν ἐν αὐτῇ· ὅτι ἰδοὺ
ἐγὼ ποιῶ Ἱερουσαλημ ἀγαλλίαμα καὶ τὸν λαόν μου
εὐφροσύνην.

In Sib.Or.3:785-787, those who will enter into the eschatological kingdom are urged to rejoice and be glad for what God has done for them. The words ἐν σοὶ οἰκήσει in line 787 probably imply God's salvation and protection due to His powerful presence.

The motif of rejoicing for God's beneficent deeds well accords with that of Isa.12:6, as Collins has noted. For in Isa.12:6, the people of Zion are invited to rejoice and praise the Lord for his salvation and forgiveness (cf. Isa.12:1-3). Also noteworthy is the presence of the two verbs ἀγαλλιάσθαι and εὐφραίνειν in both Sib.Or.3:785-787 and Isa.12:6. Thus, all these similarities between Isa.12:6 and lines 785-787 seem strong enough to establish the former as one of the OT base-texts of the latter.

In reality, besides Isa.12:6, there may be another Isaianic passage that exerted influence on Sib.Or.3:785-787. The two verbs ἀγαλλιάσθαι and εὐφραίνειν and their cognates are quite commonly used in the LXX, especially in Psalms and *Isaiah*. Joined together as a word-pair, they or their noun cognates occur a number of times in *Isaiah* and Psalms. Of the instances in *Isaiah*,⁹⁶ most are related to the chosen people's rejoicing for Yahweh's deliverance or forgiveness. This evidently helps enhance the likelihood that their presence here may have been due to the Isaianic influence. A careful examination of all of these Isaianic instances leads us to suggest that Isa.65:17-18 (in which these two verbs' noun cognates join together as a word-pair), alongside 12:6, is also a possible OT source of Sib.Or.3:785-787. Its larger context concurs well with that of Sib.Or.3:785-787. First, line 786 thematically echoes Isa.65:17, where God is declared as the Creator of the new heaven and the new earth. Second, lines 788-795 echo Isa.65:25, which, as we shall see presently, is probably one of the most relevant OT source-texts of the former. Third, the occurrence of these two verbs' cognates in Isa.65:14 too may intensify the impact of the Isaianic passage (Isa.65) upon the Sibyl as to the notion of Israel's eschatological joy.

In the second half of the line 787, an allusion/echo of Isa.60:1 is read. In Isa.60:1, it is prophesied that Jerusalem will one day be covered by the glory of Yahweh and so become a light to the whole world. Such prophecy of Israel's future is prevalent in and unique to *Isaiah* in the OT.⁹⁷ Here this motif was evidently picked up by the Sibyl in speaking of the future brightness of God's people in its eschatological exaltation. The

⁹⁶ Isa.12:6; 16:10; 22:13; 25:9; 29:19; 35:1, 10; 51:3, 11; 65:14, 18.

⁹⁷ See, e.g., Isa.2:5; 9:2; 42:6-7; 49:6.

Sibyl's words ἐν σοὶ δ' οἰκήσει underscores divine protection of the godly people.

In sum, the theological substructure of the Sibyl's sayings in lines 785-787 is thoroughly Isaianic. Such high density of the Isaianic material in these lines implies that the Sibyl shared the prophet's eschatological vision of the future of God's people.

25. Sib.Or.3:788-795 → Isa.11:6-9 & Isa.65:25

Sib.Or.3:788	ἡδὲ λύκοι τε καὶ ἄρνες ἐν οὖρεσιν ἄμμιγ' ἔδοναι χόρτον, παρδάλιές τ' ἐρίφοις ἅμα βοσκήσονται·
3:790	ἄρκτοι σὺν μόσχοις νομάδες αὐλισθήσονται· σαρκοβόρος τε λέων φάγεται ἄχυρον παρὰ φάτνη ὥς βοῦς· καὶ παῖδες μάλα νήπιοι ἐν δεσμοῖσιν ἄξουσιν· πηρὸν γὰρ ἐπὶ χθονὶ θῆρα ποιήσῃ. σὺν βρέφεσίν τε δράκοντες ἅμ' ἀσπίσι κοιμήσονται
3:795	οὐκ ἀδικήσουσιν· <u>χεὶρ γὰρ θεοῦ ἔσσετ' ἐπ' αὐτούς.</u>
Isa.11:6-9	καὶ συμβοσκηθήσεται λύκος μετὰ ἀρνός, καὶ πάρδαλις συναναπαύσεται ἐρίφῳ, καὶ μοσχάριον καὶ ταῦρος καὶ λέων ἅμα βοσκηθήσονται, καὶ παιδίον μικρὸν ἄξει αὐτούς· καὶ βοῦς καὶ ἄρκος ἅμα βοσκηθήσονται, καὶ ἅμα τὰ παιδία αὐτῶν ἔσονται, καὶ λέων καὶ βοῦς ἅμα φάγονται ἄχυρα. καὶ παιδίον νήπιον ἐπὶ τρώγλην ἀσπίδων καὶ ἐπὶ κοίτην ἐκγόνων ἀσπίδων τὴν χεῖρα ἐπιβαλεῖ. καὶ οὐ μὴ κακοποιήσωσιν οὐδὲ μὴ δύνωνται ἀπολέσαι οὐδένα ἐπὶ τὸ ῥος τὸ ἅγιόν μου, <u>ὅτι ἐνεπλήσθη ἡ σύμπασα τοῦ γνῶναι τὸν</u> <u>κύριον....</u>
Isa.65:25	τότε λύκοι καὶ ἄρνες βοσκηθήσονται ἅμα, καὶ λέων ὥς βοῦς φάγεται ἄχυρα, ὄφις δὲ γῆν ὥς ἄρτον· οὐκ ἀδικήσουσιν οὐδὲ μὴ λυμανοῦνται ἐπὶ τῷ ῥει τῷ ἁγίῳ μου, λέγει κύριος.

That lines 788-795 manifestly bear the marks of Isaiah can hardly be disputed. What needs to be done is simply to determine whether those marks, so to speak, are of

First Isaiah (11:6-9) or of Third Isaiah (65:25) or even both.

It is clear that the thematic agreement between Sib.Or.3:788-795 and Isa.65:25 is striking. Moreover, both passages have οὐκ ἁδικήσουσιν in common. Thus on both thematic and linguistic grounds, it is reasonable to take Isa.65:25 as a possible OT source-text of our present Sibylline passage. However, a close reading of these two passages reveals some remarkable (mainly linguistic) dissimilarities between them. For instance, in Isa.65:25, no mention is made of bears and oxen/calves eating together (Sib.Or.3:790), nor of infants leading a flock of animals mixed with lions, calves, and oxen (line 792), nor of infants/ babies and asps being together (line 794); and no explanation is given for the beasts and asps becoming harmless to human beings (lines 793b & 795b). These thematic dissimilarities suggest either that Isa.65:25 is at most one of the OT passages that influenced the Sibyl or that the OT source-text of the Sibyl's saying here lies elsewhere.

In fact, all the dissimilarities between Sib.Or.3:788-795 and Isa.65:25, interestingly, are found in another Isaianic passage that shares the same eschatological vision of cosmic peace, i.e., 11:6-9. As seen in the text-diagram above, Isa.11:6-9 stands closer in wording to Sib.Or.3:788-795 than Isa.65:25. Thematically, it also fits well our Sibylline passage (cf. also line 780). It anticipates the coming of a paradise-like future when cosmic peace and harmony is its distinct characteristic. Therefore, it is certainly plausible to regard Isa.11:6-9 as, if not the only one, at least one of the OT base-texts of Sib.Or.3:788-795.⁹⁸ In view of the presence of οὐκ ἁδικήσουσιν in both Sib.Or.3:795 and Isa.65:25,⁹⁹ it is likely that it was both Isa.11:6-9 and 65:25 that inspired our Sibyl's eschatological imagination.

⁹⁸ H.B. Swete, *Introduction to the Greek OT*, p.372, comments that "Sib.Or.3:708ff. is probably modelled on the Greek of Isa.xi:6ff."

⁹⁹ The verb ἁδικέω occurs dozens of times in the LXX; yet it appears only here in the form of ἁδικήσουσιν with a negative. This argument may not be sound enough to sustain the case, considering that the Sibyl might have phrased οὐκ ἁδικήσουσιν by herself independently of Isa.65:25. But the possibility that the construction οὐκ ἁδικήσουσιν was picked up by the Sibyl from the Isaianic passage nonetheless cannot be readily discounted.

b. Concluding remarks

In the preceding paragraphs, we have examined most (if not all) of the Isaianic material in our present Third Sibylline Oracle. To conclude our study, some observations can be made:

(1) In Sib.Or.3:1-96 and 350-488 - material that is probably of later hands, not many Isaianic allusions/echoes have been detected. Those detected indicate that the influence of the Isaianic tradition on the Jewish oracles in these sections is entirely condemnatory in nature. The Jewish authors of the oracles in 1-96 and 350-380 drew on the judgmental language in the Isaianic tradition to launch attacks on their foreign neighbors. As is expected, idolatry is the major sin of these foreign peoples which the Jewish authors censured. The lavish use of the judgmental language and ideas in the Isaianic tradition is surely not accidental, for almost all of the material in these sections was later added to the original Third Oracle with the intention to deepen the hatred toward the foreign peoples, as we have already noted.

(2) In the main core of the present Third Oracle, we have seen that the Third Sibyl's "use" of the Isaianic material is both condemnatory and exhortative in purpose. For instance, as in Sib.Or.3:1-96 and 350-488, the judgmental language of the Isaianic tradition is frequently read in the main core. Our Jewish Sibyl, like her successors, made abundant use of the Isaianic terminology and concepts to attack her foreign neighbors. Idolatry, unsurprisingly, has been the most conspicuous topic of our Sibyl's accusations of the nations; and second to it is sexual perversions, e.g., homosexuality and adultery.

However, unlike the later Jewish redactors, she also drew on some distinctively positive Isaianic ideas such as messianic hopes and eschatological kingdom, to offer these foreign neighbors as well as her Jewish audience words of exhortation and hope. The most striking example of her words of hope to foreign nations is found in lines 710-723, where as we have noted the Sibyl had phrased a confession of "Jewish faith" on the nations' behalf. In her eschatological vision, foreign nations are surely not excluded but play an active part.

Some scholars have argued that, in the Isaianic tradition, foreign nations simply

play a subordinate role, paying homage to the God of Israel and serving Israelites as servants (e.g., Isa.45:14; 49:22-23, 26; 66:10-12) in the last days to which "Isaiah" looked forward. Put plainly, there is nothing to do with a notion of mass conversion of Gentiles in the Isaianic tradition.¹⁰⁰ In spite of the disputability of such a view, it seems unlikely that the Sibyl would have shared it in developing her eschatological thought. If she shared such a view, why did she still repeatedly give to (at least) the Greeks words of exhortation urging them to turn to the Immortal?¹⁰¹ What sense can we make of lines 710-723 then? Our Sibyl's language clearly exhibits her underlying conviction that foreign nations will in the last days share with the Jewish people in God's blessings, and that such a conviction is deeply rooted in the Isaianic tradition, as we pointed out above. If our understanding of the Sibyl's "use" of the Isaianic tradition is accepted, it is necessary to reconsider whether the Jewish Sibyl expressed a deep hatred toward the nations in her Oracle.

True, in her criticism of the nations, the Sibyl's language is very harsh and relentless. But one should not forget that the Sibyl's oracular woes against the nations and the way she presented them are "fully in keeping with the genre ... of this type of writing."¹⁰² Moreover, it is also important to note that what often come under the Sibyl's censures are mainly of two major categories: idolatry and sexual perversions, as pointed

¹⁰⁰ See R.N. Whybray, *The Second Isaiah* (OT Guides; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), pp.62-65. But both W. Zimmerli, *Old Testament Theology in Outline* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1978), p.220, and J. Blenkinsopp, "Second Isaiah - Prophet of Universalism," *JSOT* 41(1988), pp.83-103, accept that the notion of the salvation of foreign nations is present in the Isaianic tradition, at least in Isa.40-55. An excellent, detailed discussion of this Isaianic notion can be found in R. Albertz, *A History of Israelite Religion in the OT Period, vol.2 - From the Exile to the Maccabees* (OTL; Louisville, KY; Westminster/ John Knox, 1994), pp.411-23, esp. pp.421-22.

¹⁰¹ The Sibyl's repeated calls to the Greeks to repentance are also noted by E.S. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*, pp.287-88.

¹⁰² Cited words are C.R. Holladay's in his "Jewish Responses to Hellenistic Culture," in *Ethnicity in Hellenistic Egypt*, eds. P. Bilde, et al. (Aarhus: Aarhus U. Press, 1992), p.155; cf. also J.R. Bartlett, *Jews in the Hellenistic World* (CCWJCW 1.i; Cambridge: CUP, 1985), p.37.

out above.¹⁰³ These practices are typical enough of pagan societies and of course are unacceptable to a Jewish godly Sibyl. Our Sibyl's fierce condemnation of the nations for this sort of practice nonetheless does not necessarily suggest that in her view there is no hope for them. From this point of view, I do not find necessary Gruen's view that the Third Sibyl harbored a deep hatred toward Egyptians and Romans. First, Gruen evidently has overlooked the significance of lines 710-723. Secondly, his reading is probably based on a confusing understanding of the unity of our present Sib.Or.3.¹⁰⁴ On the one hand, he admits the composite nature of Sib.Or.3; and on the other, he treats Sib.Or.3 as if it were a unitary literary whole. As we pointed out above, Sib.Or.3 is a composite work, so at least some of the anti-Roman elements may well be due to later hands, as Momigliano posited.¹⁰⁵

As for the Sibyl's hostility toward Egyptians, Gruen probably overstates his case. He points out lines 29-45, where Egyptian animal worship is condemned, and 348-349, where he thinks the Egyptians, compared with the Greeks, receive a harsher woe from the Sibyl.¹⁰⁶ Gruen has overlooked that manuscript evidence suggests lines 1-96 to be later than the rest of Sib.Or.3.¹⁰⁷ Gruen's comment on lines 348-349, I think, is correct in that the Egyptians suffered more than the Greeks. Throughout lines 97-829, the Sibyl three

¹⁰³ So J.M.G. Barclay, *Mediterranean Diaspora*, p.222; he further comments: "Only occasionally are charges laid for specific offences against the Jewish nation (301-2, 313-14)."

¹⁰⁴ See E.S. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*, p.272, who comments on the unity of Sib.Or.3: "it seems clear that the third Book of the Sibylline Oracles constitutes a conglomerate, a gathering of various prophecies that stem from different periods ranging from the second century BCE through the early Roman Empire" (emphasis mine). Gruen's comment is confusing; it is not clear whether he treats Sib.Or.3 as a unified literary whole by a single hand or a composite work by different hands at different times. In any case, his comment does imply that Sib.Or.3 consists of materials that are composed at different times.

¹⁰⁵ A. Momigliano, "La Portata Storica dei Vaticini sul Settimo Re," p.556.

¹⁰⁶ E.S. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*, p.287, n.185.

¹⁰⁷ See A. Rzach, "Sibyllinische Orakel," PW II.A.2 (1923), cols.2130-31; J.J. Collins, "The Sibylline Oracles," pp.359-60.

times declares the coming of disasters upon Egypt: lines 208, 314-318, and 348-349.¹⁰⁸ Careful reading of these passages leads me to wonder if the Sibyl's hatred toward the Egyptians was as deep and unconditional as Gruen has felt. True, in lines 208 and 314-318 Egypt's hard times are announced by the Sibyl; but the context does not seem to be so polemical that the Sibyl's verdict on Egypt is final. On the contrary, the Sibyl ends her woe against Egypt in line 318 with καὶ τότε παύση; these words seem to give Egypt a time of respite. Why did the Sibyl do that if she was as hostile to Egypt as Gruen has felt? Compared with lines 208 and 314ff., line 348 is evidently harsher; yet, is this strong enough to sustain thereby the claim that the Sibyl here expressed an unqualified anti-Egyptian sentiment? Not necessarily.¹⁰⁹

Considering all this, I venture to posit that, no matter how harsh her criticisms were, the Jewish Sibyl did leave room for hope of salvation for the nations, especially for the Greeks; for her, these peoples would have a share in the Jewish people's blessings, (of course) provided that they turn from their wicked ways of life to the immortal God.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ It is ambiguous according to the context whether by "Egypt" in lines 208 and 314, the Sibyl meant the native Egyptians; here let us suppose so. In line 614, "the kingdom of Egypt" is mentioned, but the context there suggests that it refers to a Greek kingdom ruled by the "young seventh king."

¹⁰⁹ C.R. Holladay's reading of Sib.Or.3 may not be entirely plausible, but his comment on this matter seems close to the mark: "There are no clear indications within the work... of Jewish-Egyptian hostility." ("Jewish Responses to Hellenistic Culture," p.155.) His reading is also granted by S. Pearce, "Belonging and Not-Belonging: Local Perspectives in Philo of Alexandria," in *Jewish Local Patriotism and Self-Identification in the Graeco-Roman Period*, eds. S. Jones & S. Pearce (JSPS 31; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), p.84, n.24.

¹¹⁰ My reading of the Third Sibyl's sayings leads me to find A. Momigliano's comment close to the mark: "The book as a whole, though at certain points strongly anti-Roman and anti-Macedonian, is not radical in its hostility and seems to hope for, and to wish to foster, good relations between Jews and Egyptian Greeks," although I think his words "seems to hope for and to wish to foster" may exaggerate the case. ("Sibylline Oracles," p.307; emphasis mine.)

My reading also leads me to wonder if Barclay is too harsh when he says, "To be sure, the final oracle includes a vision of world-wide repentance and the worship of all nations at the temple of God. But that can only come about when they abandon idolatry and recognize the unique sanctity of the Jerusalem temple. Such hopes of radical conversion are the correlate of a cultural antagonism which recognizes no value in the religious practice of non-Jews. If this is propaganda, it represents a proselytization by fear." (*Mediterranean Diaspora*, p.222;

(3) Besides the lavish "use" of the material from Isaiah's oracles of both judgment and salvation, the Sibyl also expressed her distinctively Jewish monotheistic belief throughout the lines of her Oracle. For her, Israel's God alone is God, and God of all humanity. Because of this, He alone on the one hand deserves honor, glory, and worship from human beings, and will judge and punish all humanity, both Jewish and non-Jewish; and on the other, He alone is the source of salvation (lines 624-634, 760-761).

(4) The Sibyl's abundant allusions to/echoes of the Isaianic tradition demonstrate her extensive knowledge of the Book of Isaiah, which in turn might well imply that she had access to the Book of Isaiah whether before or when composing her Oracle. What was the nature of her "Book of Isaiah" then? Was it in Greek or Hebrew? Probably the former, considering the Sibyl's beautiful Greek style and proper knowledge and use of Homeric hexameters in the Oracle.¹¹¹ If that is the case, we are in a better position to acquire more knowledge about the historical situation and date of (at least the main core of) Sib.Or.3. In his important study of the Greek version of *Isaiah*, I.L. Seeligmann has suggested that, since it betrays the translators' traits of tradition and efforts to contemporize the message of Isaiah in alluding to historical events before and during the Maccabean Revolt, the Greek version of *Isaiah* probably appeared in Egypt around the mid-second century BCE.¹¹² Following in Seeligmann's footprints, E. Bickerman

emphasis mine.) I think, in Gruen's words, "Barclay ... underplays the attitude toward Greeks and overemphasizes an aggressive nationalism in the Third Sibyl." (*Heritage and Hellenism*, p.287, n.184.)

Although he has noted the Third Sibyl's "willingness to extend [a happy] fate to the Greeks - provided that they embrace the values and ideals of the Chosen People," Gruen himself has overlooked lines 710-723 and their significant implications. (Cited words are in *op.cit.*, p.290.)

¹¹¹ See V.A. Tcherikover, "Prolegomena," pp.30-32; J. Barr, "Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek in the Hellenistic Age," in *CHJ*, vol.2, p.101f.; G. Mussies, "Languages (Greek)," *ABD*, vol.4, p.197, for discussions of the use of Greek by the Jews in Egypt.

¹¹² See I.L. Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version of Isaiah*, pp.70-94; esp. p.89.

suggests that "the translation of Isaiah may be dated between ca. 170-150 BCE."¹¹³ If Seeligmann and Bickerman are correct, it seems not unfounded to suggest, first, that the appearance of the Greek *Isaiah* and its "built-in" interest in those events in Palestine may have attracted and stimulated the Sibyl in composing her Oracle to delineate her own understandings of the implications of those events; and hence, second, that the Sibyl may have composed her Oracle at a time roughly contemporary with or shortly after the appearance of the Greek *Isaiah*. This then yields a date that concurs with what we proposed above.

(5) As shown in the latter half of her Oracle, the Sibyl promised to her readers a very bright future; her language, based on the Isaianic tradition (2:3-5; 11:1-10; and 65:25), is extreme and dramatic. The Sibyl's keen expectation of a peaceful future is striking and so calls for explanation. Can it be explained coherently in the light of the data we deduced above? Is such an intense hope of an extremely peaceful future related to our Sibyl's life setting? To these questions, in my opinion, the answers are affirmative, even though our proposal unavoidably involves a high degree of conjecture.

As we put forward earlier, the main core of Sib.Or.3 may have been composed during the reign of Ptolemy VI Philometor, esp., 168-145 BCE; and this dating can further be defined with respect to the date of the Greek translation of *Isaiah*. If these arguments are accepted, the most possible date for the composition of the Third Sibyl's Oracle would be sometime during the latter half of Philometor's reign, 163-145 BCE. As to the socio-political situation of Egypt during this time, we do not know much. During this time, according to E. Bevan, "the Jews in Egypt seem to have enjoyed the favour of the court under Philometor and Cleopatra."¹¹⁴ The "building" of the Leontopolis temple illustrates

¹¹³ E.J. Bickerman, "Some Notes on the Transmission of the Septuagint," in *Studies in Jewish and Christian History*, vol.1 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976), p.147; cf. E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Assen/Maastricht: Van Gorcum & Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), p.137.

¹¹⁴ E. Bevan, *Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p.298; cf. also V. Tcherikover, "Prolegomena," p.20; *idem*, "Jewish Apologetic Literature Reconsidered," *Eos* 48/3(1956), p.174: "Perhaps only during the short reign of King Ptolemy VI Philometor, a friend to the Jews, were the Greeks quite

this well.¹¹⁵ Also, during this time, the frictions or conflicts between the Jews and the Greeks seem to have become less severe than before, since after 163 BCE "Physcon's popularity... [especially in Alexandria] swiftly wore thin."¹¹⁶ Looking at Palestine, one thing that happened during this time deserves mention here. As pointed out above, the Jerusalem temple had no high priest during 159-152 BCE; this is surely an event whose significance for the Diaspora Jews, though very difficult to assess, must have been great.¹¹⁷

All this, I think, may have influenced many if not all Egyptian Jews, especially the Hellenized upper-class Jews who had close contact with the Ptolemaic court in Alexandria, and directed their loyalty to their Greek king in Egypt. It may well have been under such circumstances that the Third Sibyl found it necessary to compose her oracle to re-direct her kinsmen to their precious religious traditions (at least, Jewish messianism) and urge them to seek hopes and real peace from God.¹¹⁸ Thus, the Sibyl derived an

favorably inclined towards the Jews..."; and H. Hegermann, "The Diaspora," p.142.

¹¹⁵ According to Josephus (*Antiquities* 12.387), Onias IV fled to Egypt in 162 BCE. See V. Tcherikover, "Prolegomena," p.45; J.M.G. Barclay, *Mediterranean Diaspora*, p.36.

¹¹⁶ E.S. Gruen, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome*, vol.2 (Berkeley: U. California Press, 1984), p.698; cf. also E. Bevan, *Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p.291; P. Green, *Alexander to Actium*, p.443. Note that before 163 BCE, the Greeks generally favored Physcon, while the Jews were loyal to Philometor; thus, there is reason to believe that conflicts occurred between these two groups of people then. But in 163 BCE, Alexandrian Greeks, having tired of Physcon's brutality, welcomed Philometor back to Egypt as king.

As for the relations between the Jews and other peoples like the native Egyptians and the Romans, our knowledge remains speculative. Perhaps, there might have been some tensions between the Jews and the native Egyptians due to the latter's jealousy over the former's favored status before the Ptolemaic court; yet, the Sibyl probably did not consider these tensions intolerable, in view of the language concerning the Egyptians in her Oracle.

¹¹⁷ Note that, in the post-exilic time, the high priest became a centrally important figure for the nation of Israel, both in Palestine and in the Diaspora; see S. Safrai, "Jewish Self-government," in *The Jewish People in the First Century*, eds. S. Safrai & M. Stern (CRINT I.1; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1974), pp.400-3; M. Stern, "Aspects of Jewish Society: the Priesthood and other Classes," in *The Jewish People in the First Century*, eds. S. Safrai & M. Stern (CRINT I.2; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1976), pp.561-69; B. Otzen, *Judaism in Antiquity* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1990), pp.47-51.

¹¹⁸ Interestingly, in lines 616-617 the Sibyl envisions that even the Greeks would eventually bend their knees to the Jewish God who is regarded as the great immortal king, much

extreme yet powerful mode of expression from the Isaianic tradition, seeking to point her audience to something better than their current experience.

This theory, though speculative, on the one hand, gives possible reasons for the presence of the "awkward sayings" (like those of exhortation to the Greeks and of the nations' turning to God) in the Sibyl's Oracle and why the Sibyl's attacks were aimed mainly at pagan idolatrous and adulterous practices. On the other hand, it explains the Sibyl's repeated emphasis on God's sovereignty and power in vindicating His people and establishing the final peaceful kingdom. If it is granted, then we learn that the main core of Sib.Or.3 does not present the Third Sibyl's outburst of rage upon the nations who oppressed her kinsmen, but her *intra-mural* speech seeking to revive Jewish patriotism/nationalism.¹¹⁹

(6) Our examination of the Sibyl's use of the Isaianic material leads us to ask: is it really true that the Third Sibyl's Oracle was written to the Jews only, and not to the non-Jews as well? Put differently, was the Third Oracle simply apologetic or exhortative, but not propagandist, in character and purpose? If what has just been delineated above is granted, it is possible to read the Third Oracle as a piece of work written specifically for the Egyptian Jews. However, if we accept that the Sibyl's Jewish audience, especially those of the upper-class, had relatively good relations with their Greek neighbors, it seems not impossible that the Sibyl's work would have circulated among the Greeks, especially those "Greeks who show themselves worthy."¹²⁰ In fact, the disguise of a foreign ancient sibyl might well imply the efforts of the author of the Third Oracle to seek to reach a

higher than the "seventh king."

¹¹⁹ Lines 702,718-719 show that the Sibyl was loyal to the Jerusalem Temple and its religious institutions. Due to the lack of evidence, I dare not go so far as to think, with A. Momigliano, that "il nucleo più antico del Libro III degli Oracoli Sibillini... è una voce di risposta da parte giudeo-egiziana alla richiesta di solidarietà da parte degli Ebrei palestinesi." ("La Portata Storica dei Vaticini sul Settimo Re," pp.553-54.)

¹²⁰ E.S. Gruen's wording, cited from *Heritage and Hellenism*, p.290.

gentile (perhaps better, a Greek) audience as well.¹²¹

C. The Isaianic Tradition in the Fifth Sibylline Oracle

Sib.Or.5 is composed of at least six oracles;¹²² these oracles, if not written by a single hand, were probably put together due to their similar language and motifs.¹²³ The mention of the destruction of the (Second) Temple in lines 150 and 397ff. suggests that some of the material in the Fifth Oracle came to existence no earlier than 70 CE. Lines 493-507 probably allude to the erection and destruction of the temple at Leontopolis; this too suggests that at least these lines were composed after 73-74 CE when the Leontopolis temple was destroyed (cf. Josephus, *Bell.* VII.420-22, 433-36). It is difficult to pin down with precision the *terminus ante quem* for the Oracle; the allusion to Hadrian in lines 48-50 may give a date before 132 CE,¹²⁴ provided that lines 1-51 were originally part of the Oracle.¹²⁵ But this is not decisive. Lines 493-507, as well as others, suggest that the

¹²¹ My reading of the Third Sibyl's Oracle inclines me to accept as plausible Gruen's suggestion that "the authors of the [main core of the] Third Sibylline Oracle surely wrote for a readership that would consist, for the most part, of Hellenized Jews - with perhaps a sprinkling of Gentiles." (*Op.cit.*, p.288.)

However, my reading also inclines me to take a sympathetic attitude toward M. Goodman's view: "This author [Third Sibyl] ... clearly intended to reach a gentile readership with his message...." (*Mission and Conversion* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), p.56.)

¹²² These are lines 1-51, 52-110, 111-178, 179-285, 286-433, and 434-531. See J.J. Collins, *Egyptian Judaism*, pp.73-74; *idem*, "The Sibylline Oracles," pp.390; and M. Goodman, "The Sibylline Oracles," p.644.

¹²³ For instance, the allusion to Nero or his return, which links up the first five oracles; sayings about Egypt and its cities, which join together lines 53, 60ff., 112, 179ff., 484-511; and the reference to the coming of a messianic figure in the central four oracles.

¹²⁴ For the discussion of the date of these lines, see M. Simon, "Sur Quelques aspects des Oracles Sibyllins juifs," pp.222-24.

¹²⁵ Scholars hesitate over the authenticity of line 51; if it is genuine, at least lines 1-51 could be fixed at a date after Marcus Aurelius. See, e.g., H.C.O. Lanchester, "The Sibylline Oracles," p.373; M. Goodman, "The Sibylline Oracles," pp.644-45. Regarding the originality of lines 1-50, both Lanchester, *op.cit.*, and A. Rzach, "Sibyllinische Orakel," PW II.2.A (1923),

Oracle was composed or compiled in Egypt. However, due to the lack of explicit evidence, further specification of the location of Sib.Or.5's composition appears impossible.

Structurally, lines 52-110, 111-178, 179-285, and 286-433 constitute the main body of the whole Fifth Oracle. As is touched on above (see n.122), these four oracular units bear similar language and motifs, e.g., sayings against the nations, the motifs of the return of Nero (an eschatological, anti-theos figure) and of the coming of a messianic figure. These units represent a very hostile attitude toward foreign nations such as Egypt (e.g., lines 52ff., 179ff., 483ff.) and Greece (e.g., lines 137ff.); this is markedly different from what we have read in Sib.Or.3. Besides, throughout the Oracle, an intense animosity to the Romans is readily seen (e.g., lines 162ff., 386ff.).¹²⁶ Parallel to the outburst of hatred toward the nations is a deep conviction of divine vindication on behalf of the Jews which will be brought about with the coming of a messianic figure.¹²⁷ Compared with Sib.Or.3, Sib.Or.5 rarely offers words of hope or "conversion" to the foreign nations.¹²⁸ The tone of the Oracle as a whole is overwhelmingly judgmental. This

col.2134, confirm that the passage is a single block.

¹²⁶ The Roman emperor Nero is repeatedly alluded to in the Oracle as a typical example of the eschatological anti-theos power, which will be entirely destroyed by God's appointed messiah.

¹²⁷ See lines 108-109, 155-161, 256-259, 375-385, and 414-427. A full discussion of these messianic references in Sib.Or.5 has been offered by A. Chester in "The Parting of the Ways: Eschatology and Messianic Hope," in *Jews and Christians: The Parting of the Ways A.D.70-135*, ed. J.D.G. Dunn (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1992), pp.239-46; cf. also his "Jewish Messianic Expectations and Mediatorial Figures and Pauline Theology," pp. 36-37; G.S. Oegema, *The Anointed and His People*, pp.226-29.

¹²⁸ Sib.Or.5:492-511 seems to imply a gleam of hope of salvation for the nations (at least for the Egyptians); yet, according to its context (both larger and immediate), this appears to be less likely. For, first of all, the author's "prophecy" of the destruction of the temple of the true God (line 507) extinguishes that gleam of hope. Secondly, lines 508-511 manifest that our author's message is primarily judgmental and accusatory. Possibly, lines 510-511 can be read as an accusation of the Egyptians, who "did not guard (ἐφύλαξαν) what God entrusted to them." There is a papyrus fragment which may evidence the hostility of the Egyptians to (at least) Onias IV and his followers. That fragment is numbered as 520 in *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*, vol.3, eds. A. Fuks & M. Stern (Cambridge, MA: Harvard U. Press, 1964), pp.119-21; see G.

seems to imply that its Jewish author(s)/ compiler(s) and their readers lived at a time when Jew-Gentile relations were very poor. Indeed, such a picture about the Oracle's socio-historical setting may be reflected by the Sibyl's repeated mentions of the destruction of the Jewish temples by the nations (in lines 150, 397ff. and 493-507).¹²⁹

Having explored the setting of the Oracle, let us move on to investigate to what extent and how the Isaianic tradition exerts influence upon this Sibylline Book. It is evident that, unlike in Sib.Or.3, relatively few Isaianic allusions/echoes can be caught in Sib.Or.5. According to Collins's detection, there are no more than a dozen Isaianic allusions/echoes in the Book. Our investigation of the Isaianic influence upon Sib.Or.5 will be based on Collins's suggestions, but of course they will be checked against our criteria for the identification of allusion/echo. Also, my own detections or amendments will be included.

a. Analysis of the Data

1. Sib.Or.5:72 → Isa.14:12a & 14:13a,b¹³⁰

Sib.Or.5:72	ἐξ ἄστροων πέπτωκας, ἐς οὐρανὸν οὐκ ἀναβήσῃ.
Isa.14:12a	πῶς ἐξέπρεσεν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὁ ἐωσφόρος...;
Isa.14:13a,b	σὺ δὲ εἶπας... Εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβήσομαι, ἐπάνω τῶν

Bohak's discussion of it in "CPJ III, 520: The Egyptian Reaction to Onias' Temple," *JSJ* 26(1995), pp.32-41. Thirdly, throughout the final oracular unit, the themes of judgment and destruction are predominant; this seems to suggest that this unit serves as a final blow to the nations in Sib.Or.5.

¹²⁹ Our reading of the *Sitz im Leben* of Sib.Or.5 is found to be in line with the socio-politico-historical situation of Egyptian Jewry from the mid-first century to the start of the second century CE; see V.A. Tcherikover, "Prolegomena," pp.48-93; J.M.G. Barclay, *Mediterranean Diaspora*, pp.48-81; and J.M. Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt: From Ramses II to Emperor Hadrian* (tr. R. Cornman; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1995), pp.161-222. Cf. also M. Hengel, "Messianische Hoffnung und politischer 'Radikalismus' in der 'jüdisch-hellenistischen Diaspora'," in *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and in the Near East*, ed. D. Hellholm (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1983), pp.655-86, esp. pp.658-74.

¹³⁰ J.J. Collins suggests only an allusion to Isa.14:12 in line 72. It is not clear whether Isa.14:13a,b is included.

ἄστρον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ θήσω τὸν θρόνον μου,

As shown in the text-diagram, linguistically the first half of Sib.Or.5:72 does not concur with Isa.14:12a; yet, the phrase τῶν ἄστρον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ in Isa.14:13b seems to imply that ἐξ ἄστρον in Sib.Or.5:72 and ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ in Isa.14:12a could be the same semantically, since τοῦ οὐρανοῦ in Isa.14:13b could be epexegetical. The second half of Sib.Or.5:72 clearly finds verbal agreement with Isa.14:13a, even though it expresses the negative sense of the latter.

In its original context, Isa.14:12-13 laments the downfall of Babylon. This ancient city, in the prophet's view, was so arrogant that it exalted itself even as equal to God the Most High (Isa.14:14; cf. 47:8,10); it was also regarded as one of the major enemies and oppressors of Israel (cf. Isa.47:6). Although the notion of a city's desire to go up to heaven can also be found in Gen.11, the description of an arrogant city's fall as from the heaven seems to be uniquely Isaianic in the OT.¹³¹ The themes of an arrogant city's boasting and of its oppression of God's people also occur in Sib.Or. 5:64 and 5:68 respectively. All these concurrences seem to suggest the allusive relationship between Sib.Or.5:72 and Isa.14:12-13. Thus, here we learn that the author of lines 52-110 applied the Isaianic language of judgment to Memphis (Egypt), and that in so doing, she launched an attack on her Egyptian neighbors. For her, just as Babylon was hurled down by God from its glorious position, so also would Egypt be.

2. Sib.Or.5:75-85 → Isa.44:9-20 & 40:19f.¹³²

In Sib.Or.5:75-85 the Sibyl condemns (probably) Egyptian idolatrous practices. For her, those who worship "stones and brute beasts instead of God" (line 77) are liable to God's punishment. Thematically, these lines may recall to the reader Isa.44:9-20 and

¹³¹ The story of the Tower of Babel in Gen.11 could well be the source that lies behind Isaiah's saying about the downfall of Babylon.

¹³² J.J. Collins suggests perhaps that only lines 80ff. allude to Isa.44:9-20; 40:19f., but I think it is better to include lines 75-79. Due to the length of the passages, we are not going to cite them all.

40:19f. (cf. 41:6f.; 42:17; 46:1f., 5ff.). However, such an allusive effect is by no means necessarily Isaianic. For the underlying OT force of this effect could also be from the Psalms: Pss.113:12-16 and 135:15-18 LXX.

Contextually, these two Psalms passages are closer to our present Sibylline passage here than are the two suggested Isaianic ones. For in Pss.113:12-16 and 135:15-18 LXX, the Gentiles are explicitly mentioned and accused of practicing idolatry; whereas in the Isaianic passages, the prophet's rebuke against idolatry and the making of idols was directed at the Israelites. As we have noted above, the Sibyl was hostile to her foreign neighbors, so there is good reason for her to follow the Psalmists in regarding idolatrous practices as distinctively pagan (in her case, Egyptian) and condemn them to divine punishment. Thus, it is not unfounded to see the OT source-text of our Sibylline passage as Psalmic rather than Isaianic. Of course, we still cannot entirely rule out the possibility of the allusive relation of lines 75-85 to Isa.44:9-20 & 40:19f. (or perhaps to any of the thematically similar Isaianic passages), but we possess no decisive evidence to substantiate such a relationship. The appeal to the accumulated intensity of the Isaianic influence in the Fifth Oracle is admittedly helpful, but still inconclusive since Sib.Or.5 may have been composed by more than one author.¹³³

3. Sib.Or.5:169→Isa.47:9; 5:173→Isa.47:8 & 14:13¹³⁴; 5:178→Isa.14:15

Sib.Or.5:169	μαινᾶς ἐχιδνοχαρής, χήρη καθεδοῖο παρ' ὄχθας,
5:173	ἀλλ' ἔλεγες· »μόνη εἰμὶ καὶ οὐδεὶς μ' ἐξαλαπάξει«.
5:178	ταρτάρειον οἴκησον ἐς Ἄιδου χῶρον ἄθεσμον.
Isa.47:8-9	νῦν δὲ ἄκουσον ταῦτα, ἡ τρυφερὰ ἡ καθημένη πεποιθυῖα ἡ

¹³³ A. Rzach, "Sibyllinische Orakel," PW II.2.A (1923), col.2134, posits that "[i]m Gegensatz zum vorangehenden Buche [Sib.Or.4], das wesentlich aus einem Gusse ist, setzt sich dieses [Sib.Or.5] aus verschiedenen Bestandeilen zusammen." This of course does not deny the possibility that the Isaianic influence exerted on Sib.Or.5 was the work of one single Jewish compiler.

¹³⁴ There must be some mistake in Collins's identification; the Isaianic allusion/echo is perhaps Isa.14:13, not 14:3.

λέγουσα... Ἐγὼ εἰμὶ, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἑτέρα· οὐ καθιῶ χήρα
οὐδὲ γινώσομαι ὀρφανείαν. νῦν δὲ ἤξει ἐξαίφνης ἐπὶ σὲ τὰ
δύο ταῦτα ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ·

14:13 σὺ δὲ εἶπας... Εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβήσομαι, ἐπάνω τῶν
ἄστρων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ θήσω τὸν θρόνον μου, καθιῶ ἐν ὄρει
ὕψηλῳ ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη τὰ ὑψηλὰ τὰ πρὸς βορρᾶν,

14:15 νῦν δὲ εἰς ἄδου καταβήσῃ καὶ εἰς τὰ θεμέλια τῆς γῆς.

That Sib.Or.5:168-178 is crafted with the Isaianic language and themes is beyond question. The whole allusive relation of the passage to the Isaianic passages suggested here hinges on the "quoted saying" in line 173, where the Sibyl rephrased (not exactly) the arrogant words of Babylon in Isa.47:8 and put them in the mouth of Rome. Based on this Isaianic "quotation", the allusion to Isa.47:9 in line 169 is confirmed.

The allusion/echo of Isa.14:13 in line 173 is not difficult to ascertain. First of all, thematically, it concurs with line 173, both representing the theme of arrogance. Second, both Isa.47:8ff. and 14:13 concern Babylon's arrogance and divine judgment; it would then be hard to think that the author was unaware of the latter Isaianic passage. And indeed Isa.14:13 is alluded to in line 72, as we have noted above.¹³⁵ Third, as we shall see, that Isa.14:15 is alluded to in line 178 may also enhance the likelihood of the allusion of Isa.14:13 in line 173.

The allusion of line 178 to Isa.14:15 is clearly shown by their verbal similarity and hence thematically: an arrogant and blasphemous city/people will be thrown into the great abyss. Here the phrase "city of the Latin land" in line 168 clearly suggests the identity of the subject: Rome. So the author of lines 111-178 drew from the Isaianic tradition judgmental sayings to launch an attack on Rome and declare its final tragic destiny.¹³⁶

¹³⁵ This statement can be dismissed, if lines 52-110 and 111-178 are proved to be composed by two different authors.

¹³⁶ The application of the OT judgmental language of Babylon to Rome can be found also in 1QpHab.2:12-6:12. Cf. also 4Ezra; 2Baruch; 1Pet.5:13; Rev.14:8; 16:19; 17:5; 18:2,10,21, where the ancient arrogant, anti-theos city Babylon is taken implicitly to refer to Rome.

Just as Babylon was punished by God centuries earlier, so would be Rome now (lines 174-178).

4. Sib.Or.5:375-380 → Isa.66:15-16¹³⁷

Sib.Or.5:375	καὶ τότε χειμερίη πνοιὴ πνεύσει κατὰ γαῖαν, καὶ πεδῖον πολέμοιο κακοῦ πλησθήσεται αὐτίς. πῦρ γὰρ ἀπ' οὐρανίων δαπέδων βρέξει μερόπεσσιν, πῦρ καὶ αἷμα ὕδωρ πρηστὴρ γνόφος οὐρανίη νύξ καὶ φθίσις ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ ἐπὶ σφαγῇσιν ὁμίχλη
5:380	<u>πάντας ὁμοῦ τ' ὀλέσει βασιλεῖς καὶ φῶτας ἀρίστους.</u>
Isa.66:15-16	Ἴδοὺ γὰρ κύριος ὡς πῦρ ἥξει καὶ ὡς καταιγὶς τὰ ἄρματα αὐτοῦ ἀποδοῦναι ἐν θυμῷ ἐκδίκησιν καὶ ἀποσκορακισμόν ἐν φλογὶ πυρός. ἐν γὰρ τῷ πυρὶ κυρίου κριθήσεται πᾶσα ἡ γῆ καὶ ἐν τῇ ῥομφαίᾳ αὐτοῦ πᾶσα σὰρξ· <u>πολλοὶ τραυματίαι</u> <u>ἔσονται ὑπο κυρίου.</u>

Having prophesied the return of the "man who is a matricide" (probably Nero) in lines 361-374, the Sibyl rounds off her prophecy with both a word of judgment (lines 375-380) and one of hope (lines 381-385). The theme of divine judgment¹³⁸ with fire and war in lines 375-380 readily associates the passage with Isa.66:15-16, where Yahweh is said to take revenge on the disobedient with fire and swords (i.e., war). Then it is not difficult to see that both linguistic and thematic evidence suggests the allusive relationship between Sib.Or.5:375 and Isa.66:15-16. Here, as elsewhere in the Oracle, Isaiah's judgmental language is picked up by the Sibyl in her attack on the nations (in this case, Macedonians).

¹³⁷ This Isaianic allusion/echo is overlooked by J.J. Collins.

¹³⁸ Note the words "from the floors of heaven," which are very likely synonymous to "from God;" cf. similar phrases in lines 256, 274, 414.

5. Sib.Or.5:382-383 → Isa.2:4c,d

Sib.Or.5:382	κούκέτι τις ξίφεσιν πολεμίζεται οὐδὲ σιδήρῳ
383	οὐδ' αὐτοῖς βελέεσσιν, ἃ μὴ θέμις ἔσσεται αὐτοῖς.
Isa.2:4c,d	καὶ οὐ λήμψεται ἔτι ἔθνος ἐπ' ἔθνος μάχαιραν, καὶ οὐ μὴ μάθωσιν ἔτι πολεμεῖν.

In Sib.Or.5:381-385, the Sibyl offers her audience a word of hope. In her vision, right after the divine judgment on the wicked/evil ones, there will be peace for the "wise people" (λαὸς σοφός; line 384), who are probably the chosen ones. This eschatological state of peace is depicted as "no more fighting with weapons at all" (cf. line 383); yet, whether such a state of peace is universal in scope remains unclear. It appears to be a desirable (political ?) state reserved for the "wise people" only, as the present context suggests.

The theme of the cessation of war and coming of peace in this passage alludes to a few OT passages: Isa.2:4; Pss.46:9 (= 45:9 LXX);¹³⁹ 76:4 (= 75:3 LXX); Mic.4:3; Zech.9:10. Among these passages, however, only in Isa.2:4 and Mic.4:3 is the notion of "no more fighting with weapons at all" explicitly mentioned, which occurs in our Sibylline passage. Mic.4:3 is almost an exact parallel of Isa.2:4. This then makes it difficult to determine with precision whether our Sibyl's notion of "no more fighting with weapons" was indebted to Isaiah or Micah. If Sib.Or.5:52-531 is a unified literary work composed by a single hand, then the accumulated evidence of the Isaianic influence in the Oracle may be helpful to us in making a choice. But again this is still inconclusive. In view of this, the claim that there is an intertextual connection between lines 382-383 and Isa.2:4c,d remains open to discussion.

6. Sib.Or.5:434ff.→Isa.13; 5:436-437→Isa.47:5; 5:435→Isa.47:8,10¹⁴⁰

Sib.Or.5:435	πουλυετῆς βασιλεία μόνη κόσμοιο κρατοῦσα
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¹³⁹ These two have been noted by J.J. Collins.

¹⁴⁰ This third one is overlooked by Collins. Due to the length of the passages, we are going to cite only the relevant parts.

ἡ τὸ μεγάλη καὶ πάμπολις, οὐκέτι κείση
οὔρεσιν ἐν χρυσεῖς καὶ νάμασιν Εὐφρήταο·

Isa.47:5 Κάθισον κατανενυγμένη, εἴσελθε εἰς τὸ σκότος, θυγάτηρ
Χαλδαίων, οὐκέτι μὴ κληθῇς ἰσχὺς βασιλείας.

47:8,10 νῦν δὲ ἄκουσον ταῦτα, ἡ τρυφερὰ ἡ καθημένη πεποιθυῖα ἡ
λέγουσα... Ἐγὼ εἰμὶ, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἑτέρα.... σὺ γὰρ εἶπας
Ἐγὼ εἰμὶ, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἑτέρα....

In lines 434-446, the author of lines 433-531 launches an attack on Babylon. Here J.J. Collins has caught an Isaianic allusion/echo (Isa.13). It is difficult to prove or disprove such a claim. In the Book of Isaiah, there are indeed at least three chapters that prophesy the downfall of Babylon (chs. 13; 14:3-23; 47). Yet, prophecies against Babylon can also be found elsewhere, e.g., in Jer.51 (=Jer.28 LXX). This then shows that lines 434-446 cannot necessarily be linked intertextually to any of the Isaianic passages, let alone Isa.13. That the OT source of the present passage is Isaianic may be argued on the basis of the presupposition that Sib.Or.5:52-531 was written by a single author. In this case, the accumulated evidence of the Isaianic influence on the Oracle may suggest a certain degree of probability in the claim. But still it cannot be proved that the source-text is Isa.13.

Rather than take Isa.13 as the OT base-text of our Sibylline passage, I would like to suggest Isa.47 instead. Indeed, as Collins has noted, lines 436-437 can be read as an echo of Isa.47:5, although on linguistic grounds such a reading is not very sound. H.C.O. Lanchester suggested that it is in line 435 that Isa.47:5 is echoed/alluded to.¹⁴¹ He translated the line thus: "thou for many a year wast queen,¹⁴² sole sovereign of the world." It is clear that his suggestion is made on the basis of the Hebrew text of Isa.47:5,¹⁴³ not

¹⁴¹ H.C.O. Lanchester, "The Sibylline Oracles," p.405.

¹⁴² Lanchester probably takes the word κρατοῦσα as a verbal noun and understands it as referring to a female conqueror, i.e., a queen.

¹⁴³ Isa.47:5b MT : ממלכות (mistress; cf. BDB, p.150) כי לא תוסיפי יקראו לך גברת

on the Greek. Whether the author of lines 433-531 could read or would have had opportunity to read the Hebrew text we do not know. In view of lines 484-511, which imply that our author was probably a first century (CE) Egyptian Jew, it seems less likely that he would have been able to read Hebrew. Thus, Lanchester's suggestion hardly stands up to close scrutiny.

In my reading, what ties our Sibylline passage to Isa.47 hinges on line 435, which echoes Babylon's arrogant words in Isa.47:8,10- "Ἐγὼ εἰμὶ, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἑτέρα." In its original context, Isa.47:8-10 constitutes (Second) Isaiah's accusation of Babylon; it intratextually echoes Isa.45. For the prophet, Yahweh's supreme sovereignty was challenged by the arrogant human power - Babylon. But the prophet does not deny that the Babylonian Empire enjoyed a prosperous status second to none. Turning to the present Sibylline passage, it seems likely that the author of lines 433-531 here simply brings out the historical fact that lies behind Babylon's boasting, and makes a contrast between the city's glorious past and its final fall and destruction. Linguistic evidence, though not very strong, also supports the allusion of line 435 to Isa.47:8,10. In short, Isa.47 has intertextually exerted influence upon the author of the final oracular unit in his attack on Babylon.

7. Sib.Or.5:493f., 501-502 → Isa.19:19, 21

Sib.Or.5:493	»δεῦτε, θεοῦ τέμενος καλὸν στήσωμεν ἀληθοῦς· δεῦτε, τὸν ἐκ προγόνων δεινὸν νόμον ἀλλάξωμεν,
501	καὶ τότε ἔν Αἰγύπτῳ ναὸς μέγας ἔσσεται ἄγνός κεῖς αὐτὸν θυσίας οἴσει λαὸς θεότευκτος,
Isa.19:19	τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἔσται θυσιαστήριον τῷ κυρίῳ ἐν χώρᾳ Αἰγυπτίων καὶ στήλη πρὸς τὸ ὄριον αὐτῆς τῷ κυρίῳ
21	... καὶ γνώσονται οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν κύριον ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ καὶ ποιήσουσιν θυσίας....

It is evident that Sib.Or.5:484-511 is concerned with the history and fate of Egypt. These lines represent Jewish monotheism through the Sibyl's mocking of the Egyptian

mythical "idols" Isis and Sarapis and their idolatrous practices, and her (*ex eventu*) prophecy of the erection of a temple in Egypt. Lines 492-502 probably would recall to the reader the story of Onias IV and his project of building a temple at Leontopolis.¹⁴⁴ In lines 501-502, an Isaianic allusion/echo (19:19) has been suggested by J. Collins.¹⁴⁵ On both linguistic and thematic grounds, such a suggestion appears strong. This suggestion also finds its support in lines 493-500. These lines clearly represent the theme of the Egyptians' "conversion" to the Jewish God, a theme that is addressed only in Isa.19 throughout the OT.

In spite of this, however, the suggestion of an allusive relationship between Sib.Or.5:492-502 and Isa.19:19-21 is not unquestionable. As we have noted, lines 492-502 probably allude to the history of the Leontopolis temple. The association of these lines with the latter seems unavoidable, since the notion of the initiative by a priest for building a temple for the Jewish God is absent in Isa.19. Indeed, the history of the Leontopolis temple (especially its destruction) was well known to Egyptian Jewry. The story was even known to a non-Egyptian Jewish historian Josephus, though there are some discrepancies in his accounts.¹⁴⁶ Thus, it seems difficult for us to believe that as an Egyptian Jew¹⁴⁷ our author of these lines would have been ignorant of the history of the temple at Leontopolis. Our author may have here simply utilized or quoted a certain legend that circulated among the Egyptian Jews as to the erection and destruction of the Leontopolis temple, and not have depended on Isa.19.

Perhaps there are two objections that may be raised against our proposed reading.

¹⁴⁴ So M. Simon, "Sur Quelques aspects des Oracles Sibyllins juifs," p.226.

¹⁴⁵ In fact, J.J. Collins regards the whole passage (492-502) to be inspired by Isaiah 19; see his *Egyptian Judaism*, p.93.

¹⁴⁶ Compare his *Bell.* 1.31-33; 7.423-32 with *Antiq.* 12.387-88; 13.62-73, 285; 20.236.

¹⁴⁷ The intense interest in Egypt's affairs and final destiny in this final oracular unit (i.e., lines 433-511) suggests that the author of the unit may well have been a Egyptian Jew, or at least that the present unit may have been written in Egypt. If this unit and the preceding four are all of the same author, then our claim of its Egyptian provenance will further be strengthened.

First, according to Josephus' account of the history of Onias IV and the Leontopolis temple, the exiled priest appealed to Isa.19:19 to justify his erecting a temple for God at Leontopolis (cf. *Antiq.* 13.64,68,71; *Bell.* 7.432). Thus it might be argued that the legend which our author utilized/cited, too, probably contained an explicit reference to Isa.19:19, and hence that our author would have been influenced by the Isaianic tradition. In my opinion, such an inference is possible but not necessary. It seems more plausible to say that Josephus' account (provided it is reliable) shows that the Isaianic tradition had influenced at least one person, i.e., Onias IV. Admittedly, Josephus' account may suggest that the legend/source that our author utilized would have embraced certain elements of Isa.19:19, as we shall see. But it is hard to know whether those elements are implicit or explicit. If it is the former, the Isaianic influence exerted on our author would be unconscious. It then follows that the Isaianic influence would have no theological significance for our understanding of the Isaianic tradition in Sib.Or.5. For even the author himself was not aware of such influence.¹⁴⁸ If the latter is the case, the Isaianic influence would be indirect.¹⁴⁹ But what is the theological import of such an indirect influence? This is a problem that anyone who feels the Isaianic influence here can hardly avoid answering.

The second objection that may be raised against our reading hinges on lines 494ff., which imply the theme of the "conversion" of Egypt to the Jewish God, as we have noted earlier. From this, one might argue that the theme of Egypt's "conversion" in lines 494-500 will no doubt associate the passage with Isa.19:19ff. In my view, however, that association is not as necessary as may be thought. First of all, as said above, the notion

¹⁴⁸ Of course, if Sib.Or.5:52-511 is actually a unified whole by a single hand, then the accumulated Isaianic evidence in these lines would suggest that the influence of Isa.19, though implicit, may have been sensed by our author.

¹⁴⁹ The influence is indirect in the case that the author was simply aware of the Isaianic passage due to the presence of some explicit reference to it but did not commit himself to its influence. That case seems very likely, since as the context shows, there is nothing in our author's language that implies his intention to convey to his readers the eschatological, salvific significance of Isa.19:19ff. (For my understanding of lines 492-511, see n.128 and below.)

of the initiative for building a temple by a priest is foreign to Isa.19. This distinctive notion in our Sibylline passage will naturally enough direct the reader to the story of Onias IV and his temple at Leontopolis. Secondly, the "prophecy" of the destruction of the temple in Egypt in line 507 would also remind the reader of that story and so enhance the likelihood of the association of 494ff. with the story of Onias IV and his temple.

Thirdly, if the exiled Jewish priest did actually appeal to Isa.19:19 to justify his ambition to erect a temple at Leontopolis, as Josephus said, then he probably would have also expected his Egyptian neighbors (whether native or Greek) to join them in worshipping the Jewish God. Indeed in view of the eschatological nature of Isa.19, it seems very likely that he did expect or even "encourage"¹⁵⁰ the Egyptians to join them in worshipping God. For in so doing, his temple and religious institutions at Leontopolis would have put on an eschatological cloak and hence have been justified in a splendid way in front of the Egyptian court (?) and especially Egyptian Jewry. In view of this, it does not appear surprising that the legend our author used or cited would have embraced certain elements that anticipate the "conversion" of Egypt. If so, it cannot be securely established, based on the theme of Egypt's "conversion" in lines 494-500, that the author of these lines was himself necessarily influenced by Isa.19:19ff..

Having responded to the possible objections, let us look briefly at how the author's allusion to the story of Leontopolis temple here serves his polemic. As we pointed out above (in n.128), both the larger and immediate contexts of lines 492-511 are highly polemical and judgmental concerning the nations. In our author's design, the story of the Leontopolis temple and its destruction is implicitly referred to as evidence for his accusation of the Egyptians, who "did not guard what God entrusted to them," as well as of the Ethiopians (i.e., the Romans?), who destroyed the temple. By crafting his words of accusation in the form of a(n *ex eventu*) prophecy, our author assures his readers of the divine punishment upon the ungodly nations. His *ex eventu* prophecy in lines 484-511

¹⁵⁰ What he actually did to "convert" the Egyptians, native or Greek, we do not know. It seems quite possible that he actually did not do anything in "converting" his foreign neighbors, but simply expressed the eschatological nature of his project to his Jewish kinsfolk in Egypt.

has generated a "rhetorical" effect which would have had quite an impact upon his readers: if what is "propheied" in lines 493-507, which are probably intended to recall to the reader the story of the Leontopolis temple, has already come true, then the divine judgment upon the nations declared in lines 508-511 will surely be realized and must be imminent.

Having considered all the evidence, in sum, we may well have reason to wonder if the alleged allusive influence of Isa.19:19ff. on Sib.Or.5:492-511 is really necessary. Although we cannot entirely dismiss the possibility that Isa.19:19ff. lies behind Sib.Or.5:492-511, our examination at least has shown that, to establish such a case, linguistic and thematic evidence is not sufficient. On the contrary, we have noted that the evidence seems to be better and more comprehensively explained by appealing to the history or legend of the Leontopolis temple. In fact, the influence of the history of the Leontopolis temple upon the author of the final oracular unit is also admitted as (at least) possible even by J.J. Collins himself,¹⁵¹ even though he has not put as much emphasis on it as we do. Therefore, we conclude that it was primarily the history of the temple Onias IV built at Leontopolis, especially its destruction, that initiated, inspired and influenced the author of 483ff. in delivering a "prophecy" to attack Egypt.

b. Concluding remarks

We have carefully examined the Isaianic influence on the Fifth Sibylline Oracle. Our examination has shown that, despite some uncertain cases, the present Oracle does bear the marks of the influence of the Isaianic tradition. Though the intensity of the influence detected may vary depending on whether or not Sib.Or.5 is a unified work by a single author, nevertheless it is not great overall. As for the nature of the Isaianic influence, it is noted that in Sib.Or.5 the Sibyl(s) often employed, or re-crafted, Isaiah's

¹⁵¹ In *Egyptian Judaism*, pp.93-94, J.J. Collins maintains that "[t]his passage [493ff.] is certainly inspired by Isaiah 19, but may also have found a point of departure in the history of the temple at Leontopolis." (Emphasis mine.) This statement betrays Collins's hesitation over the real source on which the author of these lines had drawn, and his intention to take a both-and position.

language of judgment to express her (their) "prophetic" judgment upon the nations. In fact, this kind of "use" of the Isaianic material has been found also in Sib.Or.3, but unlike there, here the "use" of the tradition appears overwhelmingly judgmental in purpose.

Finally, if our interpretation of Sib.Or.5:493-510 is accepted, then significant hermeneutical implications can be derived from it. That is, the problem of whether the nature of an alleged underlying intertextual dynamic of a given text is history-based or simply literary, should be given serious consideration.

D. Concluding Synthesis and Analysis of the Data

In the preceding sections we have presented an examination of the Isaianic material in the Third and Fifth Books of the Sibylline Oracles. In these Sibylline Oracles, no explicit Isaianic quotations are found. No doubt, this is because these Oracles are disguised as works of pagan writers or of ancient heroines in human history¹⁵² and so these writers are supposed to have no knowledge of Jewish scriptures like the Book of Isaiah. Thus, the influence of the Isaianic tradition in these Sibylline Oracles can only be examined by detecting and analyzing the allusions or echoes of the Book of Isaiah.

Our examination has disclosed several distinctive characteristics of the Sibyls' "use" of the Isaianic material, which can be summarized as follows:

a. Hermeneutical findings

Because of the lack of explicit Isaianic citations, as noted above, it is difficult to say anything with confidence as to the method or technique of interpretation of Scripture which was utilized by the Jewish Sibyls and/or their successors. However, as far as we noted from our examination, it seems that these Jewish writers were not unfamiliar with the literary contexts of the Isaianic material that they "used." In some cases, we noted a

¹⁵² See, e.g., Sib.Or.3:818, 823-29, where the author claimed that she was the daughter of Noah.

change of referent in the Sibyls' "use" of the Isaianic material. In Sib.Or.3:360 and 5:169-178, for instance, the Sibyls evidently applied the prophet's language (in Isa.14 and 47) against Babylon to Rome, and in so doing, exhibited their convictions that, like Babylon, Rome would receive its due from God for its arrogance and wickedness. The allusion to the Isaianic (53:6) notion of humans going astray from God in Sib.Or.3:721 is also a case in point. The change of referent in these instances, however, does not necessarily justify the conclusion that these Jewish Sibyls "used" the Isaianic material out of context, for they nowhere explicitly claimed that they were "using" *Isaiah*.

Despite these, however, most of the instances of the Sibyls' "use" of the Isaianic material exhibit strong thematic and contextual continuities between the prophet's message and the Sibyls' sayings. Such continuities evidently reflect the magnitude of the theological impact of the prophet's message upon these Jewish writers. For instance, Isaiah's message of divine punishment of the wicked with "fire and sword/war" and of the eschatological peaceful state (free from war), which is powerfully conveyed in Isa.2:1-5; 11:1-10; and 65:25, casts a heavy influence on the Third Sibyl's eschatological vision (cf. also Sib.Or.5:382-383). In these instances, the Third Sibyl's "use" of the Isaianic material clearly discloses the Isaianic influence as not only linguistic but theological.

Interestingly and importantly, Sib.Or.3:286 and 5:493-502 present to us two instances where it is uncertain whether the alleged source-text in these cases is a historical event (or an associated legend) or another literary text. These stimulate fresh insights into the inter-relation between history and text and its significance for intertextuality.

b. Distinctive Isaianic themes

One of the most prevalent Isaianic themes to emerge in the Third and Fifth Books of the Sibylline Oracles is divine punishment of the wicked with fire and sword/war. This theme is repeatedly presented by the Sibyls in Sib.Or.3:287, 542-544, 672-673, 761;

5:375-380. Divine punishment of the wicked with fire has a long tradition in the OT;¹⁵³ perhaps it is well illustrated in God's destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. The notion of divine punishment with sword is derived from the contexts of warfare and fighting.¹⁵⁴ It is well illustrated in *Isaiah*'s prophecies of God's punishment of Israel with Assyria and Babylon, of Assyria with Babylon, and finally of Babylon with Persia. The Sibyls' picking up of the Isaianic theme (66:15-16, where both notions, "fire" and "sword" are combined together) might reflect their convictions that the nations will be punished by God with military means.

Another distinctively Isaianic theme that occurs a number of times in the Third Sibylline Oracle is the Jewish monotheistic belief (Sib.Or.3:11f.; 629; 760). For the Sibyl(s), it is precisely because God is one and unique that human beings are to worship and honor Him, be accountable to Him, and seek salvation from Him. Any worship that is not directed to Him is misguided and liable to His relentless judgment.

The most distinctive and uniquely Isaianic theme that is read in Sib.Or.3 is that of a prophetic vision of a mythically extreme state of peace on earth. Such a prophetic vision is powerfully spelled out in Isa.2:1-5; 11:1-10; and 65:25, and reformulated in the Third Sibylline Oracle. For the author of (the main core) of the Third Sibylline Oracle, the eschatological peaceful state is characterized primarily by the cessation of wars and fighting; it is not an otherworldly state of peace, nor a special way of life after death. The author's understanding of this state of peace is evidently this-worldly, political and military - a state of social harmony and political stability which is solely built on divine protection, guidance and control (cf. line 787, which, alluding to Isa.60:1, envisions divine presence in and among the godly people). By contrast, such a vision of a bright and peaceful future is not emphasized as sharply in the Fifth Sibylline Oracle as in the Third Oracle. In Sib.Or.5:382-383 we can learn that the author of Sib.Or.5 also looked forward to the coming of such a day of peace, though, as we noted, it is uncertain whether here

¹⁵³ See F. Lang, "πῦρ," *TDNT*, vol.6, pp.936-37; J.A. Naudé, "שָׁר," *NIDOTTE*, vol.1, pp.534, 535.

¹⁵⁴ See P. Enns, "חֶרֶב," *NIDOTTE*, vol.2, pp.259, 260-61.

the author was influenced specifically by Isa.2:3-4 or by Mic.4:3.

Last but certainly not least, the Third Sibylline Oracle presents the positive attitude toward the fate of the nations in the Isaianic tradition. As we showed above, although the Sibyl of the main core of Sib.Or.3 made lavish "use" of the material from *Isaiah*'s oracles of judgment announcing divine judgment of the nations, she at the same time followed in the prophet's footsteps leaving a word of hope for the nations. The most intriguing of her sayings about the nations is found in lines 710-731, where allusions are caught to Isa.49:1 and 51:5, two important Isaianic passages that are concerned with the final salvation of the nations. Not only that, the Third Sibyl's repeated words of exhortation to the Greeks also exhibited her positive attitude toward (at least) the Greeks. By contrast, the Sibyl of the Fifth Sibylline Oracle shows no sign of friendliness to the nations. Her attitude toward the nations is utterly negative. In Sib.Or.5:382-383 she did look forward to the coming of a peaceful future, but, as the context shows, such a peaceful future was in her view promised only to the "wise people."

What made such a great difference in their attitudes toward the nations? The difference between these two Sibyls' attitudes toward their foreign neighbors probably reflects different socio-political settings. As we argued above, the Third Sibyl's sayings were probably composed at a time when the social relations between Jews and their foreign neighbors (especially the Greeks) were relatively peaceful, and this situation greatly affected the Sibyl's attitude toward the nations and even occasioned her words of exhortation to the Greeks. However, that is not the picture we got from Sib.Or.5. The Fifth Sibyl's sayings reflect the fact that the Oracle was much later than the main core of Sib.Or.3, probably between the first century BCE and the first century CE. Careful reading of the history of this time leads us to know that the two centuries around the turn of the era were a difficult time for the Jews whether in their homeland or in Egypt. So it seems natural to find a deep hatred toward the nations in Sib.Or.5. Indeed, such a deep hatred and bitterness toward the nations (especially toward the Romans) can also be felt

in the later added material of Sib.Or.3.¹⁵⁵ Our understanding of these two Jewish Sibyls' "use" of the Isaianic material, if granted, has then exposed the magnitude of the impact of the socio-political situations on these writers. Both the authors of (the main core of) Sib.Or.3 and Sib.Or.5 utilized the same genre to write their oracles, but one with the purpose of reaching the Gentiles to call them to repentance,¹⁵⁶ the other with the purpose of hiding her own Jewish identity in attacking her foreign neighbors.

¹⁵⁵ I am well aware of the latent circularity that underlies my argumentation; but note that my reconstruction of the socio-political situations of Sib.Or.3 and Sib.Or.5 is not only built on intensive study of the texts themselves but also on careful consideration of the external evidence about the history of Egypt during the time that these two writings concern.

¹⁵⁶ As I argued above, this is of course not the only nor primary purpose for the Third Sibyl in composing her Oracle.

Chapter Three

The Use of *Isaiah* in Qumran Literature

A. Preliminary Matters

a. A Working Hypothesis

Half a century ago, from a certain cave near the shores of the Dead Sea, some ancient scrolls, having been buried for over nineteen centuries, were brought to light. In the decade following this chance discovery, more ancient manuscripts were found in some other caves near the Dead Sea. Over the past fifty years, these ancient scrolls have exhausted many institutions'/ people's money and many scholars' time and energy. More recently, with the "liberation" of this whole corpus of ancient writings, a new chapter has started of its study. Old theories are challenged, re-examined, refined, or even rejected; new hypotheses (some of which are actually the refined forms of the old ones) are advanced.¹ Among others, the issues concerning the identity and origins of those who hid the scrolls in the caves and the historical settings of their writings are most hotly debated.

Until the "liberation" of these scrolls in early 90s, scholars (esp. the first generation "appointed" Scrolls scholars)² were generally agreed that the identity or religious

¹ For a recent and reliable account of the history of the discovery and "liberation" of the Dead Sea Scrolls, see E.M. Cook, *Solving the Mysteries of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1994), esp. pp.11-81.

² J. Strugnell, "Flavius Josephus and the Essenes: *Antiq.* XVIII.18-22," *JBL* 77(1958), pp.106-15; J.T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea*. (ET; London: SCM Press, 1959); R. de Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*. (ET; London: OUP, 1972); F.M. Cross, "The Early History of the Qumran Community," in *New Directions in Biblical Archaeology*, eds. D.N. Freedman & J.C. Greenfield. NY: Doubleday, 1969, pp.63-79; *idem*, *The Ancient Library of Qumran*. (3rd.ed.; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995). See also W.H. Brownlee, "A Comparison of the Covenanters of the Dead Sea Scrolls with Pre-Christian Jewish Sects," *BA* 13(1950), pp.49-72; M. Burrows, "The Discipline Manual of the Judean

orientation of the scrolls' owners who settled at Qumran was of Essenic character, although they held different opinions about the identity of the key figures in the scrolls and the history of the scrolls' owners. Of those scholars who prefer the Essene view as to the identity of the Qumran community, many even advocate an identification of the origins of this Jewish group with those of the Essenes. They suggest that the Essene movement (i.e., the Qumran community) was a product of a split among the Hasidim of Maccabean times.³

However, there are also some scholars who, though seeing the Qumran community as Essenic in character, do not equate the origins of the Essenes and of the community. The most notable are J. Murphy-O'Connor,⁴ P.R. Davies,⁵ F. García-Martínez,⁶ and G. Boccaccini.⁷ According to these scholars, the emergence of the Essene movement

Covenanters," *OTS* 8(1950), pp.156-92.

³ The most popular version of this view is that formulated by G. Vermes in his numerous writings, e.g., "The Essenes and History," *JJS* 32(1982), pp.18-32; *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Qumran in Perspective*. (3rd.ed.; London: SCM, 1994); *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*. (rev. & extd. 4th.ed.; London: Penguin, 1995). Most recently, in response to challenges, this view has been refined by H. Stegemann in his "The Qumran Essenes - Local Members of the Main Jewish Union in Late Second Temple Times," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress*, eds. J. Trebolle Barrera & L. Vegas Montaner. (Leiden: E.J. Brill/ Madrid: Complutense, 1992), pp.83-166; *idem*, *The Library of Qumran* (ET; Leiden: E.J. Brill/ Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), pp.139-210; and J.C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans/London: SPCK, 1994).

⁴ Of the numerous articles by J. Murphy-O'Connor, the most important are, "The Essenes and Their History," *RB* 81(1974), pp.215-44; "The Essenes in Palestine," *BA* 40(1977), pp.100-24; and "The *Damascus Document* Revisited," *RB* 92(1985), pp.223-46.

⁵ P.R. Davies, *The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the "Damascus Document"* (JSOTS 25; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983); *idem*, *Behind the Essenes: History and Ideology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Atlanta: Scholars' Press, 1987); *idem*, "The Birthplace of the Essenes: Where is 'Damascus'?" *RevQ* 14(1990), pp.503-19.

⁶ F. García Martínez, "Qumran Origins and Early History: A Groningen Hypothesis," *Folia Orientalia* 25(1988), pp.113-36; F. García Martínez & A.S. van der Woude, "A 'Groningen' Hypothesis of Qumran Origins and Early History," *RevQ* 14(1990), pp.521-41, esp. pp.536-41; F. García Martínez, "The Origins of the Essene Movement and of the Qumran Sect," in F. García Martínez & J. Trebolle Barrera, *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Writings, Beliefs and Practices* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), pp.83-96.

⁷ G. Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998).

chronologically precedes the formation of the sectarian group of the scrolls and its settlement at Qumran. The first two named, albeit of slightly different opinions at some points, posit a Babylonian origin for the Essene movement, within which they think the Qumran community originated due to an internal split. F. García-Martínez takes issue with Murphy-O'Connor and Davies on the problem of the origins of the Essene movement.⁸ In his view, the Essene movement was developed from the post-exilic apocalyptic tradition in Palestine. One of the most intriguing tenets of García-Martínez's hypothesis is that the Essenes followed "halakhic positions that now can be described as Sadducean."⁹ The emergence of the community at Qumran, according to García-Martínez, was due to a split within the Essene movement on matters of *halakhah*. García-Martínez's conclusion is based on a careful study of two of the most important documents found at Qumran: the Temple Scroll (11QT[emple] or 11Q19-20) and *Miqṣat Ma'ase Ha-Torah* ("Some of the Precepts of the Torah" = 4QMMT or 4Q394-399).¹⁰ In these two documents (esp. the latter one) he has detected strong affinities in halakhah with what we know about the Sadducean halakhoth in the tannaitic sources. Although he points out the Sadducean nature of the Qumran community's halakhoth, he still sticks to the Essene theory as to the origins of the community. Perhaps his hypothesis may better be called a Sadducean-Essene hypothesis.¹¹

⁸ Besides García Martínez, J.J. Collins too criticizes Murphy-O'Connor and Davies in his "The Origin of the Qumran Community: A Review of the Evidence," in *To Touch the Text: Biblical and Related Studies in Honor of J.A. Fitzmyer, S.J.*, eds. M.P. Horgan & P.J. Kobelski, (NY: Crossroad, 1989), pp.159-78.

⁹ F. García-Martínez & A.S. van der Woude, "A 'Groningen' Hypothesis," p.538.

¹⁰ The sectarian nature of these two documents (esp. that of 11QT) is debatable, yet seems to be recognized by many scholars; see C.A. Newsom, "'Sectually Explicit' Literature from Qumran," in *The Hebrew Bible and Its Interpreters*, eds. W.H. Propp, et al (IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990), pp.167-87. For a brief discussion of the halakhic concerns in these two documents and their relations to the schism of the Qumran Essenes, see F. García-Martínez & J. Treballe Barrera, *People of the DSS*, pp.92-96.

¹¹ For a critique of the Groningen Hypothesis, see, e.g., T.H. Lim, "The Qumran Scrolls: Two Hypotheses," *Studies in Religion* 21(1992), pp.455-66; *idem*, "The Wicked Priests of the Groningen Hypothesis," *JBL* 112(1993), pp.415-25.

In fact, over the past fifty years of Scrolls studies, the Sadducean nature of the Qumran community's religious practices has already been noticed by scholars, though with varying degrees of primary evidential support.¹² Recently, with the publication of the two documents mentioned above (i.e., 11QT and 4QMMT),¹³ this aspect of the Qumran community has received much attention and discussion. For instance, based on the strong affinities of legal instructions in these two documents to those of the Sadducees, L.H. Schiffman has challenged the Qumran-Essene consensus and even entirely abandoned it.¹⁴ In Schiffman's view, the origins of the Qumran community must be Sadducean, or at least so in the formative stage of the community. One of the cornerstones on which he bases his theory is the so-called sectarian letter 4QMMT.¹⁵ Having examined the

¹² For instance, R. North, "The Qumran 'Sadducees'," *CBQ* 17(1955), pp. 44(164)-68(188); M. Black, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins* (rep.; CA: Scholars' Press, 1983), pp.3-24; J.M. Baumgarten, "The Pharisaic-Sadducean Controversies about Purity and the Qumran Texts," *JJS* 31(1980), pp.157-70; *idem*, "Recent Qumran Discoveries and Halakhah in the Hellenistic-Roman Period," in *Jewish Civilization in the Hellenistic-Roman Period*, ed. S. Talmon (JSPS 10; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), pp.147-58; *idem*, "Sadducean Elements in Qumran Law," in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant*, eds. E. Ulrich & J. VanderKam (Indiana: U. of Notre Dame, 1994), pp.27-36.

¹³ The most important work on the study of 11QT is by Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (3 vols.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983; Supplement vol., 1984); another very useful study of the Scroll is a collection of articles edited by G.J. Brooke, *Temple Scroll Studies* (JSPS 7; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989). For the study of 4QMMT, see E. Qimron & J. Strugnell, "An Unpublished Halakhic Letter from Qumran," in *Biblical Archaeology Today*, ed. J. Amitai, (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1985), pp.400-407; and now *Qumran Cave 4 - Miqṣat Ma'ase Ha-Torah* (DJD 10; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

¹⁴ Of the numerous works of L.H. Schiffman, see, e.g., "The Temple Scroll and the Systems of Jewish Temple Period," in *Temple Scroll Studies*, ed. G.J. Brooke, pp.239-55; "MIQṢAT MA'ASEH HA-TORAH and the Temple Scroll," *RevQ* 14(1989), pp.435-57; "The Halakhic Letter (4QMMT) and the Origins of the Dead Sea Sect," *BA* 53(1990), pp.64-73; "The Sadducean Origins of the Dead Sea Sect," in *Understanding the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. H. Shanks (NY: Vintage Books, 1993), pp.36-49; "The Temple Scroll and the Nature of Its Law: The Status of the Question," in *Community of the Renewed Covenant*, pp.27-36; *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their True Meaning for Judaism and Christianity* (ABRL; NY: Doubleday, 1995), pp.83-95; "Origin and Early History of the Qumran History," *BA* 58(1995), pp.37-48.

¹⁵ See J. Strugnell, "MMT: Second Thoughts on a Forthcoming Edition," in *Community of the Renewed Covenant*, pp. 57-73, whose latest verdict on the genre of the document is that it is "not a letter but a legal proclamation... sent to keep the then High Priest of Israel faithful to

"halakhoth" in the document, he concludes that 4QMMT's "positions on matters of Jewish law demonstrate that the founders of the sect were Sadducees in origin."¹⁶ Schiffman's Qumran-Sadducean theory, as is to be expected, has attracted criticisms and aroused debates.¹⁷

Recently, M.O. Wise, M. Abegg, Jr., and E.M. Cook have joined the debate and elaborated a similar view, yet with a different historical reconstruction, in their *New Translation of the (non-biblical) Dead Sea Scrolls*.¹⁸ They endorse Schiffman's judgment that the Qumran community must be Sadducean, but, unlike Schiffman, they locate its historical setting in the power struggles between rival religious groups in the first century BCE and regard the community as the loser-group. Most recently, G. Boccaccini has advocated that the origins of the Qumran sectarians should be Enochic-Essene. Like Murphy-O'Connor, Davies, and García-Martínez, Boccaccini posits that the Qumran community cannot be equated with the Essenes, but was a sub-group of the latter, who separated from main Essenism for political and religious reasons. However, unlike them, Boccaccini traces the origins of the Essenes back to what he calls the Enochic tradition, an apocalyptic tradition that emerged as early as the fourth century BCE as a rival of the "canonical" Zadokite tradition. So he regards the Qumran community as "a radical and minority group"¹⁹ of the Enochic Essenes. According to Boccaccini, the presence of some

those Sadducean priestly laws..." (emphasis mine; p.72).

¹⁶ L.H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the DSS*, p.85; and "Origin and Early History," pp.40-41.

¹⁷ For critiques of Schiffman's theory, see, e.g., J.C. VanderKam, "The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Essenes or Sadducees?" in *Understanding the DSS*, pp.51-62; *idem*, *The DSS Today*, pp.93-95; and O. Betz, "The Qumran Halakhah Text Miqsat Ma'asê Ha-Tôrâh (4QMMT) and Sadducean, Essene, and Early Pharisaic Tradition," in *The Aramaic Bible: Targums in their Historical Context*, eds. D.R.G. Beattie & M.J. McNamara, (JSOTS 166; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), pp.176-202; O. Betz & R. Riesner, *Jesus, Qumran and the Vatican* (London: SCM, 1994), pp.36-49.

¹⁸ M.O. Wise, M. Abegg, Jr., & E.M. Cook have recently co-authored a book, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (London: HarperCollins Publishers, 1996) and formulated their view in its Introduction.

¹⁹ G. Boccaccini, *op.cit.*, p. 162.

Sadducean traits in the sectarian documents can be explained by the fact that Essenism, from which the Qumran community separated, essentially originated not only in the Enochic tradition but also in the Zadokite tradition, from which Sadduceanism and Pharisaism too were developed. Whether Wise-Abegg-Cook's proposal or Boccaccini's theory will be widely accepted is still too early to tell; perhaps debates about the origins of the Qumran sectarians will continue.

Thus far, we have seen in the above short review how widely diverse the opinions of Qumran scholars are as to the origins of the scrolls' owners. As regards the early history of this Jewish community at Qumran, we can also see the same degree of divergence of opinions among Scrolls scholars. Different identifications of the key figures in the Scrolls and so different historical reconstructions of the community's emergence are proposed. Space does not allow us to offer a detailed survey on this matter. Instances are but selective: 1) The figure of the so-called "teacher of righteousness" always remains mysterious, even though he²⁰ was identified by some scholars²¹ as the banned high priest Onias III. 2) The Wicked Priest could be Jason/ Menelaus,²² Jonathan (152-143 BCE),²³ Simon (143-134 BCE),²⁴ Alexander Jannaeus (103-76 BCE),²⁵ Hyrcanus II,²⁶ or even

²⁰ In view of the predominant use of 3ms verbs or nominal suffices to that mysterious teacher in the sectarian writings, the only one thing we can be sure is his gender: male.

²¹ For instance, H.H. Rowley, "The Covenanters of Damascus and the Dead Sea Scrolls," *BJRL* 35(1952-53), pp.111-54; *idem*, "The Teacher of Righeousness and the Dead Sea Scrolls," *BJRL* 40(1957-58), pp.114-46; *idem*, "The History of the Qumran Sect," *BJRL* 49(1966-67), pp. 203-32; M. Burrows, "The Discipline Manual," pp.156-92; M. Black, *Christian Origins*, pp.20-21; R. Gmirkin, "Historical Allusions in the War Scrolls," *DSD* 5(1998), pp.172-214, esp. pp.209, 211.

²² For instance, those who are named in the previous footnote.

²³ For instance, J. Milik, G. Vermes, J. Murphy-O'Connor, H. Stegemann, L.H. Schiffman, etc.

²⁴ For instance, F.M. Cross, etc.

²⁵ For instance, F.F. Bruce, *Second Thoughts on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (2nd.; London: Paternoster, 1961), pp.92-109.

²⁶ Now we have M.O. Wise, M. Abegg, Jr., and E.M. Cook..

multiple.²⁷ 3) Different understanding of the community's origins and identifications of the key figures lead to different accounts of the causes for its emergence: e.g., cultural and religious conflicts and political change,²⁸ usurpation of high priesthood by non-Zadokites leading to a schism among the Hasidim,²⁹ different eschatological views of legal practices leading to an internal split among the Essenes,³⁰ and shift in the king's favor toward religious parties.³¹

In such a situation full of confusion and diverse opinions that almost every theory seems at once correct and wrong, we fortunately have found points at which most, if not all, Scrolls scholars converge. First, no scholar objects or doubts the fact that the scrolls found at Qumran are all Jewish in origin. Second, nearly³² all scholars accept that the "owners/producers" of the scrolls were a minority religious group of sectarian orientation, living a solitary life at Qumran. Third, almost all scholars are agreed on archeological grounds that the sect's settlement at Qumran ended in 68/69 CE, even though it is a moot

²⁷ A.S. van der Woude, F. García Martínez, and T.H. Lim.

²⁸ For instance, those, like H.H. Rowley, who identify the mysterious "teacher of righteousness" as Onias III.

²⁹ This is a view held by most of the Qumran scholars.

³⁰ This is suggested by the Groningen Hypothesis.

³¹ A view newly offered by Wise, Abegg, and Cook.

³² With the exception of, to my knowledge, only one scholar, i.e., Norman Golb. This Chicago University professor staunchly maintains a view that the ancient scrolls found at the caves near the Dead Sea were deposited there by the Jerusalem Jews who wanted to save them from destruction by the Romans before the city's fall at 70 CE. For him, moreover, the scrolls had nothing to do with the fortress-city Qumran, let alone a so-called sectarian Jewish community. He also rejects the third and fourth points stated here. See his "The Problem of Origin and Identification of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Proc.Amer.Phil.Soc.* 124 (1980), pp.1-24; "Who Hid the Dead Sea Scrolls?" *BA* 48(1985), pp.68-82; "The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Perspective," *The American Scholar* 58(1989), pp.177-207; and "Khirbet Qumran and the Manuscripts of the Judaean Wilderness," *JNES* 49(1990), pp.103-14. For critiques of his view, see, e.g., T.H. Lim, "Two Hypotheses," pp.456-61; O. Betz & R. Riesner, *Jesus, Qumran*, pp.52-56; and J.C. VanderKam, *The DSS Today*, pp.95-97.

point for them when the sect emerged in history.³³ Fourth, it is generally accepted that (at least) some of the writings of these Qumran sectarians were directly, or indirectly, concerned with the Maccabeans and their successors.³⁴

These points of "convergence," though of varying degree of certainty and significance, effectively establish the core of a consensus about the history of the scrolls, namely that, the scrolls discovered in the caves near the Dead Sea were owned and/or produced by a certain Jewish sectarian group who lived a life of brotherhood at Qumran, at a time possibly within the period from the early second century BCE to 68/69 CE.

In view of the nature and focus of our study - the influence of the Isaianic tradition upon the Qumran sectarians, we are content with such a tentative conclusion and adopt it as our working hypothesis, though it may be a bit too fluid and vague. Indeed, we hope that our examination of the texts will yield more useful information for further speculation beyond this.

b. The Scope of Study

Among the scrolls found in the caves near the Dead Sea, there are 20-24 manuscripts, wholly or partially, incorporating the Book of Isaiah, just less than those of the Book of Deuteronomy and of Psalms.³⁵ Such a considerable number of copies suggests the popularity and significance of the Book of Isaiah to the Qumran community. This impression can be confirmed on internal grounds. For one thing, there are numerous references, both explicit and implicit, to the sayings of Isaiah and Isaianic concepts

³³ See R. de Vaux's account of the end of the community's settlement at Qumran based on archeological finds in *Archaeology and the DSS*, pp.36-41.

³⁴ This point certainly will be rejected by Robert Eisenman and Barbara Thiering. Since their respective views are regarded as "marginal" by the majority of scholars and have attracted, to my knowledge, no followers, I have decided not to discuss them. See F. García Martínez's book reviews and critiques of their respective important works in *JSJ* 14 (1983), pp.98-99, 194-99; 15(1984), pp.210-11; and O. Betz & R. Riesner, *Jesus, Qumran*, pp.69-82 (on Eisenman's view), pp.99-113 (on Thiering's theory).

³⁵ See E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press/ Assen/Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1992), pp.104-5.

scattered all over different non-biblical Qumran-sectarian writings. For another, from the state of the Isaiah scrolls - both 1QIsa^a and 1QIsa^b, and the presence of "many corrections, erasures and retracings of obliterated letters" therein, we learn that this prophetic book was quite frequently read and studied.³⁶

Indeed, the Isaianic tradition is one of the most significant OT traditions that inspired and shaped the theology and self-definition of the Qumran community. How much the sectarian group was influenced by the Isaianic tradition is an important subject that deserves thorough scrutiny.³⁷ However, due to limits of space, it is not possible to examine all the Isaianic material in the Qumran literature. We therefore will confine ourselves to an examination of the Isaianic tradition in some significant and well preserved sectarian writings: 1QS, CD,³⁸ 1QH; and some important fragmentary documents: 1QSB, 4Q285, and 4QpIsa^a (4Q161).

B. The Isaianic Tradition in the Community Rule

The Community Rule (1QS), also called the Manual of Discipline (esp. by early Scrolls scholars), is one of the seven documents first discovered in 1947. Fragments of the document were also found in two other caves (Nos.4 and 5) in subsequent years. The scroll of the document consists of eleven well preserved columns. The document was originally attached in the same scroll to two other documents, 1QSa and 1QSB. The exact relations of these three documents are unclear, but scholars think "they should be

³⁶ See E.L. Sukenik, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1955), p.23.

³⁷ For a recent attempt to address the subject, see G.J. Brooke, "Isaiah in the Pesharim and Other Qumran Texts" in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition*, vol.2, eds. C.C. Broyles & C.A. Evans (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), pp.609-32.

³⁸ The problem of whether or not the Damascus Document (CD) belongs to the group of writings composed by the Qumran sectarians will be discussed below.

considered organically."³⁹ As to whether the document has undergone a process of redaction at different stages of the community, scholars cannot yet reach an agreement.⁴⁰ However, it is generally agreed regarding its content that the document presents a series of rules governing the life of the sectarians. Throughout the document, plenty of scriptural citations and allusions can be discerned.⁴¹ Traces of the Isaianic tradition, however, are not frequent; only two explicit citations and a few allusions are caught. They will be discussed below according to the sequence of their occurrence.

a. Analysis of the Data

1. 1QS 5:17 cites Isa.2:22

1QS 5:17 ... כאשר כתוב חדלו לכם מן האדם אשר נשמה באפו כיא במה נחשב⁴²
הוא

1QIs^a 2:22 חדלו לכמה מן האדם אשר נשמה באפו כיא במה נחשב הוא⁴³

MT Is.2:22 חדלו לכם מן האדם אשר נשמה באפו כי במה נחשב הוא

The text of Isa.2:22 cited in 1QS 5:17 coincides almost exactly with those of 1QIs^a and of MT. The Isaianic text is introduced by the formula כאשר כתוב (as it

³⁹ J.H. Charlesworth, "Introduction, Rule of the Community," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls, vol.1 - Rule of the Community and Related Documents*, ed. J.H. Charlesworth (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr/ Louisville:Westminster John Knox Press, 1994), p.1.

⁴⁰ For discussions see D. Dimant, "Qumran Sectarian Literature," in *JWSTP*, pp.498-502; G. Vermes, "The Writings of the Qumran Community," in *HJPJC*, vol.3.1, pp.382-83; R.A.J. Gagnon, "How did the Rule of the Community obtain its Final Shape? A Review of Scholarly Research," *JSP* 10(1992), pp.61-79; P.S. Alexander, "The Redaction-History of *Serekh Ha-Yahad*: A Proposal," *RevQ* 17(1996), pp.437-56; S. Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997).

⁴¹ On the use of Scripture in 1QS, see P. Wernberg-Møller, "Some Reflections on the Biblical Material in the Manual of Discipline," *Studia Theologica* 9(1955), pp.40-66.

⁴² The Hebrew text used here is that by E. Qimron published in *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, vol.1, ed., J.H. Charlesworth.

⁴³ The text of the Great Isaiah Scroll is based on that by J.C. Trever published in *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery*, vol.1, ed. M. Burrows (New Haven: ASOR, 1950).

is/was written), a citation formula commonly used in the Qumran literature.⁴⁴

In its original context, Isa.2:22 represents an exhortation which concludes the prophet's oracle: do not trust in man, who is unreliable and indeed nothing at all. The point is clearly man's untrustworthiness and futility. However, in its new context, the passage is cited to make the point about the necessity of separation from sinners. It underscores man's futility (note the word **הבל** in 5:19) and wickedness (cf. 5:11, 14) so as to justify the sect's urge to its members to separate completely from the wicked, impure ones. There is another discrepancy in the author's understanding of the Isaianic text. In its original context, the word **האדם** appears to be taken as generic, referring to human beings in general, while in 1QS 5:17 it is used to refer to the non-covenanters (cf. 5:18). Do these discrepancies show that the author of the Community Rule twisted the text for his own purposes? What made the author utilize Isa.2:22 as support to his argument?

The citation is probably evoked by the paronomasia with **חשב** "to think/reckon," which also occurs in 1QS 5:11, 18.⁴⁵ But it is also probably the eschatological nature of the context of Isa.2:22 that draws the sectarian author's attention to the present passage. In Isa.2 the coming of the Day of Yahweh is envisaged (cf. vv.1-4, 11f., 17, 20f.). In the prophet's eschatological horizon, the Day of Yahweh brings about both restoration and divine judgment, both of which have universal dimensions. "On that day," Yahweh will judge not only the nations but, above all, those Israelites who were unfaithful to His covenant (cf. 2:5-9). Such a theme of divine judgment upon unfaithful Israelites was evidently caught by the author of 1QS. Throughout 1QS, the motif of divine condemnation upon those ignoring or unfaithful to Yahweh's covenant is predominant (cf., e.g., 1QS 5:18-19). Our sectarian author believed that he and his companions were living in the last days, whose final consummation was imminent. For him, it was the sect alone that, being observant to the Law and its divinely inspired interpretation by the sect

⁴⁴ See J.A. Fitzmyer's discussion of it in "The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations in Qumran Literature and in the New Testament," in his *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* (SBL/Scholars' Press, 1974), pp.8-9.

⁴⁵ So J.H. Charlesworth, "Introduction," p.23, n.114.

itself, was the true, faithful heir of Yahweh's covenant. It was exactly out of such a deep conviction that complete separation from the outside world was demanded of its full members. Indeed, the notion of separation from (sinful) mortals is also implied in Isa.2:22.⁴⁶ In view of this larger context, it seems difficult to conclude that our sectarian author twisted the Isaianic text; perhaps, it would be better to say that he appropriated the text by deriving the notion of separation from its exhortation to put no trust on humans.

If this understanding is granted, then it is necessary to reconsider J.A. Fitzmyer's verdict as to the author's use of Isa.2:22: "The Qumran author twists the sense of the verb *nhsb* to carry the meaning of 'being reckoned in the covenant' of the community, and so uses it to support the prohibition of contact with wicked outsiders. The warning of Isaiah has been turned into a sort of precept about an entirely different matter."⁴⁷ First, the whole thrust of the Isaianic citation is not put on the verb חשב, but on the first clause of the verse (חזלו לכם מן האדם), from which the notion of separation is derived. Secondly, the author of 1QS did not "twist" the meaning of the verb חשב when he used it in lines 11, 18. Its basic meaning remains unchanged, i.e., "to be accounted" or the like; what is changed is simply the referent of the entire clause (כי במה נחשב הוא), where חשב occurs. In the Isaianic context, the sense of the clause is ontological and abstract, querying the true value of human beings, on whom the prophet's addressees desperately relied. Yet, in 1QS 5, our author seems to have taken the clause in a concrete way by specifically referring to a certain group of people who were regarded as outsiders of the sect's covenant with Yahweh and accordingly as nothing, futile. Thus, by utilizing on the verb חשב in line 18, the author simply puts his point in a sharper and more specific way.

⁴⁶ Note NRSV's rendering of the clause חזלו לכם מן האדם: "turn away from mortals," which clearly brings out the notion of separation.

⁴⁷ J.A. Fitzmyer, "Use of Explicit OT Quotations," p.34; emphasis mine. Cf. also H. Gabrion, "L'interprétation de l'Écriture dans la littérature de Qumran," in *ANRW* II.19.1 (1979), pp.787-88, who comments that "L'auteur de la 'Règle' cite ce verset [Isa.2:22] à l'appui d'une des lois fondamentales...: la prohibition de tout contact avec ceux qui n'appartiennent pas à la Communauté.... Ce faisant, il modifie totalement ce que le prophète a voulu dire" (emphasis mine).

2. 1QS 8:3b-4 → Isa.53:4-5

1QS 8:3b-4 ולרצת עוון בעושי משפט וצרת מצרפ...

1QIs^a 53:4-5 אכן חולינו הוא נשא ומכאובינו סבלם ואנחנו חשבנוהו נגוע ומוכה אלוהים ומעונה והוא מחולל מפשעינו ומדוכא מעונותינו ומוסר שלומנו עליו ובחברתיו נרפא לנו

1QIs^b 53:4-5⁴⁸ אכן חלינו הוא נשא ומכאובינו סבלם [וא]נחנו חשבנוהו נגוע מכה אלהים ומענה והוא מחלל מפשענו ומדכא מעונותינו מוסר שלמנו עליו ובחברתו נרפא ל[נו]

MT Isa.53:4-5 אכן חלינו הוא נשא ומכאובינו סבלם ואנחנו חשבנוהו נגוע מכה אלהים ומענה והוא מחלל מפשענו מדכא מעונותינו מוסר שלומנו עליו ובחברתו נרפא לנו

In 1QS 8:3b-4a, an Isaianic allusion is caught to the famous Servant Song Isa.52:13-53:12. The allusion is built upon a thematic association rather than a verbal one; the latter connection appears to be paper-thin. In 1QS 8:3b-4a, the author claims that the "twelve men and three priests," having been perfectly versed in the Law, "will atone for sin by doing justice and suffering affliction." Such a notion of atoning for sin by righteous deeds and sufferings can be found throughout the OT only in *Isaiah*, in the fourth Servant Song. Despite the ambiguity of his identity,⁴⁹ the servant mentioned in Isa.52:13-53:12 was said to have undergone great sufferings and even death (Isa.53:8,9,12), and he eventually was accepted by Yahweh as a vicarious atonement for the sins of others. Although our sectarian author did not clearly spell out the nature and the degree of the sufferings that the "twelve men and three priests" would have endured,

⁴⁸ The text of 1QIs^b is based on that prepared by E.L. Sukenik in *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1955).

⁴⁹ On the possible interpretations of the identity of this mysterious Servant in the Servant Songs in general and in Isa.52:13-53:12 in particular, see S. Mowinckel, *He That Cometh*, pp.196-257; R.N. Whybray, *The Second Isaiah*, (OTG; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995 [1983]), pp.68-81; G.P. Hugenerberger, "The Servant of the Lord in the 'Servant Songs' of Isaiah: A Second Figure," in *The Lord's Anointed: Interpretation of OT Messianic Texts*, eds. P.E. Satterthwaite, R.S. Hess & G.J. Wenham (Carlisle: Paternoster / Grand Rapids: Baker, 1995), pp.105-39.

the Isaianic notion of a vicarious atonement for sin by righteous deeds and sufferings was evidently picked up here in view of its uniqueness in the OT.

Whose sin then were these people to atone for? The sin of the whole of Israel including both sectarian and non-sectarian Israelites, or simply of the sectarian community itself? It is difficult to find a sure answer on the basis of the immediate context, but according to the community's claim of being the true Israel it seems not unlikely that the sin spoken of is that of the community itself, i.e., of those who have entered, or will enter, the covenant between the community and Yahweh. If so, the "twelve men and three priests" played a representative role in dealing with the problem of the sin of the community to which they belonged, as the suffering servant of Second Isaiah did to his community. The fact that the sectarian writer did not further explicate the nature of the work of these fifteen persons *vis-à-vis* that of the suffering servant seems to suggest the nature of the Isaianic allusion here to be some kind of linguistic imitation and thematic borrowing .

3. 1QS 8:5 → Isa.60:21 & 61:3b

1QS 8:5 נכונה העצת היחד באמת למטעת עולם...

1QIs^a60:21 ועמך כולם צדיקים לעולם ירשו ארץ נצר מטעו יהוה מעשי ידיו להתפאר

& 61:3b וקראו להמה אילי הצדק מטע יהוה להתפאר

1QIs^b60:21 ועמך כלם צדיקים לעולם יירשו ארץ מטעיו מעשה ידיו להתפאר

& 61:3b (The text is missing.)

MT Is60:21 ועמך כלם צדיקים לעולם יירשו ארץ נצר מטעו מעשה ידי להתפאר

& 61:3b וקרא להם אילי הצדק מטע יהוה להתפאר

Due to the lack of any citation formulas and the thin verbal similarities, it is hard to claim that 1QS 8:5 presents an Isaianic citation. On the basis of wording, the allusive relationship of 1QS 8:5 to the Isaianic passages is not very strong. The verbal relationship hinges simply on the word *מטע*. In Isa.60:21, the notion of planting is expressed by the phrase *נצר מטעו*, and in Isa.61:3b simply by the word *מטע*. But it is noteworthy that 1QIsa^b gives a variant of Isa.60:21, in which the word *נצר* was omitted. It is difficult to

determine whether our author of 1QS 8:5 here adduced the terminology from 1QIsa^b or from 1QIsa^a.

Despite the fairly weak verbal evidence, however, on thematic grounds the imagery of Israel Yahweh's covenantal partner being His planting forcefully suggests the allusive relationship between 1QS 8:5 and the Isaianic passages. The term עֵט occurs six times in the OT (Isa.60:21; 61:3; Eze.17:7; 31:4; 34:29; Mic.1:6). In Eze.17:7; 31:4 and Mic.1:6, the term is used to denote a place for planting (cf. NRSV), and in Eze.34:29 it refers to vegetables (cf. NSRV). Only in Isa.60:21 and 61:3 is the term עֵט used to mean a planting/plantation and metaphorically to refer to Israel, the covenantal partner of Yahweh.

In 1QS 8:5, the "Council of the Community" (הָעֵצָה הַיְחִידָה) was depicted by the author as "an everlasting planting."⁵⁰ The notion of "everlasting" is probably derived from Isa.60:21, where it is promised that Israel as Yahweh's planting will possess the land forever (לְעוֹלָם). In the eschatological vision of (Third) Isaiah, Israel will become Yahweh's planting in a land which, it is promised, she will possess forever. From this, therefore, it is not hard to deduce that Israel will be planted in the last days in the promised land forever. Also noteworthy is the notion of "the land" in Isa.60:21, which also occurs in the context of 1QS 8:5 (cf. lines 3, 6). "The land" is one of the most significant motifs in the eschatology of *Isaiah*. The sectarian author certainly believed that he and his community, though now "in exile," would one day (at Yahweh's triumphal coming) be brought back to their "homeland." Having been captured by the prophet's eschatological vision, our author identified the "Council of the Community" with the planting of Yahweh, which he was deeply convinced would be planted in Zion in the last days and would re-possess the land forever. Such an identification evidently exposes the sectarian eschatological aspirations.

⁵⁰ The translation by J.H. Charlesworth, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, p.35, appears to be quite misleading: "When these become in Israel - the Council of the Community being established in truth - an eternal plant, the House of Holiness...." The translation seems to suggest that the "twelve men and three priests" were identified as the eternal plant. Such a translation is difficult to justify on grammatical grounds.

Who was the "Council of the Community" then? The Isaianic passages clearly show that it is the returned /eschatological community of Israel that will become Yahweh's planting in Zion and will possess the land forever. Claiming to be the true Israel living in the last days, the sectarian author and his followers must undoubtedly have understood the "Israel" in these Isaianic passages as referring to their entire community, not only to the "Council of the Community." If so, it follows that the "Council of the Community" here identified as the everlasting planting must be either a particular designation for the entire body of the sectarians, or a small group which is yet representative of the whole Qumran community, or even both.

4. 1QS 8:7b → Isa.28:16aβ-bα

1QS 8:7b	... היאה חומת ה בחן פנת יקר ...
1QIs ^a 28:16	... הנני מיסד בציון אבן אבן בחן פנת יקרת מוסד מוסד ...
1QIs ^b 28:16	...[] הנני יוסד ...
MT Is.28:16	... הנני יסד בציון אבן אבן בחן פנת יקרת מוסד מוסד ...

As shown above in the text-diagram, the allusive relation of 1QS 8:7b to Isa.28:16 hinges upon the terms **יקר**, **פנת**, and **בחן**. This relationship has been accepted by almost all scholars. Some have even taken the predicate of 1QS 8:7b as quoted, partly or wholly, from Isa.28:16.⁵¹ An interesting variant between the texts is the choice by our sectarian author of the word **חומת** instead of the word **אבן**. M.A. Knibb has offered an intriguing explanation for our author's choice of different terminology: The author "perhaps think[s] of the members of the community as forming a protective enclosure."⁵² Despite its possibility, his ingenious suggestion nonetheless remains merely speculative.

The phrase **חומת הבחן** can be rendered in a variety of ways. Most scholars have

⁵¹ See, e.g., P. Wernberg-Møller, "Biblical Material in the Manual of Discipline," pp.52-53; and translations by G. Vermes, *DSS in English*, pp.80-81; by M.O. Wise, M. Abegg, Jr., & E.M. Cook, *A New Translation*, p.137.

⁵² M.A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community* (CCWJCW 2; Cambridge: CUP, 1987), p.132; cf. also P. Wernberg-Møller, "Biblical Material in the Manual of Discipline," p.52.

thus translated it: "the tested/tried wall." But its rendering could also be, e.g., "the wall for testing," "a wall to be tested," "the wall of the fortress," "the wall of granite," and so on, depending on how the second word **הבחן** is to be pointed. The immediate context, albeit somewhat ambiguous, appears to rule out the first two possibilities and instead to favor the last two suggested, implying a sense of "strength/security." This understanding of the phrase is compatible with the subsequent modifying clause **ממקומם ... יזעזעו** in 1QS 8:8a. The phrase **חומת הבחן** also occurs in a similar form in 1QH 7:9 (**לחומת הבחן**),⁵³ where the sense of strength and security is clearly suggested by the context.

If it is accepted that the phrase **חומת הבחן** connotes the sense of strength and security, it is not difficult to understand the meaning of the other nominal phrase in line 7b: **פנת יקר**. Based on parallelism or appositional relation, the phrase **פנת יקר** probably also carries a similar sense to that of its preceding one, namely, that of strength and security.

In Isa.28:16, it was prophesied that Yahweh was laying a stone in Zion. Two nominal phrases **אבן בחן** and **פנת יקרת מוסד מוסד**, standing in a parallel relation in Isa.28:16b α , are made to qualify that stone (**אבן**; 28:16a β). As for the first phrase, many scholars have suggested that its best rendering should be "a stone of testing" or "a testing stone," rather than "a tested stone." Such a rendering implies that the stone laid by Yahweh in Zion was a stone that would serve as a control by which to examine others so as to see whether they are up to the standards of Yahweh.⁵⁴ This implication represents the negative side of the function of the "stone." This means that the "stone" laid in Zion will become "a stumbling stone" for those who do not take refuge in it (cf. Isa.8:14-15). For these scholars, the positive side is brought out by the second nominal phrase: **פנת יקרת מוסד מוסד**. The "stone" will be the "rock" or defence of those who rely upon it

⁵³ Here the text of 1QH 7:9 is based on that of E.L. Sukenik.

⁵⁴ See, e.g., R.E. Clements, *Isaiah 1-39* (NCBC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), p.231; H. Wildberger, *Jesaja 28-39* (BKAT 10/3; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1982), pp.1076-77; J.N. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah - Chs.1-39* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986), pp.517-19.

(cf. Isa.8:14-15). These scholars obviously have interpreted the prophet's message here in the light of Isa.8:14-15, which suggests that the two nominal phrases carry different connotations. However, this interpretation is highly problematic, for it has not done full justice to the context of Isa.28:16.

We cannot, of course, entirely rule out the possibility that the prophet here may have had Isa.8:14-15 in mind. But the immediate context does not offer strong support for an understanding of the two nominal phrases in Isa.28:16b α as bearing different connotations.⁵⁵ Rather, careful analysis of the highly judgmental context of Isa.28:16 suggests that the two nominal phrases carry similar or even the same connotations.

First of all, as noted above, these two phrases parallel each other, modifying the "stone" laid by Yahweh in Zion. Based on parallelism, the two phrases in all probability carry the same sense. The second nominal phrase, פִּנֶת יִקְרָת מוֹסֵד מוֹסֵד, can literally be translated as "a corner(stone) of preciousness⁵⁶ of a firm foundation." The latter half of the phrase (מוֹסֵד מוֹסֵד) could be epexegetical and so appositional to פִּנֶת יִקְרָת (cf. NRSV). Such syntactical structure conveys to the reader the sense of strength and security. If so, the first phrase "a tested stone," which parallels פִּנֶת יִקְרָת מוֹסֵד מוֹסֵד, should also be thus understood, implying that the "stone" has undergone tests and has been regarded as legitimate, firm and safe.⁵⁷ Secondly, this interpretation is confirmed by Isa.28:16b β , in which the sense of "stability" is implied.⁵⁸ Thirdly, it is further

⁵⁵ H. Wildberger, *Jesaja 28-39*, p.1076, comments that "... da der Hörer bei בָּרֶן zum mindesten assoziativ »Erprobung« heraushört. Die analogen Begriffe von 17, »Meßschnur« und »Senkblei«, künden eindeutig Prüfung an, nicht viel anders, als wenn Amos berichtet, daß er Yahwe auf einer Mauer stehen sah, das Senkblei in der Hand (7,7)."

Wildberger is misguided by Isa.28:17. In v.17, it is crystal clear that the prophet, following up the building imagery in v.16, simply asserted the criteria by which Yahweh had tested the "stone," i.e., by justice and righteousness. V.17 by no means suggests that the "stone" Yahweh laid in Zion would serve as an instrument for testing.

⁵⁶ See GKC, §130f, n.4, who identify יִקְרָת as "a substantive, not an adjective."

⁵⁷ So O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13-39* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1974), pp252-54.

⁵⁸ The root of the verb יָרַח carries the sense of "moving/wavering," so some scholars have suggested that here it could be rendered as "he will not waver." See, e.g., R.E. Clements,

supported by the contrast of Isa.28:17-18 with v.16. In vv.17-18, the theme of the demolition of the illegitimate, unfounded foundation of trust is clearly expressed, whereas in v.16, that of the establishment of the legitimate, firm and secure basis for trust is underscored.

If our understanding of Isa.28:16 is granted, we can see that the original verbal sense of the Isaianic passage remained exactly intact when the author of 1QS 8:7 picked up some of its key wordings and applied them to his own community. Since the identification of the metaphorical referent of the "stone" is still debated,⁵⁹ it is difficult to determine precisely the hermeneutical axiom that underlies the sectarian author's application of the "stone" to the "Council of the Community." Yet it is worthy of attention that in Isa.28:15-18 the "stone" laid in Zion was put in contrast to the "covenant with death/agreement with Sheol" (cf. NRSV). On the basis of such a contrast, it would not be difficult for the sectarian author, as a covenanter with Yahweh in the last days, to deduce some analogical connection between the "stone" in Zion and the "Council of the Community." Indeed, in his further description of the "Council of the Community" as "a Most Holy Dwelling for Aaron, with everlasting knowledge of the Covenant of Justice... [and as] a House of Perfection and Truth in Israel that they may establish a Covenant according to the everlasting precepts" (1QS 8:9-10),⁶⁰ the author did show indications that he had drawn inspiration both from the contrast of the "stone" with the "covenant with death" and from the context of Isa.28:16 (cf. Isa.28:17, where the notion of "justice/righteousness" is brought out.) So, for the sectarian author, the community is the "tested stone," in which alone one can find divine recognition and salvation; put differently,

Isaiah 1-39, p.231.

⁵⁹ Although many OT scholars have taken the "stone" laid in Zion as referring to Yahweh Himself, the "stone" could also be identified, e.g., as Zion, the Temple, or even the Davidic monarchy; see H. Wildberger, *Jesaja 28-39*, p.1076; A. Motyer, *The Prophecy of Isaiah* (London: IVP, 1993), p.233. Wildberger even suggests that "man muß bei der metaphorischen Deutung bleiben: Der Stein des Fundaments, durch den Sicherheit und Heil angeboten wird, ist der Glaube, der Glaube, der Jahwes Heilszusage ernst nimmt" (p. 1077; emphasis mine).

⁶⁰ Translation of G. Vermes in his *DSS in English*, p.81; emphasis mine.

"outside the community there is no salvation."

5. 1QS 8:14 cites Isa.40:3

1QS 8:14 במדבר פנו דרך ... ישרו בערבה מסלה לאלוהינו כאשר כתוב

1QIs^a 40:3 קול קורא במדבר פנו דרך יהוה וישרו בערבה מסלה לאלוהינו

MT Is.40:3 קול קורא במדבר פנו דרך יהוה ישרו בערבה מסלה לאלהינו

As in 1QS 5:17, the Isaianic citation in 1QS 8:14 is introduced by the citation formula **כאשר כתוב** (as it is/was written). The text of the citation agrees almost exactly with those of 1QIs^a and of MT. The author omits the phrase **קול קורא**, probably because it is not relevant to his point. The four dots put before **ישרו** symbolize the name of God **יהוה** (Yahweh). Here the use of four dots for the Tetragrammaton, instead of writing it directly, might be a convention currently practiced among some scribes in the second century BCE.⁶¹ However, in view of 1QS 6:27b-7:2a, it seems likely that the practice reflects the sectarians' piety and carefulness toward the divine name.⁶² Such piety and carefulness about using God's name may suggest their strict observance of the Decalogue, which solemnly forbids every Israelite who enters into Yahweh's covenant (cf. Exod.20; Deut.5) to use Yahweh's name wrongfully.

As regards function, the Isaianic citation is intended to serve as a prooftext,

⁶¹ Cf. P.W. Skehan, "The Divine Name at Qumran, in the Masada Scroll, and in the Septuagint," *Bulletin of International Organisation for Septuagint and Cognate Studies* 13(1980), pp.14-20.

⁶² Commenting on the present Rule passage, P.W. Skehan, *art. cit.*, pp.15-16, writes that "to avoid possible misuse, the scribe [of 1QS] we have been observing will not even write the name Yhwh in passages of Scripture which explicitly call for it." Questions arise: why did the scribe bother to avoid possible misuse of God's name? And, does his intention of avoiding the abuse/misuse of God's name not reflect his underlying piety and reverence toward the most respectable name? Yes; so M. Fishbane, "Interpretation of Mikra at Qumran," in *Mikra*, ed. M.J. Mulder (CRINT 2.1; Assen: Van Gorcum/ Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), p.367: "Concern for divine honor or sanctity, for example, resulted in *euphemistic* renderings of the Tetragram. Thus in 1QS 8:14..." (*italic his*). See also J.P. Siegel, "The Employment of Palaeo-Hebrew Characters for the Divine Names at Qumran in the Light of Tannaitic Sources," *HUCA* 42(1971), pp.159-72; L.H. Schiffman, *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Brown Judaic Studies 33; CA: Scholars Press, 1983), pp.133-54, esp. p.136.

buttressing the point made in the preceding line (i.e., line 13). In its original context, Isa.40:3 carries a very strong salvific sense, envisaging Yahweh's intervention to terminate the exile of Israel and bring her home. The historical context of Israel's exile is suggested by the phrases *במדבר* and *בערבה*. Although some emphasis was put on the phrase *במדבר* by its position at the beginning of the utterance in vv.3-5, the point of the verse is clear: to prepare a "way" for Yahweh's triumphal coming, which will in turn effect Israel's deliverance. The "way/highway" that was summoned to be constructed or made-straight in the desert is probably a way prepared for the return of the exiles from Babylon.⁶³ The way is also a "way of/for Yahweh," for it is Yahweh himself who will come to lead the exiles back to their homeland.⁶⁴ In view of this, it seems likely that the "way" in question is literally a road on which the exiles would have taken their journey home.⁶⁵

In the context of 1QS 8, as noted above, Isa.40:3 functions as a proof-text to support what has previously been said. Here a problem arises: what is the point Isa.40:3 was quoted in support of? Put specifically, is the Isaianic citation intended to support: 1) the point made in line 13 as a whole⁶⁶ (i.e., the sect's separation from the men of deceit by going into the wilderness to prepare the "way"), or 2) the point made in the second half of the line⁶⁷ (i.e., the sect's withdrawal into the wilderness to prepare the "way"), or 3) simply the point made in the final infinitive clause⁶⁸ (i.e., the sect's preparation [in the wilderness] of the "way")? Syntactically, each one is possible. Most scholars have chosen

⁶³ This understanding is suggested by the intratextual echoes of Isa.40:3 in Isa.42:16; 43:16-20; 48:17-21; 55:12; cf. 57:14 and 62:10.

⁶⁴ Cf. e.g., Isa.43:1-7, 14-21.

⁶⁵ This statement does not necessarily mean that historically there was really a road built in the desert for the exiles to return home.

⁶⁶ Line 13 runs: *בתכונים לאלה יבדלו מתוך מושב הנשי העול ללכת למדבר לפנות שם את דרך הוואהא*.

⁶⁷ That is : *ללכת למדבר לפנות שם את דרך הוואהא*.

⁶⁸ This final infinitive, *לפנות שם את דרך הוואהא*, must be taken to be telic.

the second option. However, the immediate context appears to suggest the third option to be most probable. In 1QS 8:15-16a, despite the ambiguity of the antecedent of **הִיאֵה** in line 15, the subject in question is unambiguously that of the study (and practice) of the Mosaic Law. How is this theme of studying the Law related to the Isaianic citation as well as to lines 12-13?

The answer hinges on how one understands the function in the present context of the pronoun **הִיאֵה**, which introduces lines 15-16a. Many scholars have identified the antecedent of the pronoun **הִיאֵה** as **דֶּרֶךְ** "the way," and hence have rendered the pronoun as "this (way/path)."⁶⁹ But this is implausible, for it makes awkward sense of the text: what is meant by "to prepare"⁷⁰ the study of the Law?" The pronoun **הִיאֵה** here is not demonstrative in function, but is of formulaic use, for it is actually one of the literary devices commonly used in ancient Hebrew literature for the purposes of explanation, clarification, specification, and contemporization.⁷¹ It is thus best translated: "that/this means."⁷² Considering this, then, the function of **הִיאֵה** here is in all probability to introduce an explication of "to prepare the way of/for Him (i.e., Yahweh)"⁷³ in line 13 -

⁶⁹ Cf., e.g., the translations of G. Vermes in *DSS in English*, p.81; M.A. Knibb, *Qumran Community*, p.128. G.J. Brooke most recently has recognized this interpretation, though he admits the ambiguity of the immediate context as to the antecedent of **הִיאֵה**; see his "Isaiah 40:3 and the Wilderness Community," in *New Qumran Texts and Studies*, ed. G.J. Brooke with F. García Martínez (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), p.122.

⁷⁰ Here the verb **פָּנָה**, in Piel, gives a sense of "to clear up/away," see BDB, p.815; L. Koehler & W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros* (= KB; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1985), p.765.

⁷¹ Cf. Gen.14:17; Josh.18:13; Ezek.31:18 B. On this, see M. Fishbane, "The Qumran Peshar and Traits of Ancient Hermeneutics," in *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, vol.1, ed. A. Shinan (Jerusalem: Jerusalem Academic Press, 1977), pp.97-114, esp. 98; *idem*, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991 [1985]), pp.44-48, 80.

⁷² Cf., e.g., the translations by W.H. Brownlee, *The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline: Translation and Notes* (Yale: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1951), p.32; M.O. Wise, M. Abegg, Jr., & E.M. Cook, *A New Translation*, p.138.

⁷³ The pronoun **הוּאֵהָ** in line 13 is very probably a lengthened form of **הוּאֵה** "he". It occurs only here in Qumran literature; the reason why it was preferred here to the normal form

the very point that Isa.40:3 was cited in support of. Such a reading makes good sense of the context. Hence, it appears most natural and most logical that lines 15-16a introduced by *היא* are intended to explicate the point that is made in line 13 and prooftexted by Isa.40:3 in line 14, namely, to prepare the way of/for Yahweh.⁷⁴

If this interpretation is accepted, we can see that in citing Isa.40:3 the sectarian author was not concerned with the grounds for the sectarians' separation from the sinful men, nor with the place where the community⁷⁵ went to prepare the "way," but with the goal that he believed the community was called to live for. In other words, what Isa.40:3 was summoned to offer is not a "biblical" justification of the community's sectarian orientation, nor of its settlement in the desert, but a Scripture-based sacred vocation or holy task, i.e., to prepare the way of/for Yahweh. In view of this, debates over the issue as to whether the sectarians did actually migrate into the wilderness appear to have missed the point of the sectarian author.⁷⁶ In my view, withdrawal into the wilderness to live a solitary life was assumed here by the author; for it was hard for him to imagine that

remains unclear. According to the context, it was probably used out of reverence to replace God's name *יהוה* when the author adopted as his own the wording of Isa.40:3. On the interpretation of the pronoun, see H.P. Rüger, "Zur Deutung von 1QS 8,13-14," *ZNW* 60(1969), pp.142-44.

⁷⁴ Cf. M.A. Knibb, *Qumran Community*, pp.134-35. Knibb has come to a similar conclusion; yet he has taken the pronoun *היא* as demonstrative, referring to "the way" (*דרך*).

⁷⁵ The people in discussion in lines 13-16a are most probably "the twelve men and three priests" (cf. 1QS 8:1; *שנים עשר איש וכוהנים שלושה*). Scholars have debated over the problem of whether these people represented the community as a whole or just an inner council within the community. Here I have agreed with P. Wernberg-Møller to take the former view; hence what is said of them also applies to the whole community. See P. Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline* (STDJ 1; Leiden: E.J. Brill/ Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1957), p.122; and my discussion of the Isa. allusions in 1QS 8:3b-4 and 8:5 above. Cf. also E.F. Sutcliffe, "The Fifteen Members of the Qumran Community: A Note on 1QS 8:1ff.," *JSS* 4(1959), pp.134-38.

⁷⁶ See, e.g., N. Golb, "The Problem of Origin and Identification of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Proc.Amer.Phil.Soc.* 124(1980), pp.1-24, who argues that "there is nothing in ... [1QS 8:12-15] to imply even remotely that those who would have followed the rules of the manual actually believed that they should go to live in a desert" (p.16b); and the response to him by G.J. Brooke, "Isaiah 40:3 and the Wilderness Community," in *New Qumran Texts and Studies*, eds. G.J. Brooke with F. García Martínez (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), pp.117-32.

complete freeing from sin/sinful people would not entail physical isolation (cf. 1QS 5:1f.,10-11).

As far as the *Sitz im Leben* of (at least) 1QS 8:1-16a is concerned, the author's efforts to define by means of Scripture the goal for the community's existence suggest that these lines might have been composed at a very early time in the community's history.⁷⁷ Further, the author's stress on studying the Law as the goal the sectarians had to strive for might also suggest that during that early time the sectarian writer and his followers were facing conflicts with, or challenges from, outsiders on the matter of legal practices and their interpretations.⁷⁸

Regarding the sectarian author's understanding of the Isaianic text, several observations can be made on the basis of our analysis of its function in 1QS 8:14. First, the author of 1QS 8 has shifted the initial emphasis of the Isaianic passage from "in the wilderness" to "to prepare the way of/for the Lord." The phrase "in the wilderness" (at least in this context) simply served for him as a linking device, fitting well his ingenious application of Isa.40:3 to the current situation of the community. Second, he has offered a new meaning to the two clauses in Isa.40:3 *ישרו ... מסלה לאלוהינו* and *פנו דרך יהוה* and, namely, studying (and practicing) the Law (1QS 8:15). No wonder the sectarians claimed themselves to be a community in Law (cf. 1QS 5:1). Third, although our author did not explicitly interpret the actual sense of "the way of/for Yahweh," from our analysis of the passage we may say with some confidence that he probably did not understand "the way" in Isa.40:3 literally as a road on which travel takes place.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ This conclusion may lend some force to J. Murphy-O'Connor's form-critical analysis of 1QS proposed long ago: 1QS 8:1-16a are part of the primitive core of the document. See his "La Genèse littéraire de la Règle de la Communauté," *RB* 76(1969), pp.528-49, esp. pp.529-32. In his more recent article "The Essenes in Palestine," *BA* 40(1977), p.114, he regards 1QS 8:10b-12a as the product of Stage 2 of the document's "literary evolution."

⁷⁸ This suggestion as to the religio-historical setting of the community at its formative stage is certainly more than likely in the light of the recently published sectarian document 4QMMT.

⁷⁹ A.R.C. Leane, *The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning* (NTL; London: SCM, 1966), p.222, has proposed that for "the sect the way is *halakah* and obedience to it (cf.9:19)."

In view of all these dissimilarities, then, what can we conclude about our author's handling of Isa.40:3? Is there any continuity between the original and the present contexts of the Isaianic passage? Yes, there are at least two points of continuity. First of all, the Isaianic passage in both contexts presents a divine commission. OT scholars are generally agreed that the genre of Isa.40:3-5 is a prophetic commissioning whose OT parallels can be found in, e.g., Isa.6 and Jer.1, and that Isa.40:3-5 presents a divine commission for the preparation of "the way," despite the ambiguity of the identity of the commission's addressee.⁸⁰ As has been shown above, Isa.40:3 was quoted in 1QS 8:14 as a scriptural basis for the immediate goal of the community's existence. The author of 1QS 8:12b-16a derived from Isa.40:3 a divine vocation for the community. His use of the Isaianic passage is clearly based on a similar understanding of the passage's literary function and context.

Secondly, there is a theological continuity between Isa.40:3's original context and its new context in 1QS 8. In the Isaianic context, "the way of Yahweh" was to be prepared for the coming intervention of Yahweh to restore and vindicate Israel. Claiming to be the true Israel, the Qumran sectarians certainly got the message and eagerly looked forward to such a divine intervention. For them, God's intervention would not only vindicate them but also bring about severe judgment upon their opponents, both foreign and especially domestic.⁸¹ Diligent study and strict observance of the Law, they were

Although this interpretation is quite attractive or even possible, there is no sufficient evidence to sustain it. In my view, considering the sectarian author's emphasis on the covenantal relationship with Yahweh and the notions of "holiness" and "righteousness/justice" (cf. 8: 1-10; 9:5-6), it seems not unlikely that the "way" here could be understood as something like a righteous, covenantally faithful lifestyle.

⁸⁰ The divine commission of Isa.40:3-5 could be directed to the heavenly bodies, to the prophet (the so-called Second Isaiah), or to the prophet's audience, the exiles. See, e.g., C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1969), pp.32ff.; R.N. Whybray, *Isaiah 40-66* (NCBC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981), pp.48ff.; P.D. Hanson, *Isaiah 40-66* (Interpretation; Louisville: John Knox, 1995), pp.15ff.

⁸¹ Cf. 1QS 9:11, 23; 10:8. These lines, which according to J. Murphy-O'Connor were probably composed by the same author as 1QS 8:12b-16a, represent the eschatological aspirations of the Qumran sectarians.

deeply convinced, was the one and only appropriate way to prepare themselves for Yahweh's final visitation. Such an expectation of Yahweh's eschatological coming, though literally absent in the literary context of 1QS 8:12b-16a,⁸² surely is the underlying dynamics of and reason for the sectarians' determination to live a solitary life and their acceptance of the divine commission "to prepare the way of/for Yahweh." In light of these points of contextual continuity, we may conclude that, in utilizing the Isaianic tradition, our author did not disregard its original context, especially the theological context.

6. 1QS 9:19-20 → Isa.40:3

1QS 9:19-20	...הַיָּאֵה עֵת פְּנוֹת הַדֶּרֶךְ לְמַדְבָּר...
1QIs ^a 40:3	קוֹל קוֹרֵא בְּמַדְבָּר פְּנֵי דֶרֶךְ יְהוָה וַיִּשְׂרוּ בְּעֶרְבָה מַסְלָה לְאֱלֹהֵינוּ
MT Is.40:3	קוֹל קוֹרֵא בְּמַדְבָּר פְּנֵי דֶרֶךְ יְהוָה וַיִּשְׂרוּ בְּעֶרְבָה מַסְלָה לְאֱלֹהֵינוּ

Due to the presence of the phrases פְּנוֹת הַדֶּרֶךְ and לְמַדְבָּר, many scholars have felt there to be Isaianic influence on the Rule passage.⁸³ On linguistic grounds, one may hardly escape at first reading the impression that an allusive relationship exists between these two passages. Careful analysis of the context of 1QS 9:19-20, however, leads us to wonder if the alleged relationship is as certain as these scholars have thought.

First, the literary function of the statement הַיָּאֵה עֵת פְּנוֹת הַדֶּרֶךְ לְמַדְבָּר is very ambiguous. Its appearance seems awkward to the context; without it the passage would have made better sense. As it stands now, it appears to suggest a particular time when the "preparation of the way to the wilderness" is to be accomplished. Beyond this, the immediate context offers nothing for further comment. Secondly, it is not clear at all what was meant by "the way." Is "the way" here mentioned to be understood simply as a journey toward the wilderness? Or as something like "the way of Yahweh" as in 1QS

⁸² Cf. again 1QS 9:11, 23; 10:8; and also 10:17-19.

⁸³ For instance, J.H. Charlesworth, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, p.41; M.O. Wise, M. Abegg, Jr., & E.M. Cook, *A New Translation*, p.140, even take the infinitive clause as a partial citation from Isa.40:3.

8:14, (18,21); 9:9,18? Again, the immediate context does not offer us great help in making a conclusive choice. The use of the preposition ל rather than ב in למדבר may hint at a literal understanding of "the way" as a journey/route toward the wilderness, but this too is not definite. For there is one manuscript, 4QS^d, that evidences the use of ב, though that variant may have been a product of the second hand due to the influence of Isa.40:3. All this moves us to be cautious in deciding the actual relationship of 1QS 9:19-20 to Isa.40:3.

On the other hand, however, considering the fact that 1QS 9:19-20 and 8:12b-16a, in which Isa.40:3 was explicitly cited, may have been from the pen of the same author, as J. Murphy-O'Connor has posited,⁸⁴ one can hardly regard it as unlikely that the author of 1QS 9:19-20 may have had the Isaianic passage in mind when writing. Indeed, a comparison of the contexts of these Rule passages shows that there are some conceptual similarities between the two passages;⁸⁵ and this in turn suggests the author's awareness of the Isaianic passage in his composition of 1QS 9:19-20. If that is the case, 1QS 9:19-20 is reasonably believed to bear, one way or the other, the marks of the Isaianic influence.

But what was the author's purpose in alluding to the Isaianic passage in this context? Did he intend to transplant the initial theological significance of Isa.40:3 to the present passage? Or was he simply playing on the words of Second Isaiah so as to indicate the entering of the sectarians into a special stage (perhaps of truth-seeking) when they had been well equipped?⁸⁶ These questions, albeit not easy to answer without involving some degree of speculation, are important for understanding the present Rule passage. At any rate, in view of all the evidence, it seems fair to conclude that the allusive

⁸⁴ See his "La genèse littéraire de la Règle," pp.528ff.; and "The Essenes in Palestine," p.114.

⁸⁵ For instance, no concealing of truth/teaching of Law from the members of the community (cf. 8:11-12a & 9:18); separation from the sinful (cf. 8:13 & 9:20b); observing the Law/ walking perfectly, according to what has been revealed (cf. 8:15 & 9:19).

⁸⁶ In my opinion, I regard this case as highly possible or even likely. For this is the most natural reading of the passage.

relationship between 1QS 9:19-20 and Isa.40:3 is at least possible.

7. 1QS 11:1 → Isa.29:24

1QS 11:1 לתועי רוח בינה ולהשכיל רוכנים⁸⁷ בלקח ולהשיב ענוה...

1QIs^a 29:24 וידעו תועי רוח בינה ורוגנים ילמדו לקח

MT Is.29:24 וידעו תעי רוח בינה ורוגנים ילמדו לקח

On verbal grounds, the allusion of 1QS 11:1 to Isa.29:24 appears to be quite probable. The combinations of the words רוגנים and לקח and of the words בינה and רוח are unique to Isa.29:24 in the OT.

In terms of contextual continuities, the relationship also appears to be strong. In its original context, Isa.29:22-24 represents an eschatological vision of the bright future of Israel. The main thrust of v.24 is the coming of those spiritually misled into true understanding. This entering into real spiritual knowledge is contrasted to Israel's former spiritual dullness and ignorance (cf. Isa.29:9-16). Compared with Isa.29:22-24, the closing hymn in 1QS 10:1-11:21 is admittedly less eschatologically oriented,⁸⁸ but throughout the entire hymn the notion of spiritual knowledge is no less prominent than in *Isaiah* (cf. 1QS 10:9,12-13,17,22,24-25; 11:(1),3,4,5,6, 11,14,15-16,17-19,22). It is therefore reasonable to believe that it was such an emphasis on the true understanding/knowledge that caused the author of 1QS 11:1 to use Isa.29:24. In the Isaianic context, the knowledge concerned is probably about Yahweh's salvation or power to save, and here it is very likely the true understanding/discernment of the Law and its interpretation, which is prerequisite for final salvation. Thus, in instructing people in understanding of the Law the sectarian psalmist found in Isa.29:24 his mission.

⁸⁷ No word of the root רכן or of its derivatives occurs in the Hebrew/Aramaic Bible. Here the letter כ in the word רוכנים is regarded as a characteristic substitution of λ in DSS Hebrew; see E. Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (HSS 29; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), §200.141, p.27. Cf. E.Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll* (STDJ 6; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974), p.511.

⁸⁸ Note however 10:18-19 and 11:2(?), which express the author's eschatological aspirations.

8. 1QS 11:22 → Isa.29:16

1QS 11:22 חמר קורצ ולעפר תשוקתו מה ישיב חמר ויוצר יד ולעצת מה יבין

1QIs^a 29:16 הפך מכם אם כחם היוצר יחשב כי יאמר מעשה לעושהו לוא עשני

ויצר חמר ליוצרו לוא הבין

MT Is.29:16 הפככם אם כחמר היצר יחשב כי יאמר מעשה לעשהו לא עשני ויצר

אמר ליוצרו לא הבין

A quick look at the texts (1QIsa^a and MT) of Isa.29:16 will discover several textual variant readings. Yet these variant readings do not alter the meaning of the verse much.⁸⁹

The imagery of the potter-clay relation is commonly used in the OT and Deuterocanonical writings to depict the relationship between Yahweh as Creator/Lord and His people Israel or humanity as creature (cf. Isa.29:16; 45:9; 64:8; Jer.18:1-11; Wisdom of Solomon 15:7; Sirach 33:13). Of all these occurrences of the imagery, only in Isa.29:16 is the notion of "understanding" associated with the potter-clay relationship. This enhances the likelihood of an allusive relationship between Isa.29:16 and 1QS 11:22. Moreover, as we have noted just a little earlier, there is a strong allusive relation between 1QS 11:1 and Isa.29:24. This indicates the influence of the Isaianic tradition (Isa.29) upon the author of the closing hymn in 1QS 10:1-11:22, and hence strengthens the probability of the relation of 1QS 11:22 to Isa.29:16.

In the context of Isa.29:16, the potter-clay imagery was used by the prophet to

⁸⁹ On the variant reading of חפך מכם (1QIsa^a) vs. חפככם (MT), see E.Y. Kutscher, *The Isaiah Scroll*, p.316; and on that of כחם (1QIsa^a) vs. כחמר (MT), see E.Y. Kutscher, *op.cit.*, pp.237, 531.

As for the variant of חמר (1QIsa^a) vs. אמר (MT), it is hard to know whether the scribe of 1QIsa^a or that of MT was responsible for the alteration. If Kutscher is correct that "1QIsa^a (or its predecessors) is descended from a text identical (or at least very similar) to that of Masoretic Text, but by no means can we assume the converse...." (E.Y. Kutscher, *op.cit.*, p.3), and that "the Masoretic Text clearly reflects the normal orthography of the First Commonwealth, and the Scroll [i.e., 1QIsa^a] that of the Second Commonwealth" (E.Y. Kutscher, *op.cit.*, p.5), then it seems very likely that it was the scribe of 1QIsa^a who changed אמר to חמר. Such a change effects an emphasis on the notion of "clay." Since 1QIsa^a and 1QS are products of similar age (around the second half of the second century BCE), there is reason to guess that the textual change here may have been sectarian; but it is hard to be certain whether 1QIsa^a was influenced by 1QS. For the dating of 1QIsa^a and 1QS, see respectively E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, p.106 and D. Dimant, "Qumran Sectarian Literature," p.498.

accuse Israel's political leaders of arrogance and contempt toward Yahweh. These political leaders relied on their own conspiracy and even showed their contempt toward Yahweh by saying, "Who knows us?". In the prophet's view, these leaders interchanged the role of Yahweh with their own, forgetting that man is but a creature. The prophet's tone is highly polemical and judgmental. By contrast, in 1QS 11:22 the imagery is applied to "the son of Adam" (בן האדם; line 20), i.e., to humanity in general. Bringing to an end his hymn of praise to God, the author employs the imagery to effect a sharp contrast between God's infinite wisdom and knowledge and human limitedness in understanding. As the context clearly shows, the author's tone is not judgmental. These contextual dissimilarities do not disprove the allusive relation of 1QS 11:22 to Isa.29:16, but simply show the main concern of the sectarian author to be different from that of the prophet. The sectarian author does not seem to intend to transfer the theological significance of Isaiah's message to his saying; instead, he simply borrows the potter-clay imagery from Isa.29:16 for contrasting God's unfathomable knowledge and glory with human dullness.

b. Concluding Remarks

In the preceding sections, we have explored the Isaianic influence, both explicit and implicit, upon the sectarians in the Community Rule. Our scrutiny leads us to draw some tentative conclusions about the way in which, and the extent to which, the Isaianic tradition influenced and shaped the thoughts of the Qumran sectarians.

First of all, the Isaianic tradition helped the sectarians to define their identity as an eschatological community chosen by Yahweh Himself. To the authors of 1QS, the Qumran sectarians were Yahweh's eschatological plantation (cf. 8:5), they (represented by the "twelve men and three priests") played a role akin to that of the Suffering Servant in dealing with the sin of Yahweh's eschatological covenantal people - the true Israel (cf. 8:3b-4), they were tried and established by Yahweh as a "stone" of security and sure salvation (cf. 8:7b). In seeking a goal for their existence, the authors of 1QS derived from the Isaianic tradition scriptural evidence to bolster their determined devotion to the study

of the Law, which they regarded as Yahweh's special calling to them for the preparation of the way for His final visitation (cf. 8:14).

Secondly, apart from the influence upon the Qumran community's self-understanding, the Isaianic tradition also inspired the sectarian writers, both ideologically and linguistically, in developing the community's halakhic teachings. For instance, Isa.2:22 offers to the author of 1QS 5:16ff. some ideological support for their separation from the non-sectarians whom he saw as impure and impious (cf. also 9:19-20).

The tradition also provided powerful imagery (the potter-clay metaphor) for the writer of the closing hymn to praise Yahweh's unsearchable wisdom and knowledge and to admit of human finiteness in understanding (cf. 11:22). 1QS 11:1 reflects that the writer of the hymn drew from Isa.29:24 inspiration for the part that he thought he should take in the eschatological revival of Israel.

Finally, regarding the way in which the sectarian authors of 1QS utilized the Isaianic material, our analysis has shown that these sectarian authors, in appropriating and handling the Isaianic texts, did not disregard their original literary and theological contexts, and that their understanding or "use" of the material was highly influenced by their belief that they were living in the endtime. Our analysis has also pointed out the "oddities" of the sectarian "use" of the Isaianic texts, but these "oddities" simply indicate the ingenuity of the sectarian authors' re-contextualization and eschatological application of the tradition to their situations. The sectarian "use" of the Isaianic tradition as shown in 1QS, in my opinion, is not a mechanical ideological totality-transfer.

C. The Isaianic Tradition in the Damascus Document

The work which scholars now commonly call *The Damascus Document* (CD) was accidentally brought to light by a Cambridge professor (Solomon Schechter) at a genizah of an old synagogue in Cairo, Egypt almost a century ago. Due to the repeated occurrence of the name "Damascus" and the notion of covenant in it, the work is named by scholars of older generations as *The Cairo Damascus Covenant/Document*. The repeated mention

of the "Sons of Zadok" also causes the work to acquire another name, *Zadokite Fragments/Document*.

The manuscripts of the work found in the Cairo genizah can be differentiated, on the basis of handwriting style, into Manuscript A and Manuscript B. Manuscript A, which consists of 16 columns or pages, is dated by scholars to the tenth century. Manuscript B, dated to the twelfth century, contains only two columns. These manuscripts represent two different versions of the original composition. As regards content, the document can be divided into two sections: the Exhortation (MS A: cols. 1-8 + MS B: cols. 19-20) and the Statutes (MS A: cols. 9-16). It is very likely that "the function of the Admonition is primarily that of an introduction to the laws."⁹⁰

Prior to the discovery of the Dead Sea scrolls in 1947, scholars debated the questions as to the origins and the exact date of composition of this document.⁹¹ But now almost all scholars have come to the consensus that the document found at the Cairo genizah should be grouped with those found in the caves near the Dead Sea, both belonging to one and the same Jewish sectarian group. Indeed, a comparison of the document with the Dead Sea scrolls reveals many affinities, both terminological⁹² and ideological.⁹³ These affinities forcefully sustain an extremely close relationship between the document and the scrolls. Moreover, among the manuscripts found in the caves (nos.4, 5 & 6) near the Dead Sea, some have been successfully identified as fragments of

⁹⁰ J.M. Baumgarten, "The Laws of the *Damascus Document* in Current Research," in *The Damascus Document Reconsidered*, ed. M. Broshi (Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society/The Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum, 1992), p.52.

⁹¹ For a brief but useful discussion of the pre-scrolls research on the document, see P.R. Davies, *Damascus Covenant*, pp.3-14.

⁹² For instance, "the Teacher of Righeousness" (CD 1:11; 20:32; cf. 20:1,14 = 1QpHab 2:2; 5:5; 7:4; 8:3; 9:9f.; 11:5); "the sons of Zadok" (CD 3:21f.; 4:3 = 1QS 5:2,9; 1QSa 1:2,24; 2:3 & 1QSb 3:21); "the Spouter of Lies" (CD 8:13 = 1QpHab 10:9); "the Book of Hagi" (CD 10:6; 13:2; 14:7f. = 1QSa 1:7); "the Messiah of Israel and Aaron" (CD 12:23f.; 14:19; 19:10; 20:1 = 1QS 9:11 & 1QSa 2:14,20).

⁹³ For instance, dualistic struggle (CD 8:17-21 and 1QS cols.3-4); metaphor of the sectarians as an eschatological planting (CD 1:7 and 1QS 8:5); the notion of covenant.

the different versions of this document. These fragments not only back up the consensus, but also help scholars to reconstruct with a high degree of certainty the original version of this document,⁹⁴ and to determine its date of composition.⁹⁵

The fact that the Damascus Document belongs to the Qumran community, however, does not necessitate that the document was originally composed by the Qumran sectarians. For the document does exhibit certain important elements that are at odds with other scrolls. For instance, the repeated mention of those "living in the camps" implies that at least some of the members of the community did not settle at Qumran. These members were allowed to have wives and children (cf. 7:6-7; 19:2-5), and even to have contact with "outsiders". However, this is not envisaged, e.g., in the Community Rule. Another intriguing element is the mention of the sectarians' migration into the land of Damascus (CD 6:5,19; 7:19; 8:21; 19:34; 20:12). Again, this important feature about the community's early history is not mentioned at all elsewhere in the scrolls. The third element is CD's favorable attitude toward the Temple and its cult as shown, e.g., in 11:19-12:2, which contrasts with 1QpHab 12:8-9.

Harmonization of such discrepancies is not difficult. To try to harmonize the first discrepancy, for instance, scholars have put forward the view that the Damascus Document represents a branch of a larger sectarian movement and that the members of this branch were not leading a solitary life at Qumran but were living in the camps, i.e., in the towns and villages in Palestine. Indeed, 1QSa 1:6-8, which details Torah-training for children and youths, presupposes the presence of children in the sectarian community. Where do the children and youths come from? As for dissolving the second discrepancy, scholars have suggested a metaphorical interpretation of the Damascus passages in the

⁹⁴ For a detailed list of supplements to CD derived from an examination of the fragments and a discussion of the fragments from cave 4, see J.M. Baumgarten, "The Laws of the *Damascus Document* in Current Research," pp.53-62.

⁹⁵ A fragment from Cave 4 (4Q266) is dated to 100-75 BCE based on its Hasmonean script, so CD is at least that old.

document, seeing Damascus as a symbolic reference to Qumran⁹⁶ or Babylon.⁹⁷ The third discrepancy can be resolved by pointing out that CD does have criticisms of the Temple and its cult (e.g., 4:17-18; 5:6-7).⁹⁸ In short, despite the presence of some discrepancies between CD and other scrolls, nearly all scholars have accepted that this document is very likely a literary product of the Qumran sectarians.

The Damascus Document is very probably composite in character, having different individual works stitched together.⁹⁹ In this document Scripture is extensively used, both explicitly and implicitly. Traces of the Isaianic influence in CD are not infrequent; the Isaianic material is found mainly in the Exhortation section of the document. It is to the examination of this material that we now turn.

a. Analysis of the Data

1. CD 1:1 → Isa.51:7a

CD 1:1 ¹⁰⁰	ועתה שמעו כל יודעי צדק...
1QIs ^a 51:7a	שמעו אלי יודעי צדק עם תורתי בלבם
1QIs ^b 51:7a	שמעו אלי יודעי [צדק עם תורתי בלבם
MT Is51:7a	שמעו אלי ידעי צדק עם תורתי בלבם

In the very first line of the Damascus Document, we come across an Isaianic

⁹⁶ See, e.g., L.H. Schiffman, "Origin and Early History of the Qumran Sect," p.45.
⁹⁷ See, e.g., P.R. Davies, "The Birthplace of the Essenes: Where is 'Damascus'?" p.517.

⁹⁸ For more examples of the discrepancies between CD and other Qumran scrolls, see J.M. Baumgarten & D.J. Schwartz, "Damascus Document - Introduction," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Vol.2 - Damascus Document, War Scroll and Related Documents*, ed. J.H. Charlesworth (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr/ Louisville: Westminster/ John Knox, 1995), pp.6-7.

⁹⁹ For instance, L. Ginzberg has pointed out the dissimilarities of CD 1:1-2:1 and CD 13:1ff. and concluded that these two sections of CD "cannot possibly be ascribed to the same author;" see *An Unknown Jewish Sect* (NY: Ktav/ Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1976[1970]), p.274.

¹⁰⁰ The Hebrew text used here is based on that by J.M. Baumgarten & D.J. Schwartz in *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, vol.2, ed. J.H. Charlesworth.

allusion. This allusion is established on the basis of the verbal resemblance between the two passages. Here the sectarian author begins his address with a prophetic summons for attention. This way of drawing attention to a prophet's message is indeed quite frequent in the prophetic literature, and it even occurs in Isa.40-55 a dozen times (Isa.42:18; 44:1; 46:3,12; 48:1,12; 49:1; 51:1,4; 55:2-3; and here). But what we have here is the one and only instance in the OT of a call that is specifically directed to those "who know righteousness;" this then strengthens the likelihood that CD 1:1 alludes to Isa.51:7.

It is not only at the beginning of the document that the sectarian author solemnly calls for the attention of his audience by using a strong prophetic summons. He also does so twice subsequently (CD 2:2 and 2:14). This repeated call for attention implies the seriousness and importance of his message. In CD 2:2-4a, he declares the commencement of divine judgment on "all flesh" (כל בשר) and on "all who scoff at God" (כל מנאציו). In his view, divine judgment is reserved for the ungodly (cf. CD 1:2-4 with Isa.51:8a), but for "all who know righteousness" (כל יודעי צדק) there will be salvation (a point substantiated in CD 1:4bff.; cf. Isa.51:3,5,8b). For the author, those "who know righteousness" are those "who have [Yahweh's] teaching in [their] hearts" (Isa.51:7a^β NRSV), the "remnant of Israel" (שארית לישראל). The immediate CD context underscores the mercy and grace of Yahweh who takes an active part in the salvation of that remnant, and this finds agreement with the broader context of the Isaianic passage alluded to here. For throughout Isa.51, the prophet's saying is delivered in a direct speech form in which God Himself acts as the real speaker; such a repeated and emphatic use of the divine "I" strongly implies Yahweh's self-initiated merciful grace and love toward Israel.

2. CD 1:7f. → Isa.60:21 & 61:3b

CD 1:7f. ... ויצמח מישראל ומאהרן שורש מטעת לירוש את ארצו...

1QIs^a60:21 ... לעולם ירשו ארץ נצר מטעו יהוה מעשי ידיו להתפאר

& 61:3b וקראו להמה אילי הצדק מטע יהוה להתפאר

1QIs^b60:21 ... לעולם יירשו ארץ מטעיו מעשה ידיו להתפאר

& 61:3b (The text is missing.)

MT Is60:21 ... לעולם יירשו ארץ נצר מטעו מעשה ידי להתפאר

& 61:3b וקרא להם אילי הצדק מטע יהוה להתפאר

In examining the Isaianic tradition in 1QS, we have noticed that the imagery of (the eschatological) Israel being Yahweh's planting occurs in 1QS 5:8. There we have established that the sectarian author of 1QS borrowed from the Isaianic tradition the planting imagery and applied it to the Qumran community as the true Israel. Thus, the sectarian writers' use of the imagery certainly helps to confirm the allusive relationship between CD 1:7 and the two Isaianic passages here. Furthermore, the notion of Yahweh's "planting" inheriting the land may be another important piece of evidence for that relationship. Such a notion occurs both in the present CD passage and in Isa.60:21.

It is difficult to know whether here CD 1:7 is dependent on 1QS 5:8 or vice versa, or even neither. At any rate, it is evident that both the author of CD 1:7 and that of 1QS 5:8, drawing on the Isaianic imagery, regarded themselves and their fellow sectarians as the eschatological work of Yahweh, which was destined to be the true inheritor of the land;¹⁰¹ and that in so doing, they offered a word of hope to their audiences, who were currently in a metaphorical state of "exile".

3. CD 1:9 → Isa.59:10a

CD 1:9 ויהיו כעורים וכימגששים דרך

1QIs^a59:10a נגשש כעורים קיר וכאין עינים נגששה

MT Is^a59:10a נגששה כעורים קיר וכאין עינים נגששה

That Isa.59:10a intertextually influences CD 1:9 is suggested by the occurrence in both passages of כעורים, "like the blind," and the derivatives of גשש, "to grope;" it is confirmed by the fact that the verb גשש is used only in this Isaianic passage throughout the OT.

According to its immediate context, Isa.59:10 constitutes part of an utterance

¹⁰¹ It is worth noting that in *Isaiah*, "possessing the land" is one of the significant features of Yahweh's promise of Israel's eschatological revival; cf. Isa.14:1-2; 35:10a; 57:13b; 65:9.

which is essentially a confession of sin to God. The first person plural used throughout vv.9-13 suggests that the prophet here identified himself with his addressees and begged God's mercy on behalf of his entire community. In his confession, the prophet admitted that they were walking in darkness and groping like the blind. He moaned, on the one hand, that their iniquities were so weighty that no one except God Himself could deliver them from their plight; and on the other hand he was deeply convinced that Yahweh would not abandon them (cf. Isa.59:15b-21). It was probably such a spirit of humility and a deep confidence in God's deliverance that moved the author of the CD passage and caused him to express his own feeling with the words of Isaiah in reviewing the history of the sectarian community's pioneers. Indeed, for him, God did not abandon his predecessors; He raised His servant, "the Teacher of Righteousness," to lead them on the way.

4. CD 1:11 → Isa.30:20b

CD 1:11 ויקם להם מורה צדק להדריךכם בדרך לבו

1QIs^a30:20b ולוא יכנפו עוד מוראין והיו עיניך ראות את מוריד

MT Is30:20b ולא יכנף עוד מוריד והיו עיניך ראות את-מוריד

The allusive relation of CD 1:11 to Isa.30:20b hinges on the term מורה, which here means "teacher." Many English bibles have thus translated the word (e.g., NASB, NIV, NRSV; cf. REB). The word appears several times in the OT (Lev.10:11; 2Chr.15:3; Job 36:22; Prov.5:13; Isa.9:15=MT 9:14; Hab.2:18; and here). Hence it may at first seem unlikely that CD 1:11 reflects the Isaianic influence. However, as we shall see presently, an allusion to Isa.30:10 is caught just a few lines later (line 18). This then makes it plausible that the author of CD 1:11 was aware of Isa.30:20, and that he may have picked up the term מורה from the passage and applied it to the great leader of the sect.

In its original context, Isa.30:20 is highly eschatological and salvific in nature. The passage speaks of a character who would no more hide himself from the people in Zion. According to the train of thought in Isa.30:20-21, it seems that this character was raised to be the guide of the people in Zion on moral and religious matters. Here a problem

arises. It is uncertain whether the term מורה in this passage refers to Yahweh Himself,¹⁰² or to a promised future figure who will come to bring about Israel's restoration, or neither of them.¹⁰³ The plural form מוראי in 1QIsa^a does not help much to solve the problem, for it could be either the majestic plural referring to God as the Great Teacher or a common plural referring simply to human teachers. Considering the presence of different teaching ranks in the sectarian community, however, it seems likely that the plural form of the term in 1QIsa^a would have been taken by the sectarian author to refer to Yahweh's servants, who were raised to "teach" all those who wait upon Him. If so, the sectarian author's use of the Isaianic term for the great leader of the sect fits well with the context of Isa.30:20-21. Here the author's use of the Isaianic term reveals his convictions: first, that the sect is the faithful Israel of the eschaton; and second, that the emergence of the leader, who our author believes will instruct the sectarians as to the way and how to walk in it (cf. Isa.30:21), is the fulfillment of Yahweh's promise through the prophet Isaiah. In short, the Isaianic tradition provides the sectarian author with a distinctive terminology for the leader of his community, a term that is heavily loaded with eschatological and salvific overtones.

5. CD 1:18 → Isa.30:10b

CD 1:18	... אשר דרשו בחלקות ויבחרו במהתלות...
1QIs ^a 30:10b	דברו לנו חלקות חזא מתלות
1QIs ^b 30:10b	(The text is too fragmentary to be read.)
MT Is30:10b	דבררלנו חלקות חזא מהתלות

¹⁰² Cf. J.N. Oswalt, *Isaiah 1-39*, p.560; A. Motyer, *Prophecy of Isaiah*, p. 250.

¹⁰³ R.E. Clements, *Isaiah 1-39*, p.250, suggests to emend this term to "early rains" (i.e., mōreh in Hebrew). In my opinion, Clements's suggestion seems less plausible, for he cannot explain why the 2ms pronominal suffix is added here. J.G. Campbell, "Scripture in the Damascus Document 1:1-2:1," *JJS* 44(1993), p.95, has also noted such an Isaianic allusion. But he claims that "Hos.10:12 is the specific source for מורה צדק in CD 1:11." See also his *The Use of Scripture in the Damascus Document 1-8, 19-20* (BZAT 228; Berlin/NY: de Gruyter, 1995), p.62.

The text of CD 1:18 appears to be closer to that of MT than to that of 1QIsa^a. The term *מהתלות* in 1QIsa^a has been accepted by scholars as a variant of *מתלות*.¹⁰⁴ Isa.30:10b is linked with the present CD passage by the author's use of the terms *חלקות* "smooth things" and *מהתלות* "illusions." The second noun *מהתלות* is the plural form of *מהתלה*, which never appears in any form elsewhere in the OT. This then establishes that there is a relation between CD 1:18 and Isa.30:10b.

Isa.30:10b occurs in the context of a prophetic oracle against the ancient Israelites, who rejected Yahweh's instruction (cf. Isa.30:9,12). These Israelites, the prophet charges, love to hear only what they find pleasant. They not only "leave the way, turn aside from the path" (cf. Isa.30:11a and CD 1:15-16), but also urge God's prophets to keep silent about God's demands. Here the sectarian writer picks up Isaiah's terminology to depict his non-sectarian contemporary Jewish leaders, who rejected the sectarian teachings and led Israel astray (cf. Lines 13-17). In his sight, they, like the Israelites of Isaiah's day, love to hear simply what they find pleasant. So there is no doubt for him that what Isaiah prophesied in Isa.30:16b-17 would come upon them.

The term *חלקות* "smooth things" also occurs in 4QpIsa^a (4Q163), frag.23, 2:10 and 4QpNah (4Q169), frags.3-4, 1:2,7; 2:2,4; 3:3,6f.. There it is used as a derisive reference to the enemies of the sect, who most scholars think were the Pharisees.¹⁰⁵ This seems to suggest that those who were accused by the sectarian author here were that group of people. Hence, Isa.30:10 offered our author a term for his opponents, just as Isa.30:20 gave him one for the sect's leader, "the Teacher of Righteousness."

6. CD 4:13-14 cites Isa.24:17

CD 4:13-14 כאשר דבר אל ביד ישעיה הנביא... לאמר פחד ופחת ופח עליך יושב
הארץ

¹⁰⁴ C. Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents* (2nd. ed.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), p.5.

¹⁰⁵ See, e.g., M.A. Knibb, *Qumran Community*, p.24; G. Vermes, "Writings of the Qumran Community," pp.426, 431; M.O. Wise, M. Abegg, Jr. & E. Cook, *A New Translation*, pp.29, 216; G. Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis*, p.151.

1QIs^a24:17 פחד ופחת ופח עליך יושב הארץ

MT Is24:17 פחד ופחת ופח עליך יושב הארץ

As shown above, the Isaianic text that CD cites exactly agrees with those of 1QIs^a and MT. The citation is introduced by a very long formula that manifestly states the origin of the text cited. The author of CD 4:13-14 attributes the saying of the prophet Isaiah to God as the ultimate speaker. Such a way of introducing Scripture by attributing its sayings to God as the ultimate speaker is very common throughout the document (cf., e.g., 3:7, 21f.; 8:9; 20:15).

Here the author of the CD passage does not simply cite the words of Isaiah to bolster what he has just said in line 12f., but also attaches to the citation an interpretation (lines 15-19, which are introduced by פשרו) and a fairly long discussion of how the Isaianic passage and his own interpretation fit into the situation of his non-sectarian contemporaries (CD 4:19-5:14f.). Our author's handling of the Isaianic passage is intriguing. First of all, he metaphorically interpreted the three terms in Isa.24:17, פחד, פחת, and פח as referring to הזנות, ההון, and טמא המקדש respectively. Secondly, he identified "Israel," which actually symbolizes his contemporary society, as "the inhabitants of the earth" in Isa.24:17. Underlying such an identification is probably the author's understanding of the "earth" as "the land of Judah" (cf. CD 4:3). Thirdly, he introduced a demonic figure, Belial, who in his view will entrap Israel with the three "snares" הזנות, ההון, and טמא המקדש.

No doubt these three pieces of interpretation will puzzle the modern reader of the Isaianic passage. For the original context of the passage gives no clues at all that it should be understood in this way. In its original context, Isa.24:17 declares Yahweh's judgment upon the whole earth. The sense of judgment is effectively expressed by the prophet's ingenious choice of words which are both alliterative and assonant, and is intensified by the subsequent verses (Isa.24:18-23). It is obvious that the prophet's language here is to be taken metaphorically: "Terror, a pit, and a snare" are simply images, signifying Yahweh's judgment (cf. Jer.48:43-44). But it is by no means clear from the context that the prophet intended "fornication, wealth and defilement of the sanctuary" to be the

symbolic referents of "terror, a pit, and a snare" respectively, let alone as "the three nets of Belial" by which Belial entraps Israel.

Does all this show that the author of CD 4:13ff. utilized the Isaianic text out of context? The answer goes in the negative, in my view. As is pointed out above, the immediate context of Isa.24:17 is highly judgmental, envisaging Yahweh's fierce punishment of the whole earth in His eschatological visitation of Jerusalem and reign on Mount Zion (cf. Isa.24:21-23). Isa.24 indicates that before Yahweh's eschatological reign Israel will be purified. Turning to the broader context of CD 4:13ff., one can scarcely escape from hearing the sectarian writer's polemical tone in his "review" of God's dealings with the wicked and the righteous throughout Israel's history (cf. CD 4:19-5:14f.). By his review, the writer launched an attack upon a certain group of people who in his view led "Israel" (i.e., his non-sectarian contemporary society) astray and so would be destroyed before the realization of Yahweh's reign through the Messiah of Israel. Thus, viewed from this angle, the author's use of Isa.24:17 shows that he caught and shared the prophet's vision as to Yahweh's final triumph in Zion.

7. CD 4:18-20 → Isa.24:18

CD 4:18f. העולה מזה יתפש בזה והניצל מזה יתפש בזה ...

1QIs^a24:18a והיה הנס מקול הפחד יפול אל הפחת והעולה מתוך חפחת ילכד בפח

MTIs24:18a והיה הנס מקול הפחד יפל אל הפחת והעולה מתוך הפחת ילכד בפח

That CD 4:18-20 alludes to Isa.24:18 is not built upon the verbal similarities between the passages. The verbal connection between these passages is paper-thin, relying simply on העולה. That Isa.24:18 serves as the OT source-text of CD 4:18-20 is established by their syntactical resemblance and above all by the explicit citation of Isa.24:17 in CD 4:13-14.

Here the sectarian author, by imitating the language of Isaiah, expresses the certainty of the non-sectarians' fall into Belial's trap: even if one can escape from one, he will be trapped by another. The inevitability of their fall guarantees that they deserve divine punishment. In CD 4:18-20, our author has displayed his ingenuity in using

Isaiah's judgmental saying to launch an attack on the non-sectarian leaders of his day.

Looking at the sectarian author's "use" of Isa.24:17 and 24:18 as a whole, we will have a clearer and interesting picture about the characteristic of our author's hermeneutical technique. The point of Isa.24:17-18 constitutes two major elements: first, God sent three things to punish the disobedient and wicked; and second, one cannot escape divine punishment. All these are also presented in our sectarian author's saying here. The only difference between his saying and Isa.24:17-18 lies in the specification of the "three things." In other words, in the sectarian author's "use" of Isa.24:17-18, the point of the Isaianic passage remains intact; only its specifics differ. This shows that, without affecting the main output of the entire passage, the "three things" of Isa.24:17-18 may vary as if they were the unknowns of a mathematical equation. From this point of view, the author's "use" of Isa.24:17-18 works like a mathematical proceeding. To strengthen the impact of his own message, our sectarian author appeals to and contemporizes Isaiah's words of judgment simply by means of three new substitutions of "fornication, wealth, and defilement of the sanctuary" for the prophet's "terror, a pit, and a snare" respectively.

8. CD 5:13 → Isa.50:11a

CD 5:13	... כלם קדחי אש ומבערי זיקות ...
1QIs ^a 50:11a	הנה כולם קודחי אש מאזרי זיקות
1QIs ^b 50:11a	הן כלכם קדחי אש ומאזרי זיקות
MT Is50:11a	הן כלכם קדחי אש מאזרי זיקות

As shown in the text-diagram, the relation of CD 5:13 to Isa.50:11 is firmly established on linguistic grounds as well as on thematic ones. Because of the strong linguistic connection between the CD passage and the Isaianic one, many scholars have identified the former as an actual citation of the latter.¹⁰⁶ However, several factors lead

¹⁰⁶ For instance, C. Rabin, *Zadokite Fragments*, p.20; P.R. Davies, *Damascus Covenant*, p. 245; G. Vermes, "Biblical Proof-Texts in Qumran Literature," *JSS* 34(1989), pp.494 n.2, 498; *idem*, *DSS in English*, p.101; M.O. Wise, M. Abegg, Jr., & E.M. Cook, *A New Translation*, p.55.

me to consider the relation of these two passages to be simply an allusive one.

The first factor is based on the author's usual practice of citing Scripture. Throughout the preceding three columns, when Scripture is cited, a citation formula is often used. Hence, it is arguable that if our author here did intend a scriptural citation, he would probably have employed citation-markers to introduce the words of Scripture.¹⁰⁷ Second, the use of מבערי instead of מאזרי in the present CD passage may also suggest that the sectarian author here simply rephrased the words of Isaiah roughly without intending them to be an actual citation. Anyone who regards CD 5:13 as a citation from memory must explain why the author did so. Did he at this moment suddenly get tired of checking against the Isaiah scrolls, to which he most probably had easy access? Third, throughout CD, when Scripture is cited it is either intended to support or develop a certain point stated earlier, or intended to introduce a certain argument by virtue of a sectarian interpretation of the scriptural text cited. According to the present context, it seems unlikely that the clause כלם קדחי אש ומבערי זיקות "they are all lighters of fire and kindlers of brands" functions to support or develop what precedes it. Nor is there any pesher which follows the line so as to explicate its meaning or application. In brief, the present context displays no traces, either in syntax or in sense, that suggest the line to be an Isaianic citation.¹⁰⁸ At any rate, whether CD 5:13 represents an Isaianic citation or simply an allusion, it is undeniable that Isa.50:11 serves as the OT source from which the author of CD 5:13 extracts polemical language for his criticisms of his non-sectarian contemporaries.

In CD 5:13 the sectarian author was attacking his non-sectarian contemporaries. He applied to them the words of Isaiah, which in their original context constituted an accusation against those who were opposed to Yahweh and who oppressed His people. In the author's view, his enemies did the same thing and so deserved his relentless

¹⁰⁷ Although this argument may sound a bit strained, nonetheless it still carries some force in this case.

¹⁰⁸ On the criteria for determining citations, see C.D. Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture* (SNTSMS 74; Cambridge: CUP, 1992), p.37.

censure. His use of the Isaianic text is fully compatible with its original sense.

9. CD 5:13c-15 → Isa.59:5

CD 5:13ff. ... קורי עכביש קוריהם וביצי צפעונים ביציהם הקרוב אליהם לא ינקה

1QIs^a59:5 בצי צפעונים ובקעו¹⁰⁹ וקורי עכביש ירגו האוכל מבציהמה ימות

והאזורה תבקע אפע

1QIs^b59:5 ביצי צפעוני בקעו וקורי עכביש יארגו האוכל מבציה [ם ימות והאזורה]

תבקע אפעה

MT Is59:5 ביצי צפעוני בקעו וקורי עכביש יארגו האכל מבציהם ימות והאזורה

תבקע אפעה

The allusive relationship of CD 5:13ff. with Isa.59:5 is established on linguistic grounds. The two word-pairs, קורי עכביש "spider's webs" and ביצי צפעונים "vipers' eggs," and their combination are found only in Isa.59:5 throughout the OT. Also, the participial clause in CD 5:14f. הקרוב אליהם לא ינקה, "he who approaches them will not go unpunished," which actually modifies the entire statement made in CD 5:13b-14, parallels that in Isa. 59:5b α (MT: האכל מבציהם ימות); both function as a warning to those who are in company with the people/creatures mentioned earlier. Some scholars have identified the words in CD 5:13f as an actual Isaianic citation.¹¹⁰ However, in view of the thin verbal connection between the texts, it seems more plausible to read in CD 5:13f. an Isaianic allusion rather than an Isaianic citation.

A comparison of the CD and Isaianic contexts shows that the sectarian author's "use" of Isa.59:5 is certainly not out of context. In its original context, Isa.59:5 serves as part of the prophet's description of Israel's sins. "Vipers' eggs" and "spider's webs" are employed as metaphors for the deeds/works of the sinful Israelites (cf. Isa.59:5b-6). The prophet is accusing his audience of lack of faith and disobedience. The sectarian author

¹⁰⁹ My own reading of the first letter of this word, according to the photograph provided in *The DSS of St. Mark's Monastery*, vol.1, is yod not waw, and hence יבקעו.

¹¹⁰ For instance, P.R. Davies, *Damascus Document*, p.245; G. Vermes, *DSS in English*, p.101; M.O. Wise, M. Abegg, Jr., & E.M. Cook, *A New Translation*, p.55.

borrow the language of the prophet and applies it to his non-sectarian contemporaries. In so doing, he transfers onto them the prophetic judgment against the unfaithful of Israel.

10. CD 5:16c → Isa.27:11bα

CD 5:16c	כי לא עם בינות הוא גוי אבד עצות מאשר אין בהם בינה
1QIs ^a 27:11bα	כי לוא עם בינות הוא
MT Is27:11bα	כי לא עַם־בינות הוא

Linguistically, CD 5:16c is in so exact agreement with Isa.27:11bα that it could reasonably be considered to be an explicit Isaianic citation. Indeed, many scholars have thus treated it. However, doubts may be cast on such an alleged Isaianic-CD allusive relationship. It is noted that the content of CD 5:16c is in itself not Isaianic enough to substantiate the claim that the sectarian author here deliberately echoed the Isaianic passage. In fact, the notion presented in CD 5:16f., that Israel is a people without understanding and knowledge, is not unique to the Isaianic tradition in the OT. This notion, rather, is very prominent in the Book of Hosea (4:1b, 6, 14b; 5:4; 6:3,6; 8:2,4; 11:3; 13:4; 14:9=MT14:10; cf. 4:11).¹¹¹ In Hosea, the notion of knowledge of Yahweh is closely related to that of the mutual covenantal relationship between Israel and Yahweh. The prophet relentlessly criticizes the Israelites of his day for failing to keep their covenant with Yahweh and to observe its precepts. A member of a sect that claimed to possess a unique eschatological covenant with Yahweh, the author of CD 5:16f. would hardly have overlooked that Hosean motif and its theological implications.

Further, what complicates the matter is the fact that, in CD 5:17, a possible Deuteronomic allusion can be caught (cf. Deut.32:28), for CD 5:16c might be based on Deut.32:28. If that relationship is confirmed, this may weaken the likelihood of the relation of CD 5:16c to Isa.27:11. Therefore, it is hard to ascertain whether the sectarian author here really had Isa.27:11 in mind or whether he simply picked up a prevalent OT

¹¹¹ Compare the text of Hos.4:14b with that of CD 5:16c : ועם לא־יבין ילבט : "a people who do not understand/discern will be thrust down." Both NIV and NRSV have rendered the first words as "a people without understanding."

motif (e.g., from the Hosean or the Deuteronomic tradition) for his criticism of the non-sectarians.

Despite all this, however, in view of the linguistic evidence and above all the high density of the Isaianic material packed in these three columns of the Exhortation section, it does not seem unfounded to regard the Isaianic passage as the OT backdrop for CD 5:16. Perhaps their allusive relationship may not be as certain as some scholars have thought, but these two passages do seem to be intertextually related. Here it is not treated as a citation mainly because of the lack of a citation formula. For the lack of a citation formula might suggest that the sectarian writer utilized Isa.27:11 unconsciously or that he did not intend his readers to note a scriptural citation here.

It is very difficult to expound the precise meaning of Isa.27:11b in its original context. The crucial element for understanding the prophet's words is found in Isa.27:10 - "a fortified city" (עיר בצורה). What exactly did the prophet mean by "a fortified city"? OT scholars are of different opinions on this point. Some have identified the city as Jerusalem, whereas others have preferred Samaria. And still others have opted for an indefinite referent for the city; for them, "fortified city" merely signifies Israel's enemy, a foreign power hostile to God.¹¹² In my opinion, the larger context seems to favor the third option, for Isa.27:7-9 represents a contrast between Yahweh's dealings with Israel and His dealings with Israel's enemies.¹¹³ It then follows that the people without understanding mentioned in Isa.27:11bα is not Israel but her enemies.

If that is the case, the sectarian author's logic in "using" Isa.27:11 in CD 5:16c becomes clear. The sectarian author picked up the words of an Isaianic text that originally passed sentence on Israel's enemies, and applied them to his community's enemies, i.e., to non-sectarians within Israel. In so doing, he probably meant that the sectarian community's enemies, like those of ancient Israel, would surely receive no

¹¹² A brief discussion of these options can be found in J.N. Oswalt, *Isaiah 1-39*, pp.496-97.

¹¹³ So J.N. Oswalt, *Isaiah 1-39*, p.499; and C.R. Seitz, *Isaiah 1-39* (Interpretation; Louisville: John Knox, 1993), pp.198-99.

compassion or favor from the ultimate Judge on the Judgment Day (cf. Isa.27:11bβ). Problems that arise due to the author's change of the referent of Isa.27:11 from Israel's foreign enemies to the non-sectarian Israelites can be resolved, if it is accepted that the author here simply borrowed some terminology from the Isaianic passage.

11. CD 6:8 cites Isa.54:16aβ2

CD 6:8	אמר ישעיה מוציא כלי למעשיהו
1QIs ^a 54:16	הנה אנכי בראתי חרש... ומוציא כלי למעשיהו...
MT Is54:16	הן אנכי בראתי חרש... ומוציא כלי למעשהו...

There is no significant textual difference between the citation and the Isaianic texts. The author of CD 6:2ff. introduces the Isaianic citation with a simple formula *אמר ישעיה*, "Isaiah says/said." The purpose for citing Isaiah's words is evidently to grant credentials to *דורש התורה*, "the interpreter of the Torah," a certain leading figure of the sect mentioned in line 7.

In CD 6:2-7 the sectarian author recalls the history of the community's emergence by means of a *peshet* of the "well" story recorded in Num.21:16-20. The author interprets the "well" story by giving each element of the story a contemporary meaning. The "staff/ruler" (*מחוקק*), which in the Num. context is simply a tool for digging the wells, is identified with "the interpreter of the Torah." In so doing, the author underlines the role of the "interpreter of the Torah," namely, that of an agent through whom Yahweh satisfies His people's thirst for truth. And by citing Isa.54:16aβ2, the author further spells out the theological significance of the interpreter's role in Yahweh's eschatological revival of Israel.

In its original context, Isa.54:16 is part of Yahweh's promise to vindicate and save His people in exile. The entire chapter envisages the return of Yahweh's love to Israel (cf. Isa.54:6-10) and Israel's imminent bright future (cf. Isa.54:11-14,17). In Isa.54:15-17a the prophet guarantees to his audience their future security and divine protection by appealing to the sovereignty of Yahweh as Creator. The clause *מוציא כלי למעשיהו* cited here parallels the preceding one *נופח באש פחם*, both modifying the noun *חרש*.

The saying that the חרש "artisan" is created by Yahweh implies Yahweh's ultimate control of the fate of His people. If those who make weapons are created and controlled by Yahweh, who can rise against His people by making wars with them?

Turning to CD 6:8, we see that the sectarian author's use of Isa.54:16 displays some interpretive features. First of all, the sectarian author applies to Yahweh Himself the clause מוציא כלי למעשיו, which originally takes the noun חרש as its subject. Secondly, he implicitly identifies the "interpreter of the Torah" with the כלי "vessel," an identification which is evidently foreign to the Isaianic context. These interpretive changes seem to suggest that the author of CD 6:8 disregarded the context of Isa.54:16 in using it, as some scholars have claimed.¹¹⁴

A second reading of the passage's context, however, shows that such a conclusion is not necessary. Isa.54:16, as we noted earlier, represents Yahweh's sovereign control of Israel's fate. It is Yahweh who calls Israel's enemies to punish Israel, and it is He who spares her. In such a context, Isa.54:16 as a whole serves to confirm the prophet's announcement of Yahweh's self-initiated deliverance of His people. In the present CD context, Isa.54:16aβ2 is cited to underscore that the "Interpreter of the Torah" is divinely ordained. For the sectarian author, it is Yahweh Himself who raises him to lead the sectarian community before His eschatological revival of Israel. Seen in this way, Isa.54:16aβ2 seems to have been taken by the author as a shorthand symbol, summarizing the main gist of the entire verse. So, even though it is taken in a sense different from its original as we pointed out above, Isa.54:16aβ2 cannot be seen as used out of context, the general, thematic context.

Another interesting and important piece of evidence that may suggest the author's regard to the broader context of Isa.54:16 can be found in Isa.54:14-15. According to Isa.54:14-15, on the day of Israel's revival, terror and strife will completely be eliminated from the nation. Such a notion of God's faithful people freed from terror and strife in the

¹¹⁴ See J.A. Fitzmyer, "Use of Explicit OT Quotations," p. 40: "The verse of Isaiah thus quoted is used with complete disregard of its original context" (emphasis mine); M.A. Knibb, *Qumran Community*, p.49.

Endtime contrasts sharply with that represented by Isa.24:17f., a text that is cited by the author in CD 4:12ff.¹¹⁵ for describing the current situation of his non-sectarian contemporaries. Is it far-fetched that it was such an intratextual ideological contrast between Isa.24:17 and 54:14-16 that inspired and stimulated the sectarian author to cite Isa.54:16 in CD 6:8? Is the author's choice of Isa.54:16, which thematically contrasts with Isa.24:17 cited in CD 4:14, simply accidental?

12. CD 6:16f. → Isa.10:2

CD 6:16f. ... ולגזול את עניי עמו להיות אלמ[נן]ת שללם ואת יתומים ירצחו...

1QIs^a10:2 ... ולגזול משפט עניי עמי להיות אלמנות שללם ואת יתומים יבואו

MTIs10:2 ... ולגזול משפט עניי עמי להיות אלמנות שללם ואת יתומים יבאו

As shown in the text-diagram above, the close proximity in wording of the two passages strongly establishes their allusive relationship. In terms of syntax, CD 6:16f. also stands very close to Isa.10:2, both consisting of an awkward syntactical structure with infinitive constructs in the first two clauses and an imperfect tense verb in the last one.

¹¹⁵ The point made in this paragraph would be invalid, if it were proved that the author of CD 4:12ff. was different from that of CD 6:2ff.. In my view, however, we do not have sufficient evidence to substantiate that. On the contrary, some scholars tend to regard these two passages as parts of a single literary unit indebted to one single (group of) author(s) or redactor(s); e.g., A.M. Denis, *Les thèmes de connaissance dans le Document de Damas* (Louvain, 1967), p.124 (cited from J. Murphy-O'Connor, "A Literary Analysis of Damascus Document VI,2-VIII,3," *RB* 78[1971], p.210 & n.2).

Although he rejects the common authorship of CD 2:14-6:1 and 6:2-11a, J. Murphy-O'Connor admits that "[t]he midrash [CD 6:2-11a] has many contacts with the Missionary Document (2:14-6:1) and the contrast between the emphasis on lack of knowledge at the end of this document (5:16-17) and the stress on the possession of knowledge at the beginning of the midrash (6:2b) strongly suggests an intentional link between the two" (see "Literary Analysis," p.228). And he concludes that the function of CD 6:2-11a "is to provide a linking transition from the Missionary Document to the Memorandum [CD 6:11b-8:3]" (see "Literary Analysis," p.231). Despite the implausibility of his arguments for a different authorship for CD 2:14-6:1 and 6:2-11a, I think, even Murphy-O'Connor's conclusion would imply that the author of the midrash was aware of the original context of the Isaianic citation in CD 4:13-14 when he sought to link different documents together. If so, it is surely not unfounded to claim that the author of CD 6:2ff., having been inspired by Isa.24:17, which is cited in CD 4:13-14, deliberately picked up another Isaianic text that ideologically contrasts with Isa.24:17 to qualify the role of "the interpreter of the Law."

The most intriguing element that supports the relationship of CD 6:16f. to Isa.10:2 is the sectarian author's use of the third person plural in both שָׁלַל and יִרְצֹחוּ.

Indeed, the syntax of CD 6:16f. in the present context is peculiar. The most puzzling problem is raised by the author's use of the third person plural in both שָׁלַל and יִרְצֹחוּ: Who are "they?" Because of this, scholars have offered diverse translations of this saying. For instance,

C. Rabin: "and not to rob the poor of His people, that widows might be their spoil and that they might murder the orphans;"

G. Vermes: "they shall not rob the poor of His people, to make of widows their prey and of the fatherless their victims;"

P.R. Davies: "this is to 'rob the poor of His people, that widows become their spoil and they murder the orphans';"

M.A. Knibb: "(this is) 'to rob the poor of his people, to make widows their spoil, and they murder the fatherless';"

F.G. Martínez: "from stealing from the poor of the people, from making their widows their spoils and from murdering orphans;"¹¹⁶

J.M. Baumgarten & D.R. Schwartz: "(for) they (the sons of the pit) steal from the poor of his people, preying upon widows and murdering orphans;"

Wise, Abegg & Cook: "they must not rob 'the poor of God's people, making widows' wealth their booty and killing orphans';"

E. Lohse: "(nicht) die Armen seines Volkes zu berauben, daß Witwen ihre Beute sind und sie Waisen ermorden."¹¹⁷

As these translations show, in order to make sense of CD6:16f., scholars have made additions to the text. Among these additions, the most curious are those of P.R. Davies and of M.A. Knibb. It is not clear how the "this is" functions in the context, or what it really refers to. Whatever additions they have made, most of the scholars have

¹¹⁶ F. García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), p.37.

¹¹⁷ E. Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran* (2nd rev. ed.; München: Kösel-Verlag, 1986[1971]), p.79.

understood CD 6:16f. as part of the sectarian halakhic precepts that the author requires the sectarians to observe. But only Baumgarten & Schwartz interpret CD 6:16f. as specifically speaking of "the sons of the pit" (בני השחת) in line 15. Their interpretation is very probably based on the author's use of the 3rd person plural verb ירצחו and the 3rd person plural suffix in שללם, and perhaps also on the Isaianic passage to which CD 6:16f. alludes. Although such an interpretation is possible, it is neither necessary nor natural in view of the grammar and the context of the present CD passage. Instead, it seems most natural to translate CD 6:16f. thus: and¹¹⁸ (not)¹¹⁹ to rob the poor of His people so as to prey upon¹²⁰ widows and to kill orphans.¹²¹

Our interpretation of CD 6:16f. exposes the role which Isa.10:2 plays in the author's composition. Isa.10:2, which originally is judgmental in nature, is not "used" by the author for polemical purposes, but is recruited simply for the sectarian halakhic formulations. That means, based on Isaiah's oracle against the wicked Israelites of his day, the sectarian author here delineates, with the prophet's language, what is right for the sectarians to follow before God.

13. CD 7:11f. cites Isa. 7:17

CD 7:10ff. ... ישעיה בן אמוץ הנביא אשר יבוא עליך ועל עמך ועל בית אביך

¹¹⁸ The conjunction ו here serves as a subject-marker, signifying the beginning of a new topic; note the author's use of the construction ו + infinitive construct throughout lines 14-21 of the column.

¹¹⁹ The addition of a negative particle makes better sense of the passage in this context; see C. Rabin, *Zadokite Documents*, p.25; cf. Lohse's translation.

¹²⁰ This infinitival clause could also be translated as: "so as to make widows your (lit., their) spoil."

¹²¹ This interpretation presupposes לגזול as the main verb of the line, which is modified by two subordinate verbs להיות and ירצחו, and also that אלמנות and יתומים are taken as a word-pair, being two sub-groups of עמי עמו. These presuppositions are certainly justified on grammatical grounds and by the fact that "widow" and "orphan" very often go hand in hand as a word-pair in the OT; cf. Ex.22:22 (=MT 22:21); Deut.10:18; 14:29; 26:12; Pss.68:5 (=MT 68:6); 146:9; Isa.1:17, 23; 9:17; Jer.22:3.

ימים אשר באו מיום סור אפרים מעל יהודה

ויביא יהוה עליך ועל עמך ועל בית אביך ימים אשר לוא באו למיום סור
אפרים מעל יהודה ...

MT Is7:17 יביא יהוה עליך ועל עמך ועל בית אביך ימים אשר לא באו למיום סור
אפרים מעל יהודה ...

It is not clear why the negative לוא and the preposition ל before מיום are dropped in CD 7:11-12. Is this due to carelessness, or is it intentional? The choice involves speculation.

In its original context, the sense of Isa.7:17 is somewhat obscure. It could be positive, giving the reader a promise of salvation; but it could also be negative, declaring a word of judgment. Careful reading of the immediate context leads us to conclude that the latter seems to be the more likely sense of Isaiah's words. Isa.7:13 clearly represents the prophet's anger due to the unbelief of the king Ahaz. A strong piece of evidence for reading the text in a negative way is found in Isa.7:17b: אֶת מֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר, "the king of Assyria." Isa.7:17b is most probably a gloss¹²² added¹²³ so as to spell out more clearly the judgmental sense of the whole verse. Isa.7:18ff. too is exegetical, explicitly bringing out the prophet's judgmental sense in v.17. Thus, in Isa.7:17 the prophet is announcing the coming of days of devastation upon the unbelieving Ahaz and his country, and the verse itself speaks of the severity of divine punishment.

The context of the Isaianic citation in CD 7:11-12 is evidently judgmental and polemical (cf. lines 12f.). In CD 7:9 the sectarian writer condemns those who despise the Law and the sectarian precepts that are derived from the sectarian interpretation of the

¹²² That Isa.7:17b is a gloss is determined by the context and the particle אֶת. For a discussion of the function of אֶת as a gloss-marker, see M. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, pp.44f.

¹²³ Most OT scholars have taken Isa.7:17b as a gloss added here by a later hand (probably the editor of the whole Book of Isaiah); see H. Wildberger, *Jesaja 1-12* (BKAT 10/1; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1972), p.297f.; *idem*, *Isaiah 1-12* (tr. T.H. Trapp; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), pp.287,315-16; R.E. Clements, *Isaiah 1-39*, p.89; O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1-12* (rev. ed; OTL; SCM Press, 1983), pp.151,172.

Law; and he declares the inevitability of divine punishment upon them. By citing the words of Isaiah, he underlines the sureness and fierceness of God’s judgment upon the wicked (רשעים). The fact that “Judah” functions as a code name for the sect (cf. CD 4:11)¹²⁴ suggests that the separation of “Ephraim” from “Judah,” of which Isa.7:17 speaks, may imply the separation between the sectarians and their contemporary society, which they regard as astray and ungodly. If so, we can concur with J.A. Fitzmyer that “[Isa.7:17] is quoted in the sense originally intended, but it is also extended to a new situation which is expected.”¹²⁵

14. CD 14:1 alludes to/cites(?) Isa.7:17

CD 14:1	אשר לא באו מיום סור אפרים מעל יהודה ...
1QIs ^a 7:17	ויביא יהוה עליך ועל עמך ועל בית אביך ימים אשר לוא באו למיום סור אפרים מעל יהודה ...
MT Is7:17	יביא יהוה עליך ועל עמך ועל בית אביך ימים אשר לא באו למיום סור אפרים מעל יהודה ...

Most scholars have rightly identified in CD 14:1 a citation of, or an allusion to, Isa.7:17. The verbal similarity between the passages suggests that here we probably have an Isaianic citation. However, in view of the incompleteness of the text, it is difficult to do anything more than just pointing out that Isa.7:17 is probably cited to support a preceding statement which might be judgmental against outsiders who do not observe the precepts of the sect (cf. 14:2).

b. Concluding Remarks

Our examination of the Isaianic material in the Damascus Document has shown that the sectarian writers made lavish use of the Isaianic judgmental language and

¹²⁴ See J.M. Baumgarten & D.J. Schwartz, “Damascus Document,” p.19, n.34; M.A. Knibb, *Qumran Community*, p.59.

¹²⁵ J.A. Fitzmyer, "Use of Explicit OT Quotations," p.46.

concepts for polemical purposes. The Isaianic tradition has enriched these writers' vocabulary in their attacks on non-sectarian Jews, who in their sight neither observed the Law nor accepted the sect's halakhic interpretation of it.

On the other hand, these sectarian writers also drew on Isaianic language or distinctive terminology to spell out the significance of the key figures of their community. Their use of the Isaianic terminology reflects the self-understanding of the role of the sectarian movement in Israel's eschatological restoration.

In our examination, we have observed that when launching an attack or passing judgment on non-sectarians by drawing on the Isaianic tradition, the sectarian writers of the Damascus Document cited texts whose original contexts were polemical or judgmental; on the other hand, when speaking of the sectarians they quoted texts whose original contexts were salvific. This observation has led to the conclusion that these writers were well aware of the context of the Isaianic texts utilized, especially the broader theological context of the Isaianic tradition.

In certain instances, however, we noted a change of referent in the sectarian "use" of the Isaianic material. In CD 5:16, for instance, the sectarian author changed Isa.27:11's referent from Israel's foes to non-sectarian Israelites/Jews. Such a change of referent can be explained when we accept the sectarian "use" of Isa.27:11 as some kind of linguistic borrowing. The author did not explicitly say he was "using" Isa.27:11; nor did he claim that he meant what Isaiah meant. Perhaps, the case of CD 6:8 is a little difficult, for the author explicitly quotes Isaiah's language. Isa.56:16a β 2 originally takes "the ploughman" as its subject, but in CD 6:8 it takes a new subject, i.e., God. This referent change perhaps can be explained by the fact that the author took Isa.56:16a β 2 as a shorthand symbol, summarizing the point of the entire verse, as we suggested above. A comparison of these two cases discloses an interesting thing. In the case of CD 5:16, the new referent (non-sectarian Jews) in some sense parallels the original one (Israel's foes), both referring to the oppressors/opponents of God's covenanted people; whereas in the case of CD 6:8, the original and new referents seem to have no evidently parallel characteristics. Finally, it is interesting to note that the sectarian citation of Isa.24:17 in CD 4:13-14 operates in a

symbolic mode of understanding or even like an algebraic substitution.

D. The Isaianic Tradition in the Thanksgiving Scroll

The Thanksgiving Scroll (1QH), also called *Hodayot* in Hebrew, is a collection of psalms or hymns that express a deep sentiment of thanks/praise for God's mercy, protection, deliverance, and even revelation of truth. These hymns often begin with formulaic expressions such as "I thank you, O Lord/my God!" (e.g., 2:20,31; 4:5; 5:5,20; 7:6; 11:1,15),¹²⁶ or sometimes with "Blessed are you, O Lord!" (e.g., 10:14; 11:28,29,34; cf. 5:20). Most of the hymns strike a strong personal note, but it is difficult to ascertain whether they were initially composed for personal devotional or for corporate cultic purposes.¹²⁷

Reading between the lines of the *hodayot*, one may catch clues as to the identity of their writer(s). For instance, in 1QH 4:5,10,24-29, the writer of the column claims that he has received God's special revelation and would teach God's people the truth/knowledge of His covenant. This readily recalls to mind several passages from other Qumran scrolls that ascribe a similar role to the mysterious leader of the Qumran sect, the Teacher of Righteousness (cf., e.g., CD 1:11; 20:32; 1QpHab 7:4-5). Similar instances can be found elsewhere in the Scroll, e.g., in 2:1-19; 5:5-19.¹²⁸ Thus, some scholars¹²⁹

¹²⁶ Unless otherwise stated, both the text and the system of versification for all references here and afterwards are based on those of *Die Texte aus Qumran*, edited by E. Lohse.

¹²⁷ For a discussion of this, see S. Mowinckel, "Some Remarks on *Hodayot* 39.5-20," *JBL* 75(1956), pp.268-69; S. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran* (Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget I, 1960), pp.332-48; and now B. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer & Religious Poetry* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), pp.321-55.

¹²⁸ For more examples and discussion, see G. Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit* (SUNT 2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963), pp.168-267.

¹²⁹ For instance, G. Jeremias, *op. cit.*; O. Betz, *Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte* (WUNT 6; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1960), p.155; J. Carmignac, "Les Éléments historiques des 'Hymnes' de Qumran," *RevQ* 2(1960), pp.205-22; J.A. Huntjens, "Contrasting Notions of Covenant and Law in the Texts from Qumran," *RevQ* 8(1974), p.371; J.J. Collins,

have opined that at least some, if not all, of the hymns collected in the Scroll were composed by this charismatic yet enigmatic figure, and hence that these lines offer material for a possible reconstruction of the early history of the Qumran community. However, other scholars, such as S. Holm-Nielsen¹³⁰ and G. Vermes¹³¹, have taken a rather skeptical stance and have strongly argued for an indefinable, multiple authorship of the hymns in the Scroll. Whether or not some or all of the hymns can be attributed to the mysterious Teacher of Righteousness, scholars are generally agreed that most of the hymns collected in the Scroll were probably composed before the turn of the Christian era.

Due to the deterioration of the leather of the Scroll in the course of time, many of the hymns have become fragmentary and difficult to read. This makes it difficult to versify the hymns. For this reason, the exact number of hymns collected in the Scroll has become a matter of guessing.

Despite their textual fragmentary state, these hymns clearly exhibit their writers' lavish use of Scripture. Indeed, although no instances of explicit scriptural citation can be found on these hymns, it is manifest that the sectarian psalmists were greatly indebted to OT Scripture in a variety of ways: form, imagery, vocabulary, concept, and so on. These sectarian psalmists so freely adopted, adapted, and merged the expressions and wordings of Scripture into their compositions that they ended up producing a collection of mosaics of the Scriptures. Their favorite scriptural sources are mainly from the canonical Psalms and the Prophetic Books (esp. *Isaiah*). A considerable number of traces of the Isaianic influence upon the hymns can be caught. According to P. Wernberg-Møller, some 32 instances of possible Isaianic allusions are found just in the first three

"Dead Sea Scrolls - Thanksgiving Hymns," in *ABD*, vol.2, pp.93-94; H.-J. v.d. Minde, "Thanksgiving Hymns," in *ABD*, vol.6, p.439.

¹³⁰ S. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, pp.316-31.

¹³¹ G. Vermes, "Writings of the Qumran Community," pp.454-55.

columns of the Scroll.¹³² S. Holm-Nielsen has also proposed more than 116 instances scattered all over the hymns;¹³³ and J. Carmignac has suggested about 100 instances.¹³⁴

In view of limitations of space and time, we cannot help being selective in our choice of data for examination out of this huge body of material. In the following pages, I will select and examine the Isaianic material in the Scroll that represents important theological notions of the Qumran psalmists, and/or the Isaianic material that offers us significant data for an inter-document comparison. For instance, the allusions to the famous "stone passages" in 1QH 6:26; 7:9 (and 9:20f.?) will be examined, for these Isaianic passages are also alluded to or cited in other non-biblical Qumran documents (e.g., 1QS) and/or non-Qumran documents (e.g., *Romans*), which fall into the scope of study of this thesis.

a. Analysis of the Data

1. 1QH 2:18-19 → Isa.27:11bα & 28:11a

1QH 2:18f. וימירום בערול שפה ולשון אחרת לעם לא בינות להלבט במשגתם ...

1QIs^a27:11 כי לוא עם בינות הוא ...

28:11 כי בלעגי שפה ובלשון אחרת

MTIs.27:11 כי לא עם בינות הוא ...

28:11 כי בלעגי שפה ובלשון אחרת

1QH 2:19 presents the notion of "a people without understanding." This notion can be found in several OT passages: Deut.32:28; Hos.4:1b,6,14b; 5:4; 6:3,6; 8:2,4; 11:3; 13:4; 14:9=MT14:10; and Isa.27:11b; cf. Hos.4:11; Isa.1:3; 56:11. Of these passages,

¹³² P. Wernberg-Møller, "Contribution of the Hodayot to Biblical Textual Criticism," *Textus* 4(1964), pp.133-75.

¹³³ See S. Holm-Nielsen, *op. cit.*, pp.355-56.

¹³⁴ See J. Carmignac, "Les Citations de L'ancien Testament, et Spécialement des Poèmes du Serviteur, dans les Hymnes de Qumran," *RevQ* 2(1960), pp.362-68.

Hos.4:14b¹³⁵ and Isa.27:11 exhibit close linguistic similarities to the present Hodayot passage. Thus, it is difficult to claim for certain that Isa.27:11 serves as one of the OT source-texts for 1QH 2:19. However, considering the fact that the plural form of **בִּינָה** "understanding" only occurs in Isa.27:11, it does not seem unlikely that the psalmist picked up the notion from the Isaianic passage rather than somewhere else. Perhaps the wording of the psalmist here is a combination of Hos.4:14b and Isa.27:11b α , as S. Holm-Nielsen has suggested.

The intertextual connection between 1QH 2:19 and Isa.28:11 can be securely established on verbal grounds, since the phrase **לִשׁוֹן אַחֲרֵת**, "a strange tongue," which the two passages have in common, occurs only in Isa.28:11. The presence of the term **שִׁפָּה** "lip" in both 1QH 2:19 and Isa.28:11 also enhances the likelihood of their relationship.

Here the two Isaianic phrases "a strange tongue" and "a people without understanding" were merged together by the psalmist to represent the (false) teachings of the "men of deceit" (**אֲנָשֵׁי רִמְיָה**; perhaps his opponents), who led God's people astray (cf. 1QH 2:16-18). The phrase "a strange tongue" is used figuratively in Isa.28:11 to signify a foreign nation whose language is incomprehensible to Israelites. So it conveys the sense of incomprehensibility. Here combined with "a people without understanding" in Isa.27:11, this sense is emphatically put. Thus, the psalmist's use of these phrases effects a sharp contrast between the teachings of the "men of deceit" and his own (cf. lines 13-15). For him, the teachings of the "men of deceit" had no true knowledge; they were even incomprehensible and meaningless.

On a closer reading of the two Isaianic passages, we notice a contextual continuity between them and 1QH 2:19. The original contexts of the two Isaianic passages are accusatory or judgmental. In Isa.27:11, the "people without understanding" probably are those who oppose Yahweh, who will in turn show no favor upon them. In Isa.28:11, Ephraim is condemned and will receive God's judgment - an exile by a nation whose

¹³⁵ Hos.4:14b runs: **וְעַם לֹא־יָבִין יִלְבֹּט**, "thus a people without understanding comes to ruin" (NRSV).

language she does not know. In 1QH 2:19, the psalmist, by applying the phrases to them, condemned his opponents. In so doing, he may have intended to transfer what the prophet said of God's adversaries onto the "men of deceit."

2. 1QH 3:10 → Isa.9:6 (= MTIsa.9:5)

1QH 3:10 מכור הריה פלא יועץ עם גבורתו...

1QIs^a9:6b וקרא שמו פלא יועץ אל גבור...

MTIs.9:6b ויקרא שמו פלא יועץ אל גבור...

The impression that the psalmist here borrowed the Isaianic terminology seems to be inescapable. For it is beyond question that the phrase פלא יועץ "wonder of a counsellor, i.e, a wonderful counsellor" is uniquely Isaianic.

Although scholars raise no questions about the relationship of 1QH 3:10 to Isa.9:6, the implications of this relationship in the present context of the hymn have been disputed among scholars. Since the Isaianic passage alluded to here is messianic in nature, some scholars have opined that 1QH 3:10 must also have borne some messianic connotations. For instance, J.V. Chamberlain and W.H. Brownlee have understood the passage as presenting the psalmist/sect's hope for the appearance of a messianic figure.¹³⁶ Following the logic of the messianic interpretation of 1QH 3:10, O. Betz has identified in the passage a conflation of Isa.9:6 and Num.11:12 and hence has proposed that the messiah envisaged in 1QH 3:10 is the Qumran sect itself.¹³⁷ However, the messianic interpretation of the hymn in 1QH 3:6-18 is rejected by many other scholars, for whom the distinctive Isaianic terminology in 1QH 3:10 simply carries its plain verbal meaning and nothing

¹³⁶ J.V. Chamberlain, "Another Qumran Thanksgiving Psalm," *JNES* 14(1955), pp.32-41; idem, "Further Elucidation of a Messianic Thanksgiving Psalm from Qumran," *JNES* 14(1955), pp.181-82; and W.H. Brownlee, "Messianic Motifs of Qumran and the NT - I," *NTS* 3(1956), pp.23-30. See also M.A. Knibb, *Qumran Community*, pp.174, 176.

¹³⁷ O. Betz, "Die Geburt der Gemeinde durch den Lehrer," *NTS* 3(1957), pp.314-26; *idem*, "Das Volk seiner Kraft: zur Auslegung der Qumran-hodajah III,1-18," *NTS* 5(1958), pp.67-75; for an excellent English summary of the latter essay see *NT Abstracts* 3(1959), pp.298-99. See also H. Ringgren, *The Faith of Qumran* (Exp. ed.; NY: Crossroad, 1995), pp.191-98. Ringgren appears to put less stress on the messianic nature of 1QH 3:7-12.

more.¹³⁸ In these scholars' view, the emphasis of the psalmist's language is laid on the birth-pangs imagery, stressing the great afflictions and sufferings that the psalmist has borne.

It is hard to determine for sure whether or not 1QH 3:10 should be interpreted to bear any messianic implications. Carefully reading the context of the psalm in 1QH 3:6-18, we learn that the psalmist's language is highly figurative. As G. Hinson has pointed out,¹³⁹ the psalmist here employs three images/similes¹⁴⁰ to convey one single point: the psalmist was in a situation that had caused him to endure deep afflictions and great sufferings.¹⁴¹ Apart from the woman-in-labor imagery, the other two images (i.e., those of a ship in a stormy sea and of a city besieged by its enemies) exhibit nothing messianic. This seems to suggest that the most natural way to interpret the woman-in-labor imagery is non-messianic,¹⁴² and that the point of the imagery is merely pains and sufferings. Moreover, the imagery of a woman enduring the pangs of childbirth is quite frequently used in the OT¹⁴³ to signify afflictions and sufferings. Such a use of the imagery is also frequent in the Book of Isaiah (13:8; 21:3; 26:17-18; 37:3; 66:7-9). In view of all this, it

¹³⁸ See, e.g., J. Baumgarten & M. Mansoor, "Studies in the New *Hodayot* (Thanksgiving Hymns) - II," *JBL* 74(1955), p.190, n.13; M. Mansoor, *The Thanksgiving Hymns* (Leiden : E.J. Brill, 1961), p.113, n.2; S. Mowinckel, "Some Remarks on *Hodayot* 39 (3:5-20)," *JBL* 75(1956), p.276; L.H. Silberman, "Language and Structure in the *Hodayot* (1QH 3)," *JBL* 75(1956), pp. 104-6. There are scholars who, though taking this stance, have not entirely ruled out the possibility of a messianic interpretation of 1QH 3:10; see, e.g., R.E. Brown, "The Messianism of Qumran," *CBQ* 19(1957), pp.66-72; G. Hinson, "Hodayoth III.6-18: In what sense messianic?" *RevQ* 2(1960), pp.183-204.

¹³⁹ G. Hinson, "In what sense messianic?", pp.201-3.

¹⁴⁰ They are "a ship in the stormy sea" (lines 6,13-17), "a city besieged by its enemies" (line 7a), and "a woman in travail" (lines 7b-12, 18).

¹⁴¹ See also O. Betz, "Die Geburt der Gemeinde," pp.316-18.

¹⁴² See also S. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, p.63: "the birth is an illustration of suffering,... in this psalm other illustrations are used beside that of childbirth, e.g., a boat in a storm and a besieged city, and this must result in a true Messianic interpretation being impossible."

¹⁴³ See, e.g., Gen.3:16; Jer.4:31; 6:24; 13:21; 22:23; 30:6; Hos.13:13; Mic.4:9-10.

does not appear unreasonable to posit that the psalmist here simply followed the OT tradition in using the woman-in-labor imagery to express the agony he had gone through (cf. line 7).

However, a question arises: why did the psalmist employ the Isaianic terminology (פלא יועץ) *verbatim* to depict the male-child (גבר) born, if the childbirth imagery was just intended to present the motif of suffering? G. Hinson has offered us a possible answer, namely that the Isaianic phrase was used as "an expression of wonderment at the child's birth."¹⁴⁴ Hinson's rationale for his proposal is vague and insufficient. In my opinion, Hinson's proposal is possible, because it might be sustained by the psalmist's playing on גבר in describing the child born. Throughout lines 9-10, the psalmist utilizes the term גבר¹⁴⁵ to denote the child born; and in 1QH 3:10 he phrases עם גבורתו (with the term גבורה) to describe the birth of the child. Thus the psalmist's playing on גבר, coupled with the Isaianic phrase, may effect "a wonderment at the child's birth." But why did the psalmist bother to generate such an effect? Does this not imply that he might really have seen the child as more than an ordinary child? In fact, the psalmist's use of the term גבר could also be a piece of evidence for a messianic interpretation of 1QH 3:10.¹⁴⁶

As to the question of why the psalmist utilizes the distinct Isaianic phrase, R.E. Brown has offered us another answer, when he concludes his discussion of 1QH 3:6-18: "... after all, the pain of giving birth may have been simply a convenient simile for the psalmist's sufferings. In this case Is 9,6 would have been evoked to introduce the notion of God's deliverance."¹⁴⁷ R.E. Brown is probably influenced by L.H. Silberman, who has

¹⁴⁴ G. Hinson, "In what sense messianic?", p.202.

¹⁴⁵ The term גבר bears the connotation of "strength" (cf. Isa.21:17; 2Ki.24:16); see BDB, s.v., p.150.

¹⁴⁶ See W.H. Brownlee, "Messianic Motifs," pp.25-27; and O. Betz, "Die Geburt der Gemeinde," pp.318-20.

¹⁴⁷ R.E. Brown, "Messianism of Qumran," p.71; emphasis mine.

read the phrase פלא יועץ in 1QH 3:10 as "the Wonderful One who takes counsel"¹⁴⁸ and argued that the entire clause does not mean that a baby-boy (called a wonderful counsellor) is born from the woman's womb, but that it is God who exercises His providential care and lets the baby be born safely.¹⁴⁹ Linguistically, Silberman's reading of the text of 1QH 3:10 is not impossible, and it does make good sense of the passage. But it involves too much textual emendation, some of which is even based on unfounded assumptions. For instance, in order to rule out the possible allusion to an anti-messiah in line 12 (as suggested by Chamberlain), he reads פעה as a noun of פעה "to groan" based on the Midrash Tanhuma of Isa.41:24; however, he commits an error of anachronism in view of the date of the Tanhuma Midrash.¹⁵⁰ R.E. Brown is probably aware of this problem when he comments on Silberman's reading: "this (reading) ... probably has the weakest linguistic support."¹⁵¹

Silberman's reading of 1QH 3:7-18 is attractive, but interestingly no recent translations have followed his suggested textual emendations. This implies that his reading is no more than a speculation. In fact, in my opinion, one neither needs to emend the text nor to recruit a messianic interpretation, in order to make good sense of the hymn in 1QH 3:6-18.

First of all, it is not necessary that the notion of God's deliverance has to depend on Silberman's textual emendation of 1QH 3:10.¹⁵² The notion of God's deliverance is in

¹⁴⁸ L.H. Silberman, "Language and Structure," p.105, prefers to read יועץ as a Niphal 3rd sing. imperfect instead of a commonly accepted Qal active participle, and so takes it as the main verb of a new sentence with the subject פלא, which he regards as a divine name.

¹⁴⁹ L.H. Silberman, "Language and Structure," p.105.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p.104.

¹⁵¹ R.E. Brown, "Messianism of Qumran," p.71, makes this comment after a comparative evaluation of Chamberlain's, Baumgarten and Mansoor's, and Silberman's renderings of 1QH 3:12. For critiques of Silberman's interpretation of the hymn in 1QH 3:7-18, see also W.H. Brownlee, "Messianic Motifs of Qumran and the NT- II," *NTS* 3(1956-57), pp.209-10.

¹⁵² See his "Language and Structure," pp.101 & 103, where he accepts Chamberlain's emendation of מכור in line 10 to בכור, and links the phrase בכור הריה back to the last clause

fact intrinsically carried in Isa.9:6. Isa.9:1-7 clearly envisages the coming of a kingly figure, who, established by Yahweh Himself (cf. v.7), will bring about Israel's restoration and peace.¹⁵³ In Isa.9:2, "salvation is described as a sunrise, as a light shining in the night at the moment when the deliverer is born."¹⁵⁴ The prophet's message of God's deliverance is so unambiguous and striking that the sectarian psalmist would hardly have overlooked it. Of course, the psalmist might have attempted to identify a certain figure of the sect with the agent through whom God's deliverance was realized, so as to apply Isaiah's messianic promise to his community. However, the context of 1QH 3:10 exhibits no sure sign that he did intend to do so.

The second element that helps diminish or even eliminate the possibility of a messianic interpretation of 1QH 3:10 is the overall structure of the hymn in 1QH 3:(3)/6-18. Although the beginning of the hymn is damaged, almost all scholars are agreed that the first few lines of the hymn are most probably the psalmist's words of thanks to God for His deliverance from his enemies (cf. line 6). From line 7 onwards, the motif of God's deliverance of the psalmist from his agony is developed. In lines 7-18, two main sections are easily discerned on the basis of content. In spite of their linguistic similarities (esp. the birthpangs language), lines 7-12a and lines 12b-18 are clearly contrasted with each other. Lines 7-12a describe the psalmist's distress, and lines 12b-18 depict his opponents' final destiny.

The contrast between lines 7-12a and lines 12b-18 is twofold. Firstly, in lines 7-12a the psalmist stresses God's deliverance by borrowing the Isaianic phrase, as we have suggested above, and yet in lines 12b-18 he leaves no hope of salvation for his enemies. The force of the contrast that he has hope but his enemies none, is heightened by the psalmist's use of the same imageries (i.e., those of a ship in a stormy sea and of a woman

of line 9, וּבְחֹבְלֵי שְׂאוֹל יֵגִיחַ and paraphrases it thus: "In excruciating pain her first-born comes forth." See also n.148 above.

¹⁵³ So S. Mowinckel, *He That Cometh* (tr. G.W. Anderson; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1956), p.102.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

in travail) to portray his sufferings and those of his enemies.

The second point of the contrast between the two sections is made by the psalmist's use of the term גבר and the Isaianic phrase in lines 9-10 and of the term אפעה in lines 12 & 17. The terms גבר and פלא יועץ may imply the sense of greatness, as G. Hinson has suggested, whereas the term אפעה¹⁵⁵ gives the sense of wickedness¹⁵⁶ or nothingness.¹⁵⁷ In view of the highly figurative nature of the psalmist's language, this understanding of these terms can surely be justified. The figurative nature of the psalmist's language also warns us not to take the woman-in-labor imagery strictly in every detail. Therefore, the psalmist's choice of these terms appears to imply that it is for noble reasons that he suffers, while his opponents suffer for their evildoings and hence deserve no mercy from God. Such a motif of God's deliverance of the suffering righteous and of God's punishment of the evildoers predominates in canonical Psalms, e.g, Pss.5, 37, 73, 75, and even in 1QH itself, e.g, 4: 5-26; 5:20-38; 6:2-35. So it is not far-fetched that the psalmist here simply picks up this motif in expressing his gratitude to God on the one hand and his vitriol against his enemies on the other. If our understanding of the psalmist's use of these terms is accepted, Silberman's emendation of אפעה can be dismissed and his effort to eliminate the notion of an anti-messiah is unnecessary, for there is no such notion here. By the same token, Chamberlain's suggestion that the term אפעה implicitly refers to an anti-messiah is implausible.

In short, the sectarian psalmist's use of the Isaianic phrase in 1QH 3:10 is not intended to convey any messianic aspirations, but rather the psalmist simply derives from the Isaianic passage the notion of divine deliverance as a ground for his expression of

¹⁵⁵ The term אפעה literally means "a serpent"; it occurs in this sense in Isa.30:6; 59:5; Job 20:16; see KB, s.v., p.78. So F. García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated* (1st.ed.; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), p.331, and M.A. Knibb, *Qumran Community*, p.173, have literally translated the term in this sense.

¹⁵⁶ S. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, pp.51 and 58, n.25, has thus understood the term, and so have M.O. Wise, M. Abegg, Jr., & E.M. Cook, *A New Translation*, p.94.

¹⁵⁷ See, e.g., J. Baumgarten & M. Mansoor, "Studies in the New Hodayot - II," p.191; M. Mansoor, *Thanksgiving Hymns*, p.114; G. Vermes, *DSS in English*, p.196.

thanks to God. In view of the fact that the notion of God's deliverance is the prominent motif of Isa.9:1-7, we can conclude that the psalmist's use of the Isaianic phrase is certainly not out of context.

3. 1QH 3:24 → Isa.2:22b

1QH 3:24 ... ולמי נחשבתי ומה כוח לי...

1QIs^a2:22b כִּי־אֵין בְּמַה נִּחְשָׁב הוּא

MTIs.2:22b כִּי בְּמַה נִּחְשָׁב הוּא

The allusion of 1QH 3:24 to Isa.2:22b hinges on the Niphal stem of the verb חשב "think/account." The verb in Niphal stem occurs two dozen times or so in the OT (six times in Isaiah, besides 2:22). The verbal connection between these two passages has nothing unique about it and is flimsy. Thus, it is hard to establish any firm relationship between the two passages simply on linguistic grounds. However, in view of the fact that Isa.2:22b is cited in 1QS 5:17, it seems reasonable to claim that the psalmist of the hymn may have been familiar with the Isaianic passage. If so, the relationship between 1QH 3:24 and Isa.2:22b is at least possible.

In its original context, Isa.2:22 serving as a concluding remark of the entire chapter represents the notion of man's futility and insignificance. This notion evidently finds its expression in the present sectarian hymn. In his praises of God for His salvation (cf. line 19), our psalmist considers himself nothing but "a creature of clay" (יִצֵר הָחֹמֶר) that is vulnerable and insignificant.¹⁵⁸ He finds himself in great distress and turmoil, he has suffered a lot from the ungodly non-sectarians (cf. lines 25-27a). Yet, he is saved by God and comforted by His judgment upon the wicked.

Despite this thematic continuity between these two passages, however, a contextual discontinuity exists between these passages. While the Isaianic context is very judgmental, the Hodayot context is one of praise and thanksgiving mixed with polemics. This observation does not show that the psalmist used Isa.2:22 out of context, for the

¹⁵⁸ So M.A. Knibb, *Qumran Community*, p.180.

psalmist gave no indication in his hymn that he was "using" the Isaianic passage. Rather, it seems that, from Isa.2:22 , he drew inspiration, or derived a certain mode of expression, in expressing his self-abasement before God.

4. 1QH4:8,23 → Isa.53:3,8 ; 1QH4:36 → Isa.53:4,8 & 1QH4:37 → Isa.53:10-11¹⁵⁹

1QH 4:8 כי נמאסו למו ולא יחשבוני בהגבירכה בי כיא ידיחני מארצי

23 לא יחשבו[ני ע]ד הגבירכה בי ...

36 ... ורוחי החזיקה במעמד לפני נגע כי נשענתי

37 ... כי תכפר עוון ולט[הר אנו]ש מאשמה בצדקתכה

1QIs^a53:3 ... וכמסתיר פנים ממנו ונבזהו ולוא חשבנוהו

4 ... ואנחנו חשבנוהו נגוע ומוכה אלוהים ומעונה

8 ... כיא נגזר מארץ חיים מפשע עמו נוגע למו

10 ... אם תשים אשם נפשו ...

11 ... ובדעתו יצדיק צדיק עבדי לרבים ועוונותם הואה יסבול

1QIs^b53:3 ... וכמסתר פנים ממנו ונבזה ולא חשבנהו

4 ... [וא]נחנו חשבנהו נגוע מכה אלהים ומענה

8 ... כי נגזר מארץ חיים מפשע עמי נגע למו

10 ... אם ת[שים] אשם נפשו ...

11 ... ובדעתו יצדיק צדיק עבדי לרבי[ם] ועונותם הואה יסבול

The above text-diagram clearly demonstrates the verbal and thematic resemblances of the present hodayah (1QH 4:5-5:4) and the well-known Suffering Servant Song in *Isaiah*. Although the terminology that these two "songs" share may themselves not be distinctive or unique enough to the Suffering Servant Song, the fact that these terms¹⁶⁰ and motifs¹⁶¹ are combined together forcefully gives the impression that the psalmist was

¹⁵⁹ In the following text diagram, the text of MT, which basically agrees with that of 1QIsa^b, will not be included due to space limitations.

¹⁶⁰ For instance, נגע; לא + חשב.

¹⁶¹ For instance, "cutting/removing from the land."

probably influenced by the Suffering Servant Song. Moreover, other traces of Isaianic tradition are also found in this hodayah, e.g., allusions to Isa.30:10b in 1QH 4:10 and to Isa.28:11b in 4:16;¹⁶² this indirectly helps strengthen the claim that the psalmist, while composing his hodayah (1QH 4:5-5:4), was indebted both linguistically and thematically to, or at least aware of, Isaiah's Suffering Servant Song.

In the Isaianic context, the central figure of the Song in 52:13-53:12 is clearly identified at the outset as Yahweh's servant (cf. 52:13). However, it is unclear in the context whether this figure is meant as an individual or as the whole nation of Israel; OT scholars are still debating this.¹⁶³ In any case, the point of the entire Song is crystal clear: having undergone humiliation, great sufferings and afflictions, the servant of Yahweh is finally vindicated and exalted by Yahweh Himself. It was probably this point that was picked up by our sectarian psalmist, who as Yahweh's servant must have found his own image in Isaiah's depiction of the suffering servant and so borrowed the prophet's language to express his own experience and feelings. This can be shown by thematic similarities between these two songs. Both Isaiah's suffering servant and the psalmist were despised and ill-treated by the ungodly (cf. Isa.53:3,7-8 and 1QH 4:8,10,23). Both of them were taken away from their own land (cf. Isa.53:8b and 1QH 4:9a). The suffering servant became one from whom people turned their faces; and the psalmist was isolated or left by friends and relatives (cf. Isa.53:3b and 1QH 4:9b). Finally, the suffering servant was vindicated and exalted by Yahweh, and the psalmist received God's mercies and was delivered from the wicked (cf. Isa.53:12 and 1QH 4:5,36-37).

However, these two songs also exhibit some dissimilarities. Unlike Isaiah's Song of the Suffering Servant, the present sectarian hymn is full of both the language of thanks and praise and the language of judgment. On the one hand, the psalmist gives thanks to

¹⁶² These allusions will not be discussed in this section because of space limitations and their relative insignificance. The allusion to Isa.30:10b in 1QH 4:10 can be established on both linguistic grounds and the certainty of the allusion of 1QH 4:16 to Isa.28:11b. The nature of the latter Isaianic allusion is close to that of an allusion to Isa.28:11b detected in 1QH 2:19, which was discussed above.

¹⁶³ See above, p.135, n.49.

God for His deliverance and vindication, and on the other hand, he condemns those who have scorned him and who have made him suffer. In this respect, the *hodayah* stands closer to biblical psalms, e.g., Pss.37, 62, 73, 75, in which the motif of the suffering righteous getting vindicated and the wicked punished dominates. Moreover, while Isaiah's suffering servant ends up, through his sufferings, bringing atonement of sin and divine forgiveness to Yahweh's sinful people (cf. Isa.53:10-11), the sectarian psalmist's sufferings seem to have no vicarious effect upon the atonement of God's elect. Rather, he even finds himself a sinner who desperately needs God's compassion and mercies (cf. 4:35b-5:4). For him, forgiveness is granted only out of God's mercies (cf. 4:27-5:4). These points of dissimilarity appear to suggest that our sectarian psalmist's "use" of Isaiah's Suffering Servant Song is confined simply to the language and motifs of suffering and divine deliverance.

5. 1QH 6:8 → Isa.11:11

1QH 6:8 ... למצער מחיה בעמכה ושארית בנחלתכה

1QIs^a11:11 ... יוסיף אדוני שנית ידו לקנות את שאר עמו אשר ישאר מאשור...

MTIs.11:11 ... יוסיף אדני שנית ידו לקנות את שאר עמו אשר ישאר מאשור...

In 1QH 6:8, the psalmist manifestly presents the remnant motif through his choice of the terminology *שארית* "remnants" and *מצער מחיה* "a few survivors." The remnant motif pervades the whole OT,¹⁶⁴ and it is therefore hard to pin down for sure which OT passage lies behind the present *hodayah*. Despite this, Isa.11:11 seems to be the closest OT base-text for 1QH 6:8. The allusive relationship between 1QH 6:8 and Isa.11:11 may be detected not only in their use of the "remnant" terminology, but also in the motif of the nations/ peoples coming to know God's truth/glory in 1QH 6:12a, which may echo Isa.11:10,12. Besides, the fact that the Isaianic tradition is densely packed with examples of the remnant motif may also lend some force to the claim of the relation between these two passages (cf. Isa.1:8-9; 4:2-3; 6:13; 7:3; 10:20-23; 28:5-6; 37:4; 46:3; cf. 30:15-17;

¹⁶⁴ Cf. G.F. Hasel, *The Remnant* (Andrews University Monograph 5; MI, Berreïn Springs, 1972); L.V. Meyer, "Remnant," *ABD*, vol.5, pp.669-71.

and in 16:14; 17:1-6; 21:16-17, the remnant motif is applied to foreign nations in a negative sense).

For the sectarian psalmist, the remnant is no doubt his community itself (cf. CD 1:4,7; 2:11). God establishes the remnant among His (sinful) people solely on the basis of His own grace and mercy and for His own glory. The greatness of God's merciful deeds is clearly underscored by the psalmist's sayings about the remnant. The remnant will be judged with kindness. It will be purified and cleansed from guilt and will receive divine pardoning for sin. It will be taught with truth and will also bear witness to God's wonders. Nations and peoples will know God's truth and see His glory probably in and/or through the remnant. The whole picture that the psalmist gives here clearly displays his positive understanding of the remnant motif. What the psalmist has seen in the remnant is not just a few survivors left behind after God's fierce punishment,¹⁶⁵ but a seed of hope, which will grow in the soil of divine mercy and lovingkindness (חסד).

6. 1QH 6:20f. → Isa.35:8

1QH 6:20f. ואתה אל צויתם להועיל מדרכיהם בדרך ק[נודשכה אשר ילכו] בה
וערל וטמא ופריץ בל יעוברנה

1QIs^a35:8 והיה שמה שמה מסולל¹⁶⁶ ודרך הקודש יקראו לה לוא יעבורנה
טמה הוא ולמו הולך דרך ואילים לוא יתעו

MTIs.35:8 והיה שם מסלול ודרך ודרך הקודש יקרא לה לא יעברנו טמא והוא
למו הלך דרך ואילים לא יתעו

There is a lacuna in the present line of the *hodayah*. The words supplied are a reading suggested by E. Lohse, which is followed by virtually all scholars. The allusive relationship between 1QH 6:20 and Isa.35:8 hinges on the terminology that they share,

¹⁶⁵ Cf. CD 2:6, where, in contrast, the negative aspect of the remnant motif is taken up by the author/s of the column.

¹⁶⁶ On the doubled שמה and the lack of ודרך in this clause as compared with MT, see E.Y. Kutscher, *The Isaiah Scroll*, p.538 and p.550 respectively. Further discussion of the textual discrepancies between 1QIs^a and MT is found in H. Wildberger, *Jesaja 28-39*, p.1354.

i.e., "a way of holiness/holy way, in which the unclean ... cannot travel." The phrase דרך הקדש occurs only in the present Isaianic passage throughout the OT, and its qualifying clause לא יעברנו טמא makes the entire utterance more distinctly Isaianic.

Isa.35:8 evidently echoes Isa.40:3f. intratextually, both envisioning the start of a new aeon for Israel. The context of Isa.35 is concerned with the return of God's glory to Zion and hence with the eschatological revival of Israel. In Isa.35:8, "a highway" (מסלול) is promised, which is called "the way of holiness/holy way" (דרך הקדש) and on which the redeemed (גאולים; v.9) will walk. Here the prophet's language is clearly figurative and calls for a metaphorical understanding.¹⁶⁷ For instance, on the "holy way," no one unclean is allowed to travel; this further characterizes the holiness of the "way." The clause "fools will not err therein" seems to give emphasis to the truthfulness of the way.¹⁶⁸ The notion of divine protection is presented by the description: neither lion nor any ferocious beast will be found on the "way" (v.9a). All these phrases seem to be intended to impress the reader with a vision of a very bright future. Hence, the terms "highway" and "way" here probably should not be understood literally.

Looking at the context of 1QH 6:20, it is noted that the psalmist also probably understood the phrase "a way of holiness" in a metaphorical or perhaps better an ethical manner. For him, the "way of holiness" is a "way" which will lead one to holiness/perfection that is pleasing to God. The psalmist's further depictions of the "way" seem to point out specifically certain aspects of the "way": no uncleanness, no violence, and no association with the uncircumcised. These depictions clearly indicate the psalmist's effort to elaborate the Isaianic passage's ethical implications while drawing on its terminology. Viewed from this perspective, the original usage of the phrase "way of holiness" is apparently adopted by the sectarian psalmist. Despite this, however, it is difficult to know for certain that the psalmist here intended to convey to his readers the prophet's vision of the eschatological revival of Israel. Perhaps he did not intend so, for there is nothing in

¹⁶⁷ So J.N. Oswalt, *Isaiah 1-39*, p.621, who comments: "... any attempt to reduce the imagery to simple literal statements is an inappropriate method of interpretation."

¹⁶⁸ Cf. J.N. Oswalt, *Isaiah 1-39*, p.625.

the context to suggest that the prophet's vision was his concern. It seems rather that the Isaianic influence upon him occurred at the linguistic and thematic level.

7. 1QH 6:26f. → Isa.28:16-17a

1QH 6:26f. תשים ... וכפיס על קו משפט ומשקלת א[מת] ל[נס]ות

אבני בחן לב[נ]ו[ת חומת] עוז ללוא תתזעזע

1QIs^a28:16f. ... הנני מיסד בציון אבן אבן בחן... ושמתי משפט לקו וצדקה למשקלת

1QIs^b28:16f. ...הנני יוסד [בציון אבן אבן בחן...] ושמתי משפט [לקו וצדקה למשקלת

MTIs28:16f. ... הנני יסד בציון אבן אבן בחן... ושמתי משפט לקו וצדקה למשקלת

The text of 1QH 6:26 is damaged, but fortunately, the words which allude to the present Isaianic passage are well preserved and sufficiently clear to be intelligible. The phrase אבן בחן "a stone of granite/a fortress, or stone of/for testing"¹⁶⁹ occurs only once in the OT, i.e., in Isa.28:16. According to the Isaianic context, the phrase probably demands a metaphorical interpretation, giving the sense of "strength" or "stability and security." So it could be paraphrased thus: a strong stone or a stone that has been examined and found to be firm and safe. The sense of "strength and security" is clearly not out of place in 1QH 6:26-27. In line 25, the sectarian psalmist depicts himself as "one who enters a fortified city (עיר מצור), as one who seeks refuge behind a high wall (חומה נשגבה) until deliverance (comes)."¹⁷⁰ And in lines 26-27, the psalmist furthers his building imagery by using the phrases "foundation on a rock" (סוד על סלע), "mighty ..." (עוז ...), "will not shake" (לוא תתזעזע). All these examples of the psalmist's building language manifestly convey the sense of "strength and security." These lines are put in contrast with the preceding ones (22b-24), where the imagery of a ship in the raging sea is used to portray the psalmist's situation, in which his life was severely threatened and extremely vulnerable.

¹⁶⁹ See, s.v., in *DCH*, vol.2, p.137.

¹⁷⁰ Translation of G. Vermes in *The DSS in English*, p.209.

Moreover, if the word לנסות preceding אבני ברזל is accepted,¹⁷¹ then the sense of "strength and security" can be read, at least by implication, in the entire infinitival clause לנסות אבני ברזל "to test the stones of granite,"¹⁷² for אבני ברזל will be subjected to examination so as to assure whether or not they are suitable for use in building. Hence, by picking up the Isaianic terminology, the psalmist probably expects the sense of "strength and security" to be understood by the part of his audience.

Why does the psalmist bother to underline the motif of strength and security in his hymn? The answer is simple: the motif of strength and security is introduced to explain line 25b,¹⁷³ in which the psalmist has expressed his reliance upon¹⁷⁴ and/or love of¹⁷⁵ God's truth. In the psalmist's view, God and His truth are trustworthy because it is God alone who can give protection and security. Here we can learn that human trust on or love for God is closely associated with God's granting of protection and safety. This is precisely the point of the Isaianic passage as a whole.¹⁷⁶ Our interpretation of the phrase אבני ברזל in 1QH 6:26, if granted, has demonstrated the psalmist's literal understanding

¹⁷¹ This is the reading suggested by E. Lohse (see his *Texte aus Qumran*, p.136) and seems to attract some followers, see M.O. Wise, M. Abegg, Jr., & E.M. Cook, *A New Translation*, p.100, who have rendered the clause in this way: "inspecting the tested stones." For other suggestions see S. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, p.119, n.152.

¹⁷² The phrase אבני ברזל grammatically is best understood as "stones of granite" (see *DCH*, vol.2, p.137), for the word ברזל here is clearly a noun genitive in case and singular in number, and not an adjective forming an attributive relation with the preceding word אבני, though its genitive case functions adjectivally here modifying אבני, which is a plural construct.

¹⁷³ Line 25b thus runs: ... אמתכה אלי [] ואשן, "And/But ? ? your truth, O my God,..."

¹⁷⁴ The text of line 25b is damaged, so it is hard to determine its exact meaning. S. Holm-Nielsen has suggested that the verb missing due to damage is possibly ואשען "and I lean on." S. Holm-Nielsen's reconstruction has gained recognition from some translators such as G. Vermes and F. García Martínez; see their respective works cited above. Such a reading might have been influenced by the Isaianic passage alluded to in lines 26f.

¹⁷⁵ Some scholars, e.g., M. Mansoor, E. Lohse, and M.O. Wise, M. Abegg, Jr. & E.M. Cook,, have preferred ואשמחה "and I rejoice" as the missing verb. To rejoice in God's truth probably implies affection and love toward God's truth.

¹⁷⁶ See below our discussion of Paul's use of this Isaianic passage in Rom.9:33.

and application of Isa.28:16-17.

8. 1QH 7:9 → Isa.28:16

1QH 7:9 ... וכול קירותי לחומת בִּרְחַן ללוא תזדעזע

1QIs^a28:16 ... הנני מיסד בציון אבן אבן בִּרְחַן ...

1QIs^b28:16 ... הנני יוסד [בציון אבן אבן בִּרְחַן ...

MTIs28:16f ... הנני יסד בציון אבן אבן בִּרְחַן ...

The above text-diagram shows that the linguistic connection between 1QH 7:9 and Isa.28:16 is rather flimsy. The term בִּרְחַן serves as the linking word associating the two passages together. Here the term is probably a masculine noun, serving as the genitive in relation to the feminine construct חומת, "wall." As was noted above (pp.139, 193), the term as a noun could mean "granite," "a watchtower/fortress," or "testing." The noun occurs not only in Isa.28:16 but in Isa.32:14, where it most likely means "a watchtower." Whether the psalmist draws on the term from Isa.28:16 or 32:14, the Isaianic influence upon 1QH 7:9 seems hard to rule out. Given that Isa.28:16-17 is alluded to in 1QH 6:26f., which we have just examined above, and 1QS 8:7f., there is good reason to believe that Isa.28:16 was probably not unfamiliar to the present sectarian psalmist. This certainly helps enhance the likelihood of the allusive relation of 1QH 7:9 to Isa.28:16.

However, considering the fact that 1QH 7:9 carries traits akin to those of 1QH 6:26f. and 1QS 8:7, it may appear equally plausible to contend that the former is inspired or influenced by the latter two and not by the Isaianic passage, or that the alleged Isaianic influence upon 1QH 7:9 is at most indirect. To be sure, in terms of verbal resemblance, 1QH 7:9 stands closer to 1QH 6:26f. and esp. 1QS 8:7 than to Isa.28:16. Yet, we are not sure whether 1QH 7:9 was chronologically posterior to 1QH 6:26f. and 1QS 8:7. Even if it was, and even if the psalmist of the present hymn picked up the term בִּרְחַן from 1QH 6:26f. and/or 1QS 8:7, not directly from Isaianic tradition, the Isaianic influence was still compelling to the psalmist himself. For the striking verbal resemblances of 1QH 6:26f. and 1QS 8:7 to Isa.28:16-17 would probably remind him of the Isaianic passage. It is therefore implausible to posit that the psalmist would have been unaware of the OT

source that lies behind the text(s) from which he borrowed a distinctive terminology.

The immediate context of 1QH 7:9 clearly exhibits the point of the psalmist: in times of difficulty and despair, the psalmist was strengthened and established securely by God like חומת ברחן. The motif of "strength and security" is evidently spelled out, although the notion of trusting God is not explicit here as it is in 1QH 6:25-27. This motif is also present in the context of the similar expression אבן ברחן in Isa.28:16. Nonetheless, a comparison of the contexts of these passages reveals that the influence of Isa.28:16 detected here probably is primarily verbal and thematic.

9. 1QH 7:25 → Isa.60:19bα, 20bα

1QH 7:25	כי אתה לי למאור [עו]לם ...
1QIs ^a 60:19	והיה לך יהוה לאור עולם ...
60:20	כי יהוה יהיה לך לאור עולם ...
1QIs ^b 60:19	והיה לך יהוה לאור עולם ... ¹⁷⁷
MTIs60:19	והיה לך יהוה לאור עולם ...
60:20	כי יהוה יהיה לך לאור עולם ...

Although the text 1QH 7:25 is slightly damaged, it still clearly demonstrates its verbal resemblance to Isa.60:19,20. The motif of God being everlasting light to His people is undoubtedly unique to the Isaianic tradition in the OT, even though the theme of God being His people's light, or its like, can also be found elsewhere, e.g., in Pss.27:1; 118:27;¹⁷⁸ 2Sam.22:29; and Mic.7:8. Thus, the allusive relationship between 1QH 7:25 and Isa.60:19,20 seems certain.

Isa.60 envisions the return of the glory of Zion, the City of Yahweh (v.14). The

¹⁷⁷ The text of 1QIsa^b60 varies from those of MT Isa.60 and 1QIsa^a60. In 1QIsa^b60:19-20, MT's Isa.60:19bβ-20bα = 1QIsa^a 's עולם ... ואלוהיך was not copied, possibly due to a line-skipping by the scribe.

¹⁷⁸ It is noteworthy that Pss. 27 and 118 display certain similarities, both verbal and thematic, to the present hodayah. For this reason, the possibility that these two psalms, too, might have exerted influence on the sectarian psalmist, cannot be excluded in considering the OT backdrop of the hodayah.

whole chapter is highly eschatological. The symbolic language of Yahweh being everlasting light to Zion in vv.19-20 signifies His glorious presence in/among His people (cf. vv.1-2). With His presence, Yahweh not only brings in salvation, righteousness and peace, but expels sorrow and grief (cf. 60:15-18, 20b-21). In Isa.60, the prophet also associates the glory of Yahweh upon Zion closely with Zion's triumph over the nations (especially her enemies; cf. 60:3-14). So Zion's salvation, vindication, and final triumph over her enemies constitute the essential elements of the prophet's vision of Yahweh's eschatological presence in Zion, which is represented metaphorically by his "light" imagery in Isa.60.¹⁷⁹

Though the sectarian hymn in 1QH 7:6-25 exhibits nothing eschatological, the themes of God saving and vindicating His people and subduing their enemies penetrates the entire hymn. In his hymn, the psalmist praises and thanks God for His rescue (cf. lines 6-9, 18, 23b), punishing his enemies (cf. lines 11-12, 22b-23a), and vindicating and exalting him (cf. lines 10, 14-15, 22-23b). Apart from these parallels, it is also noteworthy that line 24b, fragmentary though it is, gives away the psalmist's conviction that he as a bright light will become a sign of the display of God's glory. And this echoes Isa.60:21b, where the people of Zion are regarded as God's work for the display of His glory. These parallels seem to indicate the psalmist's awareness of the literary context of Isa.60, from which he draws on the "light" imagery, in spite of the fact that the present hymn displays no eschatological traits. According to the context and nature of the present hymn, the lack of eschatological traits may suggest that the sectarian psalmist, in applying the Isaianic terminology to himself, was primarily concerned with the expression of his personal religious experiences of distress and divine deliverance.

¹⁷⁹ This observation is found to be compatible with the use of the "light" language in the OT and the DSS, see "אור," in *DCH*, vol.3, p.161; H. Conzelmann, "φῶς," *TDNT*, vol.9, pp.319-20.

10. 1QH 7:32 → Isa.45:5¹⁸⁰

1QH 7:32	כי אל עולם אתה ... ואין זולתכה ...
1QIs ^a 45:5	אני יהוה ואין עוד זולתי ואין אלוהים ...
1QIs ^b 45:5	אני יהוה ו[אין עוד זולתי אין אלה]ים ...
MT Is45:5	אני יהוה ואין עוד זולתי אין אלהים ...

That 1QH 7:32 alludes to the monotheistic belief of the Isaianic tradition appears compelling and irrefutable. Both linguistic and thematic evidence strongly sustain an intertextual link between the present hodayah and the Isaianic tradition. Apart from 1QH 7:32, 1QH 10:9 and 12:11¹⁸¹ also exhibit the sectarian monotheistic convictions. In this hymn, further traces of the Isaianic influence can also be pointed out: lines 28 and 32b may echo Isa.40:12-14,18,25.¹⁸² The entire sectarian hymn highlights the psalmist's gratitude to God Yahweh, who is supreme and unequalled, and nonetheless has shown mercy to the psalmist and revealed to him His truth and mysteries.

11. 1QH 8:13-14 → Isa.42:20

1QH 8:13f.	... כי ראה בלא הכיר ויחשוב בלא האמין למקור חיים ...
1QIs ^a 42:20	ראיתה רבות ולוא תשמור פתחו אוזנים ולוא ישמע
1QIs ^b 42:20	The text is missing.
MTIs42:20	ראית רבות ולוא תשמר פקוח אזנים ולוא ישמע

The allusive relationship between 1QH 8:13-14 and Isa.42:20 is hardly based on linguistic connections, which are paper-thin. Rather, such a relationship can fairly be argued on thematic grounds. A comparison of the texts shows that 1QH 8:13-14 is syntactically patterned after Isa.42:20, both passages carrying similar connotations, namely, those of intentional rebuff and lack of trust. In Isa.42:20, Israel is accused by

¹⁸⁰ In this instance, the Isaianic influence on 1QH is self-evident. Isa.45:5 is here taken as just a typical example of the Isaianic verses that exhibit Israel's monotheistic belief.

¹⁸¹ Since they are of a similar nature to 1QH 7:32, they will not be discussed in this section.

¹⁸² Cf. also Isa.46:5; Exod.15:11.

Yahweh Himself of spiritual and intentional deafness/blindness, which is caused by her willful disbelief. 1QH 8:13-14, despite the presence of some grammatical ambiguities about the subject of the first few clauses,¹⁸³ unambiguously gives the sense of willful rejection and lack of trust (in God, who establishes the fountain of life; cf. 1QH 8:4). Although such a thematic continuity may not be strong enough to secure the relationship between 1QH 8:13-14 and Isa. 42:20, it opens up at least its possibility. Further, language of this kind appears frequently in the Book of Isaiah (e.g., 6:6-9; 43:8; 48:8), even though it is not unique to it (cf. Eze.12:2). This then to some extent strengthens our case that the psalmist here probably imitated the Isaianic language of "seeing yet without knowing and hearing yet without understanding."

Despite the thematic continuities between the two passages, contextual reading exposes their differences. In Isa.42, the theme of willful distrust is put forward against Israel in the context of (Second) Isaiah's prophecy of Yahweh's restoration of Israel. But in the context of 1QH 8:13-14, where images and phrases of gardening are densely packed together, the psalmist shows nothing that is concerned with Israel's restoration. Rather, the theme of intentional distrust is expressed in the context of the psalmist's description of the fate of those who do not draw near to the "fountain of life." If this observation is granted, we learn that the sectarian "use" of the Isaianic tradition probably is some kind of linguistic imitation and thematic borrowing.

12. 1QH 9:35 → Isa.63:16

1QH 9:35 אבי לא ידעני ואמי עליכה עזבתני כי אתה אב לכול [בני] אמתכה ...

1QIs^a63:16 כי אתה אבינו וְאַבְרָהָם לֹא יָדָעֵנוּ וַיִּשְׂרָאֵל לֹא הִכִּירֵנוּ אֶתְּהָ הוּא

יְהוָה אֲבִינוּ גּוֹאֲלֵנוּ מֵעוֹלָם שְׂמִיכָה

¹⁸³ S. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, p.143, shows with a question mark his hesitation about the subject of the first few verbs in lines 13-14. F. García Martínez, *DSS Translated*, p.346, takes להט אש מתהפכת "flame of the searing fire" (his trans.) as the subject. But many Scrolls scholars have preferred to take an indefinite, personal subject and given the rendering "no one," see, e.g., E. Lohse, *Texte aus Qumran*, p.145; G. Vermes, *DSS in English*, p.214, and M.O. Wise, M. Abegg, Jr. & E.M. Cook, *A New Translation*, p.102.

1QIs^b63:16 [יהוה אבין] שמך

MTIs63:16 כי אתה אבין כי אברהם לא ידענו וישראל לא יכירנו אתה יהוה

אבין גאלנו מעולם שמך

The above text-diagram clearly demonstrates the similarities, both linguistic and thematic, between 1QH 9:35 and Isa.63:16. First of all, both passages present a father-son relationship between Yahweh and the writers and their communities. In 1QH 9:35, God is called the father of "all [sons]¹⁸⁴ of your truth," while in Isa.63:16, Yahweh is called the father (most probably) of the prophet and his community. Secondly, both passages present a similar theme, i.e., that of helplessness due to abandoning by or alienation from persons of close, blood relations (in 1QH 9:35, by parents, and in Isa.63:16, by the first, great ancestors of the prophet and his community¹⁸⁵). Thirdly, the motif of Yahweh's riches (המון) of compassion (רחמים) appears in the contexts of both passages, although the contexts of the two passages are somewhat different.¹⁸⁶ In view of these similarities, it seems difficult to eliminate the likelihood that there is an allusive relationship between these two passages.

It is quite common in the OT to designate God as father of His people Israel (cf.,

¹⁸⁴ This is the reading suggested by E. Lohse, and widely accepted by modern Scrolls translators.

¹⁸⁵ Many OT commentators have understood the prophet's mention of Abraham and Israel as meaning that these two great ancestors are dead and too distant to help and deliver the prophet and his people; see, e.g., E.J. Kissane, *The Book of Isaiah*, vol.II (Dublin: Richview Press, 1943), p.298; and cf. also R.N. Whybray, *Isaiah 40-66*, p.261.

However, this interpretation, though not impossible, seems too conjectural. In view of the fact that the verbs ידע and הכיר of Isa.63:16 also appears in Deut.33:9, where the negative sense of rejection/alienation is read, it seems better to read Isa.63:16 too as implying the same sense and hence meaning that the prophet and his people are rejected by their forefathers. Cf. P.D. Hanson, *Isaiah 40-66*, p.239, who captures this meaning when he comments: "Ostracized even from their own kin, they appeal for help like frightened children to the Father of them all."

¹⁸⁶ Compare 1QH 9:34 with Isa.63:15, in both of which the terms רחמים and המון occur. 1QH 9:34-35 appears in the context of a song thanking God for His bestowal of mercy, but Isa.63:15-16 in the context of a plea to God not to hold back His love and compassion.

e.g., Exod.4:22; Deut.32:6; Jer.3:4; 31:9; Isa.64:8; Ps.89:26=MT89:27; and Isa.64:8).¹⁸⁷

The father-son relationship between God and Israel implies on the one hand that Israel takes its root/origin in God, that Israel belongs to God, and that Israel as a son should and must be obedient to God, and on the other hand that God as a father will love, look after, protect, and save (if required) Israel (cf. Ps.103: 13).¹⁸⁸ The conception of God's fatherly love and protection is evidently picked up here by the sectarian psalmist, when he calls God father of the "sons of truth," who most likely are the Qumran sectarians themselves - the true Israel. The psalmist's conviction is clear: God as their father will surely protect and deliver him and his community from their opponents' harms and attacks, for they are "begotten" by His truth and indeed they love His truth (cf. CD 1:1-11; 6:2-7:6).

The conception of God's fatherly love and protection is also clearly presented in the Isaianic context. However, God's fatherly love and protection is not regarded as the ground of thanksgiving; rather, it is something which the prophet asks for. And in this lies the divergence between the prophet's and the psalmist's application of the Yahweh-father and His people-son imagery, despite the fact that they both derive the same implication from the same imagery. This divergence in application of the imagery arises probably due to their different historical situations.

13. 1QH 15:16 → Isa.45:17 & 15:18 → Isa.65:2

1QH 15:16 ... ולפתוח כול צרת נפשו ישועת עולם ...

15:18 ... כי הלכו בדרך לא טוב

1QIs^a45:17 ... ישראל נושע ביהוה תשועת עולמים

MTIs45:17a ... ישראל נושע ביהוה תשועת עולמים

1QIs^a65:2 ... עם סורה ההולכים הדרך לוא טוב ...

MTIs65:2 ... עם סורר ההלכים הדרך לא טוב

¹⁸⁷ See P.A.H. de Boer's discussion of this in his, "The Son of God in the Old Testament," *OTS* 18(1973), pp.195-200.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p.206; G. Quell, "πατήρ," *TDNT*, vol.5, p.971f.; G. Fohrer, "υἱός κτλ.," *TDNT*, vol.8, pp.351-53; J. Fossum, "Son of God," *ABD*, vol.6, p.129.

As the text-diagram shows, the verbal resemblance between 1QH 15:18 and Isa.65:2 is strikingly exact. The clause "they/who are walking in a way not good" in Isa.65:2, consisting of the terms **טוב**, **דרך**, and **הלך**, occurs only twice in the OT, here and Prov.16:29. In Prov.16:29, the verb **הלך** is in Hiphil, thus giving a causative sense, while in Isa.65:2 the verb's stem is Qal, which gives an active sense and so better fits in 1QH 15:18. Thus, there is reason to claim an allusive relationship between 1QH 15:18 and Isa.65:2, even though the possibility of the influence of Prov.16:29 upon 1QH 15:18 cannot be entirely discounted, and even though the Isaianic phrase is not so distinctive and unique that it could not have been coincidentally phrased by any (Jewish) writer. Further, other traces of the Isaianic influence on the sectarian hymn are detected: the phrase **ישועת עולם** in 1QH 15:16 is very probably derived from **תשועת עולמים** in Isa.45:17, a phrase which is found nowhere else outside of *Isaiah*. This then helps indirectly strengthen the plausibility of the claim that the psalmist was probably aware of and influenced by Isa. 65:2.

In 1QH 15:15-20, the sectarian psalmist contrasts the fate of the righteous with that of the wicked. In his belief, both the destiny of the righteous and that of the wicked have already been ordained by God even before they were created. In line 16, the psalmist writes **ישועת עולם**, a phrase that is very likely originated in **תשועת עולמים** in Isa.45:17, as was pointed out earlier. In so doing, he has transplanted the Isaianic notion of "everlasting help/salvation" into his account of God's dealing with the righteous. The notion of "everlastingness" is given stress in both the Isaianic and the Hodayot contexts. The term **עולם** occurs in the plural twice in Isa.45:17, the second time in combination with the doubled **עד**, a term that itself means "perpetuity/always." And both these terms **עולם** and **עד** appear in the present hodayah (line 16), thus giving a strong emphasis to the notion of "never-endingness." This clearly demonstrates that the psalmist's transplanting of the Isaianic terminology was accompanied by a full understanding of its original context and usage.

Such hermeneutical skill in transplanting an Isaianic terminology into a new context can also be observed in the psalmist's "use" of Isa.65:2. In its original context,

which is highly judgmental in tone, **ההלכים הדרך לא טוב** is phrased to depict Israel's self-destructive way of life: idolatry. Isa.65 underlines Israel's covenantal unfaithfulness to Yahweh. And this is precisely what the sectarian psalmist says of the wicked, who reject God's covenant, ordinances, and commandments, and who are therefore ordained by God for judgment (cf. lines 18-20).

14. 1QH 18:14 → Isa.52:7 & Isa.61:1

1QH 18:14	לן [כאמתכה מבשר] טובכה לבשר ענוים לרוב רחמיכה
1QIs ^a 52:7	מה נאוו על ההרים רגלי מבשר מבשר שלום <u>משמיע טוב</u> ...
61:1	... לבשר ענוים שלחני ולחבוש לנשברי לב ...
1QIs ^b 61:1	... ל[בשר ענו]ים שלחני [לחבש לנ]שברי לב ...
MTIs52:7	מה נאוו על ההרים רגלי מבשר משמיע שלום <u>מבשר טוב</u> ...
61:1	... לבשר ענוים שלחני לחבש לנשברי לב ...

The Isaianic influence upon the hymn is suggested by the psalmist's language and "messenger" theme. The psalmist's **בשר** expressions, like "messenger ... of your goodness," are distinctive enough to be reminiscent of the similar expressions in *Isaiah*. For among the many occurrences of the term **בשר** and its derivatives in the OT, the Isaianic **בשר** expressions are given profound theological implications (cf. Isa.40:9,9; 41:27; 60:6; and 52:7 & 61:1). All of the Isaianic **בשר** passages are concerned with Israel's revival and deliverance and the return of Yahweh's blessings. It then seems hard to imagine that the sectarian psalmist as a member of the "remnant Israel"¹⁸⁹ who eagerly looked forward to such a day would have missed the import of these passages.

As underlined in the text-diagram above, there is a textual variant in Isa,52:7 between 1QIsa^a and MT: in 1QIsa^a52:7, the term used in the construct with **טוב** is **משמיע**, while in MTIsa.52:7, it is **מבשר**. Although the text of 1QIsa^b52:7 is not extant, it appears reasonable to guess that it may resemble the text of MTIsa.52:7, considering the fact that the extant text of 1QIsa^b, albeit seriously mutilated, is in general very close

¹⁸⁹ See above our discussion of 1QH 6:8f., which alludes to the Isaianic remnant passages.

to that of MTIsa..¹⁹⁰ If so, there is reason to believe that the author of 1QH 18:14 may have derived the famous Isaianic "messenger" imagery from a text tradition that was based on 1QIsa^b.

The text of 1QH 18:13-20 is seriously damaged. There are two lacunae in line 14. It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to reconstruct the text of the line satisfactorily. The context of lines 12-14, incomplete though it is, shows that the psalmist was praising God for His opening a fountain(?) whose function is "to reprove the creature of clay for his way" and "to open (? of) Your truth for the creature whom You have supported with Your power" (my transl.). The psalmist continues in (at least) line 14 the idea that is initiated in line 12. According to E.L. Sukenik, followed by E. Lohse, line 14 starts with a letter **ל**.¹⁹¹ If this reading is correct, the letter **ל** is probably the **ל**-prefix of an infinitive construct. This reconstruction is strengthened by the fact that, throughout lines 11-14, infinitives are often used to introduce new ideas. Despite this, however, further reconstruction of the first word missing in line 14 cannot be done, considering the ambiguity of the context.¹⁹²

¹⁹⁰ See E.L. Sukenik, *The DSS of the Hebrew University*, pp.30-31; B.J. Roberts, "The Second Isaiah Scroll from Quman," *BJRL* 42 (1959-60), pp.132-44.

¹⁹¹ See the text published by Sukenik in *op. cit.*; Sukenik has shown some reservations about his reading.

¹⁹² The ambiguity of the context is shown in the modern translations of the hymn. For instance, G. Vermes, *The DSS in English*, p.235, has rendered lines 13-14 in this way: "... that he might open [the fount of] Thy truth to a creature whom Thou upholdest by Thy might; [that he might be], according to Thy truth, a messenger [in the season] of Thy goodness; that to the humble he might bring glad tidings of Thy great mercy..." (emphasis mine). It seems obvious that Vermes takes the first word of line 14 as an infinitive of **היה**, and that he provides the subject to the infinitive, whose antecedent is probably the "servant" mentioned in line 10. Despite its ingenuity, Vermes' proposal remains a conjecture.

F. García Martínez too seems to accept an infinitive of **היה** as the first missing word in line 14, but it seems unclear whether he like Vermes understands the subject of the infinitive as the "servant" mentioned in line 10. See his translation of lines 12-14: "You have opened a spring to correct the path of the creature of clay, the guilt of the one born of woman according to his deeds, to open [the source of] your truth to the creature whom you have supported with your power, to [be,] according to your truth, [...] herald of your goodness, to proclaim to the poor the abundance of your mercies...." (*The DSS Translated*, p.359; emphasis mine. García Martínez is mistaken in locating the position of the second lacuna in line 14).

As for the reconstruction of the second lacuna in line 14, help can be gained from the internal structure of the line itself. It is obvious that there is an internal thematic parallelism in line 14, which is constituted by the two בִּשְׂר terms, the first one being a participial substantive and the second a verbal infinitive:

"a messenger of/one who proclaims ... your goodness" parallels

"to proclaim to the poor the greatness of your compassion" (my transl.).

This thematic parallelism offers us clues to make an intelligent guess about the most suitable word for the second lacuna. It appears most plausible to fill in the lacuna with a word (in the construct state) which is a synonym of גִּבּוֹר "greatness," qualifying the genitive טוֹבָכָה "your goodness" that follows. Hence, it could be הַמּוֹן, which means "abundance or wealth" (cf. Isa.60:5; Eze.29:19; Ps.37:16). This suggestion may be strengthened in view of the fact that the term הַמּוֹן is used with רַחֲמֶיךָ, meaning "the richness of your compassion" in 1QH 4:36; 10:21; and 15:16.

Despite the failure to reconstruct the first lacuna of line 14, our reconstruction of the line makes clear and highlights its sense that a certain figure is sent/raised by God to proclaim His goodness and compassion upon His people. This character's identity is unclear here; he may be the "servant" mentioned in lines 6 and 10. At any rate, that God has sent messengers to declare the greatness of His mercy and saving power is precisely the motif of the two Isaianic passages to which 1QH 18:14 alludes. However, in view of the present context, it seems unclear whether the psalmist's sayings here, like the Isaianic passages, have any eschatological connotations and significance.

b. Concluding Remarks

We have carefully examined select examples of the Isaianic material in the Thanksgiving Scroll. Insofar as the data have been selected and scrutinized, some observations can be made as to the sectarian "use" of the Isaianic tradition. First, the sectarian "use" of the tradition is in many cases probably not for the purpose of theological or halakhic formulation, but simply for the purpose of expressing personal religious experiences and feelings. The sectarian use of the Isaianic phrase פֶּלֶא יַעַץ in 1QH 3:7

is probably a good example of this. Many scholars think that the psalmist harbored messianic aspirations in using the phrase. But our analysis of the text has shown that this is not necessary; instead, we have noted that the purpose of the psalmist's use of the phrase was to express his personal convictions, namely that God would rescue him for he was suffering for noble reasons. The psalmist's phrase אֲבִי בָרַח in 1QH 6:26f., which is most probably derived from Isa.28:16, is another example.

On the other hand, in some cases, the sectarian psalmists did expose their theological convictions when expressing themselves by drawing on distinctive, and sometimes unique, terminology and concepts from the Isaianic tradition. For instance, in 1QH 7:32; 10:9; 12:11, the psalmists have expressed their monotheistic beliefs in a language that is clearly reminiscent of that of Isa.45 or its like. The "remnant" terminology in 1QH 6:8f. is probably also evidence of the Isaianic influence on the theological self-understanding of the sectarian writers.

Secondly, the sectarian "use" of the tradition reflects the psalmists' understanding of the original context and meaning of the material "used." Since their purpose of "using" the Isaianic material was to express personal religious experiences and feelings, the sectarian psalmists at times "used" the Isaianic material merely on the plane of linguistic imitation and thematic borrowing. That means, the sectarian psalmists "used" the tradition without real intention to transfer into their hymns the theological significance of the material that they drew on or drew inspiration from. The sectarian "use" of the phrase "eternal light" in 1QH 7:25 may be an example of this type. 1QH 8:13-14, which represents the theme of intentional disobedience, is syntactically patterned after the Isaianic language of "seeing without knowing and hearing/known without understanding/trusting" and nonetheless, unlike its Isaianic source-text (42:20), probably has no eschatological implications. So 1QH 8:13-14 may also be classified in this type. However, the sectarian "use" of the Isaianic material for most of the time is not only compatible with its original usage, but also shows signs that the sectarian psalmists had *Isaiah's* broader theological context in mind.

E. Some Significant Fragments

In the preceding sections, we have examined three major documents of the Qumran sectarians. Now let us focus our attention on three other short, fragmentary yet important writings, seeing how the sectarians utilized the Isaianic material in formulating their messianic beliefs. These are 1QSb (1Q28b), 4Q285, and 4QpIsa^a (4Q161), all of which have utilized, implicitly or explicitly, a famous Isaianic passage, Isa.11:1-5.

a. Analysis of the Data

1. 1QSb (1Q28b) 5:22-26¹⁹³ → Isa.11:2-5

1QSb5:22 [ול]הוכיח במי[שור לע]נוי [א]רץ ולהתהלך לפניו תמים בכול דר[כי אל ...

24 ... וה[] [בעז]ן [פי]כה בשבטכה תחריב¹⁹⁴ ארץ וברוח שפתיכה

25 תמית רשע[ים] עצ[ה] וגבורת עולם רוח דעת ויראת אל והיה

26 צדק אזור[] [אזור ח] [ו]ישם קרניכה ברזל ופרסותיכה נחושה

1QIs^a11: 2 ונחה. ליו רוח יהוה ... רוח עצה וגבורה רוח דעת ויראת יהוה

4 ושפט בצרק דלים והוכיח במישור לענוי הארץ והכה הארץ בשבט פיו

4-5 ... וברוח שפתיו יומת רשע והיה צדק אזור מתניו ואמונה אזור חלציו

MTIs.11: 2 ונחה עליו רוח יהוה ... רוח עצה וגבורה רוח דעת ויראת יהוה

4 ושפט בצרק דלים והוכיח במישור לענוי ארץ והכה ארץ בשבט פיו

4-5 וברוח שפתיו ימית רשע והיה צדק אזור מתניו והאמונה אזור חלציו

1QSb was originally attached in the same scroll to 1QS and 1QSa, as we pointed out earlier. The document consists of several columns, most of which unfortunately have been severely mutilated. Paleographical evidence suggests that it was probably copied at the start of the first century BCE. As regards content, it presents a collection of blessings that were directed to different groups of people within the sectarian community.

¹⁹³ The Hebrew text of this document is based on *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, vol.1, ed. J.H. Charlesworth.

¹⁹⁴ E. Lohse reads תחריב instead of תחריב and translates it as "du wirst verwüsten"; see *Texte aus Qumran*, pp.58-59.

The passage under discussion belongs to the final section of these blessings, in which a certain figure designated as the "Prince of the Congregation" (נשיא העדה) was blessed.

As shown in the above text-diagram, the sectarian writer's blessings for the "Prince of the Congregation" carry strong affinities, both linguistic and conceptual, to Isa. 11:1-5. Although the writer did not explicitly identify this figure to be messianic, he said in line 27, "for God has raised you [i.e., the Prince of the Congregation] to/as a scepter."¹⁹⁵ The use of the term שׁוֹבֵט "scepter" in this statement is reminiscent of another sectarian passage, CD 7:19-20, where its writer cited Num.24:17 and identified "the scepter" in Balaam's oracle with the "Prince of the whole Congregation," who would come to lead the community to destroy the "sons of Seth." This CD passage serves as the strongest piece of evidence for the sectarian belief that the "Prince of the Congregation" is the kingly Messiah. Also, 1QM 5:1 records instructions pertaining to what was required to be inscribed on the "shield of the Prince of the whole Congregation," who according to 1QM would come to lead the Sons of Light to fight the final battle with the "Sons of Darkness" at the end of days. 4Q285, which most Qumran scholars think was part of a version of 1QM, explicitly identifies that figure with the "Branch of David," as we shall see presently. All these, therefore, have led most Qumran scholars to conclude that this "Prince of the Congregation" was probably the "Messiah of Israel" whom the Qumran sectarians eagerly awaited.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁵ Line 27 in Hebrew runs: כִּי־אֵל הַקִּימָכָה לְשׁוֹבֵט. The term שׁוֹבֵט "sceptre" also occurs in Num.24:17, a passage which is often messianically interpreted.

¹⁹⁶ See, e.g., D. Barthélemy & J.T. Milik, "Recueil des Bénédictiones," in their ed. *Qumran Cave I* (DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), pp.128-29; R.E. Brown, "J. Starky's Theory of Qumran Messianic Development," *CBQ* 28(1966), p.55, (who mainly comments on CD 7:19-20); G. Vermes, "Writings of the Qumran Community," p.457; É. Puech, *La Croyance des Esséniens en la Vie Future, II - Les Données Qumraniennes et Classiques* (ÉtuB, ns 28; Paris: Gabalda, 1993), p.440; H. Stegemann, "Some Remarks to 1QSa, to 11QSb, and to Qumran Messianism," *RevQ* 17(1996), pp.499-500; *idem*, *Library of Qumran*, pp.207-8; J.J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star* (NY:Doubleday, 1995), pp.60-61; *idem*, *The Apocalyptic Imagination* (2nd. ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), pp.158-59, 165; G.S. Oegema, *The Anointed and His People* (JSPS 27; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), pp.92-93; K.E. Pomykala, *The Davidic Dynasty Tradition in Early Judaism* (SBL Judaism & Its Literature 7; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), pp.240-43, who argues that here the "Prince of the Congregation" is a non-Davidic

If that is the case, the implications of the sectarian application of Isa. 11:2-5 to this figure become clear. For 1QSB's writer, the messiah whose coming Isaiah prophesied/ promised was primarily a military figure, who was expected to come to destroy the wicked and Israel's foes. Accordingly, the peace and justice that he was expected to bring about on earth was concerned mainly with the political and social life of (the eschatological/true) Israel.

2. 4Q285, frag. 5:1-6 ¹⁹⁷ cites Isa.10:34(?) and 11:1

4Q285, fr.5

1	[ישעיהו הנביא ונוקן]פו
2	י[פול ויצא חוטר מגזע ישי]
3	[צמח דויד ונשפטו את]
4	[והמיתו נשיא העדה צמח דויד
5	ם[ומחוללות וצוה כוהן]
6	ח[ללני] כתיים]ל]

והלבנון באדיר יפול ויצא חטר מגז. ישי ונצר משרשיו יפרה 1QIs^a11:34b-11:1
והלבנון באדיר יפול ויצא חטר מגזע ישי ונצר משרשיו יפרה MTIs.11:34b-11:1

4Q285 consists of several badly damaged fragments. It presents a document which shows close affinities with 1QM; thus, it is widely regarded either as representing a certain version of the War Rule/Scroll found in Cave 1 or as a separate work similar in nature and content to 1QM. The script used in this document suggests for its composition a date toward the end of the first century BCE.

Fragment 5 has only six lines, which have been reconstructed by G. Vermes as shown in the text-diagram above. Vermes, agreeing with T. Lim, suggests that line 2's

messiah.

¹⁹⁷ The Heb. text of this fragment is based on that of G. Vermes in his "The Oxford Forum for Qumran Research Seminar on the Rule of War from Cave 4 (4Q285)," *JJS* 43(1992), p.88.

פרל seems to represent the last word of Isa. 10:34, יפרל.¹⁹⁸ If that is the case, in frag. 5 we have an Isaianic citation of Isa. 10:34-11:1. If Vermes' reconstruction is accepted, then this fragment presents at least two important points. First, we learn in line 4 that the figure called "Prince of the Congregation" (נשיא העדה) was explicitly identified with the "Branch of David" (צמח דוד). Such application of Isa. 10:34-11:1 to this figure implies that he was probably seen by the sectarians as the Davidic Messiah, who would come to revive Israel in the endtime.

Secondly, we also learn in line 4 the final triumph of this "Prince of the Congregation" over Israel's enemies. The verb המיתו in line 4 presents some problem here. It could be read either as the third person plural, Hiphil perfect of מות or as the third person masculine singular, Hiphil perfect of מות with a pronominal 3rd. masc. sing. suffix. In the former case, line 4 should be thus read: "they [most probably, 'the Kittim;' cf. line 6] killed the Prince of the Congregation..."¹⁹⁹ whereas in the latter case, it is: "the Prince of the Congregation... killed him (probably the leader of 'the Kittim'²⁰⁰)...." Considering other fragments of this document (e.g., frags. 1-2, 4, which seem to envision the final victory as belonging to Israel) and other documents of the Qumran sectarians (like 1QSb 5:20-29, where, as we saw above, the "Prince of the Congregation" will kill the wicked with the breath of his lips (lines 24-25) and finally will rule the nation Israel (line 22); and, as we shall see later, 4QpIsa^a), the latter reading of the line seems most

¹⁹⁸ See also M. Bockmuehl, "A 'Slain Messiah' in 4Q Serekh Milhamah (4Q285)," *TynBul* 43.1(1992), pp. 159-60.

¹⁹⁹ See R. Eisenman & M. Wise, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered* (NY/London: Penguin, 1992), p. 29, where their translation presents this reading.

²⁰⁰ Based on 1QM15:2, G. Vermes suggests that the king of the Kittim was meant here; see "The Oxford Forum," p. 89. His suggestion is endorsed by R.P. Gordon, "The Interpretation of 'Lebanon' and 4Q285," *JJS* 43(1992), p. 93; B. Nitzan, "Benedictions and Instructions for the Eschatological Community (11QBer; 4Q285)," *RevQ* 16(1993), p. 78 & n. 7; M.G. Abegg, Jr., "Messianic Hope and 4Q285: A Reassessment," *JBL* 113(1994), p. 87. J.J. Collins, *The Scepter*, p. 59, also grants the possibility of this suggestion.

plausible.²⁰¹ If so, then 4Q285 concurs with 1QSb exhibiting the sectarian messianic belief that the Messiah prophesied by Isaiah was a military hero whose coming would bring about Israel's liberation from her foreign enemies.

3. 4QpIsa^a frags.8-10, 3:11-24 cites and interprets Isa.11:1-5

4QpIsa ^a frs.8-10, col.3 ²⁰²	פֶּשֶׁרוֹ עַל צִמְחָה] דּוֹיֵד הָעוֹמֵד בְּאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים	17
	אוֹיְבוֹ וְאֵל יִסּוּמְכֵנוּ בְּ[הַ]תּוֹרָה ²⁰³]	18
	כִּי] סָא כְּבוֹד נֹרָא קַדְשָׁא] וּבְגֵדֵי רוֹקְמֹנָת	19
	[אֵן בִּידּוֹ וּבְכוֹל הַגְּוֹאִיָּם יִמְשׁוֹל וּמִגּוֹג	20
	כֹּחַ] הַיָּמִים תִּשְׁפּוֹט חֲרָבוֹ וְאִשְׁרֵי אִמְרֵי לֹא	21
	[וְלֹא לִמְשַׁמַּע אֲוִזְנֵי יוֹכִיחַ פֶּשֶׁרוֹ אִמְרֵי	22
	[כֹּאֵשׁ יִרְוֶהוּ כֵּן יִשְׁפּוֹט וְעַל פִּיהֶם	23
	[עֲמֹ יֵצֵא אֶחָד מִכּוֹהֲנֵי הַשֵּׁם בִּידּוֹ בְּגֵדִין	24

4QpIsa^a (or 4Q161) is comprised of ten badly mutilated fragments. It presents the sectarian efforts to appropriate the message of Isaiah to the situation and needs of the sectarian community. It has been suggested that the sectarian interpretation of Isa.10:28-32 in frags. 5-6 alludes to "events connected with Arce-Ptolemais during the reign of Alexander Jannaeus...."²⁰⁴ Based on this and paleographical data, 4QpIsa^a can be

²⁰¹ See M. Bockmuehl, "A 'Slain Messiah'," pp.165-66; G. Vermes, "The Oxford Forum," p.88 and n.8; M.G. Abegg, Jr., "Messianic Hope," pp.88-90; and O. Betz & R. Riesner, *Jesus, Qumran*, pp.85-90.

²⁰² For the sake of space, only the sectarian interpretation of Isa.11:1-5 will be printed here. The Hebrew text used is based on that of J.M. Allegro in *Qumrân Cave 4* (DJD 5; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), p.14.

²⁰³ M.P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books* (CBQMS 8; Washington, DC: CBAA, 1979), Part 1, p.18, has read בְּרוּחַ גְּבוּרָה "with/by the spirit of strength" instead; her reading is followed by F. García Martínez and E.J.C. Tigchelaar in their *The Dead Sea Scrolls - Study Edition, vol.1: 1Q1-4Q273* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), p.316.

²⁰⁴ D. Dimant, "Qumran Sectarian Literature," p.513; J.D. Amusin, "The Reflections of Historical Events of the First Century B.C. in Qumran Commentaries (4Q161; 4Q169; 4Q166)," *HUCA* 48(1977), pp.123-34.

assigned a date within the middle half of the first century BCE.

In 4QpIsa^a, the sectarian expositor cited and appropriated Isa.10:20-22, 24-34, & 11:1-5 to express his view as to the destiny of those who oppressed Israel. Fragments 8-10 constitute the third column of the work, presenting the sectarian interpretation of Isa.10:33-11:5. In lines 1-16 the pesherist "exegeted" Isa.10:33-34 by identifying "the thickets of the forest" and "Lebanon" in the text with the "Kittim," a code-name of the Qumran community for the foreign enemies of Israel.²⁰⁵ The original context of Isa.10:33-34 is notoriously unclear; those spoken of in Isaiah's oracle of judgment could be either Judah/Jerusalem or Assyria. Many OT scholars have regarded the latter option as more likely.²⁰⁶ They conclude, Isa.10:33-34 is a judgmental oracle that prophesied the downfall of Israel's great enemy Assyria. Thus in identifying Isaiah's "the thickets of the forest" and "Lebanon" with the "Kittim," the pesherist passed the divine judgment upon his contemporary foreign enemies.

Not only that, in the subsequent lines he further developed his oracle of judgment on his enemies (the nations) by citing Isa.11:1-5 too. Needless to say, Isa.11:1-5 is a widely accepted messianic passage, prophesying the coming of a Davidic leader or king to revive Israel. This passage enriched our sectarian expositor's messianic expectations. The pesherist's appropriation of the passage displays his conviction that at the end of days a great leader or king of the lineage of David would come to deliver the remnant/true Israel, to whom he believed he and his community surely belonged, and to judge the nations. Throughout his exposition, the pesherist repeatedly used such verbs as "judge" (דן in lines 21,23) and "rule" (משל in line 20). His point is emphatic and evident: with the coming of Israel's Davidic Messiah all the nations/peoples will be judged and/or even killed (? cf. line 21). His repeated emphasis on the fact that the coming Davidic Messiah will execute judgment and punishment on the nations shows that such a figure, for him, would undoubtedly be a political and military leader or king.

²⁰⁵ On this, see H. Ringgren, *Faith of Qumran*, pp.26-31.

²⁰⁶ See R.E. Clements, *Isaiah 1-39*, pp.120-21; J.N. Oswalt, *Isaiah 1-39*, p.274; M.A. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1-39* (FOTL 16; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), p.204.

Who did the pesherist believe such figure would be? Probably the "Prince of the Congregation" (cf. frags.5-6, line 3). Here he, unlike the author of 4Q285, did not clearly identify the "shoot of David" with the "Prince of the Congregation" probably because his primary concern was not the identity of the "shoot of David," but his eschatological role *vis-à-vis* the nations/peoples. Thus, if our interpretation of the sectarian interpretation of Isa.11:1-5 is correct, a very strong spirit of hatred is felt in the pesherist's attitude toward his foreign neighbors.

b. Concluding remarks

1QSb, 4Q285 and 4QpIsa^a (4Q161), though very badly preserved, exhibit before us distinctive sectarian messianic beliefs, especially the role of the Davidic Messiah and his relation to other nations. These documents present such a Messiah as a political and military leader or king, who will come to liberate Israel by destroying Israel's foreign oppressors and enemies in the eschatological battle in the end of days. In 1QSb and 4Q285, the relation of this messianic figure to other nations is unclear, but in 4QpIsa^a it is clearly spelled out. In 4QpIsa^a we are told that the "shoot of David" will be strengthened by God Himself with a "mighty spirit" (cf. line 18) and will judge all the nations with his sword (line 21). This seems to suggest that his rule and the peace, righteousness, and faithfulness that he brings about on earth for Israel's sake are established on the basis of his political and military power as well as divine inspiration and wisdom. If such a reconstruction of sectarian messianism is granted, then we can learn that, for the sectarians, the destiny of the nations, especially those who oppressed Israel, would hardly be anything but gloom and doom.

F. Concluding Analysis of the Sectarian Use of the Isaianic Tradition

The preceding analysis of the sectarian use of the Isaianic material has shown that the sectarian writers were indeed highly "scripturalized." Some comments on the characteristics of their use of the material can be delineated as follows:

a. Hermeneutical findings

1. How did the Sectarians handle the Isaianic texts?

Considering that the Qumran sectarians possessed two different versions of the Book of Isaiah, which indicates the textual diversity of the texts at the time, it is hard to know whether or not the sectarian writers altered the texts for their purposes when using them.

2. What was the Isaianic material cited for?

As far as the sectarian explicit citation of *Isaiah* is concerned, it is observed that the sectarians utilized the Isaianic material for a variety of purposes. For instance, Isa.40:3 is cited in 1QS 8:14 as a proof-text to justify the sectarian community's "Scripture-orientation." For the sectarians, to study and explore the meaning of the Scriptures is what Isaiah meant by "to prepare the way for Yahweh." The citations of Isa.2:22 and 24:17 in 1QS 5:17 and CD 4:13-14 respectively also serve a similar function, though the latter one is attached by a *peshar* which explicates the sectarian appropriation of the prophet's message.

The sectarians also utilized the Isaianic material for a qualifying purpose. For instance, Isa.54:16 is cited in CD 6:8 to underscore the divinely-ordained status of the "Interpreter of the Law." The citation of Isa.7:17 in CD 7:11f. also functions in this way, depicting the severity of the punishment that the sectarians' opponents would have endured.

3. Did the sectarians disregard the original context of the Isaianic material they utilized?

Our analysis of the data has revealed that in some cases the sectarian application/appropriation of the Isaianic material presents some interpretive "oddities." The sectarian citation of Isa.24:17 in CD 4:13-14 is certainly a case in point. There the prophet's triadic phrase "fear, a pit and a snare" is taken by the sectarian author to refer respectively to "fornication, wealth and defilement of the sanctuary," which he claims are Belial's "nets" to trap the sect's opponents. The sectarian mode of interpretation here is evidently

symbolic, or allegorical, or even "algebraic." But as we showed, a comparison of the larger contexts of these passages discloses their contextual continuity.

Moreover, 1QS 5:17; CD 5:16; and CD 6:8 offer us examples that the sectarian writers evidently changed the original referent in "using" Isaiah's language. In 1QS 5:17, the abstract, indefinite $\square\eta\aleph$ in Isa.2:22 is taken in a concrete and specific sense, referring to non-sectarians. In CD 5:16 the author applied to the non-sectarian Jews Isa.27:11b α , whose original referent is to non-Israelites; but, interestingly, the old and new referents of Isa.27:11b α share the same element, i.e., being opponents of God's "covenanted" people. In CD 6:8, we noted that the original and new referents of Isa.54:16a β 2 seem to have no explicit correspondence. Despite the presence of these instances, however, it is in general true that the sectarians did not ignore the original context or twist the original message of the texts used.

4. How significant is the Isaianic material in its new literary context?

The significance of the Isaianic material in its new literary context varies from case to case. As is noted throughout our examination, the sectarians did not always utilize the Isaianic material with the intention of transplanting its original theological significance into their writings. In not a few instances (especially of the allusions), the sectarian writers seem to have utilized the Isaianic material simply at the level of linguistic imitation and thematic borrowing. They showed more interest in the plain verbal meaning of the material utilized than its theological significance in its original context. These instances illustrate that they simply derived a powerful mode of expression from the prophet's writing. The sectarian implicit use of Isaiah's "spider's webs and vipers' eggs" in CD 5:13-15 and "lighters of fire and kindlers of brands" in CD 5:13 illustrate this well (cf. also our discussion of CD 4:18-20 above).

However, we have also noted that some of the sectarian uses of the Isaianic material do carry profound theological implications. For instance, the sectarian application to the sect alone of Isaiah's "eternal planting" imagery in 1QS 8:5 and 1QH 1:7f. and "remnant" terminology in 1QH 6:8 implies the sectarian convictions about their

eschatological destiny. Again, the use of Isaiah's "tested stones/wall" in 1QS 8:7b and 1QH 6:26f. in reference to the sect suggests that the sect alone is the only reliable source of divine favor and salvation. Perhaps the most important example of this type of instance is the sectarian use of Isaiah's "Branch of David." In these cases, the theological significance of the prophet's phrases cannot be derived from their literal meaning but only from the literary and theological context in which these phrases occur. In other words, the sectarian use of these Isaianic terminology reflects their thorough knowledge of the prophet's message or "theology."

b. Distinctive Isaianic themes in the sectarian writings

The sectarian use, both explicit and implicit, of the Isaianic material exposes the characteristics of the sect's theological convictions and concerns. For instance, 1QH 7:32; 10:9; 12:11 evidently exhibits that the sectarians were monotheists. Other than this, the following features are observed.

The most distinctive of all is Yahweh's judgment upon His unfaithful, disobedient people. Throughout their writings, the sectarians lavishly utilized material from Isaiah's oracles of divine judgment on Judah and Israel. They identified the disobedient people of the prophet's day with their non-sectarian contemporaries. For them, the non-sectarians were unfaithful and wicked, they broke the covenant with God (cf. CD 1:20), and they rejected the teachings of the sect and even sought to kill their leader (cf. 4QMMT; 1QpHab.). So when speaking of their contemporary society (esp. of its leaders), their language was harsh and vitriolic. They reserved no salvation for it, for they believed their contemporary society was predestined to divine wrath and destruction.

Besides a special interest in Isaiah's oracles of divine judgment on unfaithful Israel, the sectarians also paid much attention to the prophet's sayings about Yahweh's salvation of the faithful of Israel. Most remarkable is their identification of themselves with the Isaianic "faithful remnant" (cf. 1QH 6:8). The sectarians saw themselves as the eschatological faithful remnant that Yahweh had spared out of His covenantal faithfulness and mercy. In contrast to their contemporary non-sectarians, they believed they were

predestined to eternal salvation (cf. 1QH 15:16).

The sectarians harbored a deep hatred not only toward the non-sectarian Jews, but also toward their foreign neighbors. This is clearly seen in their messianic expectations. They eagerly waited for the coming of "the Messiah of Israel," who was expected to lead the sectarians ("the Sons of Light") to fight the eschatological battle, to liberate and vindicate the suffering "remnant" of Israel, to take vengeance on the nations (especially Israel's oppressors), and above all to rule and bring about eternal peace for the whole earth as well as Israel. Isa.11:1-5 was, if not the, certainly one of the OT passages that considerably shaped the sectarian messianic imagination; its significance is thoroughly delineated in 1QSb, 4Q285, and 4QpIsa^a. 1QH 6:12, which probably alludes to Isa.11:10,12, speaks of the nations/peoples coming to know God's truth and to see His glory; but it is unclear whether the psalmist here envisions the eschatological turning to God of these nations.

The sectarians' self-identification with God's eschatological, faithful, holy "remnant" and keen expectations of the coming of "the Messiah of Israel" to vindicate them and punish the unfaithful non-sectarians and their foreign oppressors clearly betray their world-view: they saw themselves to be still living in an age full of evil and wickedness, an age that was no better than the prophet's. For them, the Eschaton that is prophesied by Isaiah still lies ahead (no matter how imminent they believed it might be); the prophet's promises of a bright future and divine vindication of the faithful remnant have not yet been realized. In short, the sectarian world-view has no dimension of "already-ness."²⁰⁷ If that is the case, it is unlikely that the sectarians would have read Isaiah's sayings as fulfilled in themselves. No wonder that we have rarely read any "fulfillment-language" in the sectarian writings examined above.

Finally, it is of some importance to note the influence of the Isaianic Suffering

²⁰⁷ Cf. J.A. Fitzmyer, "Use of Explicit OT Quotations," p.54: Although the sectarians applied "many of the Old Testament texts... to events of the recent history of the sect," "the messianic hope at Qumran shifted the emphasis much more to a *coming fulfilment* of the Old Testament scriptures" (emphasis his).

Servant Song upon the sectarians. In 1QS 8:3-4, as we pointed out above, the sectarian writer borrowed from the Song the notion of "atoning for sins of others through righteous deeds and sufferings," and applied it to the effects of the work of the "twelve men and three priests." And in 1QH 4:8-37 the Song is clearly alluded to, both verbally and conceptually, in the sectarian psalmist's memoir of his misfortune. These instances would seem to imply that the Song was not read by the sectarians as speaking of a certain messianic figure. That the sectarians would not have read, and indeed did not read, the Song in a messianic way is clearly suggested by the sectarian expectation of a victorious Messiah. It is of course precarious to draw a firm conclusion about how the sectarians read the Song, based on only two instances; yet, tentatively, these instances do suggest that the Song simply provided the sectarian writers with a wealth of expressions and concepts, by which their compositions were greatly enriched both linguistically and thematically.

Chapter Four

The Use of *Isaiah* in the Letter to the Romans

A. Some Working Presuppositions

a. The Nature and Purpose of the Letter to the Romans ¹

Rom. is very likely the most significant of Paul's letters² extant in our New Testament canon. Much ink has been spent, especially over the past twenty five years, on discussions of almost every aspect of this letter. In view of space limitations and the fact that the background information about Rom. is not very important to our examination of the Isaianic material in the letter, we will not devote too much to the discussion of the introductory issues about the letter. Rather, we adopt the following points as our working presuppositions:

1) Rom. is not a "systematic-theological" writing like W. Pannenberg's *Systematic Theology* or P. Tillich's.³ Rather, it is a letter, written in a particular situation to a particular readership with a particular message for a particular purpose, though it does

¹ By "the Letter to the Romans" (abbrev. as Rom. afterwards), I am referring to Rom. 1:1-16:23, while on textual grounds treating 16:25-27 as non-original. See, e.g., the discussions of this by H. Gamble, Jr., *The Textual History of the Letter to the Romans* (Studies and Documents 42; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977); C. K. Barrett, *The Epistle to the Romans* (2nd. ed., BNTC; London: A & C Black, 1991), pp.9-13; K.P. Donfried, "A Short Note on Romans 16," and P. Lampe, "The Roman Christians of Romans 16," in *The Romans Debate*, ed. K.P. Donfried (rev. & expd. ed.; MA: Hendrickson, 1991), pp.44-52 and 216-21 respectively.

² The authenticity of the Letter to the Romans as Pauline is undisputed among modern Pauline scholars. For a general discussion of this, see, e.g., W.G. Kümmel, *Introduction to the NT* (tr. H.C. Kee; Nashville: Abingdon/ London: SCM, 1975), pp.250-52.

³ What I have in mind as an example of a systematic-theological treatment of Rom. is K. Barth's *The Epistle to the Romans* (tr. E.C. Hoskyns; Oxford: OUP, 1933); see the first paragraph of Barth's Preface to the first edition of his commentary.

convey Paul's own logical and coherent⁴ presentation of the gospel he preaches.

2) Rom. is also not a "last will/testament"-like document written simply for "selling" its author Paul himself.⁵ Rom. is an occasional letter, as we have stated above, so it should and must be understood against the historical situations of both its author and its readers.⁶ We have accepted that, in Rom., its author Paul is trying to deal with certain issues that are related directly to its readers, the Roman Christians,⁷ apart from simultaneously "selling" himself to them.⁸ We have also believed that the ultimate purpose of Paul dealing with the problems of the Roman Christians and "selling" himself to them is to prepare the way for his future Spanish mission.

⁴ For a brief discussion of Paul's having logic and coherency in his argumentation, see M. Silva, *Explorations in Exegetical Method: Galatians as a Test Case* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1996), pp.143-50.

⁵ G. Bornkamm, *Paul* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1990[1971]), pp.88-96; and *idem*, "The Letter to the Romans as Paul's Last Will and Testament," in *The Romans Debate*, pp.16-28. G. Bornkamm has "reservations about looking to the Roman church as the reason for the exceptional content in the letter to the Romans" ("Paul's Last Will," p.20), although he accepts that Paul's impending visit to Jerusalem and planning to evangelize the West may have been reasons for his writing Rom.. Bornkamm's position, I think, is only partially right.

⁶ J.C. Beker is right at this point when he writes, "The letter form... suggests the historical concreteness of the gospel as a word on target in the midst of human, contingent specificity.... The coherent center of the gospel is never an abstraction removed from its 'address' and audience; it cannot be a *depositum fidei* or doctrinal abstraction that as a universal, timeless substance is to be poured into every conceivable situation regardless of historical circumstance." (Emphasis mine; cited from his *Paul the Apostle* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984], p.24.)

⁷ For discussions of the life of Roman Jewry and Roman Jewish Christians, see, e.g., W. Wiefel, "The Jewish Community in Ancient Rome and the Origins of Roman Christianity," in *Romans Debate*, pp.85-101; J.C Walters, *Ethnic Issues in Paul's Letter to the Romans* (Valley Forge: TPI, 1993); R. Penna, "The Jews in Rome at the Time of Paul," and "Jewish-Christian Structures of the Roman Church in the First Century," in *Paul the Apostle: Jew and Greek Alike*, vol.1 (tr. T.P. Wahl; Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1996), pp.19-47 and 48-59 respectively.

⁸ Rom.1:10-15; 15:22-29 may reflect Paul's intention in writing the letter to "sell" himself to the Roman Christians. In his "The Purpose of Romans," in *The Romans Debate*, pp.231-42, P. Stuhlmacher has suggested some reasons for Paul's need to "sell" himself to the Roman Christians. For a good discussion of the purpose of Rom. as twofold (i.e., to deal with the tensions and conflicts among Roman Christians and to "sell" Paul himself), see G. Smiga, "Romans 12:1-2 and 15:30-32 and the Occasion of the Letter to the Romans," *CBQ* 53(1991), pp.257-73.

3) In Rom., Paul deals with certain issues that are concerned with the situation and the unity of the Roman Christian communities.⁹ The issues concerned probably arise in part due to Roman political policies such as taxation,¹⁰ and perhaps mainly to disagreements between these Christian groups on religious matters, e.g., observance of the Mosaic Law¹¹ and the status of Israel in God's salvific plan (e.g., Rom.9-11).

4) Concerning the composition of the Roman Christian communities, we believe that Gentile Christians constitute a majority in Roman Christianity at the time of Paul writing his letter (Rom.). However, this does not mean that Rom. is addressed exclusively to these Gentile Christians.¹² According to the content of the letter, it seems plausible that Rom. is addressed both to the Roman Gentile Christians (e.g., Rom.11:13; cf. 1:6,13; 14:1-15:13) and to the Roman Jewish Christians (cf. Rom.7:1; 14:1-15:13).¹³

These presuppositions sound nothing new,¹⁴ but simply reiterate what are generally agreed upon in Pauline scholarship. These presuppositions will be subject to testing and revision if necessary. It is hoped that new insights can be gained into the understanding

⁹ This view differs from that of M.D. Nanos, who in his *The Mystery of Romans* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996), contends that Paul wrote Rom. with the purpose of dealing with the tensions and conflicts between Roman Christians and Roman non-Christian Jews.

¹⁰ Rom.13:1-7 may suggest itself an issue about Roman taxation; for this, see, E. Bammel, "Romans 13," in *Jesus and the Politics of His Day*, eds. E. Bammel & C.F.D. Moule (Cambridge: CUP, 1984), pp.365-83; A.J.M. Wedderburn, *The Reasons for Romans* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1988), pp.62-63; P. Stuhlmacher, *Paul's Letter to the Romans: A Commentary* (tr. S.J. Hafemann; KY: Westminster/ John Knox, 1994), pp.200-1.

¹¹ E.g., Rom.14:1-15:13. See J. Marcus, "The Circumcision and the Uncircumcision in Rome," *NTS* 35(1989), pp.67-81, who highlights this issue in Rome.

¹² *Contra* S.K. Stowers, *A Rereading of Romans - Justice, Jews, & Gentiles* (New Haven: Yale U. Press, 1994), esp. pp.22-41.

¹³ For a differing view, see S. Mason, "For I am not ashamed of the Gospel," in *Gospel in Paul*, eds. L.A. Jervis & P. Richardson (JSNTS 108; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), pp.254-87; Mason argues that, in Rom., Paul is speaking to a church mainly of the Jews and trying to persuade it of "his gospel."

¹⁴ These working presuppositions, in L.E. Keck's view, may not even be prerequisite for a proper understanding of Rom.; see his "What Makes Romans Tick?" in *Pauline Theology, vol. III - Romans*, eds. D.M. Hay & E.E. Johnson (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), pp.3-29.

of Rom.'s historical background in the course of our examination of the Isaianic material in the letter. For convenience's sake, we are going to divide Rom. into several sections in examining the Isaianic material therein, namely, Rom. 1-8, 9-11, 12-15. This division does not necessarily represent that originally intended by Paul himself, or our final verdict about the anatomy of the entire letter.

b. Paul and his sacred Scriptures

Before going to the analysis of the Isaianic material in Rom., let us briefly consider some questions as to Paul's own background, his opportunity and ability to get access to the Jewish sacred Scriptures, and the nature of his Scriptures. All these, as we shall see, are important to us in understanding and analyzing Paul's use of the Isaianic material.

In Gal. 1:13-15 and Phil. 3:4-6 (cf. Acts 22:3), Paul clearly testifies his own personal background before his encounter with the risen Lord at Damascus. These passages tell us that Paul was "a Hebrew of the Hebrews," "a Pharisee," and very zealous to the Law and the Jewish traditions. What exactly Paul meant by all these, we do not know; nor can it be discussed in detail here, for our purposes. At any rate, as most scholars believe, these passages appear to imply that, before his Damascus experience, Paul might have had both opportunity to expose himself to a Hebrew reading/ listening-environment and access to the Hebrew version(s) of the Book of Isaiah.¹⁵

¹⁵ See M. Hengel, *The Pre-Christian Paul* (tr. J. Bowden; London: SCM / Philadelphia: TPI, 1991), pp.18-39, who concludes: "Greek was Paul's mother tongue, but he also had a command of Hebrew, the 'holy language' of Scripture and liturgy, and Aramaic, the vernacular of Jewish Palestine" (emphasis mine; p.38). Also, J. Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul: A Critical Life* (Oxford: OUP, 1996), pp.36-37, following J.B. Lightfoot understands Paul's "a Hebrew of the Hebrews" in Phil. 3:5 as implying his ability to speak "the ancient tongue of the Jews."

In his classic work, "Tarsus or Jerusalem," repr. in *Sparsa Collecta. Part 1: Evangelia, Paulina, Acta* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975), pp.259-320, W.C. van Unnik posits that "according to this text [Acts 22:3] Paul spent the years of his youth completely in Jerusalem" (p.296). Thus, "the tongue in which Paul learned to express himself in the days of his youth was not Greek but Aramaic.... Aramaic was also the tongue [he spoke] on the street and in school" (p.304). If van Unnik's thesis is right, then the possibility would be enhanced of Paul having had opportunity and ability to read Hebrew during his pre-Christian days. van Unnik's thesis is shared by B.H. Young, who however thinks that Paul's mother tongue is Hebrew, not Aramaic; see *Paul: The Jewish Theologian* (MA: Hendrickson, 1997), pp.15-16, 44.

According to Rom. 16:1-2, Rom. was sent to the Roman Christians through Phoebe, a deacon of the church at Cenchreae. This implies that Paul probably wrote Rom. in Corinth.¹⁶ Based on this, we believe that Corinth was a city in which the apostle may have had access to the Scriptures either through certain well-to-do Corinthian Christians, like Gaius (Rom. 16:23; 1 Cor. 1:14) and Erastus (Rom. 16:23), who might have afforded possessing some scrolls of Scripture, or through Jewish Christians who were formerly related to or working in the synagogue. Indeed, in Acts 18:8 and 1 Cor. 1:14, a certain Crispus is mentioned, who was a ruler of a synagogue in Corinth and was converted to the Christian faith; and in Acts 18:17, another synagogue ruler called Sosthenes is mentioned, who too was probably converted to the Christian faith (cf. 1 Cor. 1:1). Thus, it is reasonable to believe that, through these two figures, Paul would have had access to the scrolls of *Isaiah* at the time of composing Rom. in Corinth.

Alongside the presuppositions we formulated pertaining to Rom. itself in the previous section, these constitute the working hypothesis that underlies our examination of the magnitude of the impact of the Isaianic tradition upon Paul's theological and ethical teachings in Rom., to which we now turn.

B. The Isaianic Tradition in Romans 1-8

The first section that we are going to examine is Rom. 1-8. In this section, not very much material is detected that is marked by the Isaianic influence; only some citations and allusions have been caught, which will be scrutinized according to their order of appearance.

¹⁶ This is also widely agreed by Pauline scholars, see, e.g., W. Marxsen, *Introduction to the NT* (tr. G. Buswell; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983 [1968]), p.93; W.G. Kümmel, *Introduction to the NT*, p.311; R.E. Brown, *An Introduction to the NT* (ABRL; NY: Doubleday, 1997), p.560; U. Schnelle, *The History and Theology of the NT Writings* (tr. M.E. Boring; London: SCM, 1998), p.109.

a. Analysis of the Data

1. Rom.2:24 cites Isa.52:5

Rom.2:24 τὸ γὰρ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ δι' ὑμᾶς βλασφημεῖται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, καθὼς γέγραπται.

Is.52:5c δι' ὑμᾶς διὰ παντὸς τὸ ὄνομα μου βλασφημεῖται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.¹⁷

MT Is52:5 וְתָמִיד כָּל הַיּוֹם שְׁמִי מִנְאָה ...¹⁸

In Rom.2:24, Paul concludes with a scriptural citation his indictment of the Jews that their privileged status severely lacks proper correspondent performance. As in Rom.1:17, Paul here does not mention precisely where the scriptural text cited comes from. In view of verbal resemblance, the text cited here is universally and rightly identified by scholars as in Isa.52:5c (LXX), although there is another OT text, i.e., Eze.36:20-22, that too might serve as one of the OT source-texts of Rom.2:24.

The text-diagram above shows that Paul's "version" of Isa.52:5 stands closer to the LXX than to the MT. This may suggest that Paul cites the Isaianic text on the basis of a LXX text tradition. The textual variations between Paul's "version" of Isa.52:5 and the LXX's may be due to Paul himself. First of all, the adverbial phrase διὰ παντὸς is dropped possibly because it does not fit in with the present context of Rom.2:24.¹⁹ Secondly, it is not hard to feel an emphatic impact in reading the phrase τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ at the beginning of the scriptural citation.²⁰ The replacement of the original pronoun

¹⁷ Here and afterwards, the Greek text of *Isaiah* is based on that of *Septuaginta*, ed. A. Rahlfs (two vols. in one; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft Stuttgart, 1979[1935]).

¹⁸ In our study, here and afterwards, MT's Hebrew version of the Isaianic text will be provided for comparison. For a justification of this, see our discussion of Paul's background above.

¹⁹ C.D. Stanley finds it "difficult to justify" that the phrase is omitted by Paul himself, but seems to admit its possibility; see *Paul and the Language of Scripture* (SNTSMS 74; Cambridge: CUP, 1992), p.86. See also D.-A. Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums* (BHT 69; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1986), p.116, who regards the phrase as *überflüssig* in Paul's argument.

²⁰ So D.-A. Koch, *Schrift als Zeuge*, p.116, n.2: "Die Voranstellung von τὸ ὄνομα ... in Röm 2,24 zeigt die Spitze des Angriffs, den Pls mit Hilfe des Schriftzitats vorträgt...."

μου with τοῦ θεοῦ can also be explained by the fact that it does not fit in with Paul's argument. The use of τοῦ θεοῦ is most probably dictated by the presence of the phrase in the preceding verse (2:23). Moreover, Paul's choice of τοῦ θεοῦ instead of τοῦ κυρίου, which seems more appropriate according to the context of Isa.52:5, is probably due to the fact that, for Paul, the latter term is used as a designation reserved almost exclusively for Jesus Christ.²¹

It is noteworthy that the Isaianic citation in v.24 is followed right away by the citation formula καθὼς γέγραπται, which in Paul's style normally is used to introduce an OT text.²² Such an "unusual" position of the formula here reflects the force and urgency of Paul's argument.²³

The Isaianic text Paul cites is only part of 52:5, namely, Isa.52:5c LXX (=52:5bβ MT). In the original context of Isa.52:5bβ, the prophet states that Yahweh's name is seriously in disgrace. The severity of Yahweh's name being blasphemed is represented emphatically by the prophet's use of two synonymous adverbs תמיד "continually" and כל היום "all the day". The *Sitz im Leben* of the whole passage (52:3-6) probably is that of Israel's Babylonian exile. The prophet asserted in Isa.52:5 the cause for Yahweh's name being blasphemed. For him, it was Israel's exile that put Yahweh's name in such a disgraceful situation. It is plausible to suggest, with C. Westermann, that it is the foreign conquerors and oppressors of Israel who blasphemed Yahweh the God of the Israelite

²¹ In Rom., for instance, Paul uses the term κύριος some forty four times, of which only six or seven instances (all of them occurring in OT citations) show that the term is used of God Himself. And in the rest of the κύριος passages, Paul uses the term exclusively of Christ Jesus. For discussions of Paul's use of the term, see *TDNT*, vol.3, pp.1088-94; *EDNT*, vol.2, p.330; *DPL*, pp.563-69; and J. Ziesler, *Pauline Christianity* (rev.ed.; Oxford: OUP, 1990), pp.35-41.

²² See Rom.1:17; 3:4, 10; 8:36; 9:13, 33; 10:15; 11:8, 26; 15:3, 9, 21; cf. also 1Cor.1:31; 2:9; 2Cor.8:15; 9:9. In all of these instances, the formula stands before the scriptural text cited.

²³ Cf. D.-A. Koch, *Schrift als Zeuge*, p.260, & n.3. Worth considering but I think less plausible is O. Michel's comment: "Das nachgestellte καθὼς γέγραπται verstärkt die Autorität des Schriftwortes." See *Der Brief an die Römer* (5th. rev. ed.; KEK 6; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978), p.132. Paul's intention of put the formula in the end is to tighten the connection of his own words and those of Scripture and so strengthen the force of his argument, and not the authority of the word of Scripture.

exiles.²⁴ However, this is not the prophet's point here; rather, as the immediate context shows, what concerned him most is that Yahweh will do something for His covenanted people simply for His name's sake. Thus, the prophet here was not accusing the exiles of blaspheming Yahweh's name. Quite the contrary, he was delivering to them a word of hope which promises Yahweh's coming act of salvation.

Turning to Rom.2:24, it is obvious that Isa.52:2 is understood by Paul in a negative and polemical manner. Paul cites the Isaianic text to round off his argument, which is leveled against those Jews who know the Law well and boast of their knowledge of it and yet fail to observe it. In Paul's use of Isa.52:5, it is difficult to read, at least in the present context, anything positive at all. The original salvific implications of Isa.52:5 are entirely concealed by Paul in Rom.2:24.²⁵ Did Paul "misuse" or "misunderstand" the Isaianic text then? Not at all. As we have just noted above, the ultimate cause for the blasphemy of Yahweh's name among the foreign nations is Israel's exile, though the prophet may have implicitly blamed the foreign conquerors for that evildoing. In *Isaiah* (esp. chs.1-39), Israel's exile is understood and explained by the prophet as Yahweh's punishment on Israel for violation of the covenant between Him and her, which is seen specifically in her lack of faith on the one hand, (cf. Isa.6:9-10; 7:1-9:7; 28; 36-39; etc.) and in her failure to keep the Law of God on the other (cf. Isa.1; 2:6-9; 3:1-4:1; 5:8-30; 9:8-10:4; 42:18-25; etc.). It is obvious that Paul picked up the prophet's accusations against Israel and applied them to the Jews of his day. Here Paul deals with their failure to observe the Law first, and then in 3:3 their lack of faith, which is finally discussed fully from a covenantal perspective in chs.9-11.

²⁴ See C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1969), p.248; cf. also E.J. Kissane, *The Book of Isaiah* (Dublin: Richview Press, 1943), vol.2, p.168; and U. Wilckens, *Der Brief an die Römer (Röm 1-5)* (EKK VI/1; Zürich und Düsseldorf: Benziger/ Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1978), p.150.

²⁵ Many commentators have also noticed such a shift in understanding Isa.52:5 in Paul, see, e.g., O. Michel, *Römer*, p.131; E. Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans* (tr. G.W. Bromiley; London: SCM, 1982[1980]), p.71; B. Byrne, *Romans* (Sacra Pagina 6; Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1996), p.101.

Therefore, although Paul's use of Isa.52:5 is condemnatory in purpose, it simply represents a change of application and not of meaning.²⁶ The underlying "theology" of the Isaianic passage actually remains intact. Moreover, Paul's use of Isa.52:7 and 52:15 in Rom.10:15 and 15:21 respectively seems to reflect that Paul by no means overlooked or ruled out altogether the salvific implications of Isa.52.²⁷

Viewed from this perspective, Paul's use of Isa.52:5 is compatible with the context of the Isaianic passage, not on a superficial level but on a deeper one. Paul's use of Isa.2:24 is probably based on a deep reflection on the history of Israel that underlies the Isaianic passage. In applying the passage to his Jewish contemporaries in Rom.2:24, Paul has caught the underlying "first cause" of the foreign nations' blasphemy of Yahweh's name and brought out its theological significance.

²⁶ Note that "changes of application need not mean a disregard for Old Testament context." See G.K. Beale, "Did Jesus and His Followers Preach the Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts?" *Themelios* 14(1989), pp.89-96; reprinted in G.K. Beale, *The Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts?* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1994), pp.387-404, words are cited from p.397.

²⁷ R.B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale U. Press, 1989), pp.45-46, has noted Paul's use of Isa.52:7 in Rom.10:15 and suggested that "to read Paul's citation of Isa.52:5 as unqualified condemnation of Israel is bad reading, or, more precisely, it is an interpretation possible only on a first reading of the letter" (p.46; emphasis mine). Here, I think, Hays is obviously mistaken in understanding Paul's argument as one concerning Israel's destiny. Paul's argument is concerned not with Israel's condemnation but with the Jews' condemnation due to their boasting of possessing the Law and their failing to observe it. Throughout Rom.2, unlike in Rom.9-11, Paul does not use the term "Israel" in his argumentation; this seems to suggest that he is not discussing Israel's destiny from the perspective of her covenant with God but the "no-privilege-ness" and accusability of the Jews. Here Paul probably sees the Jews as one of the many peoples in the world; for him, the Jews as a people having knowledge of God's will and yet failing to obey it are indeed no better than the other peoples.

However, Hays may be right in not taking Paul's citation of Isa.52:5 as an "unqualified" condemnation of the Jews who boasted of possessing the Law and yet failed to observe it. But if my reading of Rom.2:24 and its context is correct, then it seems to me justifiable to read, even on a second reading, his words of condemnation of the Jews as "non-rhetorical". In other words, by his words, he really meant it. In my opinion, Hays seems to have read Paul's words here through the lens of Rom.9-11; this way of reading has led him to overlook the micro-structural aspect of Paul's argument.

2. Rom.3:15-17 cites Isa.59:7f.

Rom.3:15-17 ὅξεῖς οἱ πόδες αὐτῶν ἐκχέαι αἷμα, σύντριμμα καὶ
ταλαιπωρία ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν, καὶ ὁδὸν εἰρήνης οὐκ
ᾔγνωσαν.

Isa.59:7f. οἱ δὲ πόδες αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πονηρίαν τρέχουσιν ταχινοὶ ἐκχέαι
αἷμα· καὶ οἱ διαλογισμοὶ αὐτῶν διαλογισμοὶ ἀφρόνων,
σύντριμμα καὶ ταλαιπωρία ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν. καὶ ὁδὸν
εἰρήνης οὐκ οἶδασιν

MT Is59:7f. רגליהם לרע ירצו וימהרו לשפך דם נקי מחשבותיהם מחשבות און
שד ושבר במסלותם דרך שלום לא ידעו

Having pointed out the problem of sinfulness in both the Gentiles (Rom.1:18-32) and the Jews (Rom.2:1-3:8), Paul, with a series of scriptural citations, drives home his argument that all humanity has sinned against God and so desperately need His mercy. In his catena of scriptural supports, Paul does not explicitly state the source. Most scholars think that Isa.59:7f. is probably part of this catena of scriptural citations.

However, there is another OT passage, Prov.1:16, that scholars think might also be a base-text of Rom.3:15. In my view, both linguistic evidence and the predominant use of *Isaiah* in Rom. appear to suggest that Rom.3:15-17 was more likely based on Isa.59:7f. than on Prov.1:16. Of course, it could be both; yet, whether the Proverbial passage exerted influence on Rom.3:15f. concerns us little considering our purposes.

Before analyzing the Isaianic citation in Rom.3:15-17 itself, a word is in order about the authenticity, or the origin, of the catena of scriptural citations in Rom.3:10-18. Some scholars have advanced a theory that, in Rom.3:10-18, Paul is drawing on certain current traditions, whether Jewish or Christian, in order to drive home his point: all humanity is sinful. Leander E. Keck, for instance, is probably typical in promoting such a theory in the English-speaking world.²⁸ In an article of 1977, Keck proposed that "the

²⁸ C.D. Stanley, *Language of Scripture*, p.88, regards the German scholar H. Vollmer as the first one who put forward this theory; cf. his *Die alttestamentlichen Citate bei Paulus* (Freiburg: Mohr, 1895). Other German scholars who have taken a similar stance are, e.g., O.

catena was not composed for this place in the letter, but has integrity of its own, whose framework and initial unit support the point toward which he [i.e., Paul] has been driving - the universality of the human bondage of sin," and that "the catena, as an announcement of God's verdict on the world, is not an appendage but the theological starting-point for Paul's reflection.... He [Paul] appropriates a piece of apocalyptically-shaped tradition and articulates its import in such a way as to evoke assent from man's conscience, Jew and gentile alike."²⁹ Keck's theory has won a wide acceptance among Rom.-commentators.³⁰ However, I find Keck's theory not very convincing.

Keck's arguments for his case can be summarized: first, the catena has its own internal structure and theme; second, the elements of Paul's arguments in Rom.1:18-3:8 do not appear in the catena; third, the catena is found to have something in common with other apocalyptic literature (like 2Esdr. 7:21 ff.; Assum.Mos.5:2-6; CD 5:13-17) and with later Christian writing (like Justin's *Dial.*27:3). All of these arguments, in my opinion, are not strong enough to sustain his case.

First of all, based on his fine structural analysis of the catena, Keck draws his conclusion: the series of the scriptural texts in Rom.3:10-18 "is not an artless list of OT lines about sinners, but a carefully constructed catena.... where the wording diverges from the LXX, we seem to have deliberate variation determined by considerations of form.

Michel, *Römer*, pp.140-41; E. Käsemann, *Romans*, p.86; H. Schlier, *Der Römerbrief* (Freiburg: Herder, 1977), pp.98-99; U. Wilckens, *Römer 1-5*, p.171. Before Keck, C.E.B. Cranfield, among the English scholars, has already suggested this view in his *Romans 1-8* (ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1975), p.192.

²⁹ L.E. Keck, "The Function of Rom 3:10-18: Observations and Suggestions," in *God's Christ and His People. Studies in Honour of N.A. Dahl*, eds. J. Jervell & W.A. Meeks (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1977), pp.141-57; words cited from p.147 and p.153 respectively.

³⁰ See, e.g., J.D.G. Dunn, *Romans 1-8* (WBC 38A; Texas: Word, 1988), p.145; P. Stuhlmacher, *Romans: A Commentary*, p.54; J.R. Edwards, *Romans* (NIBC 6; MA: Hendrickson, 1992), p.92; A.T. Lincoln, "From Wrath to Justification: Tradition, Gospel, and Audience in the Theology of Romans 1:18-4:25," in *Pauline Theology III - Romans*, p.145; J.A. Fitzmyer, *Romans* (AB 33; NY: Doubleday, 1993), p.334. And J. Ziesler, *Paul's Letter to the Romans* (TPINTC; London: SCM/Philadelphia: TPI, 1989), p.103, leaves room for the possibility of this theory, though he seems undecided on this matter.

This, in turn, suggests 'bookishness' rather than ad hoc recollection of OT texts."³¹ Admittedly, Keck has done a very good job in showing how nicely the various scriptural texts are knitted together in the catena as a self-contained unit and what that unit is intended to mean. But this is not strong enough to show the secondary nature of the catena. Appeals to self-coherency and well-craftedness of a certain composite citation cannot give one good reasons to disprove the (in this case, Pauline) authenticity of that citation. Further, in view of Paul's abundant use of Scripture in the present letter and of Gal.1:13-14, which witnesses to Paul's own background, there is no good reason to suggest that Paul could not have composed such a skillfully crafted catena as the present one.

Keck's second argument is based on the difference in content between the catena and Paul's preceding arguments. Keck asks, if Rom.3:10-18 is composed by Paul himself to conclude Rom.1:18-3:9, why do the elements of the preceding long passage (e.g., charges against the Gentiles' sexual abnormalities and the Jews' failure to observe the Law) not appear in the catena too?³² Keck's argument betrays his failure to catch the function of the catena in Rom.3:10-18. The catena is not intended to support Rom.1:18-3:9 as a whole, but simply the point made in Rom.3:9b: Both Jew and Gentile are under sin, which in turn serves as an explanation of the οὐ πάντως answer to the question Τί οὖν; προεχόμεθα; in 3:9a. Therefore, there is no need for the catena to repeat the charges made in the foregoing verses against both the Gentile and the Jew.

Moreover, Keck's own conclusions seem self-contradictory. On the one hand, he concludes that "insofar as one can detect a flow of thought in the catena, it does not parallel that of Paul's foregoing argument; indeed, at certain points the argument and the catena seem to move in somewhat different directions." But he says, on the other hand, that "the beginning and end of the catena are, however, more closely linked with the

³¹ L.E. Keck, *op.cit.*, p.145.

³² See L.E. Keck, *op.cit.*, p.146.

immediate context."³³ Again, in pages 151-153 of his article, Keck moves on to show how nicely the catena thematically fits its larger context (i.e., Rom.1:18-3:9,19). For instance, "according to 3:11," Keck points out, "there is no seeking after God, obviously despite all sorts of religiosity in the world. This accords well with 1:18ff..." (p.151). Keck further writes, "The catena also speaks of murder and violence in 3:15-17. In 1:29ff. Paul also mentions φόβος and κακοηθείας as well as persons who are ἐφευρετὰς κακῶν..." (p.151). He also comments, "the assertion in 1:18 and the quotations at 3:8-10 support one another," both sharing the same motif of God's wrath (p.152). So, if there really are so many thematic connections between Rom.3:10-18 and Rom.1:18-3:9,19, as Keck himself has noted, how then can we say that the thought of the catena "does not parallel that of Paul's foregoing argument?" Do these thematic connections not evidence or suggest that the catena in Rom.3:10-18 was actually composed by Paul himself?

Keck's third argument is made on the basis of the parallels to the catena in certain apocalyptic literature and in Christian writing. Keck has caught some similarities between Rom.3:10-18 and 2Edrs.7:2ff.; Assum.Mos.5:2-6 and CD 5:13-17, and concluded that

"These materials suggest that in apocalyptic circles the OT may have been sifted to locate passages which could be connected to form catena of indictments against sinners.... It is possible that also the catena in Rom.3:10-18 originated in this way."³⁴

And likewise, after a comparison of the catena in Rom.3:10-18 with Justin's *Dial.*27:3, Keck comes to this verdict: "Justin's well-known parallel to our catena (*Dial.*27:3) provides evidence that Rom.3:10-18 once existed independently."³⁵ First of all, Keck's conclusion to his comparison between the catena and its parallels from the apocalyptic writings is unclear. It is not clear what Keck is trying to prove by his words, "It is possible

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ L.E. Keck, *op.cit.*, pp.149-50.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.150.

that also the catena in Rom.3:10-18 originated in this way." The passages from 2Esdr.7:21ff.; Assum.Mos.5:2-6; and CD 5:13-17 simply suggest that "in apocalyptic circles the OT may have been sifted to locate passages which could be connected to form catena of indictments against sinners." But these passages show nothing about the real origin of the catena in Rom.3:10-18. They, rather, appear to imply that Rom.3:10-18 carries certain apocalyptic traits. And this in turn grants the possibility that Rom.3:10-18 was composed by Paul himself, in view of the apocalyptically oriented nature of Paul's thoughts.³⁶

Secondly, Keck's use of *Dial.27:3* as evidence that "Rom.3:10-18 once existed independently" seems to me strained. Even if his observations on the relationship between Rom.3:10-18 and *Dial.27:3* are granted,³⁷ his conclusion is far from convincing. What Keck has done shows just that Rom.3:10-18 and *Dial.27:3* were independent of each other. Keck has jumped a "leap of faith" in drawing his conclusion. It is one thing to say that "Rom.3:10-18 once existed independently," but it is quite another to claim that it was not from the pen/mouth of Paul that Rom.3:10-18 came into existence.

In short, Keck has done a good job in analyzing the catena in Rom.3:10-18, but his efforts to argue against the Pauline authenticity of the catena are unsuccessful. Therefore,

³⁶ For discussions of the apocalyptic nature of Paul's thoughts, see E. Käsemann, "On the Subject of Primitive Christian Apocalyptic," in *New Testament Questions of Today* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1969), pp.108-37, esp. pp.124-37; J.C. Beker, *Paul the Apostle*, pp.135-81; D.E. Aune, "Apocalypticism," in *DPL*, pp.25-35, esp. pp.30-34.

³⁷ See D.-A. Koch's detailed analysis of these two passages and response to Keck, *Schrift als Zeuge*, pp.180-84. However, note Koch's concluding statement: "Löst man sich von der Annahme, daß die Briefe des Paulus insgesamt erst im Augenblick des Diktierens entstanden sind, und setzt man außerdem einen eigenständigen Umgang des Paulus mit Text der Schrift voraus, dann ist auch eine derart umfangreiche Zitatkomposition - jedenfalls im Römerbrief - nicht mehr überraschend." By the first clause of this statement, Koch seems to suggest that the catena in Rom.3:10-18 was composed by Paul at a different time from that of his dictating Rom. to Tertius. One need not, in my view, accept this assumption, considering the lack of evidence for that and Paul's skill and ingenuity in handling Scripture as shown elsewhere in Rom.. For instance, Rom.11:33-36 presents a beautiful song of praise which nicely incorporates at least two scriptural texts from Isa.40:13 and Job 41:3. Was it too composed by Paul at a different time from that of the dictation of Rom.? I don't think so; so far no scholar has thus said. For an analysis of this passage, see, e.g., G. Bornkamm, "The Praise of God (Rom.11.33-36)," in *Early Christian Experience* (tr. P.L. Hammer; London: SCM, 1969), pp.105-11.

owing to the lack of any compelling reasons to the contrary, it is better for us to accept that the catena in Rom.3:10-18 was crafted by Paul himself.³⁸ This viewpoint is further supported by the fact that Isa.59:20f. is cited by Paul in Rom.11:26, an Isaianic citation which shows Paul's knowledge of Isa.59, of which vv.7-8a are incorporated into our present catena.³⁹

Having settled (I hope) the problem of the origin of Rom.3:10-18, let us move on to examine how Paul uses Isa.59:7f. in his letter or, put differently, how the Isaianic passage functions in its new context. Paul's tailoring of the Isaianic passage for his aims need not be discussed here due to space limitation and the presence of good work done on this matter by others.⁴⁰ What instead concerns us most is to determine whether there is any contextual continuity between the original and the new contexts of Isa.59:7f..

In its original context, Isa.59:7f. ends a section in which the prophet relentlessly accuses his audience of a series of crimes/sins. There is no doubt that the people accused here were Israelite (cf. Isa.59:2). But did the prophet here have in mind the entire nation of Israel or simply a certain group of Israelites that came under his reproach? Admittedly, the sense of a certain group of people being accused may be hinted at in the shift in number in Isa.59:4ff., where the third person plural is used throughout. Yet, does this grammatical shift from the second plural in Isa.59:1-3 to the third person plural in

³⁸ Scholars who stick to this traditional view are not few. In addition to D.-A. Koch and C.D. Stanley, see also, e.g., B. Byrne, *Romans*, p.116; D.J. Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), p.202; and D. Zeller, *Der Brief an die Römer* (RNT; Regensburg: Pustet, 1985), p.80, who following D.-A. Koch concludes that "So geht das ganze Stück wohl auf eine Vorarbeit des Apostels zurück."

³⁹ Note also that Isa.59:17a is alluded to in 1Thess.5:8; this Isaianic allusion in one of Paul's earlier letters shows Paul's knowledge of Isa.59 even prior to his writing of Rom.. Cf. Eph.6:14,17, which too alludes to Isa.59:17a. Whether Eph. is Paul's or not and whether Eph. antedates Rom. or not, this Isaianic allusion in the book suggests at least that Isa.59 was not unknown to the Pauline circle. Who then introduced this Isaianic chapter to the circle? There are many possibilities, of course; but the most probable answer is that it was Paul himself. And this in turn strengthens indirectly the case that Paul had good knowledge of Isa.59.

⁴⁰ See L.E. Keck, *op.cit.*, p.145; D.-A. Koch, *Schrift als Zeuge*, p.119; C.D. Stanley, *Language of Scripture*, pp.95-98.

Isa.59:4ff. sufficiently evidence that the prophet here aimed his gun merely at a certain group in Israel? Not at all; and indeed what the prophet had in mind was the whole nation, not only a particular group. This is clearly suggested by the prophet's confession of guilt in inclusive, first person plural language in Isa.59:9-15, and by his emphasis in his confession on total lack of justice among "us," i.e., among the prophet and his audience. The inclusive language is a typical style in the prophetic confession of sin that is made on behalf of the entire community (e.g., Jer.14:7-10, 19-22; Lam.5:1-22), and in the communal laments in Psalms (e.g., Pss.44; 74; 79). Of course, this does not mean that the prophet himself committed the same crimes as did his audience or that there were no righteous men in the prophet's day. However, that was not the point of the prophet here. Rather, the prophet's charge of Israel with complete wickedness is pointedly made throughout the words of his prophecy (cf. Isa.59:16).

If this understanding of Isa.59:7f. is accepted, then G.N. Davies's conclusion, that "although collective in their description of Israel's national sins, these verses are not a universal condemnation of each and every individual within Israel,"⁴¹ is quite misleading.

Turning back to Rom.3:15-17, it is noted that Isa.59:7f. is functioning in a similar role in Paul's argument. In the Rom. context, Isa.59:7f., standing along with a string of other scriptural texts derived from Psalms and Ecclesiastes, forcefully conveys the sense of complete moral bankruptcy and so corroborates Paul's point in Rom.3:9b - "Jews and Gentiles alike are all under sin."

As regards the referents of the scriptural texts Paul utilized, we may note a contextual continuity in Paul's use of these OT texts in general. According to their contexts, those being referred to as wicked and ungodly in the scriptural texts (except for Isa.59:7f.) that form the present catena in Rom.3:10-18 could be Israelites and/or non-Israelites. Because of this, these scriptural texts, going with Isa.59:7f., which was directed to Israel, offer their readers a high degree of universal applicability. In view of this universally applicable nature of the catena's language, it is certainly not unfounded

⁴¹ G.N. Davies, *Faith and Obedience in Romans: A Study in Romans 1-4* (JSNTS 39; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990), p.88.

to say that Paul's application of these texts to the Jew and the Gentile alike is justifiable.

3. Rom.3:29-30 → Isa.45:21c-22

Rom.3:29f. ἡ Ἰουδαίων ὁ θεὸς μόνον; οὐχὶ καὶ ἐθνῶν; ναὶ καὶ ἐθνῶν, εἴπερ εἷς ὁ θεὸς ὃς δικαιώσει περιτομὴν ἐκ πίστεως καὶ ἀκροβυστίαν διὰ τῆς πίστεως.

Isa.45:21f. ... τότε ἀνηγγέλη ὑμῖν Ἐγὼ ὁ θεός, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος πλὴν ἐμοῦ· δίκαιος καὶ σωτὴρ οὐκ ἔστιν πάρεξ ἐμοῦ. ἐπιστρέφητε πρὸς με καὶ σωθήσεσθε, οἱ ἀπ' ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς· ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ θεός, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος.

MTIs45:21f. ... הלא אני יהוה ואין עוד אלהים מבלעדי אל צדיק ומושיע אין ואלתי ...
פנו אלי והושעו כל אפסי ארץ כי אני אל ואין עוד

That there is an intertextual relation between Rom.3:29-30 and Isa.45:21-22 is based on three facts. First, conceptually, Isa.45:21-22 and Rom.3:29-30 clearly represent Israel's monotheistic belief. Second, in view of his lavish use in Rom. of *Isaiah* and the fact that throughout the whole OT, it is in Isa.45 that Israel's monotheism is most expressly and most forcefully stated, Paul must have been familiar with Isa.45. Third, Isa.45:23 (LXX) is cited by Paul in Rom.14:11. Of course, other passages that represent Israel's monotheistic belief, e.g., Deut.6:4; 32:29; Isa.43:10-12; 44:6; 46:9; 48:12, may also have exerted influence on Paul. At any rate, the influence of the Isaianic (ch.45) notion of monotheism upon Paul's belief in Rom.3:29-30 is compelling and undeniable.

In Isa.45, the prophet envisages Yahweh's deliverance of Israelite exiles through the hand of a foreign king. Throughout the whole chapter, Yahweh's unique sovereignty is repeatedly stressed. In order to secure His promise concerning Israel's liberation, Yahweh declares, through the prophet not only to the exiles but also to the whole earth, that He alone is God. To execute His will for the benefit of His own people, Yahweh as the Creator and Lord of all feels free to use a pagan king who does not even know/acknowledge Him (cf. vv.5,12-13). By using a pagan king to liberate Israel, Yahweh clearly and powerfully declares to all nations that He is not only Israel's God but

also theirs, being in control even of their ups and downs. Verse 14 even prophesies that God will subdue Israel's enemies to her.

Although throughout Isa.45 strong emphasis is put on Yahweh's overwhelming favor toward Israel and exalting her even over her foes, this does not mean that Yahweh saves and blesses His own people at the expense of all other nations. In Isa.45:21-22, Yahweh opens a door of salvation to the nations by urging them to turn to Him and get saved. All the nations are invited to join in the celebration of Israel's revival and share in her blessings from Yahweh the Unique Sovereign God of all. Israel's eschatological bliss will extend far beyond the borders of Palestine even to "the ends of the earth."⁴²

Is it really believable that Paul as the Apostle to the nations (cf. Rom.1:5; 11:13; 15:15-16) would have overlooked such a wonderful, moving scene when he was citing from Isa.45:23? Μὴ γένοιτο! It was precisely this exciting vision of Israel's eschatological restoration that motivated our Apostle to the nations even to pour out his life in delivering to his gentile neighbors God's invitations to join in. And it was exactly this vision that underlay his logic and thinking in Rom.3:29-30,⁴³ and indeed his whole letter.⁴⁴

4. Rom.4:17b → Isa.48:13

Rom.4:17b ... θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶοποιοῦντος τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ καλοῦντος τὰ μὴ ὄντα

⁴² *Contra* R.N. Whybray, *Isaiah 40-66*, pp.111-13, who claims that "there is no universalism in these verses" (p.112). Whybray has overlooked that in vv.21-23 those from the ends of the earth are summoned/ urged to submit themselves to Yahweh, not to Israel. It is hard to think people who forsake their idols and humbly submit themselves to God would eventually be cursed by Him. At any rate, the notion of universalism is clearly implied in the LXX.

⁴³ Note that the notion that God is a righteous and saving/justifying God occurs both in Isa.45:21d and in Rom.3:26. Paul regards God as the one who makes righteous/justifies; this is not different from Isa.45:21's "God as the one who saves," for in *Isaiah* the notion of "righteousness"/"justice" very often appears in parallel to the notion of "salvation," being interchangeable (see, e.g., Isa.45:8; 46:13; 51:5, 6, 8; 59:11,16,17; 62:1; 63:1). This distinct parallel between Isa.45:21d and Rom.3:26 is certainly not coincidental.

⁴⁴ Besides Rom.14:11, see also 10:12, where Paul once again expresses his monotheistic belief, a context very similar to 3:29-30.

ὥς ὄντα

Isa.48:13 καὶ ἡ χεὶρ μου ἐθεμελίωσεν τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἡ δεξιὰ μου ἐστερέωσεν
τὸν οὐρανόν· καλέσω αὐτούς, καὶ στήσονται ἅμα.

MTIs48:13 אף ידי יסדה ארץ וימיני טפחה שמים קרא אני אליהם יעמדו יחדו

In Rom.4:17, an allusion may be detected to Isa.48:13. Linguistically, the connection between these two passages is very weak; they have in common only a single term: καλεῖν, "to call." But their thematic continuity is strong, both stressing the notion of the power of the calling/command of God as Creator. So, the allusive relationship between Rom.4:17 and Isa.48:13 may hinge on this thematic resemblance.

It is not possible to know definitely whether Paul really had this Isaianic passage in mind while writing/dictating Rom.4:17. However, whether Paul had ever acquired at least some knowledge of that passage does not appear so difficult to determine. In view of his intensive citing from *Isaiah* throughout Rom., it does not appear far-fetched to say that he had some knowledge of Isa.48. Moreover, as regards the content, Isa.48 is a remarkable oracle in *Isaiah* in which the prophet sternly reproaches Israel for stubbornness of heart and at the same time forcefully prophesies Israel's eschatological deliverance by Yahweh her Redeemer. These themes of Israel's stubbornness and her eschatological restoration, and of Yahweh as Israel's Redeemer, find their echoes in Paul's discussion of the final destiny of Israel in Rom.9-11. Thus, this at least indirectly suggests the possibility that Isa.48 may have exerted some influence on Paul. Of course, that is not to deny that Paul may have been influenced also by other Jewish traditions like 2Macc.7:28, a closer parallel passage which shows the presence among some Jewish circles of the belief that "God made [heavens and earth] out of things that did not exist."⁴⁵

As we have noted above, Rom.4:17 and Isa.48:13 share the same motif, namely, the calling/commanding power of God as Creator. In Isa.48:13, Yahweh, through the prophet, assures the exiles of Israel of their imminent deliverance. Just as Yahweh called

⁴⁵ Cited words are from NRSV's textual note j; cf. J.R. Bartlett's comment on this passage in his *The First and Second Books of the Maccabees* (CBC; Cambridge: CUP, 1973), p.276. See also Wis.11:25; *Jos.Asen.*8:9.

heavens and earth into being, so also He as Creator of heavens and earth will call the exiles to go out of Babylon. Yahweh's command, once delivered, will never fail. The powerfulness of God's commanding words is not only manifested in creation but also in salvation. Here God's salvation is closely interlocked with His creation. In Isa.48, Yahweh's creation is not to be understood as a past event referring to the creation of the world as such; rather, it is a symbol pointing to a new, greater creation, namely, one of a new people (cf. 48:6-7).⁴⁶ The theme of Yahweh's creation of a new people is also spelled out by the prophet's powerful allusion to the story of a significant event in Israel's history, an event that gave birth to the people of Israel - the Exodus (cf. 48:21). Viewed from this perspective, it is not impossible to see in Isa.48 a connection between God's ability to create and to give life, though the present Isaianic context is concerned with the birth of a people, and not with the resurrection of an individual.

In Rom.4:17b Paul may have picked up from this Isaianic passage the notion of the powerfulness of Yahweh's sovereign command in creating and delivering His people, and integrated it with other Jewish traditions of, or his belief in, resurrection. Here God's ability to give (back) life and His ability to create are specifically highlighted by Paul to explain the characteristics of the faith that Abraham had before God when he was awaiting the realization of His promise about Isaac's birth. Yet, as the immediate context shows, what is at issue in Paul's discussion here is not Abraham's faith as such, but who are Abraham's offspring and by what means they come to be Abraham's offspring. In other words, it is concerned with how God's creation of a people through His promise to Abraham, that "I have made you a father of many nations," is effected. It is at this point, then, that Paul's argument finds its continuity with Isa.48.

Our understanding of the relationship between Rom.4:17b and Isa.48:13, if granted, not only sheds light on the interpretation of Paul's argument in Rom.4; but it also

⁴⁶ R.J. Clifford, "Isaiah, Book of (Second Isaiah)," in *ABD*, vol.3, p.501, concludes his discussion of the motif of creation in Second Isaiah with these words: "Second Isaiah.... does not refer to the 'first creation' in Genesis as an argument that God can do today what he did then.... For him, [creation] is one way of describing the act of remaking the people, the other being the redemption." (Emphasis mine.)

helps us better understand why Paul relates Israel's final restoration analogically to a resurrection in Rom. 11:15. It may well be that Isa. 48 was one of the sources that exerted influence on Paul's thoughts concerning the role of Israel in God's salvific plan.

5. Rom. 4:25 → Isa. 53:6, 11, 12

Rom. 4:25 Ἰησοῦν... ὃς παρεδόθη διὰ τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν καὶ ἠγέρθη διὰ τὴν δικαίωσιν ἡμῶν.

Isa. 53:6 ... καὶ κύριος παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἡμῶν.

11 δικαιοῦσαι δίκαιον εὐδουλεύοντα πολλοῖς, καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν αὐτὸς ἀνοίσει.

12 καὶ αὐτὸς ἁμαρτίας πολλῶν ἀνήνεγκεν καὶ διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν παρεδόθη.

MT Isa 53:6 ויהוה הפגיע בו את עון כלנו ...

11 יצדיק צדיק עבדי לרבים ועונתם הוא יסבל ...

12 והוא חטא רבים נשא ולפשעים יפגיע ...

That Rom. 4:25 alludes to Isa. 53 seems beyond doubt. Both on linguistic and thematic grounds, the allusive relationship between these two passages is compelling. Most scholars are led, by the internal parallelism of the verse, to the conclusion that here Paul was using a credal or liturgical formula.⁴⁷ Admittedly, the possibility that Rom. 4:25 represents an early Christian (i.e., pre-Pauline) theological formulation of Jesus' death and resurrection cannot easily be ruled out. But we have no evidence for the existence of such a credal formula.⁴⁸ Nor is there any sure evidence that Isa. 53 was thus utilized in

⁴⁷ Perhaps only except for some scholars of an older generation, like A. Schlatter, *Romans: The Righteousness of God* (tr. S.S. Schatzmann; Peabody: Hendrickson, 1995), p. 118; O. Kuss, *Der Römerbrief - Röm 1, 1-8, 18* (Regensburg: Pustet, 1963[1957]), p. 195.

⁴⁸ See O. Kuss's judgment: "Daß V. 25 aus einem »Hymnus« stammt oder daß er einen »Bekenntnissatz der Urgemeinde« wiedergeben wolle, bleibt reine Vermutung und gänzlich unbeweisbar." (*op. cit.*, p. 195; emphasis mine.) Compare the verdict of C.K. Barrett in, *Romans*, p. 93: "Having mentioned Jesus and the resurrection Paul winds up the chapter by using what appears to be a Christological formula, though its history before its use by Paul must remain a matter of speculation." (Emphasis mine.)

understanding Jesus' death and resurrection prior to Rom. (specifically, 55-58 CE).⁴⁹ Even if there were such a formula, in which Jesus' death and resurrection were understood in terms of Isa.53, this still cannot eliminate the likelihood that Paul was aware of the OT force underlying such a distinctive formula. In Rom.5:19, as we shall see later on, Paul may possibly have alluded to Isa.53:11, though this allusion is based on the Hebrew text. And above all, Isa.52:15 and Isa.53:1 are explicitly cited in Rom.15:21 and 10:16 respectively. These Isaianic allusion and citations indicate that Paul was familiar with the so-called Fourth Servant Song in *Isaiah* (52:13-53:12) when composing or dictating Rom. and subject to its influence in reflecting on God's salvific plan through Jesus' death and resurrection for Israel and the Gentiles.

Further, there is an internal piece of evidence that may suggest that Rom.4:25 was originally an *ad hoc* piece of work on Paul's part. In the first half of the verse, the term παράπτωμα "transgression" is employed. This term is a distinctive Pauline term; among its twenty one instances in the NT, nine times (including here) it appears in Rom..⁵⁰ Paul often uses this term in the letter to refer to actual trespasses or acts of sin; and this is exactly what the LXX Isa.53's predominantly used ἁμαρτία is intended to mean. In view

⁴⁹ Having surveyed the "use" of Isa.53 in Jewish and Christian traditions, D. Juel concludes in this way: "The remarkable paucity of references to Isaiah in the passion narratives and in passion tradition as a whole makes it difficult to support arguments that Isaiah 53 provided the foundation for Christian reflection on Jesus' death. The passage was important, but mainly at later stages of the tradition and in the times after the NT. A glimpse at the passage's history within postbiblical Jewish tradition lends little credibility to the notion that the vocation of the Suffering Servant was available to Christians as a way of making sense of Jesus' death. Christological reflection on the meaning of the cross seems to have been far more creative than often assumed, and what Paul and the earlier tradition had in mind when they said, 'Christ died for our sins in accordance with the scriptures,' is still far from clear." (*Messianic Exegesis: Christological Interpretations of the OT in Early Christianity* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988], pp.119-33; p.132.)

I am not sure how Juel interprets Rom.4:25. But his conclusion seems to suggest that there is no clear evidence that Isa.53 was ever used in the time of the Apostles to interpret Jesus' death and resurrection.

⁵⁰ The term occurs twice in Paul's other letters (once each in 2Cor. and Gal.), five times in the so-called Deutero-Pauline tradition (twice in Col.; three times in Eph.), and five times in the Synoptics (twice in Mark; three times in Matt.).

of this, it seems likely that Paul altered the Isaianic text by substituting παράπτωμα for ἁμαρτία, a term which he used in Rom. some forty eight times (very seldom in the plural)⁵¹ in reference to a somewhat personified anti-God power or a field of power in which things go contrary to God's will. Of course, one may also argue, as B. Byrne does,⁵² that what Paul altered was not the Isaianic text itself but the credal formula that he picked up from early Christian tradition. But as we have pointed out earlier, the existence of such a formula always remains a matter of speculation. So, it seems to me more plausible to say that Rom.4:25 was of Pauline origin.

Perhaps there may be an objection against this verdict, namely that Paul rarely separated Jesus' death and his resurrection, as if they were two individual entities, in reflecting on their significance. In my judgment, an argument of this sort is self-defeating. First of all, the fact that Paul rarely did anything does not necessarily mean that he would never have done it. Second, the above objection has presupposed that dealing with Jesus' death and his resurrection separately is something non-Pauline or even something that Paul would never have agreed with. If so, why did Paul cite a formula whose theology he himself disagreed with? If he cited that, was it not because he granted its theology? If what Rom.4:25 represents was something Paul indeed agreed with, why is it impossible or less plausible to think that it was Paul himself who phrased Rom.4:25? It is at least possible, and indeed the arguments advanced above point in the direction that it is more than just possible.

In Isaiah 52:13-53:12, there comes to the scene a figure who, with his identity hidden,⁵³ was simply described as a servant of Yahweh. He committed no sins, yet he had

⁵¹ Only thrice in plural: 4:7; 7:5; 11:27. The first one is cited from Ps.31:1 LXX. Most scholars find Paul's use of the plural form in the latter two uncommon. H. Schlier comments on this: Paul's use of αἱ ἁμαρτίαι in the plural in these instances means "die konkreten Einzelsünden." (H. Schlier, *Der Römerbrief*, p.218.)

⁵² So B. Byrne, *Romans*, pp.161-62.

⁵³ For discussions of the identity of the "servant," see, e.g., S. Mowinckel, *He That Cometh* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1956), pp.196-255; R.N. Whybray, *The Second Isaiah* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995[1983]), pp.68-78; G.P. Hugenberger, "The Servant

undergone afflictions and sufferings, and eventually under Yahweh's providential will died a tragic death. It was by Yahweh Himself that he was delivered up to death; and he was delivered up because of the transgressions and sins of the people. And in the end, according to the Hebrew version of his story, he was dramatically vindicated, and made many righteous based on what he had endured. The whole story lays stress on the theme that the servant as an innocent carried the burden of sin for many, even to the point of death.

Turning to Rom.4:25, we note that not only the first half of the verse alludes to Isa.53:6,12, but its latter half too may bear the mark of the influence of the Isaianic text. A comparison of the texts (Rom.4:25b; Isa. 53:11b LXX; Isa.53:11aβ MT)⁵⁴ shows that thematically Rom.4:25b stands closer to the Hebrew Isa.53:11. For our purposes, the reason for the textual difference between the LXX version and the Hebrew one of Isa.53:11 matters little. Considering Paul's Pharisaic background to which he testified in Phil.3:3-7 (cf. Gal.1:14), it is not an overstatement that Paul might have had both the ability to read and access to the Hebrew version(s) of the Book of Isaiah,⁵⁵ and that here Paul might have been influenced by the Hebrew Isa.53. If that were the case, we can learn how deep the influence of Isa.53 upon Paul was. Isa.53 did not only offer Paul a prophetic language to depict the misfortune of Jesus, but also served as a base text for him to reflect on and spell out the unparalleled significance of Jesus' death and his resurrection.

This then leads us to ask: what can we know about Paul's mode of understanding of the Isaianic Suffering Servant Song? Did Paul read a messianic prophecy in the Song and regard Jesus as its fulfillment, given what he had said earlier in Rom.1:2-4? Paul's

of the Lord in the 'Servant Songs' of Israel," in *The Lord's Anointed*, eds. P.E. Satterthwaite, et al (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1995), pp.105-40.

⁵⁴ The LXX version of Isa.53:11b could be thus rendered: "to declare righteous the just/righteous one who served many well." (My own translation.) And NRSV renders Isa.53:11aβ thus: "The righteous one, my servant, shall make many righteous."

⁵⁵ See above n.15.

use of Isa.53 reflects at least that he had observed the parallels between the work and fate of Jesus the Messiah and that of this enigmatic suffering servant. Yet, whether or not his understanding of the Song operated after a prophecy/promise-fulfillment pattern is hard to say. It appears precarious to draw a firm conclusion prior to an analysis of all instances (at least in Rom.) of Paul's use of Isa.52:13-53:12.

However, in applying the language of the Song to the Messiah, Paul was not alone. According to the Isaiah Targum, as D. Juel has noted,⁵⁶ the Song begins in 52:13 with a strong messianic tone: "Behold, my servant, the Messiah, shall prosper, he shall be exalted and increase, and shall be very strong."⁵⁷ Obviously, the "servant" was identified as the messiah who was expected to come. Throughout the whole Song, elements of suffering have been entirely eliminated by the targumist. Instead, an emphasis was put on the triumph of the messianic servant, who was depicted as the hope of Israel and the judge of the nations. It is difficult to know whether or not Paul drew inspiration from the targumist's messianic translation of the Isaianic passage, in view of the uncertainty of the date of the Targum. At any rate, Paul and the targumist have represented two diametrically different applications of the Song. While for the targumist the servant-messiah is the judge of the nations, for Paul he (at least in the present Rom. context) is the savior of all the nations.

Despite its lack of full certainty, our understanding of the allusion of Rom.4:25 to Isa.53, if granted, causes us to find it necessary to reconsider D. Juel's conclusion that "the remarkable paucity of references to Isaiah in the passion narratives and in passion tradition as a whole makes it difficult to support arguments that Isaiah 53 provided the foundation for Christian reflection on Jesus' death. The passage was important, but mainly at later stages of the tradition and in the times after the NT."⁵⁸ Perhaps, among the

⁵⁶ D. Juel, *Messianic Exegesis*, p.124.

⁵⁷ Translation is based on that of B.D. Chilton in *The Isaiah Targum: Introduction, Translation, Apparatus and Notes* (The Aramaic Bible 11; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1987). Emphasis mine.

⁵⁸ D. Juel, *Messianic Exegesis*, p.132.

early NT writers, it was in Paul that the mark was first found of the influence of Isa.53 upon Christian reflections on the meaning of Jesus' death and resurrection.

6. Rom.5:1 → Isa.32:17

Rom.5:1 Δικαιωθέντες οὖν ἐκ πίστεως εἰρήνην ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

Is.32:17 καὶ ἔσται τὰ ἔργα τῆς δικαιοσύνης εἰρήνη, καὶ κρατήσῃ ἡ δικαιοσύνη ἀνάπαυσιν, καὶ πεποιθότες ἔως τοῦ αἰῶνος·

MT Is32:17 וְהָיָה מַעֲשֵׂה הַצְדָקָה שְׁלֹום וְעִבְדֵי הַצְדָקָה הַשְׁקֵט וּבִטְחָן עַד עוֹלָם

Having spelled out the significance of Jesus' death and resurrection and how humans should properly respond to it, Paul moves on to the implications of justification. For Paul, justification leads to reconciliation, which in the present context is concerned mainly with the dimension between God and those justified. The notion of reconciliation is represented by Paul's use of the term εἰρήνη, "peace." Paul's connection of "having righteousness" to "having peace" is very probably inspired by the Isaianic Suffering Servant Song (esp. 53:5,11), which is alluded to in Rom.4:25 as we have just discussed above. According to the Song, Yahweh's servant, by virtue of his obedience and vicarious death, has caused many to become righteous before Yahweh (53:11 MT)⁵⁹ and to have peace (53:5). This theme clearly reverberates in Paul's language in Rom.5:1.

However, the connection between δικαιοσύνη and εἰρήνη is not unique to the Suffering Servant Song. Throughout the entire Book of Isaiah, the notion that δικαιοσύνη results in, or goes hand in hand with, εἰρήνη as Israel's eschatological blessings from Yahweh, occurs here and there⁶⁰ and plays a crucial part in Isaiah's prophecy about Israel's restoration. Here Paul's language is reminiscent of one of the most important Isaianic passages pertinent to this motif, namely, Isa.32:17. In view of Paul's lavish use of *Isaiah* in Rom. and such a distinctive logical connection between

⁵⁹ See our discussion of Rom.5:19 below, where it is suggested that Paul may have had some knowledge of, and depended upon, the Hebrew version of Isa.53:11.

⁶⁰ See, e.g., Isa.9:5-6 (9:6-7 LXX); 11:1-16; 32:17; 48:18; 54:13-14; 60:17.

δικαιοσύνη and εἰρήνη, there is no reason to reject the suggestion that Paul's theological reflection on the effect of justification may have been inspired and directed by this Isaianic motif as a whole or Isa.32:17 in particular.⁶¹

In *Isaiah*, peace (represented often by the Hebrew term שָׁלוֹם) is one of the most characteristic features in the prophet's vision of Israel's eschatological revival. The most striking picture of the prophet's vision is found in Isa.11:1-16,⁶² where the prophet prophesies the rising of Jesse's shoot. In the prophet's eschatological horizon, Jesse's shoot will come to bring about righteousness and justice on earth, and then the entire earth will enter into an unparalleled state of peace, which is described (without the use by the prophet of the term שָׁלוֹם) in very dramatic language.

The prophet's vision of Israel's eschatological restoration is intratextually echoed in the present Isaianic passage (32:17). In Isa.32:1-8, a very bright future is promised/prophesied that is characterized as an era full of righteousness and justice. This promise/prophesy of a bright future, interrupted by a word of judgment on the "complacent women" in Isa.32:9-14, is continued in Isa.32:15-20, which underlines a state of peace as the effect of righteousness with the coming of the Spirit (of Yahweh). For the prophet, the state of peace promised here is closely related to political stability and social prosperity. God's people will by then dwell securely in a peaceful city with wealth (32:18 LXX; cf. the MT version).

Like one side of a coin, however, this picture is only part of the prophet's vision. A close reading of the relevant Isaianic passages suggests to us that preceding the political stability and social prosperity goes a peaceful, or a "reconciled," relation between Yahweh and His people. For instance, right before the present Isaianic passage (Isa.32), there is heard/read in Isa.31:6-9 a prophetic call for the return on Israel's part to Yahweh.

⁶¹ That Rom.5:1 alludes to Isa.32:17 has also been noted by the editors of NA²⁷ and some commentators like J.D.G. Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, p.262; J.A. Fitzmyer, *Romans*, p.395. But they have not noted that Paul may have been influenced by this Isaianic motif as a whole.

⁶² Cf. also 65:17-25. It should be noted that Isa.11:10 is cited by Paul in Rom.15:12; this clearly indicates Paul's knowledge of this most intriguing passage when composing Rom..

In Isa.48:17-18, Israel's prosperity (שָׁלוֹם) is promised on the condition that she follows Yahweh's commandments. This is not to suggest nonetheless that Israel's revival is based on the observance of God's law. Rather, Israel's abiding by Yahweh's law is regarded as a proper response to the reconciliation between God and His people, for in the prophet's view, reconciliation is initiated by Yahweh Himself simply for His name's sake (cf. 48:9-11).⁶³ That God takes the initiative to reconcile Israel to Himself permeates the subsequent prophetic oracles about Israel's restoration in the Isaianic tradition.

We may compare also, for instance, Isa.54:1-14; 60:8-17. In Isa.54:13-14, Israel is promised that she will be in great peace and be built in righteousness. This promise is made on the basis of Yahweh's mercy toward and covenant of peace with Israel (54:8,10).⁶⁴ In Isa.60:17, Israel is again assured of a very bright future when her princes will be established in peace and her overseers in righteousness. Here too, the prophet's assurance of Israel's glorious future is built on Yahweh's merciful grace; it is for His name's sake that Israel will be restored (60:9; cf. 59:20-21⁶⁵).

The Isaianic passages discussed above show the characteristics of the prophet's vision of Israel's eschatological restoration, namely that in the day of her restoration, Israel will have righteousness from and before God, and peace with and in God. All this in the prophet's view is achieved by/through the Spirit of Yahweh. This is clearly shown by the prophet in the contexts of almost all of those passages discussed above: 11:2; 32:15; 59:21; 61:1; (cf. 42:1). For the prophet, the Spirit of Yahweh plays a significant part in Yahweh's eschatological restoration of Israel and even of the entire world.

⁶³ It has been shown earlier that Isa.48:13 is alluded to in Rom.4:17; this would enhance the possibility that Isa.48 exerted a continuing influence upon Paul while he was reflecting on the implications of God's justification of humans through Christ.

⁶⁴ Note that Isa.54:1 is cited by Paul in Gal.4:27; this indicates that Paul was familiar with and influenced by this Isaianic passage. Also, in view of the frequent influence on Paul in Rom. of the Suffering Servant Song in Isa.52:13-53:12, as we have seen earlier and will see below, it does not seem far-fetched to claim that the apostle may also have had some knowledge of the Song's adjacent contexts (i.e., Isa.54) when composing/dictating his letter.

⁶⁵ Note that this passage is explicitly used in Rom.11:26f.; this shows that Paul may have been familiar with Isa.60 too.

Turning to Rom.5:1, traces of the Isaianic influence seem clear enough. In Rom.5, Paul not only follows the Isaianic tradition associating the notion of "having righteousness from and before God" closely with that of "having peace with and in God;" he also introduces to the scene of his reflection on the significance of justification the Holy Spirit as an agent of God's eschatological blessings on believers. For Paul, it is through the Spirit that God's love is poured out upon believers, which in turn strengthens and affirms their hope in God's glory when enduring afflictions (Rom.5:5). Here Paul's mention of the work of the Spirit in believers may well have been made under the influence of the Isaianic tradition. Of course, it may well be that Paul's language in Rom.5:5 was crafted on the basis of his own experience of the Holy Spirit; however, it may equally well be that the apostle's experience of the Spirit found its confirmation in the words of the prophet, which then served in turn as a scriptural base for Paul's understanding and explicating the work of the Holy Spirit in believers. That is why in Rom.2:10 (read with 2:29) and 8:6, Paul regards "peace" as God's gift to those who live in the Spirit, and why he says in 14:17 that "the kingdom of God is... righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit." In Rom.8, Paul elaborates in detail his understanding of the work of the Holy Spirit (cf. 15:13).

Not only that, the Isaianic motif of the Holy Spirit, righteousness, and peace being distinct features of Israel's eschatological revival also serves as the scriptural and theological foundation of the apostle's ethical teachings. Paul's knowledge and reflection on the Isaianic tradition has led him to urge and exhort the Roman Christians that they, having been justified by God and so reconciled with Him and having the Holy Spirit dwelling in them, should live peacefully with each other (cf. Rom.14:1-15:13) and even with all people (cf. Rom.12:18).⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Cf. Rom.15:33 and 16:20, in which Paul depicts God with a qualifier "of peace." Perhaps, Paul's introducing the notions of "peace" and "hope" here is to pave the way for his dealings with the problems of the Roman church; for the details on this see our discussion of Rom.14:17 below.

7. Rom.5:6,8b → Isa.53:8

Rom.5:6,8b "Ἐτι γὰρ Χριστὸς ὄντων ἡμῶν ἀσθενῶν ἔτι κατὰ καιρὸν ὑπὲρ ἀσεβῶν ἀπέθανεν.... ὅτι ἔτι ἁμαρτωλῶν ὄντων ἡμῶν Χριστὸς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀπέθανεν.

Isa.53:8 ... ὅτι αἴρεται ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνομιῶν τοῦ λαοῦ μου ἤχθη εἰς θάνατον.

MTIs53:8b כִּי נִגָּר מֵאֶרֶץ חַיִּים מִפֶּשַׁע עַמִּי נִגַּע לָמוֹ

On both verbal and thematic grounds, it seems likely that Rom.5:6,8b was phrased under the influence of Isa.53:8. The allusions to Isa.53 in Rom.4:25 and 5:1, as we have just noted, enhances the likelihood.

Rom.5:6-8 are obviously intended to support v.5, explaining how Paul came to know God's love was poured out in believers. Here the Suffering Servant Song continues to exert influence on Paul, inspiring him with a scriptural language to spell out the implication of God's work in Christ Jesus. Both semantically and syntactically, v.6 parallels v.8b, both speaking of Christ dying for believers' sake even when they are sinners/"weak." Paul sees Christ's vicarious death as the utmost manifestation of God's love toward sinful/ungodly humanity. The whole point of Paul's language is concerned merely with God's greatest love manifested in Christ's death. The notion that divine love is manifested in/through one's vicarious death on others' behalf is not suggested by the Servant Song. Paul derives his point obviously not from the Song itself but from the Christ event. This then appears to suggest that the Isaianic influence upon our apostle is no more than linguistic inspiration.

8. Rom.5:19b → Isa.53:11

Rom.5:19b ... οὕτως καὶ διὰ τῆς ὑπακοῆς τοῦ ἑνὸς δίκαιοι κατασταθήσονται οἱ πολλοί.

Is.53:11 δικαιοῦσαι δίκαιον εὐδουλεύοντα πολλοῖς, καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν αὐτὸς ἀνοίσει.

MTIs53:11 ... יִצְדִּיק צְדִיק עֲבָדֵי לְרַבִּים וְעוֹנֵתָם הוּא יִסְבֵּל

In view of the explicit citations from Isa.53:1 and 52:15 respectively in Rom.10:16 and 15:21, there is no doubt that Paul had good knowledge of the Suffering Servant Song when Rom. was composed. Also, the explicit uses of Isa.52:5 and 52:7 respectively in Rom.2:24 and 10:15 indicate Paul's knowledge of the larger context of the Song, which at least indirectly suggests that Paul may well have been familiar with the Song too. Therefore, there seems good reason to deny that Paul was ignorant of Isa.53:11 when composing Rom..

A comparison of the texts shows that the allusive relationship between Rom. 5:19b and Isa.53:11 seems more likely to be based on the Hebrew version of the Isaianic text than on the Greek one. The LXX's δικαιοῦσαι δίκαιον εἰς δούλευοντα πολλοῖς is somewhat puzzling. Literally, the clause could be thus rendered: "to make/declare just the righteous one who serves many well."⁶⁷ Who was the righteous one? According to the context, "the righteous one who serves many well" is very probably the mysterious servant of Yahweh of whom the prophet was speaking in Isa.53. The LXX's rendering seems to mean that it is "the righteous servant" that would eventually get justified or, perhaps better, vindicated by Yahweh. It is difficult to know for sure whether the LXX's rendering arose out of a *Vorlage* that was different from the MT or out of the translator(s)' distinct interpretation of his *Vorlage*. At any rate, the LXX's Isa.53:11 conveys a sense that is quite different from what we usually learn from the Hebrew version.

The Hebrew Isa.53:11 is notoriously a *crux interpretum*. For our purposes, our

⁶⁷ See L.T. Johnson, *Reading Romans: A Literary and Theological Commentary* (NY: Crossroad, 1997), p.162, who comments on Rom.5:19: "In Rom.5:19,... the statement, 'the obedience of one man will establish many as righteous' appears to be a clear allusion to LXX Isa.53:11, 'the righteous one who is serving well will make many righteous.'" (Emphasis mine.) I am not sure on which Greek version of Isa.53:11 Johnson has based his rendering. If he based it on A. Rahlfs's or J. Ziegler's version, then his translation of the Greek Isa.53:11 is both grammatically and syntactically impossible. Syntactically, the aor. inf. δικαιοῦσαι is dependent on the main verb βούλεται in v.10c; it then follows that the acc. case noun δίκαιον serves as the object, not the subject, of δικαιοῦσαι. Also, the dat. case noun πολλοῖς should be the object of δούλευοντα, not of δικαιοῦσαι, for nouns following the verb δουλεύω as objects always take the dative case.

attention will be focused simply on Isa.53:1 1aβ.⁶⁸ Traditionally, it is interpreted to mean that many, because of what Yahweh's righteous servant has done/undergone, will be made righteous. Such a meaning can be readily read in almost all Bible translations, e.g., NIV, NRSV, REB, GNB/TEV, and *Die Bibel*. Some scholars, however, reject this meaning as unlikely. For them, the text should be translated as, "My Servant will show himself to be righteous... (and so stand) as righteous before the many."⁶⁹ That implies that it is Yahweh's servant who is finally declared as righteous and rehabilitated by Yahweh. Their rendering and interpretation of Isa.53:1 1aβ turns on three grammatical hinges: first, the hiphil of יצדיק should be an internal hiphil, giving an internal causative sense;⁷⁰ second, the adjective צדיק is either an accidental repetition, or misplaced, or even mispointed;⁷¹ third, לרבים should best be taken as "before/to the many."

These joints are not necessarily safe, however. In my view, the key to unlock the door to the meaning of Isa.53:1 1aβ hangs on the adjective צדיק and the preposition ל. Unlike many OT scholars, I do not take צדיק as either a dittography, or misplaced, or mispointed, but simply as an adjectival substantive, serving as the subject of the clause under discussion. That the adjective lacks the article cannot be evidence that it cannot be the main subject of the clause. For in Hebrew, the definite article is very often

⁶⁸ That is, בודעתו יצדיק צדיק עבדי לרבים. The prepositional phrase בודעתו, which may be literally rendered as "by his knowledge" (cf. NIV, NRSV) or "by his humiliation" (cf. REB), may be going with what it precedes (as in NIV, REB) or with what precedes it (as in NRSV). No matter what it is rendered to mean and/or no matter what it is attached to, the basic meaning of the entire clause will not differ greatly. Our focus is on the rest of this verse section.

⁶⁹ The wording is Mowinckel's and adopted by C. Westermann in his *Isaiah 40-66*, p.267 (cf. S. Mowinckel, *He That Cometh*, p.199 & n.8).

⁷⁰ On internal hiphil, see B. Waltke & M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990), §§27.2f & g, pp.439-41; GKC, §53d, p.145.

Besides Mowinckel and Westermann, R.N. Whybray, *Isaiah 40-66*, p.181, and H.-P. Müller, "Ein Vorschlag zu Jes 53,10f.," *ZAW* 81(1969), p.380, have thus understood the hiphil of יצדיק.

⁷¹ R.N. Whybray, *Isaiah 40-66*, p.180, grants the first two possibilities; whereas H.-P. Müller, "Ein Vorschlag," p.380, reads צדיק, Qal. inf. abs. of the preceding verb, instead of יצדיק.

"omitted, or not used where it would be expected, in poetry... and in prose."⁷² Here the adjective קִדְּיָ, as the subject of the clause, constitutes an appositional relationship with the following noun יָדָיָ, ⁷³ and is then translated as "the righteous/innocent one, my servant." As for the preposition לְ, again unlike many scholars, I, with B. Waltke & M. O'Connor, regard its role as that of an object-marker.⁷⁴ Taking לְ as an object-marker immediately helps define the exact meaning of the hiphil stem of קִדְּיָ: a simple causative sense. So Isa.53:11aβ could be rendered in this way, "... the righteous/innocent one, my servant, will cause many to become righteous." This interpretation coheres precisely with the traditional one; and it is preferable simply because it makes good sense of the text without emending or amending it. Hence, it can be concluded with some confidence that this interpretation offers a most natural reading of our text Isa.53:11aβ.

Turning to Rom., we find in 5:19b a NT version of Isa.53:11aβ. In Rom.5:19, Paul clearly asserts that through the one man's (Jesus') obedience, many are made righteous (κατασταθήσονται).⁷⁵ Paul's sense almost perfectly concords with the prophet's. Since there is no OT passage other than Isa.53:11 which expresses so distinctive an idea that a righteous/innocent person's sufferings, righteous deeds, and death can effect justification of others, there is no reason to deny an allusive relationship between the two passages. Further, in view of the apostle's Pharisaic background, it is at the least reasonable to think that Paul might have had the ability and opportunity to read the Hebrew Isa.53.

According to its context, Rom.5:19 clearly parallels 5:18, both verses representing, though with slightly different emphasis, in very similar terminology and structure a contrast between what Adam and Jesus did and effected in a particular moment of their

⁷² B. Waltke & M. O'Connor, *Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, §13.7a, p.250; and see the examples given there.

⁷³ See *ibid.*, §14.3.3c, p.262.

⁷⁴ See *ibid.*, §11.2.10g, p.210.

⁷⁵ Here, the verb κατασταθήσονται, fut. pass. of καθίστημι, probably has no linguistic and material difference from γίνομαι; cf. BAGD, v.s., p.390; *TDNT*, vol.3, p.445.

respective lives. In Rom.5:18, Paul's language sounds a bit ambiguous and abstract, focusing on two acts and their respective effects; so Paul reiterates his point in a more specific and concrete way in v.19, re-asserting the human origins of the two acts and their relations to other people. When he explicates the obedient act of the one man (Jesus) and its consequence, Paul "picks up" the language of Isa.53, a passage which has already shown signs of its influence on the apostle in his preceding words (4:25; 5:1; 5:6,8). Here what Paul draws on from the Suffering Servant Song is not simply (Second) Isaiah's language, but the prophet's concept of a one-many-solidarity-relationship. Just as he has observed the similarities in the pattern of ministry between the suffering servant and Jesus, so Paul also has caught the dis/similarities between Jesus and Adam. So in reflecting on the significance to all humanity of what they each had done, he follows the prophet's logic and applies it to Adam as well as to Jesus. This is clearly shown by Paul's lavish use of such language patterns as "one-all" and "one-many" throughout Rom.5:12-21: because of/ through one man's disobedience, all become sinners and die; because of the iniquities of all, one man has to suffer and die (cf. vv.6-8); and because of/through one man's sufferings and death, many are pardoned and given life.

Moreover, external evidence also attests that it was most probably from Isa.53:11 that Paul derived the concept of a one-many solidarity relationship between Adam and humanity. Among the extra-biblical Jewish writings, few represent reflections on the effects of Adam's transgression narrated in Gen.3. The Alexandrian Jewish thinker Philo, a contemporary of Paul's, seems to have ascribed the introduction of sin into humanity and the created world to Eve (Adam's wife) rather than to Adam (*De Opificio Mundi*, 151-56, 165-66; *Quaest. in Gn.* 1.37 & 1.43). For Philo, Adam's transgression caused the animals to lose the ability to communicate with humans (*Quaest. in Gn.* 1.32). The animals' loss of language ability is also mentioned as the effect of Adam's transgression in an older (mid-second century BCE) Jewish writing *Jubilees* 3:26-31. Philo's ascription of the origin of sin (and death) in humanity to Eve also echoes a saying in an older (early second century BCE) Palestinian Jewish writing *Sirach* 25:24. In a probably late first century CE document, *the Life of Adam and Eve* 44 (= *Apo.Mos.*14), the responsibility of bringing

sin and death into humanity is again put on Eve the first woman. The direct connection of Adam's sin to his descendants comes only in later apocalyptic literature: 4 Ezra 3:7-10; 7:116-31; 2 Baruch 17:3; 18:1-2; 23:4; 48:42-48; 54:13-19; 56:6. However, most scholars have regarded *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* as later than Paul's Rom., though they are not sure whether or not these writings had direct influence from Rom..⁷⁶

Our understanding of the influence of the Suffering Servant Song on Rom.5:19b, if granted, brings us back to an old question: did Paul ascribe to Jesus the role of the suffering servant by identifying them or by regarding the former as an antitype or an eschatological fulfillment-figure of the latter? This is an important question and will certainly help us better understand the apostle's interpretation of Scripture. For the moment, however, we are content to point it out, and leave it for discussion in the final analysis of Paul's use of the Isaianic tradition.

9. Rom.8:32 → Isa.53:6

Rom.8:32 ὃς γε τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ οὐκ ἐφείσατο ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν πάντων παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν....

Isa.53:6 ... καὶ κύριος παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἡμῶν.

MT Is53:6 וַיְהִי כִּי הָיָה בֶּן אֶת עוֹן כָּלֵנוּ ...

On the basis of the wording and the frequent influence of the Suffering Servant Song upon Paul in the previous chapters of Rom.,⁷⁷ the fact that Isa.53:6 intertextually influences Rom.8:32 seems difficult to deny.

⁷⁶ For detailed discussions of Adam's Fall and its effects on humanity, see J.R. Levison, *Portraits of Adam in Early Judaism: From Sirach to 2 Baruch* (JSPS 1; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1988); J.D.G. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans/ Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1998), pp.82-90.

In view of all this, I find it hard to follow E. Käsemann's comment that "there is not the least reason to introduce the motif of the Suffering Servant into the text." See *Commentary on Romans*, p.157. Although not a few scholars have pointed out the allusive relation of Rom.5:19 to Isa.53:11, no one has noted that Paul derived from Isa.53:11 the one-many-solidarity-relationship to explain even the relationship between Adam and the entire human race.

⁷⁷ See especially Rom.4:25, where Paul used the same verb παραδίδομι to Jesus.

In Rom.8:32 Paul articulates his point, again by "using" Isaiah's language, that God will give us everything out of the love shown in His giving up His own Son for/to us. In view of the immediate context, however, his "use" of the prophet's terminology from Isa.53:6 seems to be simply a certain kind of "linguistic imitation/borrowing." Truly, it is hard to deny, as we have noted above, that the Suffering Servant Song has exerted a strong impact upon the apostle's thought in Rom., but it is also hard to detect any continuity between the present Rom. and the Isaianic contexts, except for the conceptual pattern: "God gives X up for Y." No sure sign can be caught that Paul here intended to transplant the "theology" of the prophet into the Rom. context as a theological or scriptural basis for his praise for God's insurpassable love. Therefore, the Isaianic influence on Paul here seems to be hardly more than verbal.

10. Rom.8:31b, 33-34 → Isa.50:8-9

Rm.8:31ff. εἰ ὁ θεὸς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, τίς καθ' ἡμῶν;... τίς ἐγκαλέσει κατὰ ἐκλεκτῶν θεοῦ; θεὸς ὁ δικαίων· τίς ὁ κατακρινῶν; Χριστὸς [Ἰησοῦς] ὁ ἀποθανῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐγερθεὶς...

Isa.50:8-9 ὅτι ἐγγίζει ὁ δικαιοῦσας με, τίς ὁ κρινόμενός μοι; ...ἰδοὺ κύριος βοηθεῖ μοι· τίς κακώσει με; ...

MTIs50:8 ... קרוב מצדיקי מי יריב אתי

9 הן אדני יהוה יעזר לי מי הוא ירשיעני

Linguistically, the link between Rom.8:31-34 and Isa.50:8-9 is a bit weak; but as regards thematic and syntactical structure, it looks very strong. Although such thematic and syntactical structure is not unique to *Isaiah* but occurs also in Job34:29, yet the link between these passages can still be fairly established. For in Job34:29, the verbs δικαιοῦω and κρινέω and their cognates do not appear. Moreover, Paul's frequent, explicit use of *Isaiah* in Rom. may also lend some force to the claim that there is an intertextual link between Rom.8:31-34 and Isa.50:8-9.

A comparison of their contexts shows that Rom.8:31-34 and Isa.50:8-9 exhibit both some parallels and some differences. In Isa.50:8-9, which closes the so-called Third

Servant Song in Isa.50:4-9, the prophet forcefully expresses his confidence in God's help and vindication, by using a series of rhetorical questions calling forth his opponents to stand together before God. He is convinced that no one could plead against him, for he is innocent and obedient to God. Here the prophet's confidence clearly relies upon his innocence and God's justice. For him, no one can condemn those who are justified by God, for God alone is just/righteous.

The notion of one's confidence relying on divine justice also appears in Paul's saying in Rom.8:31-34. In our Rom. passage, the apostle is speaking of the wonderful consequence of God's salvific plan achieved through Christ Jesus: an inseparable love-relationship between God and His elect (i.e., the believing community). Rom.8:31-34 expressly states the apostle's confidence in God's justice which is powerfully worked out in and through Christ Jesus. In Paul's view, no one can undo God's justification of those who are in Christ, for in Christ God discloses Himself to be righteous and the one who alone justifies sinners (cf. Rom.3:26). It is at this point that our Rom. passage intersects with the Isaianic one.

However, Isa.50:8-9 and Rom.8:31-34 also display some contextual discontinuities. In the first half of the so-called Isaianic Third Servant Song, the prophet's innocence is clearly spelled out; his guiltlessness strengthens his confidence in God vindicating him. But in Rom.8:31-39, Paul bases his confidence not on the guiltlessness of the elect, but merely on the work of Christ Jesus (cf. vv.32a & 34b), which alone makes God's justification of His elect (=sinners) possible. The second contextual discontinuity between the two passages is this: what is at stake in Isa.50:7/8-9 is an individual's vindication by God, but in Rom.8:31-34 it is a community's relationship with God even though that relationship also embraces its individual aspect. Considering these contextual discontinuities, it would seem quite possible that Paul's "use" of Isa.50:8-9 was simply some sort of linguistic imitation or thematic borrowing.

b. Concluding Remarks

Having pointed out and analyzed the Isaianic material in Rom.1-8, some

preliminary observations can be made. First of all, the data searched fall in the main within Isa.40-55. This seems to imply that Paul was more influenced by the thought/prophecy of the so-called Second Isaiah. Whether or not this is true, it seems obvious that Paul showed a great indebtedness to the so-called Suffering Servant Song. Secondly, Paul's use of the Isaianic tradition is both conceptual and, sometimes merely, verbal. His understanding of God's salvific plan through Jesus was clearly influenced and deepened by the Isaianic material that is concerned with Israel's eschatological restoration and its relation to the nations. As far as concerns the mode of interpretation, thirdly, there is no indication that Paul disregarded the original context of the Isaianic material he utilized. Quite the contrary, Paul's interpretation and appropriation of the Isaianic tradition in Rom. very often exhibits his thorough understanding of its literary and theological contexts. Finally and interestingly, it has been observed that Paul seems to have drawn inspiration from the Hebrew Isa.53:11 when explicating in Rom.5:19 the significance to humanity of what has been effected respectively by Adam and Jesus. If that is really the case, as I personally believe, then what was the real nature of the "Bible" our apostle actually used? Of course, it seems extremely dangerous to tell a big story based on just one instance; yet, this one instance might, in one way or another, stimulate re-thinking of the apostle's background and/or use of Scripture.

C. The Isaianic Tradition in Romans 9-11

Rom.9-11 is undoubtedly one of the most important sections in the letter to the Romans, and even in the whole Pauline corpus. Rom.9:1-5 and 11:33-36 clearly mark out these three chapters as an individual unit. This unit is carefully written and heavily loaded with scriptural citations and allusions in the course of its argumentation around a distinct, central theme: the place or ultimate fate of Israel in God's salvific plan. The "self-containedness" of this unit has led scholars to query its real function in the letter as a whole. Some (especially of an older generation) have even treated it as an appendix or

an irrelevant digression.⁷⁸ Yet, others, in view of its careful argumentation and heavy use of Scripture, have found in it Paul's main argument and intention in writing Rom..⁷⁹ Whatever its role in the letter, it is evident enough that Scripture, especially the Isaianic tradition,⁸⁰ has contributed much to the apostle's thinking and arguments over the role and destiny of Israel in God's gracious salvation of all humanity.

Before moving on to the scrutiny of Paul's use of the Isaianic material in this section of Rom., it is helpful to have an overview of Paul's main argument here. In Rom.9-11, as said above, the apostle takes pains to deal with the problem of Israel's final destiny. That he begins the discussion with a deep cry of agony clearly exhibits the urgency of the problem. For Paul, because of her unbelief, Israel was shut out from the salvation of God (Rom.10). Israel, who "did strive for the righteousness that is based on the law, did not succeed in fulfilling that law" (9:31 NRSV). No doubt, Israel had "a zeal for God," but no knowledge. Seeking to establish her own righteousness, Israel had blinded herself to God's righteousness, and so had led herself to a failure to succumb to God's righteousness (10:3).

Paul is convinced, however, that even though Israel has been found disobedient, God nevertheless remains faithful to His covenant with her. Israel's disobedience has not frustrated God's word; rather, it has mysteriously served His salvific purpose for the whole

⁷⁸ E.g., C.H. Dodd, *The Epistle of Paul to the Romans* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1932), p.148, comments that "Chaps. ix.-xi. form a compact and continuous whole, which can be read quite satisfactorily without reference to the rest of the epistle, though it naturally gains by such reference.... It has been suggested that the three chapters were originally a separate treatise which Paul had by him, and which he used for his present purpose. There is a good deal to be said for this view." One may well wonder what Dodd thought Paul's "present purpose" would be.

⁷⁹ E.g., J.C. O'Neill, *Paul's Letter to the Romans* (London: Penguin Books, 1975), p.145, following F.C. Baur, regards Rom.9-11 as "'the germ and centre of the whole, from which the other parts sprang'.... If we can understand Romans 9-11 correctly, we shall be better able to understand the rest of the letter." And K. Stendahl, *Paul among Jews and Gentiles* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976), p.4, reads Rom.9-11 as "the climax of Romans;" see his detailed discussion of the chapters in *Final Account: Paul's Letter to the Romans* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995 [1993]), pp.6-7, 33-44.

⁸⁰ Of the 26 implicit and explicit "uses" of *Isaiah* in Rom., one half fall in this section.

of humanity (cf. 11:32). Paul believes that despite Israel's *faux pas*, God has not abandoned her. At the end of Rom.11, he expressly states that "a hardening has come upon Israel, until the full number of the Gentiles has come in. And so all Israel will be saved" (11:25b-26a NRSV). In order to buttress his point, Paul cites from Scripture merging two Isaianic verses together. These two Isaianic passages obviously play a crucial part in Paul's argument, but how crucial are they? As pointed out above, the Isaianic tradition has contributed much to the apostle's argumentation throughout Rom.9-11. So how much, and in what way? It is to the task of searching out the answers to these questions that we now turn.

a. The Isaianic Tradition in Romans 9

1. Rom.9:20b-21 → Isa.29:16

Rom.9:20b	μὴ ἐρεῖ τὸ πλάσμα τῷ πλάσαντι, τί με ἐποίησας οὕτως;
21	ἢ οὐκ ἔχει ἐξουσίαν ὁ κεραμεὺς τοῦ πηλοῦ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦφυράματος ποιῆσαι ὃ μὲν εἰς τιμὴν σκεῦος ὃ δὲ εἰς ἀτιμίαν;
Isa.29:16	οὐχ ὥς ὁ πηλὸς τοῦ κεραμέως λογισθήσεσθε; μὴ ἐρεῖ τὸ πλάσμα τῷ πλάσαντι Οὐ σύ με ἔπλασας; ἢ τὸ ποίημα τῷ ποιήσαντι Οὐ συνετῶς με ἐποίησας;
MTIs29:16	הפככם אם כחמר היצר יחשב כי יאמר מעשה לעשהו לא עשני ויצר אמר ליוצרו לא הבין

A comparison of the texts shows that Paul's wording and its sense appear to be closer to those of the LXX than of the MT, though the differences between the LXX and the MT are not great. It is hard to know whether Paul's wording here was based on the Greek Isa.29:16 or a Hebrew *Vorlage* that differs from the MT.⁸¹ In any case, the relation between Rom.9:20-21 and Isa.29:16 can be established on the basis of their verbal and thematic similarities. Moreover, Paul's explicit use of Isa.29:10 in Rom.11:8 strengthens

⁸¹ Many scholars believe that Paul here was based on the LXX; see, e.g., D.-A. Koch, *Schrift als Zeuge*, p.144; J.D.G. Dunn, *Romans 9-16* (WBC 38B; Texas: Word, 1988), p.556; J.A. Fitzmyer, *Romans*, p.568.

the likelihood of their relationship.⁸² Of course, other OT and/or extra-OT passages, such as Jer. 18:6; Isa. 64:8; 45:9; and especially Wis. 15:7,⁸³ may also help shape Paul's thinking, as most scholars have posited; but in terms of wording Isa. 29:16 seems most likely to be one of the OT source-texts of Rom. 9:20-21. Many scholars have treated Rom. 9:20-21 as a citation from Isa. 29:16.⁸⁴ However, this is less likely in view of the lack of citation formula and the order of wording; rather, it seems better to see the relationship between the two passages as allusive, allowing more space for Paul's creativity in utilizing Scripture.⁸⁵

In its original context, Isa. 29:16 expresses the prophet's censure of his audience for despising Yahweh. In Isa. 29:15, the leaders and the wise of Israel were said to have taken "secret counsel," a wrongdoing that represents their lack of faith and dependence upon Yahweh, and even mocked God as ignorant of what they had done. As far as the historical context is concerned, Isa. 29:15-16 represents the prophet's "attack upon a Jewish request for help to Egypt."⁸⁶ So Israel's conspiracy and efforts to deliver herself from foreign invasion were under attack and rebuke by the prophet. In his accusation of Israel's leaders, the prophet was utilizing the famous potter-pot/clay image. The point of the prophet was obvious enough, namely, that Israel's leaders as creatures have no right at all to challenge their Creator's knowledge and wisdom. Hence, the stress of the image

⁸² Note that Isa. 29:13 was previously cited by Paul in 1 Cor. 1:9. This shows the apostle's knowledge of the Isaianic chapter prior to his composing Rom..

⁸³ Since Wis. 15:7 gives the sense that God as a potter would make some pots for noble use and others for ordinary use, it then seems likely to suggest, with M. Black, that Rom. 9:21 "owes more probably to Wisdom 15:7 than to the more familiar [OT] passages;" see his *Romans* (2nd.ed.; NCBC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), p.131.

⁸⁴ See the previous footnote for the scholars who hold this view, to whom one may add D.J. Moo, *Romans*, pp.601-2.

⁸⁵ So C.E.B. Cranfield, *Romans 9-16* (ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1983[1979]), p.491; C.D. Stanley, *Language of Scripture*, p.37, n.4.

⁸⁶ O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13-39* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1974), p.275; see also R.E. Clements, *Isaiah 1-39* (NCBC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), p.240; J.N. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah - Chapters 1-39* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986), p.536.

in this context is put on God's supreme and unfathomable knowledge, not on God's sovereignty.

In Rom.9:20-21, where Paul most likely borrows Isaiah's language, what is stressed seems to be God's sovereign will to execute His plan. This is suggested by the immediate context of our Rom. passage. In Rom.9:6-18, Paul explicates God's will in election. For him, God's will is certainly mysterious, but however mysterious, it is based on His mercy and sovereignty. Knowing that his language may be a bit too harsh, Paul, by utilizing the diatribe style, poses in Rom.9:19 a rhetorical question that may be raised by his readers as an objection: "Why then does he still find fault? For who can resist his will?" (NRSV). In answering this latent objection, Paul draws on the famous potter-pot/clay image. His point is clear: human beings as creatures have no right at all to challenge their Creator's sovereignty. That Paul uses the adverb οὕτως in τί με ἐποίησας οὕτως, a clause which somewhat resembles LXX Isa.29:16c, suggests that his stress is on God's authority to create in whatever way He pleases, not on His knowledge. This is made manifest in the first half of the subsequent verse (v.21), where the apostle, probably influenced by Wis.15:7 too, crafts another rhetorical question to counter-challenge his objectors: "Has the potter no right (ἐξουσίαν) over the clay, to make out of the same lump one object for special use and another for ordinary use?" (NRSV; emphasis mine).

Viewed from this perspective, Paul's use of the potter-pot/clay image differs from the prophet's in emphasis. Such a difference in emphasis appears to imply that Paul's "use" of the Isaianic tradition here is simply some sort of linguistic borrowing. If so, that explains why Paul did not use any citation formula to introduce the words that he borrowed from the Isaianic passage: Paul indeed did not intend a scriptural citation here.

2. Rom.9:27-28 cites Isa.10:22-23

Rom.9:27-28 Ἡσαΐας δὲ κράζει ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ·

ἐὰν ᾗ ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ὡς ἡ ἄμμος τῆς θαλάσσης, τὸ
ὑπόλειμμα σωθήσεται· λόγον γὰρ συντελῶν καὶ συντέμνων
ποιήσκει κύριος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

Isa.10:22-23 καὶ ἐὰν γένηται ὁ λαὸς Ἰσραὴλ ὡς ἡ ἄμμος τῆς θαλάσσης, τὸ κατάλειμμα αὐτῶν σωθήσεται· λόγον γὰρ συντελῶν καὶ συντέμνων ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, ὅτι λόγον συντετμημένον ποιήσει ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ὅλῃ.

MTIs10:22 כִּי אִם יִהְיֶה עַמֶּךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל כְּחֹל הַיָּם שָׂאֵר יִשׁוּב בּוֹ כְּלִיִּן חֲרוֹץ שׁוֹטֵף צֹדֵקָה
23 כִּי כֻלָּה וְנִחְרָצָה אֲדֹנִי יִהְיֶה צְבָאוֹת עֹשֶׂה בִקְרֹב כָּל הָאָרֶץ

In Rom.9:27-28, Paul further develops his arguments about God's dealings with the Gentiles and Israel with the support of Scripture. As in Rom.9:25-26, Paul here explicitly indicates the source from which his lemma is drawn; but this time it is from *Isaiah*. Scholars have rightly identified Paul's lemma here as dependent upon Isa.10:22-23. A comparison of the texts concerned shows that Paul's lemma in Rom.9:27b-28 seems to be a bit closer both in wording and in sense to the Greek than to the Hebrew Isa.10:22-23. Closer reading of Paul's lemma and the Greek Isa.10:22-23 further leads us to discover a few textual dissimilarities between them. For instance, Rom.9:27b does not very much agree verbally with the first half of LXX Isa.10:22; but instead, it almost exactly parallels the first clause of Hos.1:10 (= MT & LXX Hos.2:1).⁸⁷ Also, Rom.9:28 seems to be a shortened form of LXX Isa.10:22c-23.

In view of the fact that Hos.1:10 is immediately cited in Rom.9:26 and that Paul might have been citing Isa.10:22-23 from memory, it does not appear implausible to ascribe the textual difference between Rom.9:22b-23 and LXX Isa.10:22a,b to "a memory lapse."⁸⁸ Also equally plausible is the suggestion that it was Paul himself who deliberately altered the Isaianic text by borrowing from *Hosea* the words ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν υἱῶν in order to avoid a double meaning of the term λαὸς, which he used in Rom.9:25-26 to refer

⁸⁷ MT Hos.2:1aα reads thus: וְהָיָה מִסְפַּר בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל כְּחֹל הַיָּם; and LXX Hos.2:1: ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ὡς ἡ ἄμμος τῆς θαλάσσης....

⁸⁸ C.D. Stanley, *Language of Scripture*, pp.114-15, grants this possibility, though he tends to view the textual difference between Rom.9:27b and LXX Isa.10:22 as Paul's deliberate modification.

to the Gentiles.⁸⁹ The textual variations in Rom.9:28 may be attributed to either Paul himself, the *Vorlage* which Paul used, or probably both.⁹⁰ In any case, there is no significant shift in meaning that is caused by the textual variations.

In Rom.9:27-28, Paul is obviously citing from the Book of Isaiah to support Rom. 9:24's οὐ μόνον ἐξ Ἰουδαίων. In Rom.9:24, Paul, by using the inclusive pronoun ἡμᾶς, identifies his Roman readers as well as himself with the "vessels of mercy that are prepared for glory," and underlines that they and he himself, the "vessels of mercy," are called into existence as a mixed community consisting of Jews and Gentiles alike. To make his statement in v.24 scripturally founded, Paul carefully selects his scriptural texts from the Books of Hosea and Isaiah and skillfully stitches them together. In Rom.9:25b-26, two sayings are cited from *Hosea* based on the catchphrase "not-my-people," applying to the Gentiles. And in 9:27b-29, two thematically parallel Isaianic sayings, the first of which partially resembles in wording the second of the two preceding Hosean sayings, are linked together to show that a small remnant of Israel has been called to be the "vessels of mercy." This clearly not only demonstrates the apostle's ingenuity in using Scripture, but that the apostle had well understood the scriptural passages he used.⁹¹

⁸⁹ This is suggested by D.-A. Koch, *Schrift als Zeuge*, p.168, and granted by C.D. Stanley, *Language of Scripture*, p.115.

⁹⁰ Detailed discussions of this can be found in D.-A. Koch, *Schrift als Zeuge*, pp.82-83, 145-49; C.D. Stanley, *Language of Scripture*, pp.116-19. As to the absence of ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, ὅτι λόγον συντετμημένον in Paul's lemma, one may also consider J.C. O'Neill's interesting comment in his *Romans*, p.161.

On whether or not Rom.9:28 is influenced by Isa.28:22, see next section below.

⁹¹ That Paul well understood the scriptural passages he cited is also true even of the case of his use of the Hosean passages (1:10 and 2:23). True, according to the Hosean context, those referred to as "not-my-people" and "not-beloved" were clearly Israelites. The apostle's application of these terms to the Gentiles seems to suggest that he has "twisted" the passages. In my opinion, however, a closer reading of the texts, both Rom. and Hosean, discloses that Paul's use of the Hosean passages is based on a deeper theological understanding of the passages. In Hos.1:10 and 2:23 Yahweh's re-acceptance of Israel/Judah is declared. The context of both passages indicates that Israel/Judah was re-accepted by Yahweh simply based on Yahweh's unconditional and self-initiated mercy (and love) (cf. Hos.1:7; 2:1,19-20). If a disobedient, unfaithful people could be re-accepted by Yahweh as His people, then this can also happen to other "non-disobedient" peoples, for the determining factor is God's unconditional mercy and

Not only that, here attention should also be paid to the order in which Paul gives scriptural support for 9:24, where Jews are first mentioned as those among whom God has called and then Gentiles.⁹² In Rom.9:25-29, Paul reverses the Jews-Gentiles order when he cites from Scripture to explicate his statement in v.24. This reversal of order is probably not accidental nor simply stylistic in purpose, forming a ABB'A' pattern. The reason for this inverse Gentiles-Jews order of giving scriptural support for God calling Jews and Gentiles alike to be the "vessels of mercy," can be derived from the larger context of Rom.9:25-29. From the start of Rom.9, what concerns Paul most has been essentially God's dealings with Israel; therefore, by putting scriptural supports in 9:27-29 for the inclusion of the Jews into God's "vessels of mercy," Paul resumes and concludes his main argument inaugurated at the beginning of the chapter (9:6).

Why then did Paul cite the remnant passages here to back up Rom.9:24's οὐ μόνον ἐξ Ἰουδαίων? What significance did Paul intend to derive from these remnant passages? To sort out the answer, again one must look at Paul's main argument in Rom.9:6-29. In Rom.9:6, which asserts the main argument of the section, Paul clearly asserts that, despite Israel's unfaithfulness/lack of faith (which is implied in this context), God's word has not failed, for "not all those of Israel are Israel." The apostle's reason for why God's word has not failed is striking and odd. So it calls for a subsequent, lengthy explanation that is heavily loaded with OT stories and images as supports. The point of the apostle's "not all those of Israel are Israel" is spelled out throughout vv.7-23 (especially by his discussions of God's elections of the patriarchs Isaac and Jacob in vv.7-13, which underscore that God's election-grace is highly restrictive), and finally wound up in vv.24,27-29: among

not one's ethnicity. That Paul may have followed this logic can probably be confirmed by the fact that throughout Rom.9:14-24 "God's mercy" emerges as one of the dominant motifs in the apostle's argumentation. Such a thematic coherence between the Hosean passages and Rom.9:14-24 is certainly no coincidence.

⁹² The practice of putting Jews first and then Gentiles in mentioning the receivers of God's gospel, blessings, punishment, calling, etc., is characteristic of Paul in Rom.; see, e.g., 1:16; 2:9,10; 3:9. The Jews--Gentiles/nations order, in my opinion, carries significant theological implications for Paul; this will be discussed in due course below.

the "vessels of mercy prepared for glory," there are some that God has called "from/out of the Jews," and yet those Jews called are but a small remnant of Israel. Viewed from this perspective, therefore, it is clear that the remnant motif was introduced by the apostle to bring out sharply what he had implied in vv.7-13, namely, the "limitedness" of God's gracious election.

In sum, the Isaianic remnant passages in Rom.9:27-29 are very probably intended to wind up the argument of the whole section, 9:6-29.⁹³ Their intended purpose is twofold. On the one hand, they show that God out of His mercy has spared a small portion of Israel and so has not violated/abolished His covenant with Israel (thus substantiating Rom.9:6a [& 9:24] with a positive use of the remnant motif). On the other hand, they also underline the fact that God's merciful election, based on His sovereignty, is always limited, as in the time of Isaiah (thus substantiating 9:6b with a negative use of the remnant motif).

Now let us turn to the Isaianic passage cited in Rom.9:27-28 and see whether or not (and if so, how) Paul's argument accords with the original context of Isa.10:22-23. In the original context of Isa.10:22-23, according to both the Greek and the Hebrew versions, the prophet assured his audience of their future deliverance. In Isa.10:5-19, a woe message of judgment is passed upon the nation Assyria, Israel's major foe and oppressor at the time of the prophet; and right after this, the remnant motif is introduced in vv.20-23, which is in turn followed by a prophetic saying of encouragement to Israel (vv.24-34) promising the return of God's favor and the divine punishment upon the Assyrians and Israel's other enemies. Thus, from LXX Isa.10:5 onwards, the surrounding context of Isa.10:20-23 is quite positive and salvific. The immediate context of Isa.10:22-23 also strongly strikes such a positive, salvific note. In vv.20-21, it is promised that there will be a remnant of Jacob's children left by the mighty God and that this remnant will no

⁹³ J.D.G. Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, p.570, seems to have noticed this when he writes, "the catena [i.e., vv.25-29] here clearly functions to confirm the thematic claim of 9:6a." I cannot see how the Hosean citations function to confirm 9:6a, however. See also, e.g., B. Byrne, *Romans*, pp.305, 306; D. Moo, *Romans*, p.615.

more trust in its oppressor but instead truthfully in Yahweh Himself. This is no doubt a word of salvation. In the prophet's view, the remnant signifies the beginning of a new era of divine favor. Considering all this, then, it does not seem implausible to read in Isa.10:22-23 too, a message of Yahweh's deliverance of Israel.

However, a second reading of Isa.10:22-23, both the Greek and the Hebrew,⁹⁴ leads us to note that this picture is too one-sided. It is true that Yahweh will restore Israel, calling "the survivors of Jacob" back to Him; but they are just a very small number of people. The restoration promised here is very restrictive; this is clearly brought out by the prophet's use of the imagery of the sand of the sea to the size of Israel's population.⁹⁵ So the remnant language in this context serves a twofold purpose, both positive and negative. For one thing, positively, it gives a word of hope; for another, negatively, it assures the readers of Yahweh's fierce, inexorable judgment against Israel.

Our understanding of Isa.10:22-23, if granted, enables us to see that Paul's use of the Isaianic passage in Rom.9:27-28 coheres well with the original context and meaning of the passage. Paul on the one hand assures his (esp. Jewish) readers of God's unfailing election-grace, and on the other hand makes no compromise about God's just judgment against his unfaithful contemporary Jews, just as the prophet did to his unfaithful generation centuries earlier.

3. Rom.9:28 → Isa.28:22

Rom.9:28 λόγον γὰρ συντελῶν καὶ συντέμνων ποιήσει κύριος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

⁹⁴ Compared with the Greek, the Hebrew Isa.10:22-23 sounds a bit harsher.

⁹⁵ See R.E. Clements, *Isaiah 1-39*, p.115; O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1-12*, p.241; H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1-12* (Continental Commentary, tr. T.H. Trapp; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), pp.437-8. *Contra* A. Motyer, *The Prophecy of Isaiah* (Leicester: IVP, 1993), pp.117-18, who takes כִּי in Isa.10:22 as an adversative and then posits that the remnant returned will be as numerous as the sand of the sea. His reading makes it difficult to relate MT Isa.10:22aβ to 10:22aα. Further, the LXX translator does not seem to have understood כִּי as adversative but as concessive, when he rendered it with καὶ ἔαν (even if) + subjunctive; see H.W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (MA: Harvard U. Press, 1972[1956]), pp.537-38; N. Turner, *Syntax* (vol.3 of *A Grammar of NT Greek*, ed. J.H. Moulton; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1963), p.321.

Isa.28:22 ... διότι συντετελεσμένα καὶ συντετμημένα πράγματα ἤκουσα παρὰ κυρίου σαβαωθ, ὃ ποιήσει ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν.

MT Is28:22 כי כלה ונחרצה שמעתי מאת אדני יהוה צבאות על כל הארץ ...

Many scholars have observed a certain connection between Isa.28:22 and Rom.9:28, based on their verbal resemblance and the citation in Rom.9:27-28 of Isa.10:22-23, an Isaianic passage which in itself carries certain affinity to the present one and so may introduce it to Paul. In addition, Paul's explicit use of Isa.28:16 just a few lines later in 9:33 makes it even more difficult to rule out the possibility of the claim that Paul had knowledge of Isa.28:22 when composing Rom.9:28.

A closer reading of the context of Isa.28:22 also reveals the contextual continuity between the two passages. In its original context, Isa.28:22 ends a prophetic oracle (Isa.28:14-22) that is essentially judgmental, accusing (mainly the leaders of) Israel of lack of faith. Israel's lack of faith is shown in her political decisions; she leans on her own conspiracy with other nations rather than going to Yahweh for help.⁹⁶ Isa.28:22 clearly announces to its audience a woeful message that Yahweh has decreed works of destruction upon the whole earth. Throughout the oracle, the theme of (lack of) faith is expressly underscored. It is precisely at this point that the Isaianic passage intersects with Rom.9:28, where too Israel's lack of faith (not in political decisions but in rejecting Jesus as Messiah) is at issue. This continuity to some extent may strengthen the connection of Rom.9:28 to Isa.28:22.

Despite all these, however, there is one thing that urges us to be cautious about taking Isa.28:22 as one of the OT source-texts underlying Rom.9:28. Scholars who regard Rom.9:28 as partially based on Isa.28:22 generally argue their case on the grounds of the use of the construction ἐπὶ + γῆ (either in acc. or in gen.) in both Rom.9:22 and LXX Isa. 28:22.⁹⁷ For these scholars, this construction serves as one of the most important

⁹⁶ See, e.g., H. Wildberger, *Jesaja 28-39* (BK 10/3; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1982), pp.1082-83; J.N. Oswalt, *Isaiah - Chs.1-39*, pp.515-16.

⁹⁷ See, e.g., J.A. Fitzmyer, *Romans* (AB 33; NY: Doubleday, 1993), p.574; D. Moo, *Romans*, p.614, n.19.

clues for the relation between the two passages. Such an argument has presupposed that Paul's citation from *Isaiah* was based on the Greek version.⁹⁸ If we accept, however, that Paul might have cited from the Hebrew *Isaiah* and that the phrase ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς could have been Paul's interpreted rendering of Isa.10:23's בְּקֶרֶב כָּל הָאָרֶץ,⁹⁹ then there is no need at all to appeal to Isa.28:22. In fact, even if Paul's *Vorlage* was Greek, he also could have adapted the text of Isa.10:22-23 for his own purposes.¹⁰⁰ In view of this, the allusive relationship between Isa.28:22 and Rom.9:28 appears at most to be likely. As to the nature of their relation (if such a relation really exists), the dominant remnant motif in Rom.9:27-29 and the high degree of verbal agreement between Rom.9:27-28 and Isa.10:22-23 lead us to think that Isa.28:22's influence upon Rom.9:28 is at best some kind of linguistic inspiration.

4. Rom.9:29 cites Isa.1:9

Rom.9:29 καὶ καθὼς προείρηκεν Ἡσαΐας·

εἰ μὴ κύριος σαβαὼθ ἐγκατέλιπεν ἡμῖν σπέρμα, ὡς Σόδομα ἃν ἐγενήθημεν καὶ ὡς Γόμορρα ἃν ὠμοιώθημεν.

Isa.1:9 καὶ εἰ μὴ κύριος σαβαωθ ἐγκατέλιπεν ἡμῖν σπέρμα, ὡς Σοδομα ἃν ἐγενήθημεν καὶ ὡς Γομορρα ἃν ὠμοιώθημεν.

MT Is1:9 לולי יהוה צבאות הותיר לנו שריד כמעט כסדם היינו לעמרה דמינו

In Rom.9:29, Paul introduces to his argument in Rom.9:22-29 a second passage from *Isaiah* (1:9). Here the citation from Isa.1:9 is collocated with that of Isa.10:22-23 in Rom.9:27-28 serving as scriptural supports for Rom.9:24's οὐ μόνον ἐξ Ἰουδαίων,

⁹⁸ The suggestion by C.D. Stanley of Paul's deliberate replacing Isa.10:23's οἰκουμένην with γῆ is also based on this presupposition; see *Language of Scripture*, p.119.

⁹⁹ Paul left the term כָּל untranslated probably because he thought that God's salvation was now made available to the Gentiles. Hence in so doing, he toned down the force of the prophet's saying. Compare the view of D.-A. Koch, *Schrift als Zeuge*, p.149, which is adopted by C.D. Stanley, *op. cit.*, p.119.

¹⁰⁰ This is the point advanced by D.-A. Koch, *op.cit.*, p.149, and followed by C.D. Stanley, *op. cit.*, p.119.

as we have pointed out earlier. Both Isa.10:22-23 and 1:9 represent the remnant motif, a motif which is characteristic of the Isaianic tradition. Paul's underlying rationale for citing these remnant passages has been formulated above. So what remains to be done here is to examine a bit more closely in what way Isa.1:9 contributes to the apostle's argument.

Isa.1 begins the prophet's prophecy with a solemn, woeful warning against the unfaithful Israel. Although Isa.1 is essentially judgmental in tone, occasional words of divine grace are not totally lacking. Of these words of divine mercy Isa.1:9 is certainly one. In Isa.1:4-9, Israel was directly confronted and rebuked for having forsaken Yahweh, and was then promised Yahweh's relentless punishment. At the end of this threatening woe-oracle, a gleam of hope was introduced in v.9. Verse 9 speaks of a situation that a "seed" was spared in Israel by Yahweh so as to keep her from being entirely annihilated under His fierce punishment. In the prophet's view, the sparing of a "seed" in Israel was no doubt Yahweh's merciful act, which in turn manifested His faithfulness to the covenant with Israel.¹⁰¹ It is certainly this conviction that the sparing of a "seed" signifies God's mercy and faithfulness that drew Paul's attention and directed his understanding of God's dealings with his unfaithful Jewish contemporaries. Viewed in this way, then, the Isaianic citation in Rom.9:29 has substantiated Paul's arguments, on the one hand, in v. 6a that "God's word has not failed" and, on the other, in v.24 that among those who are prepared for glory are some that are called by God out of the Jews.

5. Rom.9:32c-33 cites Isa.8:14 & 28:16

Rom.9:32f. προσέκοψαν τῷ λίθῳ τοῦ προσκόμματος, καθὼς γέγραπται·
ἰδοὺ τίθημι ἐν Σιών λίθον προσκόμματος καὶ πέτραν σκανδάλου,
καὶ ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐ καταισχυνθήσεται.
Isa.8:14 ... καὶ οὐχ ὡς λίθου προσκόμματι συναντήσεσθε αὐτῷ οὐδὲ ὡς
πέτρας πτώματι...

¹⁰¹ So H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1-12*, p.29.

Isa.28:16 διὰ τοῦτο οὕτως λέγει κύριος Ἴδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐμβαλῶ εἰς τὰ θεμέλια
 Σιών λίθον πολυτελῆ ἐκλεκτὸν ἀκρογωνιαίον ἔντιμον εἰς τὰ
 θεμέλια αὐτῆς, καὶ ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐ μὴ κατασυχυνθῇ.

MTIs8:14 ... והיה למקדש ולבן נגף ולצור מכשול

MTIs28:16 ... הנני יסד בציון אבן אבן בחן פנת יקרת מוסד מוסד המאמין לא
 ישׁ

That the Isaianic citation in Rom.9:33 is a composite one seems undeniable. As most, if not all, scholars have detected, Paul has here conflated in his lemma some distinctive Isaianic terminology from two different passages, 8:14¹⁰² and 28:16. This composite citation is introduced by the citation-formula καθὼς γέγραπται to buttress what immediately precedes in v.32c.

Isa.8:14 and 28:16 are well-known as the "stone" passages in *Isaiah*. Besides here in the NT, these two "stone" passages also occur together in 1Pet.2:6,8. A comparison of these two NT passages has convinced many scholars that these Isaianic "stone" passages came to be known and applied to Christ Jesus by Christians at a very early time in the history of the Church, even "earlier than either Paul or 1Peter."¹⁰³ This then implies that Paul here was simply quoting Isa.8:14 and 28:16 from the early Christian tradition, not directly from the Book of Isaiah.¹⁰⁴ However, most of these scholars have also

¹⁰² Just as צור מכשול and נגף לבן are distinctively unique to Isa.8:14 in the Hebrew OT, so λίθου προσκόμματι and πέτρας πτώματι ('A: στερεὸν σκανδάλου) are unique to Isa.8:14 in the LXX.

¹⁰³ Cited from C.D. Stanley, *Language of Scripture*, p.121, n.109; Stanley's phrase is ambiguous.

¹⁰⁴ C.H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures*, (London: Collins, 1952), pp.41-43, who (inspired by R. Harris, *Testimonies - Part I* [Cambridge: CUP, 1916], pp.18,26-32) advocates that "Paul ... made use of a twofold *testimonium* already current in the pre-canonical tradition in a version differing somewhat from the LXX" (italics his; p.43). Dodd's proposal is endorsed by E.E. Ellis, *Paul's Use of the OT* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1991[1957]), p.89. Today, many, though rejecting his idea that the *testimonium* was in a written form, still in one way or another follow in Dodd's footsteps in explaining the textual variants of Rom.9:33, 1Pet.2:6-8, and the LXX. See, e.g., E. Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans*, p.279; U. Wilckens, *Der Brief an die Römer: Röm 6-11* (Benziger/Neukirchener, 1980), p.214; C.E.B. Cranfield, *Romans 9-16*, p.512; D.-A. Koch, *Schrift als Zeuge*, pp.71,248,250; J.D.G. Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, p.584; C.D. Stanley,

attributed the fusion of the two Isaianic passages to the ingenuity of Paul himself.

Without diminishing the impact upon early Christians of these "stone" passages, we would like to point out that the common wisdom that Paul was here citing these Isaianic passages from an early Christian tradition and not from the Book of Isaiah itself is untenable. First of all, as C.K. Barrett points out, "Paul was not unfamiliar with the Old Testament,"¹⁰⁵ and considering the use, both explicit and implicit, of *Isaiah* in Rom. we have examined thus far, the possibility cannot be readily ruled out that Paul was indeed using Isa.8:14 and 28:16 based on a direct knowledge of them.

Secondly, that the lemma of Isa.8:14 and 28:16 in Rom.9:33 and the one in 1Pet.2:6,8 share some textual affinities is not sufficient evidence for the existence of a pre-Pauline Christian tradition, from which they both draw. The textual affinities shared by both Rom.9:33 and 1Pet.2:6,8 may be accounted for in perhaps at least five different possible ways:

- 1) Rom.9:33 is dependent on 1Pet.2:6,8. This option and/or its variations are possible only if one would accept that 1Pet.2:6,8 pre-dates Rom.9:33.
- 2) Rom.9:33 and 1Pet.2:6,8 are independently derived from a common source, which could be a so-called early Christian tradition, whether oral (as D.-A. Koch has supposed) or written (as Dodd has maintained).
- 3) 1Pet.2:6,8 is dependent on both Rom.9:33, which is itself based on a Christian tradition, and an early Christian tradition, as C.D. Stanley has argued. This option is a variation of Option 2.
- 4) Rom.9:33 and 1Pet.2:6,8 are independently derived direct from the OT, whether Hebrew or Greek. This option is rendered as less likely by the fact that the phrase λίθον προσκόμματος καὶ πέτραν σκανδάλου in 1Pet.2:8 coincides exactly with that in Rom.9:33, and the lack of LXX textual evidence for such a construction.

Language of Scripture, pp. 120-21; B. Byrne, *Romans*, p.314; D. Moo, *Romans*, p.629.

¹⁰⁵ C.K. Barrett, having granted the possibility that Paul was citing the Isaianic passages from an early Christian tradition, yet tends to think Paul was indeed well familiar with the original meanings and contexts of the Isaianic passages; see *Romans*, p.181.

5) Rom.9:33 is directly based on the OT, whether Hebrew or Greek, and 1Pet.2:6,8 is dependent on both the OT and Rom.9:33 and/or a Christian tradition inaugurated by Paul's Rom. before 1Pet..¹⁰⁶

Among these options, in my opinion, Paul's remarkably broad knowledge of the Book of Isaiah exhibited in Rom. (and elsewhere) suggests the last one to be most likely.

Thirdly, there is no evidence for the existence of a pre-Pauline Christian tradition, whether oral or written, in which the Isaianic "stone" passages were applied to Jesus. Even if there really were such a pre-Pauline Christian "stone=Jesus" tradition, still there is no decisive evidence to substantiate that Paul here was not citing directly from the Book of Isaiah. Paul might have been acquainted with the tradition first (if it really existed) and yet cited from the Book of Isaiah when composing Rom..

Fourthly, to appeal to the ancient practice of making handy "notebooks" among,

¹⁰⁶ Most, if not all, NT scholars are agreed that 1Pet. was written in Rome and later than Paul's Rom. (c. 60s CE or 70-95 CE). So, that the author of 1Pet. may have had access to and been influenced by Paul's letter to the Romans does not appear to be an overstatement. Indeed, the Pauline legacy in 1Pet. has been detected by J.D.G. Dunn, "Pauline Legacy and School," in *Dictionary of the Later NT & Its Developments*, eds. R.P. Martin & P.H. Davids (Downers Grove/ Leicester: IVP, 1998), pp.891-92; cf. also L. Goppelt, *A Commentary on 1Peter* (tr. J.E. Alsup; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), pp.28-29, who has pointed out about twelve similarities between Rom. and 1Pet., although he concludes that "none of them ... is entirely *verbatim* in such a way as to make necessary the conclusion of literary citation."; and R.E. Brown's comment on their similarities: "None of these similarities presupposes that the author of 1 Peter had Paul's Romans before him, but they do suggest that the theology and expressions of Paul's letter had worked their way into the life of the Roman church from whose tradition the author of 1 Peter shaped his message to northern Asia Minor." (Cited from R.E. Brown & J.P. Meier, *Antioch and Rome: NT Cradles of Catholic Christianity* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1983), p.136; emphasis mine.)

Further, in 1Pet. Silvanus (= Silas; 5:12) and Mark (5:13) are mentioned as the author's co-workers. These two persons are also Paul's co-workers during his missionary work (for Silas, see Acts 15:40; 16:25; 1Thess.1:1; 2Cor.5:19; and for Mark, see Acts 12:25; 13:5,13; Philm.24). So, it is reasonable to think that through personal contacts with Silas and Mark, the author of 1Pet. would readily have had knowledge of Paul's thoughts and application of Scripture to Jesus Christ. If 1 Pet. is to be dated to 70-95 CE or even later, as most Petrine scholars have thought, this point may be refuted as implausible. But, in my opinion, the late dating of 1 Pet. cannot refute the theory that 1 Pet. was based on, or influenced by, Rom.. For if 1 Pet. was really that late, the time gap between the two would have been big enough to allow the latter's influence to permeate every stratum of the Roman church, from which 1 Pet. emerged.

e.g., travellers, merchants, etc.,¹⁰⁷ does not help much to clinch the matter of the existence of a pre-Pauline, written "stone=Jesus" tradition. For it is one thing to say that early Christians could have made some notes (on wax tablets or parchment) when they learned something "about Jesus" in/from *Isaiah* through personal scripture study or scripture reading and exposition in synagogue; but it is quite another to claim thereby that there really was a "stone=Jesus" tradition, whether pre- or post-Pauline. The possibility remains that it was Paul himself who, through personal reading or study of the Scriptures, introduced such a "stone=Jesus" tradition into early Christian thoughts.

Fifthly, as we contended above (in section A.b), Paul, when composing Rom. in Corinth, may well have had access to the sacred Scriptures through certain Corinthian Christians; but unfortunately, those scholars who argue for the existence of an pre-Pauline "stone=Jesus" tradition have overlooked that.

In short, the arguments formulated above have exposed the difficulties caused by the consensus that there was a pre-Pauline Christian tradition from which Paul cited Isa.8:14 and 28:16 in Rom.9:33. In view of these difficulties, the burden of proof for the existence of such a pre-Pauline Christian tradition, whether oral or written, lies with those who argue for it. But unfortunately most if not all who take that view have never clearly formulated their arguments but rather taken it for granted. So due to the lack of compelling reasons for the opposite, we may conclude that it is Paul alone who was responsible for the citation and fusion of Isa.8:14 and 28:16 in Rom.9:33 and that it is directly from *Isaiah* that Paul cited these "stone" passages.

As we have pointed out above, Paul deliberately rearranged the text of Isa.28:16 by dropping its middle section and instead inserting into it two "stone" phrases borrowed from Isa.8:14. In so doing, the apostle in effect underlined the negative sense of falling/stumbling. In its original context, Isa.28:16 is speaking of Yahweh's setting up in Zion a tested stone, which alone is trustworthy and reliable compared with what Israel chose

¹⁰⁷ For discussion of such a practice among the ancients, see C.D. Stanley, *Language of Scripture*, pp.74-79; H.Y Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts* (New Haven/London: Yale U. Press, 1995), pp.49-52.

to trust. The prophet's words, ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐ μὴ καταισχυνθῇ, seem to have left his audience room for hope. In contrast, however, Isa.8:14 is manifestly negative in tone and sense. The prophet was urged by Yahweh not to follow the way of the people of Israel, who were destined to stumble over a rock that Yahweh Himself became. The only word of hope was directed to the prophet himself, not to the people.

Despite their difference in tone and sense, Isa.8:14 and 28:16 share some contextual similarity. In both passages, reliance upon human conspiracy is set in sharp contrast to full trust in Yahweh. Both passages underscore the need on Israel's part for genuine fear of/complete trust in Yahweh for deliverance from foreign invasions.¹⁰⁸ So, what comes under the prophet's relentless attack in these two passages is human conspiracy and efforts to attain salvation, an act which stems from man's unbelief in God.

Paul was most probably attracted to these two "stone" passages by their distinctive parallel motif, namely that of human efforts *versus* complete trust/reliance upon God in attaining salvation.¹⁰⁹ The notion of faith/trust is not so clear in Isa.8:14, but it is very conspicuous in Isa.28:16; so it seems appropriate for Paul to take the latter as the base text for his argument in Rom.9:33. By merging the "stone" phrases of Isa.8:14 into the text of Isa.28:16, Paul's stress on Israel's stumbling due to her lack of faith is driven home. That Paul here follows the logic of the prophet in contrasting human efforts with trust in God can be clearly shown in the present Rom. context. It is striking and certainly not accidental that in Rom.9:32 Paul employs simply the phrase ἐξ ἔργων in contrast to ἐκ πίστεως. The addition of νόμου after ἐξ ἔργων in some textual witnesses (e.g., N² D

¹⁰⁸ The historical background of Isa.8:14 is the Syro-Ephraimitic War, see R.E. Clements, *Isaiah 1-39*, p.98; H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1-12*, pp.356, 358-361; M.A. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1-39* (FOTL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), pp.166-74. As for that of Isa.28:16, scholars are of diverse opinions, but it is certain that Israel went for help to foreign nations rather than to God Himself; see R.E. Clements, *op.cit.*, p.230; H. Wildberger, *Jesaja 28-39*, p.1072; M.A. Sweeney, *op.cit.*, pp.367-70. On Isaiah's criticisms on Israel's foreign alliances, see the brief but very useful discussion by J. Barton in *Isaiah 1-39* (OTG; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), pp.28-42.

¹⁰⁹ Note that the motif that human efforts are set over against full trust in God and rejected by the prophet as a proper means to salvation also occurs in other Isaianic passages, e.g., Isa.29:16, which is also alluded to by Paul in Rom.9:20-21, as we have noted above.

K P Ψ 33, etc.) is obviously influenced by Rom.3:20,28 ¹¹⁰ and so very likely a later emendation.¹¹¹ Here the absolute use of ἔργον without any qualification strongly testifies to the Isaianic influence upon the apostle's thinking. Just as the Israelites in Isaiah's day had relied on their own efforts and alliances with foreign nations to get saved, for Paul, so his Jewish contemporaries also strove to pursue a right relation with God with their own devices. By using the term ἔργον, Paul reckons all that Israel has done as merely human strivings that reflect her unbelief in God.

Viewed from this angle, then, there is no reason whatsoever to restrict the sense of the term ἔργον as simply referring to "works of the law" such as observances of food laws, sabbath, and even circumcision, which "mark off Jew from Gentile."¹¹² Rather, there is good reason to think that Paul, by ἔργον, may have meant something more than that, perhaps human works in general that are opposed to faith in, in this context, Christ.¹¹³ This reading is confirmed by Paul's use of the phrase ἐξ ἔργων in Rom.9:12,

¹¹⁰ See also Gal.2:16 (three times); 3:2,5,10. On Paul's use of this phrase, see D.J. Moo, "Law, 'Works of the Law,' and Legalism in Paul," *WTJ* 45(1983), pp.90-100; C.E.B. Cranfield, "The Works of the Law' in the Epistle to the Romans," *JSNT* 43(1991), pp.89-101.

¹¹¹ See B.M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek NT* (United Bible Societies, 1975), p.523.

¹¹² *Contra* J.G.D. Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, p.582 (words cited there); *idem*, "Paul's Epistle to the Romans: An Analysis of Structure and Argument," *ANRW* II.25.4, pp.2870-71; cf. also his recent defense and elaboration in "Yet Once More - 'The Works of the Law': a Response," *JSNT* 46(1992), pp.99-117; and T.L. Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles: Remapping the Apostle's Convictional World* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1997), pp.108-31, 171-72, who following Dunn concludes that "to pursue the law... 'by works' (ἐξ ἔργων) is to assume that possession of the requisite ethnic identity markers guarantees one a place in the community of salvation. 'Works' is a kind of theological shorthand referring to the belief that the law places Jews in a privileged position vis-à-vis the Gentiles..." (p.131).

¹¹³ Contrary to the view of the majority of scholars, S.K. Williams, "Again *Pistis Christou*," *CBQ* 49(1987), pp.431-47, argues that Paul never regards Christ as the object of the believer's faith. In view of the context of Rom.9:33, I find his argument implausible, for in Paul's view, (1) to believe/trust in Jesus Christ means to acknowledge and accept Jesus as the divinely ordained agent to justification/salvation; and (2) God and Christ are difficult to separate, though they have revealed themselves as "two different entities" in a father-son relationship in the economy of the salvation of mankind. See our discussion of Rom.10:12 below.

where human works in general were certainly referred to when the apostle discussed the basis of the divine election of his ancestor Jacob (cf. also Rom. 11:6).

Further, if the underlying OT theological current of Rom. 9:33 is that of the Isaianic "human efforts vs. trust in God," then the fault that Paul finds with Israel is not her failure/inability to keep the Law,¹¹⁴ nor the way she keeps it,¹¹⁵ nor her insistence on keeping the Law as a means of salvation even after Christ's coming,¹¹⁶ but her self-reliance and so failure to put her trust in God by accepting the crucified Jesus as messiah. For Paul, Israel has failed to achieve what she pursues because she has misunderstood the function and purpose of the Law and sought out of her own devices to establish her own righteousness on the basis of doing the Law (cf. Rom. 10:3).¹¹⁷ Throughout his language

¹¹⁴ Contra B. Byrne, *Romans*, p.313; D. Moo, *Romans*, p.627. So C.T. Rhyne, "Nomos Dikaiosynēs and the Meaning of Romans 10:4," *CBQ* 47(1985), p.490; L.T. Johnson, *Reading Romans*, p.156.

¹¹⁵ Contra C.K. Barrett, "Romans 9:30-10:21," in *Essays on Paul* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1982), pp.132-53, esp., pp.140-45; O. Michel, *Römer*, p.322; C.E.B. Cranfield, "Some Notes on Romans 9:30-33" in *Jesus und Paulus (FS G. Kümmel)*, eds. E.E. Ellis & E. Gräßer (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975), pp.35-43, esp. pp.39-40; *idem*, *Romans 9-16*, pp.508, 510; C.T. Rhyne, "Nomos Dikaiosynēs," p.490; J.A. Fitzmyer, *Romans*, pp.578, 579; T.R. Schreiner, "'Works of Law' in Paul," *NovT* 33(1991), pp.217-44; *idem*, *The Law and Its Fulfillment: A Pauline Theology of Law* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1993), p.104; J.D.G. Dunn, "Yet Once More," p.116.

Consider D. Zeller's comment in *Römer*, p.184: "Paulus meint also nicht etwa..., Israel hätte das Gesetz im Glauben halten müssen, um seinen Wesen zu entsprechen."; and that of J. Ziesler, *Romans*, p.254: "the trouble with Israel is not that she has kept the Law in the wrong way, 'legalistically', when she ought to have kept it by faith." Cf. U. Wilckens, *Röm 6-11*, pp.212-13, esp. n.952 in p.213.

¹¹⁶ Contra F. Refoulé, "Note sur Romains IX,30-33," *RB* 92(1985), pp.161-86.

¹¹⁷ In my opinion, C.K. Barrett, *Romans*, p.180, seems to have captured the gist of Paul's language, when he writes, "the law, though good, is misused if treated as a means of attaining righteousness. This was the mistake made by the Jews. It is proper to seek righteousness, that is, a proper relation with God; and the law itself is a good thing. But to seek righteousness by means of works done in obedience to the law, may produce at most human righteousness, not God's..." (my emphasis). Also close to the mark is T. Laato's comment: "[in Röm. 9,30-10,3] Paulus kritisiert die jüdische Soteriologie *sowohl* für ihre anthropozentrische (my emphasis) *als auch* für ihre antichristologische Implikation" (italics his; T. Laato, *Paulus und das Judentum: Anthropologische Erwägungen* [Åbo: Åbo Academy Press, 1991], p.250).

in Rom.9:30-10:13, the apostle strives hard to reject, in an indirect manner, any possibility that human efforts might attain God's righteousness, which itself is in reality a free gift in and through Christ (cf. 10:6-8).

Still further, if the apostle's theological mindset behind the present Rom. context is directed by the Isaianic "human efforts vs. trust in God" contrast, then by ἐκ πίστεως in Rom.9:30,32 Paul probably meant human faith/trust, not the faith(fulness) of Christ/God.¹¹⁸ This is also clearly delineated in the following verses (cf. 10:9-13). With this in mind, we are certainly justified in understanding in the same way Paul's πίστεως in the clause τῶν ἔργων; οὐχί, ἀλλὰ διὰ νόμου πίστεως in Rom.3:27, a context which bears some contextual affinity to the present one: human faith/trust as a proper response to God's salvation. If that is the case, what about the apostle's use of the term πίστεως in 3:22, 25,26? Did Paul intend by the term the same meaning in these instances too? Of course, answers to these questions should be determined by the context of these passages. However, in view of the contextual similarity between Rom.3:21-31 and 9:30-10:13 and of the fact that Paul probably had the Isaianic "human efforts-faith/trust" contrast in mind well before the time he conceived and penned/dictated Rom.9, I am inclined to take the traditional and still dominant view that the term πίστεως in 3:22, 25,26 should be taken to mean "human faith/trust" which is put in Christ.

b. The Isaianic Tradition in Romans 10

6. Rom.10:11 cites Isa.28:16

Rom.10:11 λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή· πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐ καταισχυνηθήσεται.

Isa.28:16 διὰ τοῦτο οὕτως λέγει κύριος Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐμβαλῶ εἰς τὰ θεμέλια Σιών λίθον πολυτελῆ ἐκλεκτὸν ἀκρογωνιαῖον ἔντιμον εἰς τὰ θεμέλια αὐτῆς, καὶ ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐ μὴ καταισχυνηθῇ.

¹¹⁸ *Contra* S.K. Stowers, *A Rereading of Romans: Justice, Jews, & Gentiles* (New Haven/London: Yale U. Press, 1994), pp.302,303, who concludes that " 'faith' in 9:30,32 is not the believer's but Christ's faithfulness, on which God based the fulfillment of his promise" (p.302).

MTIs28:16 ... הַנִּי יֵסֵד בְּצִיּוֹן אֶבֶן אֶבֶן בַּחֵן פֶּנֶת יִקְרָת מוֹסֵד מוֹסֵד הַמֵּאֲמִין לֹא

יחיש

Having pointed out in Rom.9:30-33 the problem and present situation of his contemporary Jews, Paul moves on to define it more precisely in Rom.10. For Paul, it is undeniable that his contemporary Jews have zeal for God; however, their zeal is not directed by true knowledge (v.2). They are blind to the righteousness of God and thereby fail to submit to it. Instead of submitting to the righteousness of God, they insist on their own way to attain a righteous status before God or a right relation with God, and so they end up producing merely their own righteousness (cf. v.3). In Rom.10:4-10, one of the most difficult passages in all his letters, Paul offers an account for his unbelieving Jewish contemporaries' failure to submit to the righteousness of God. In his view, Israel's (= his unbelieving Jewish contemporaries'; cf. 9:31) failure is christological and caused by her misunderstanding of the purpose and function of the law;¹¹⁹ and Israel's rejection of Jesus of Nazareth as God's appointed Messiah and unique means to salvation clearly betrays her self-reliance, as is pointed out above.

Paul's use of Scripture in vv.5-8 is notoriously difficult to understand and explicate; space does not allow us to have a detailed discussion of it. It seems satisfactory simply to highlight the key points of these verses as a backdrop against which the significance of the apostle's use of Isa.28:16 in 10:11 is evaluated.

In Rom.10:5 Paul cites Lev.18:5, which he also cited earlier in Gal.3:12, to explain the fact that the righteousness by/based on (ἐκ) the law is not the kind of righteousness by which a covenantal relationship with God is established. For the law, according to Lev.18:5, demands of those who observe it obedience, which in turn causes them to gain divine favor and live blissfully in the promised land. Such obedience leads to a sort of righteousness which is based on observances of the Law and by means of which Israel is allowed to remain living in the land as God's covenanted people. By contrast, however,

¹¹⁹ Paul's statement "Christ is the *telos* of the law..." in 10:4 and detailed explanation of it in 10:5-13 imply that he regards his unbelieving Jewish contemporaries to have misunderstood the purpose and function of the Law.

Deut.30:10-14, which Paul cites in vv.6-8, speaks of the kind of righteousness which is required for establishing a covenantal relationship with God. This is the kind of righteousness that Israel should possess in order to get into the promised land. Such righteousness is not based on obedience to the commandments and statutes, but on heartfelt commitment which is rooted solely in faith.¹²⁰ This notion of heartfelt commitment is picked up and formulated in a "credal" manner by Paul in Rom.10:9-10. What is more, by utilizing Jewish exegetical techniques, Paul applies what Deut.30:10-14 speaks of to the Christ event and delineates the implications of the application.

In such a context, Paul cites in v.11 the final part of Isa.28:16 to buttress his point made in vv.9-10: commitment/acknowledgement that stems from faith is the correct way to righteousness and salvation. As we have seen above, the original context of Isa.28:16 is concerned with Yahweh's setting up in Zion a tested stone, which alone is trustworthy and reliable in comparison with what Israel chose to trust. The context as a whole basically is judgmental; yet, Israel was not left in total despair. The words ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐ μὴ καταισχυνθῇ in Isa.28:16 offer their audience a gleam of hope: anyone who finds refuge in that stone in Zion will not be put to shame. These words appear to have been read by Paul as a promise-like saying and are cited as a scriptural support to back up his assertion in Rom.10:10; not only that, Paul also brings out the universalistic sense of his assertion by strengthening the force of the scriptural words with the addition of the adjective πᾶς before them.¹²¹ In so doing, the scriptural words are read as applicable to the Gentiles as well as to the Jews.

Paul has not only widened the Isaianic saying's scope of applicability by means of the addition of πᾶς; he has also understood, in view of vv.6-9, the referent of the pronoun αὐτῷ in the saying to be to Christ Jesus. The Hebrew original (Isa.28:16bβ) lacks the LXX's prepositional phrase ἐπ' αὐτῷ. According to the LXX context, it is clear that the pronoun refers to the "stone" (λίθος) as laid for the foundation of Zion. Thus, here Paul's

¹²⁰ Note Deut.1:32 and 9:23, in both of which the need of trusting Yahweh is emphasized.

¹²¹ See D.-A. Koch, *Schrift als Zeuge*, p.133; C.D. Stanley, *Language of Scripture*, pp.133-34.

understanding of αὐτῷ in Isa.28:16c (LXX) as Jesus suggests that he is thinking of Christ when he speaks of the "stone of offense" (τῷ λίθῳ τοῦ προσκόμματος) in Rom.9:32-33. For him, the "stone" is Jesus of Nazareth the Messiah.¹²²

What is the theological rationale underlying Paul's application of the Isaianic "stone" passage (28:16) to Christ? According to the context of Isa.28:16, it seems somewhat hard to see what the "stone" actually signifies. OT scholars have understood the symbolic referent of the "stone" in Isa.28:16 as, e.g., Yahweh Himself,¹²³ Zion itself,¹²⁴ the Davidic monarchy,¹²⁵ faith, by which salvation is granted,¹²⁶ or even "the whole complex of ideas relating to the Lord's revelation of his faithfulness and the call to reciprocate with the same kind of faithfulness toward him."¹²⁷ Despite the diverse interpretations of the identity of the "stone," one thing is certain: the "stone" is the divinely appointed means by/through which salvation is granted. Considering this, it is not difficult to see the underlying rationale of Paul's identification of the "stone" as Christ Jesus. Based on his Damascus experience, Paul came to know that Jesus of Nazareth was indeed divinely appointed as the means by/through which salvation is granted. Then, it

¹²² Contra P.W. Meyer, "Romans 10:4 and the 'End' of the Law," in *The Divine Helmsman*, eds. J.L. Crenshaw & S. Sandmel (NY: Ktav, 1980), p.64; E.D. Freed, *The Apostle Paul, Christian Jew: Faithfulness and Law* (NY/London: U. Press of America, 1994), p.107; and C.K. Barrett, "Romans 9.30-10.21 -- Fall and Responsibility of Israel," p.144, where (originally written in 1977) he posits that "when Paul speaks of the stone of stumbling and rock of offence what he has in mind is primarily the Torah."; cf. his, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 2nd. ed., p.181, where he seems to take an ambiguous position: "There are two ways in which the *stone* may be understood. (a) It is most easily understood to refer to Christ himself.... (b) Alternatively, however, the *stone* may be the law.... Ultimately the two interpretations tend to come together in view of x.4." But in the 1st. ed. of his commentary, he writes: "The stone is Christ himself..." (p.194). I think Barrett's earlier position is preferable.

¹²³ See, e.g., R.E. Clements, *Isaiah 1-39*, p.231.

¹²⁴ See, e.g., A. Motyer, *Prophecy of Isaiah*, p.233.

¹²⁵ A. Moyter has granted this possibility though he regards the "stone" as Zion itself.

¹²⁶ O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13-39*, p.254; H. Wildberger, *Jesaja 28-39*, p.1077.

¹²⁷ See, e.g., J. N. Oswalt, *Isaiah - Chs. 1-39*, p.518.

is not inappropriate for Paul to equate the Isaianic "stone of offense" with Christ.

Besides, as for Paul's equation of the "stone" with Christ, clues may also be found in Isa.8:14, another "stone" passage that is merged into Isa.28:16 in Rom.9:33. According to the context of Isa.8:14, the "stone" is clearly referring to Yahweh Himself (cf. v.13). But the name of Yahweh יהוה is rendered in the LXX by the Greek term κύριος. This then might have led the apostle to read the LXX's κύριος in Isa.8:13 as referring to Christ the Lord. Therefore, when Paul merged the two "stone" phrases from Isa.8:14 into Isa.28:16, he brought with them the equation, that the "stone of offense/rock of stumbling" is the Lord Himself, into the latter "stone" passage and thereby made it natural (grammatically) to understand the pronoun αὐτῷ in Isa.28:16c as a reference to the Lord, i.e., Christ Jesus.

7. Rom.10:12 → Isa.45:21c-22

Rom.10:12 οὐ γάρ ἐστιν διαστολή Ἰουδαίου τε καὶ Ἑλλήνου, ὁ γάρ αὐτὸς κύριος πάντων, πλουτῶν εἰς πάντας τοὺς ἐπικαλουμένους αὐτόν·

Isa.45:21f. ... τότε ἀνηγγέλη ὑμῖν Ἐγὼ ὁ θεός, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος πλὴν ἐμοῦ· δίκαιος καὶ σωτὴρ οὐκ ἔστιν πάρεξ ἐμοῦ. ἐπιστρέφητε πρὸς με καὶ σωθήσεσθε, οἱ ἅπ' ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς· ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ θεός, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος.

MTIs45:21f. ... הלא אני יהוה ואין עוד אלהים מבלעדי אל צדיק ומושיע אין זולתי פנו אלי והושעו כל אפסי ארץ כי אני אל ואין עוד

It is clear enough that Rom.10:12 intratextually echoes Rom.3:29-30.¹²⁸ As we have already pointed out and examined earlier, one of the OT theological currents, if not the only one, underlying Rom.3:29-30 is Isa.45:21c-22. This makes it almost inevitable that the Isaianic monotheistic belief exerts continuing influence upon the apostle even in the present passage (10:12) too. That the latter part of Isa.45:23 is cited almost *verbatim*

¹²⁸ Rom.3:29-30 runs thus: ἢ Ἰουδαίων ὁ θεὸς μόνον; οὐχὶ καὶ ἐθνῶν; ναὶ καὶ ἐθνῶν, εἴπερ εἰς ὁ θεὸς ὃς δικαιώσει περιτομὴν ἐκ πίστεως καὶ ἀκροβυστίαν διὰ τῆς πίστεως.

in Rom.14:11 gives strong evidence that the apostle was continuously influenced by Isa.45. Thus, the allusive relationship between Rom.10:12 and Isa.45:21-22 appears to be likely, even though their verbal similarity is not very strong.

It is not necessary here to repeat our discussion of the original context and message of Isa.45:21-22. In summary, the Isaianic passage represents Yahweh's invitation to the nations to join in the celebration of Israel's eschatological revival and share her blessings. Just as he has done earlier in Rom.3:29-30, Paul here no doubt has grasped the prophet's vision of the incoming of the nations to participate in Yahweh's eschatological salvation and derived from it the monotheistic belief that Yahweh is God/Lord of all humanity as the theological ground for his argument that Jews and Gentiles alike share the same basis of faith as a means to salvation.

One important thing deserves notice, here. Both in the original Isaianic context and in Rom.3:29-30, it is God (the Father) who is being spoken of as the Unique Sovereign One over all humanity; but in Rom.10:12, as the context clearly suggests (cf. v.9), the monotheistic language is applied to Christ Jesus speaking of his Lordship over all humanity. That Paul "applies" the Isaianic monotheistic language to Jesus as well as to God Himself demonstrates the fact that in his view, Jesus Christ as Lord shares the same supreme sovereignty and uniqueness with God the Father. If that is the case, it then follows that for Paul to put trust in Christ is essentially not different from putting trust in God Himself, even though God and Christ are revealed to him as "two different entities" in a father-son relationship as far as their roles in the salvific scheme are concerned.

8. Rom.10:15 cites Isa.52:7

Rom.10:15 καθὼς γέγραπται· ὡς ὠραῖοι οἱ πόδες τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων τὰ ἀγαθά.

Isa.52:7 πάρειμι ὡς ὥρα ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρέων, ὡς πόδες εὐαγγελιζομένου ἀκοὴν εἰρήνης, ὡς εὐαγγελιζόμενος ἀγαθά, ὅτι ἀκουστήν ποιήσω τὴν σωτηρίαν σου λέγων Σιών Βασιλεύσει σου ὁ θεός·

MT Is52:7 מה נאוו על ההרים רגלי מבשר משמיע שלום מבשר טוב משמיע ישועה

Having spelled out Israel's misunderstandings of the Law and the gospel, Paul moves on to discuss the very nature of Israel's stumbling in Rom.10:14-21. In Rom.10:14-21 Paul's point is very clear that Israel's fall is totally inexcusable because of her stubbornness and willful disobedience. In order to expose Israel's stubbornness and disobedience, Paul's strategy, employing his favorite diatribe-style, is twofold: first, to affirm that messengers were indeed sent to bring the gospel to Israel (vv.14-17); and second, to rule out any excuse on Israel's part that she did not hear and "understand" the good news about Christ (vv.18-21).

The citation from Isa.52:7 in Rom.10:14 falls in the first part of the apostle's argumentation in Rom.10:14-21. A cursory reading of the related texts as shown in the above text-diagram may lead one to wonder whether Paul here was really citing or simply paraphrasing the Isaianic passage.¹²⁹ In any case, it is important to note that Paul's "use" of the Isaianic passage is focused on its first half.

According to its original context, whether the Hebrew or the Greek one, Isa.52:7 presents itself as a word of salvation: Yahweh, Israel's God, will triumph and become king. The passage "takes us beyond the Lord's victorious act to his triumphant homecoming to Zion."¹³⁰ Just as before the triumphal homecoming of a king a messenger is sent home from the battlefield to announce the message of victory, so, the prophet envisions, messengers will be sent to proclaim Yahweh's triumph and coming back to Zion. Several key points must be noted here: first, Yahweh, God of Israel, triumphs and will become king (of the whole earth) in Zion; second, before His homecoming, messengers will be sent to declare His victory; and third, Yahweh's victory will bring about salvation not only to Israel but probably to all the nations of the earth (cf. Isa.52:10).

¹²⁹ In my opinion, the possibility, though difficult to substantiate, that here Paul was simply paraphrasing Isa.52:7 for his own aims is difficult to rule out. For detailed discussions, based on textual evidence, of Paul's "use" of Isa.52:7, see D.-A. Koch, *Schrift als Zeuge*, pp.66-69, 81-82, 113-14, 122; C.D. Stanley, *Language of Scripture*, pp.134-41.

¹³⁰ A. Motyer, *Prophecy of Isaiah*, p.416.

Isa.52:7-10 provides its readers with a wonderful portrayal of Yahweh's eschatological victory and Israel's restoration. It was most probably this portrayal that drew the attention of our apostle to the nations to this passage. Without a doubt, Paul must have seen himself as living in such a time that the prophet (Second) Isaiah envisioned hundreds of years ago, and must have awaited eagerly the coming of its Eschaton (cf. Rom.13:11-12); indeed, what he was now doing he regarded as an impetus for its final consummation (cf. 11:13-14, 25-27). His "citation" of Isa.52:7 certainly has presupposed such an eschatological mindset: Yahweh, God of Israel, has already triumphed (in the death and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth) and so Israel's restoration has been under way. Seen from this perspective, Paul's "use" of Isa.52:7 is, theologically, in harmony with its context.

However, a close reading of Isa.52:7 in its new Rom. context discloses that the passage is simply intended to serve as a scriptural proof that God has commissioned and sent messengers to bring to His people Israel the good news of His eschatological victory, thereby eliminating any excuse on Israel's part that she had no messengers sent to her. In other words, Paul's "use" of Isa.52:7 is not to convey to his Roman readers the original salvific significance of the Isaianic passage, but to condemn his unbelieving Jewish contemporaries by proving their stubbornness and unbelief to be inexcusable. What an irony! Initially, the feet of those who bring "good news" to Israel are wonderful; but now they turn out to be woeful because they have become bearers of "bad news." This reading may be strengthened by the observation made above that Paul deliberately omitted the latter half of Isa.52:7, in which the main gist of the passage lies. If this reading is accepted, then the judgmental tone of Paul's citation from Isa.52:5 in Rom.2:24 may not be merely rhetorical, as R. Hays suggests;¹³¹ rather, it may well have been really meant by the apostle.

¹³¹ See R.B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, pp.45-46.

9. Rom.10:16b cites Isa.53:1

Rom.10:16b Ἄλλ' οὐ πάντες ὑπήκουσαν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ. Ἡσαΐας γὰρ λέγει·
κύριε, τίς ἐπίστευσεν τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν;

Isa.53:1 κύριε, τίς ἐπίστευσεν τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν; ...

MT Is53:1 ... מִי אֶמְצָא שֹׁמֵעַ

As remarked in the previous section, Rom.10:14-17 represents the first part of Paul's argument against the excusability of Israel's disobedience in Rom.10:14-21. Verses 14-15 affirm that God has appointed and sent His servants to Israel to declare the good news of His victory (over sin and Satan in the death and resurrection of Jesus). Now in verses 16-17 Paul as one of the messengers sent testifies that the "good news" they declare has not met a proper response (i.e., submission/acceptance with faith) among those Jews to whom it was preached. Having pointed out in 10:16a that "not all (Jews) have obeyed the *euaggelion*", he moves on to ground his statement in Scripture. For him, the present situation that only a few (Jews) have responded to the "good news" appropriately has long been foreseen and experienced by the prophet (Second) Isaiah. He quotes from Isa.53:1a in 10:16b, showing that just as the Israelites of Isaiah's day paid no heed to God's message, so now the majority of his Jewish contemporaries have also rejected the gospel which he and his fellow-messengers, like Peter and John, proclaim.

Isa.53:1, in its original context, is part of the famous Fourth Servant Song in *Isaiah*. It introduces the report of the work of Yahweh's suffering servant and its significant effect on Yahweh's people as a whole. The use of the first person plural in the passage presents to us a puzzling problem: who are being referred to here? The first person plural here obviously suggests a third party who probably were those who made the report in the subsequent verses. In view of the lack of sufficient evidence from the context, it is as impossible to know for sure the real identity of these people here as that of the mysterious suffering servant of Yahweh in the whole Song (Isa.52:12-53:12). What can be said with some confidence, however, is this: first, these people were not the suffering servant; and second, they seem to have put their trust in Yahweh's servant and were commissioned by Yahweh to bring to their kinspeople the report about this

mysterious servant and his task.¹³² These points might lend support to the theory that it was the prophet who was speaking here as the representative of a believing community, though the support lent is very weak.

Isa.53:1 represents the speakers' shock, "wonder," and frustration, as they had seen, or had learned of, the humiliation and disgraceful fate of Yahweh's servant. Astounded by what was seen and heard, they wondered if their report would have been believed by their kinspeople. Read in this light, Isa.53:1 appears to be a rhetorical question, asked with a feeling of confusion and upset, which is intended to stress the paucity of true believers among the Israelites.¹³³ So, the Isaianic passage reflects the lack of trust in the divine message on Israel's part in the day of the prophet; and, for Paul, it is precisely of such a lack of trust that the majority of his Jewish contemporaries are found guilty.

10. Rom.10:20-21 cites Isa.65:1-2

Rom.10:20 Ὑσαΐας δὲ ἀποτολμᾷ καὶ λέγει· εὐρέθην [ἐν] τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ζητοῦσιν, ἐμφανῆς ἐγενόμην τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ἐπερωτῶσιν.

10:21 πρὸς δὲ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ λέγει· ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐξεπέτασα τὰς χεῖράς μου πρὸς λαὸν ἀπειθοῦντα καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα.

Isa.65:1-2 Ἐμφανῆς ἐγενόμην τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ζητοῦσιν, εὐρέθην τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ἐπερωτῶσιν.... ἐξεπέτασα τὰς χεῖράς μου ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν πρὸς λαὸν ἀπειθοῦντα καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα....

MT Is.65:1 נדדתי ללוא שאלו נמצאתי ללא בקשני

65:2 פרשתי ידי כל היום אל עם סורר

¹³² This second point is not obvious in the Hebrew text, but is quite clear in the Greek one. In Isa.53:1 LXX, the speakers, signified by the first person plural pronoun ἡμῶν, called God as "Lord;" this may suggest that they were not the "nations" mentioned in 52:15, but people within Israel. In Isa.53:2 LXX, according to A. Rahlfs' edition, the verb ἀνηγγείλαμεν (lit., "we carried back tidings of") may imply that the speakers were commissioned by Yahweh as tidings-bearers reporting what they saw and heard. On the identification of this "we" group, see D.J.A. Clines, *I, He, We, & They* (JSOTS 1; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1978), pp.29-31.

¹³³ Cf. E.J. Young, *The Book of Isaiah*, vol.3 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972), p340.

The above text-diagram clearly exhibits that, although some minor differences are observed in word- or clause-order, the text of Paul's lemma basically concurs in wording with that of our extant LXX tradition. This does not necessarily imply that Paul's lemma was based on the LXX. The textual differences between Paul's lemma and the Hebrew Isa.65:1-2 may be explained with the aid of other textual evidence.¹³⁴ Even if Paul's lemma were based on the LXX tradition, as to whether or not their textual differences can be ascribed to the apostle's hand, as C.D. Stanley maintains, it is hard for us to have definitive conclusions in view of the meagre textual evidence.¹³⁵ Rather certain is the case of the advancement in Rom.10:21 of ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν to the beginning position, in which case emphasis was probably intended by the apostle.¹³⁶

In Rom.10:18-21, Paul moves on to the second part of his argument with the rhetorical question: "Did Israel not hear and know the gospel?". As in the previous part of his argument in vv.14-17, Paul's intention here is to prove Israel's fall to be caused solely by her own stubbornness and disobedience. By citing from Isa.65:1-2, as well as Ps.19:4 in v.18 and Deut.32:21 in v.19, the apostle underscores Israel's continuing disobedience. No less than the Israelites of the prophet's day, Paul's unbelieving Jewish contemporaries have hardened their hearts to God's invitation to return to Him. The afore-positioned phrase ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν of Isa.65:2 in Rom.10:21 stresses the persistence of Israel's obduracy and disobedience to God, which in turn implies that Israel's rebellion is willful.

Paul's use of Isa.65:1 in Rom.10:20 deserves some discussion. Most scholars have observed a discrepancy of interpretation in Paul's use of Isa.65:1 and Isa.65:2. According

¹³⁴ For instance, the presence of the first person singular direct object in ἐμὲ μὴ ἐπερωτῶσιν of Paul's lemma might have been based on a Heb. text-tradition akin to 1QIsa^a, in which the text of 65:1 reads thus יִנְיָאֵשׁ אֵלֵל. This example is raised by T.H. Lim, *Holy Scripture in the Qumran Commentaries and Pauline Letters* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), p.147.

¹³⁵ See C.D. Stanley's detailed discussion in *Language of Scripture*, pp.144-47.

¹³⁶ C.D. Stanley, *op.cit.*, p.146; cf. also E. Käsemann, *Romans*, p.297; and J.A. Fitzmyer, *Romans*, p.600.

to the present context, scholars point out,¹³⁷ Paul has understood Isa.65:1 as speaking of the Gentiles, while Isa.65:2 as of the Jews. In their original context, however, both Isa.65:1 and Isa.65:2 are most probably addressed to and speak of the rebellious and idolatrous Israel, who was condemned by Yahweh as a people "who walk in a way that is not good, following their own devices" (v.2; NRSV). Hence, Paul's use of Isa.65:1 is clearly at odds with its original context.

This interpretation represents the consensus held by the majority of scholars, whether of Pauline studies or even of OT studies. It is true, in my opinion, that according to their immediate context, the Isaianic phrases "those who do not seek me" and "those who do not ask for me" should naturally be understood as referring to the rebellious Israel. This reading perhaps can find support in Isa.65:12, where Israel was accused of having ignored Yahweh's calling to her to repentance. So there is no doubt that Paul here in using Isa.65:1 has changed the original referent of the passage from "the Israelites" to "the Gentiles." How then did Paul come to such an interpretation (or application) of the Isaianic passage when its original immediate context does not seem to allow that? To answer the question, I would like to suggest, we should turn to the larger context, both literary and theological, of the Isaianic passage, or perhaps to the entire Book of Isaiah.

Recently, J.A. Motyer, in his scrutiny of Isa.65 and Isa.66, has observed certain thematic parallels between the two chapters, which present themselves in a chiasmic pattern. For our purposes, Motyer's analysis is reproduced in full as follows:

- A¹ The Lord's call to those who had not previously sought or known him (65:1)
- B¹ The Lord's requital on those who have rebelled and followed cults (2-7)
- C¹ A preserved remnant, his servants, who will inherit his land (8-10)
- D¹ Those who forsake the Lord and follow cults are destined for slaughter because they did not answer but chose what did not please him (11-12)
- E Joys for the Lord's servants in the new creation. The new Jerusalem and its people (13-25)

¹³⁷ See, e.g., O. Kuss, *Der Römerbrief - Röm.8,19-11,36* (Regensburg: Pustet, 1978), p.780; H. Hübner, *Gottes Ich und Israel* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), p.98; B. Byrne, *Romans*, p.327; D. Moo, *Romans*, p.669.

- D² Those who have chosen their own way and their improper worship. They are under judgment because the Lord called and they did not answer but chose what did not please him (66:1-4)
- C² The glorious future of those who tremble at the Lord's word, the miracle children of Zion, the Lord's servant (5-14)
- B² Judgment on those who follow cults (15-17)
- A² The Lord's call to those who have not previously heard (18-21)
- Conclusion: Jerusalem, pilgrimage centre for the whole world (22-24) ¹³⁸

Based on this analysis, Motyer has remarked that "a reference here [in 65:1] to the Gentiles fits the pattern of the whole.... 66:18-21 matches the present verse [65:1] in speaking of 'nations' 'who have not seen my glory' and 'have not heard the report of me'."¹³⁹ Motyer's analysis of the thematic structure of Isa.65-66 can in general apply to the Greek text, although it is based on the Hebrew one. Motyer's analysis betrays his attempts to harmonize the discrepancy of Paul's use of Isa.65:1; but unfortunately, his arguments, in my opinion, are not always convincing¹⁴⁰ or applicable to the Greek text.¹⁴¹

Despite this, his analysis of the two chapters does have a merit, namely that it widens our horizon in reading the prophet's final oracle about the divinely ordained destiny of the nations as well as that of Israel: the larger literary context of Isa.65:1 offers

¹³⁸ J.A. Motyer, *Prophecy of Isaiah*, pp.522-23.

¹³⁹ J.A. Motyer, *op. cit.*, p.523.

¹⁴⁰ For instance, Motyer's comment, that "the words to *a nation that did not call on my name* could not at any point be used as a description of Israel, for there were always those who did call" (p.523; italics his), seems pointless. For, first of all, he has overlooked Isa.65:12; secondly, here the words "do not seek me" and "do not ask for me" may well be rhetorical, ironically implying the self-reliance of Israel, one of Israel's major sins condemned by the prophet(s) throughout the Book of Isaiah as a whole.

¹⁴¹ For instance, Motyer's taking נִמְצָאתִי and נִדְרָשְׁתִּי as "tolerative niphals" (meaning "let myself be sought" and "let myself be found" respectively) is hardly applicable to the Greek text; and neither is his observation that קָרָא in 65:1b should be qōrā' (he was called), not qārā' (he called). Note, however, that if Paul's lemma can be proved to have been based on the Hebrew text, these arguments might be helpful in justifying Paul's use of Isa.65:1 to the Gentiles; cf. J.N. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah - Chapters 40-66* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), p.636, n.22.

clues in light of which the passage may be understood as speaking of the Gentiles. This is not to suggest that Paul would have read Isa.65:1 in the way that Motyer does, but rather that the apostle might have read the present passage against its larger literary context, at least in light of what follows in the subsequent verses (esp. vv.17, 25) and Isa.66 (esp. 66:18-23).¹⁴²

Moreover, theologically, throughout the Book of Isaiah as a whole, the notion that the nations will share in the eschatological blessings of Israel predominates.¹⁴³ This notion, as we pointed out earlier, is not foreign to our apostle to the Gentiles; indeed, traces of its influence upon Paul are found scattered all over the present letter, e.g., as we shall see, his citation from Isa.11:10 in Rom.15:12. Considering this, it seems likely that Paul may have had in mind, or been "biased" by, such a notion when he was citing from Isa.65:1 in 10:20. In sum, viewed from the wider context of Isa.65:1-2 and the entire Isaianic tradition concerning the nations, Paul's use of Isa.65:1 to the Gentiles does seem to make some sense.

As for his use of Isa.65:2 in Rom.10:21, Paul precisely concurs with the original context of the Isaianic verse; this is universally accepted by all scholars and so needs no further discussion.

Before leaving our discussion of Paul's citation of Isa.65:1-2 in Rom.10:20-21, there is an interesting, and perhaps significant, observation to be made. Isa.65:1 is cited to collaborate with the citation of Deut.32:21. As the train of thought in the present context suggests, both of them are cited to serve in an indirect way as an answer to the rhetorical question in Rom.10:19a, "Has Israel not known/ understood?". For Paul, there is no doubt that Israel has known/understood the "word about Christ" (v.17; = the

¹⁴² Isa.65:17,25 and 66:18-23 clearly envisage the coming of a very bright future, which certainly concerns all humanity, both Israelite and non-Israelite. It appears difficult to think that Paul would have missed such an eschatological vision about the End of humanity (cf. Rom.11:25-27). What is more, the remnant motif occurs both in Isa.65:8-10, 13-16 and in Rom.11:1-10. All this suggests that the larger context of Isa.65:1-2 may have helped shape the apostle's eschatological vision and understanding.

¹⁴³ See, e.g., Isa.2:2-5; 11:10; 42:6-7; 49:6; 60:3-12; 66:18-23.

"gospel," v.16), because she had Moses first and then Isaiah sent to bring it to her. Along this line of logic, it appears natural to read the words of Moses (Deut.32:21) and of Isaiah (Isa.65:1) as representing the "word about Christ." As suggested by the context, Deut.32:21 and Isa.65:1 are applied by Paul to the Gentiles, making the point that a particular relationship is to be, or, perhaps better, has been, established between God and the nations/Gentiles. Here, without a doubt, the apostle is referring to his Gentile converts. In other words, the apostle has read in Deut.32:21 and Isa.65:1 a divine¹⁴⁴ proclamation that Gentiles will be accepted as the people of God. If this reading is granted, then, at least in this context, by the term εὐαγγέλιον (v.16) or ῥῆμα Χριστοῦ (v.17), Paul may well have meant God's inclusion through Christ of the Gentiles as part of His people, which is to be realized through his current Gentile mission (cf. Rom.11:13-14,25-32).

If Paul regards the inclusion of the Gentiles into God's people as (if not the) one of the distinct aspects of the gospel/"word about Christ" that he is committed to preach, and if his citation of Isa.65:2 in Rom.10:21 is to expose Israel's obduracy and disobedience to the gospel, as almost all scholars have commented, then could we conclude that Israel's fault, in Paul's view, is her stubborn rejection of God's eschatological inclusion of the Gentiles as part of His people? The answer is apparently, "Yes!"¹⁴⁵ But in view of the larger context of Rom.10:18-21¹⁴⁶ and of the Jewish traditions about the inclusion of the nations into God's people current in Paul's day,¹⁴⁷ in my opinion, the real

¹⁴⁴ Note that in both Deut.32:21 and Isa.65:1 the subject is, in Hübner's words, "Ich Gottes."

¹⁴⁵ So L.T. Johnson, *Reading Romans*, p.164; cf. also S.K. Stowers, *A Rereading of Romans*, pp.311-12.

¹⁴⁶ See Rom.10:1-13, 17 and 15:8-9. Note that Paul cites Deut.32:43 in Rom.15:10; so Rom.15:8-9 may serve as a piece of side-evidence here.

¹⁴⁷ See T.L. Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles*, pp.52-74, for a very useful discussion of different Jewish traditions that were current in Paul's time about the acceptance of the nations/Gentiles as God's people. Donaldson points out, first, that it was no question to the Jews around the turn of the era that Israel's eternal blessings would be extended to the nations at the end of days, even though different sectors of Jews may have had different views about the

nature of Israel's fault, for the apostle, is "simply" christological.¹⁴⁸ In other words, the apostle finds fault with Israel, not because she rejects the nations to be included as part of God's people, but because she has stubbornly and continually rejected Christ the divinely appointed agent through whom alone, apart from the Torah, the Gentiles are to be accepted as part of God's people.

Why then does Paul here underscore the inclusion of the Gentiles into God's people as one of the aspects or effects of the gospel? The reason may be inferred from a reading of the subsequent chapter. In Rom.11, he shifts the topic of discussion to his Gentile mission and delineates its significance for the salvation of Israel from an eschatological perspective. Read in the light of Rom.11, then, Paul's citation and application to the Gentiles of Deut.32:21 and Isa.65:1 in Rom.10:19b-20 brings in, paves the way for, and, to some degree, directs his subsequent sayings.

Apart from having such a transitional purpose, furthermore, Paul's citation and application to the Gentiles of Deut.32:21 and Isa.65:1, viewed from the larger context (esp. Rom.14:1-15:7), also serves to remind, in an indirect way, the "Judaized"¹⁴⁹ Christians in Rome of the insignificance for one's identity and membership in the eschatological community of the Torah and its cultic and ritual statutes, to which these Christians still adhered in one way or another.

salvation of the nations; and second, that the Torah and its observances did play a significant part in the salvation of the nations, even though its significance may have varied in different circles of Jewish tradition.

¹⁴⁸ The christological nature of Israel's fault is only one side of the same coin; the other side is concerned with Israel's self-reliance, as we have pointed out earlier. In my view, Israel's rejection of Christ Jesus and her self-reliance are closely inter-related, perhaps with the former being the effect of the latter. On this problem, I think T. Laato's comment is certainly on target: "Paulus kritisiert die jüdische Soteriologie *sowohl* für ihre anthropozentrische als *auch* für ihre antichristologische (my emphasis) Implikation" (his italics; T. Laato, *Paulus und das Judentum*, p.250).

¹⁴⁹ By this term, I refer to the Torah-abiding Jews and those who are non-Jewish by nature but are attracted to, and adopt, the Jewish way of life.

c. The Isaianic Tradition in Romans 11

11. Rom.11:5 → The Isaianic remnant motif

Rom.11:5 οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἐν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ λείμμα κατ' ἐκλογὴν χάριτος γέγονεν·

No passage can be adduced from *Isaiah* as a parallel text to Rom.11:5; on the contrary, 1 Kings 19, which is cited in Rom.11:3-4, seems to be the major OT undercurrent of Paul's sayings here. Despite this, however, Paul's use of the term λείμμα strongly suggests that the Isaianic remnant tradition too had indeed exerted certain influence upon Paul even in this passage, for the use of λείμμα here was probably indebted to Isa.10:22-23, a passage cited by Paul in Rom.9:27 in which a cognate term ὑπόλειμμα occurs.

In Rom.11:1-6 Paul deals with the problem of whether God has abandoned His people due to its unfaithfulness. This is clearly a logical inference from what he has said in Rom.10:16-21. To deny such an inference, Paul argues that the fact that he himself has been saved testifies that God has not abandoned His people Israel. He then further reinforces his argument by citing the story of Elijah, which is clearly intended to illustrate the consistency of the way God deals with unfaithful Israel. For Paul, Israel's unfaithfulness is not a new thing; nor is the situation of the majority of the people being disobedient and unfaithful unprecedented. Indeed, it did happen hundreds of years earlier, in the day of Elijah. Despite Israel's unfaithfulness, however, God remained faithful and merciful toward Israel. Therefore, Paul was convinced that just as God kept His promise to and covenant with Israel at the time of Elijah, so He would remain faithful and merciful to Israel by not abandoning her even in his day. Here a seed of hope is sown for the salvation of his unbelieving contemporary Jews, and this seed of hope will come to its full bloom later in vv.25-27.

12. Rom.11:8 cites Isa.29:10

Rom.11:8 καθὼς γέγραπται· ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς πνεῦμα κατανύξεως, ὀφθαλμοὺς τοῦ μὴ βλέπειν καὶ ὦτα τοῦ μὴ ἀκούειν, ἕως τῆς

σήμερον ἡμέρας.

Isa.29:10 ὅτι πεπότικεν ὑμᾶς κύριος πνεύματι κατανύξεως καὶ καμμύσει τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ

MT Is29:10 ... כי נסך עליכם יהוה רוח תרדמה ויעצם את עיניכם

In Rom.11:8 Paul cites from Scripture to buttress his point made in 11:7. The words of Scripture are introduced simply by his oft-used formula καθὼς γέγραπται, "as it is written." Because of this, the origin of the scriptural words cited remains obscure. A comparison of the text of Rom.11:8 with that of Isa.29:10 (whether the Hebrew one or the Greek) shows that these two passages share a very distinctive phrase, i.e., "a spirit of deep sleep" (רוח תרדמה = πνεῦμα κατανύξεως). Since this phrase, whether the Hebrew or the Greek, occurs only once in the OT, the allusive relationship between Rom.11:8 and Isa.29:10 appears to be most likely. However, the fact that the verbal commonality shared by these two passages is thin suggests that the Isaianic passage may be simply one of the OT base-texts that exerted influence on the apostle's thinking here. In other words, the scriptural citation in Rom.11:8 is composite, consisting of some other passage(s) as well as Isa.29:10. It has been suggested, and seems widely accepted, that Deut.29:3 (MT=LXX) is linguistically the other closest passage that lies behind Paul's scriptural citation here.¹⁵⁰

The verbal resemblance between Rom.11:8, Deut.29:3 (MT=LXX), and Isa.29:10 suggests that the Isaianic passage plays a secondary role (only in terms of wording) in Paul's scriptural citation here. In other words, the scriptural citation in Rom.11:8 is primarily based on Deut.29:3 (MT=LXX) and yet conflated with a phrase from Isa.29:10. As regards wording, Paul's lemma does not exactly follow the Deut. passage; based on textual evidence, traces are found of Paul's intentional changes of the Deut. text. The most obvious of the textual alterations is the change from negative to positive in the main clause and from positive to negative in the two substantival infinitive clauses. These

¹⁵⁰ Deut.29:3 runs thus in Greek: καὶ οὐκ ἔδωκεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῖν καρδίαν εἰδέειν καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς βλέπειν καὶ ὠτα ἀκούειν ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης; and in Hebrew: ולא נתן יהוה לכם לב לדעת ועינים לראות ואזנים לשמע עד היום הזה.

changes are clearly made to fit the present context better.¹⁵¹

Why then did Paul merge into the Deut. passage a phrase, "a spirit of deep sleep," extracted from Isa.29:10? What significance, if any, does the Isaianic phrase, being conflated into the main Deut. passage, bring to the apostle's argument here? To answer these questions, let us start with the Deut. passage.

In its original context, Deut.29:3 (MT=LXX) stands at the beginning of the final words of Moses' valedictory address to the second Exodus generation. Deut.29:2-4 starts Moses' farewell address with a review of the wonderful deeds of Yahweh done for the Israelites from the day of their coming out of Egypt to "this very day." The first Exodus generation and now the second one had seen all that Yahweh did before them during the days of the Exodus and the Wandering in the desert, but unfortunately they did not understand what all this meant to them. Moses attributed the dullness of the Israelites to Yahweh Himself; in his view, it was Yahweh who "has not given [the Israelites] a mind to understand, or eyes to see, or ears to hear." The context clearly shows that Moses' language, though it sounds a bit judgmental, is not so harsh and severe. Moses' words in Deut.29:4 (= 29:3 MT & LXX) are not followed by announcements of punishment, but instead an exhortation to be faithful to the covenant with Yahweh and be observant to His commandments (cf. v.9).

Compared with the Deut. passage, Isa.29:10 no doubt strikes a harsher note of judgment. As its context shows, Isa.29:9-10 represents a prophetic oracle of accusation blaming Israel for her spiritual dullness/blindness to Yahweh's will. In the prophet's view, Israel became dull and blind not because she was drunk from wine or strong drink, but because of Yahweh's providential will. As in Isa.6:9-10, a passage echoed here,¹⁵² the prophet learned that since Israel deliberately shut her ears to Yahweh's call, so Yahweh

¹⁵¹ For detailed discussion of the apostle's modifications of the Deut. text, see D.-A. Koch, *Schrift als Zeuge*, pp.170-71; C.D. Stanley, *Language of Scripture*, pp.158-63.

¹⁵² For a discussion of Isa.6:9-10's influence upon the subsequent sayings in the entire Book of Isaiah, see H.G.M. Williamson, *The Book Called Isaiah* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), pp.46-51, esp. p.48, where Williamson also points out that "Isa.29:9-10 [is] generally agreed to be by Isaiah himself."

left her dumb and insensitive to His salvation and finally to be delivered to destruction (cf. 29:13-16; 30:10).¹⁵³ However, Isa.29:10, though it sounds harsher in mood, coheres with Deut.29:4 in regarding Israel's dullness as the work of Yahweh. Thus, thematically, the two passages differ little; but regarding the tone of language, they obviously strike a different note.

If the above understanding of the context and content of the two passages is granted, we are in a good position to see why Paul based his lemma primarily on the Deut. passage and yet conflated with it a short phrase from the Isaianic passage. In Rom.11, Paul is defending God's faithfulness¹⁵⁴ to Israel by dismissing all false conclusions (which may be drawn by his readers from his preceding sayings) that Israel has been abandoned by her God and that her fall is fatal and totally irrecoverable. According to the context, the apostle does not appear to accuse Israel (i.e., his contemporary unbelieving Jews) of her unbelief. Rather, he seems to deliver to his readers in Rome a word of hope, one concerning the final salvation of Israel (cf. 11:25-27). In such a context, then, it would no doubt be reasonable for Paul to choose Deut.29:4 as the base-text of his scriptural support, given its less polemical and judgmental mood.

Why then does he use the Isaianic phrase, "a spirit of deep sleep"? It is true that Isa.29:10, in its original context, carries a relatively more negative sense or implication; yet, in using the phrase "a spirit of deep sleep," Paul's primary interest is probably not in the judgmental aspect of the passage from which the phrase is extracted, as we have noted from the Rom. context, but in the plain meaning and implication of the phrase itself. The phrase "a spirit of deep sleep" itself implies not only insensitivity but also a possibility of resuscitation. This is clearly seen from the story of the creation of the first woman in

¹⁵³ H. Wildberger, *Jesaja 28-39*, p.1115, comments: "Die Führerschaft benimmt sich verblendet und verfällt damit der Blindheit. Sie hat die Freiheit der Entscheidung verloren, und nun gibt sie Jahwe dieser ihrer selbstgewählten Unfreiheit preis. Verstockung durch Gott steht in einem nicht zu entflechtenden Zusammenhang mit der Selbstverstockung des Menschen."

¹⁵⁴ Note that in Rom.11 Paul's "God-talk" becomes more explicit and dominant than in the two previous chapters; this appears to suggest that at least one of the apostle's principal concerns here is God Himself and His faithfulness and "rightness."

Gen.2:21-23. In Gen.2:21, Adam was given by Yahweh a deep sleep (MT: תרדמה; LXX: ἕκστασις), and after the creation of the woman, Adam regained his consciousness (cf. Gen.2:22). That Paul must have had in mind the stories of the creation of Adam and Eve and their Fall when composing Rom. is evident (cf. 1:19-20 & 8:18-25; 5:12-21). So, in view of all this, it does not seem far-fetched to claim that by using the Isaianic phrase "a spirit of deep sleep" Paul saw Israel's hardheartedness and insensitivity to the gospel simply as temporary, just as Adam was temporarily brought (by Yahweh) into a deep sleep and later resuscitated after Yahweh's wonderful work for him, and that one day, Paul believed, Israel would restore her consciousness and respond to the gospel properly (cf. 11:25-27). This reading may be sustained by the fact that Paul intentionally chose as his base-text Deut.29:3, where the phrase ἕως τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας seems to imply a temporal limit for Israel's "deep sleep." Therefore, while in Isa.29:10, the giving to Israel of the "spirit of deep sleep" causes a permanent dullness in her and so guarantees the divine punishment of her, in Rom. 11:8 it effects on Israel a temporary insensitivity, which ends up paradoxically serving a salvific purpose.

Does Paul use the Isaianic phrase "a spirit of deep sleep" out of its context then? Probably not. First of all, Paul does not distort the meaning and function of the Isaianic phrase itself. In both the Isaianic and the Rom. contexts, the phrase is taken to signify Israel's dullness and insensitivity to God's will and message; and in both contexts, it is God Himself who is regarded as the ultimate architect for Israel's "deep-sleep." Moreover, as is pointed out above, when using Isaiah's "a spirit of deep sleep," Paul probably did not intend to transplant its original theological significance into its new context; rather, his use of the phrase is very likely focused on the phrase's verbal meaning. In other words, the original judgmental aspect of the prophet's message played little (if any) part in the apostle's argument. This is not only suggested by the larger context, as is noted earlier, but also by the immediate one. In Rom. 11:9-10, Ps.68:22-23 too is cited and no doubt is intended to work with the preceding composite citation (Deut.29:4 + Isa.29:10) to further strengthen and qualify v.7's οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐπωρώθησαν. These scriptural citations, sharing a common motif that God has caused some (disobedient, ungodly) people to

become dumb, blind, and self-snared,¹⁵⁵ are probably intended to explain the present situation of the unbelieving "Israel," thereby rounding off the whole section (vv.1-10). Hence, in my opinion, Paul's use of Scripture in vv.8-10 is not to condemn the hardened Israel but merely to highlight the fact that the unbelieving Jews are hardened by none other than God Himself and that, by God's providence, their state of hardheartedness would one day be over.

13. Rom.11:26-27 cites Isa.59:20-21 & 27:9

Rom.11:26-27 καὶ οὕτως πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ σωθήσεται, καθὼς γέγραπται· ἥξει ἐκ Σιών ὁ ῥυόμενος, ἀποστρέψει ἀσεβείας ἀπὸ Ἰακώβ. καὶ αὕτη αὐτοῖς ἡ παρ' ἐμοῦ διαθήκη, ὅταν ἀφέλωμαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν.

Isa.59:20-21 καὶ ἥξει ἔνεκεν Σιών ὁ ῥυόμενος καὶ ἀποστρέψει ἀσεβείας ἀπὸ Ἰακωβ. καὶ αὕτη αὐτοῖς ἡ παρ' ἐμοῦ διαθήκη....

Isa.27:9 διὰ τοῦτο ἀφαιρεθήσεται ἡ ἀνομία Ἰακωβ, καὶ τοῦτό ἐστιν ἡ εὐλογία αὐτοῦ, ὅταν ἀφέλωμαι αὐτοῦ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν

MT Is.59:20f. וּבֹא לְצִיּוֹן גּוֹאֵל וְלִשְׁבִּי פֶשַׁע בִּיעֲקֹב נֶאֱמַר יְהוָה וְאֲנִי זֵאת בְּרִיתִי
..... אִתְּכֶם

MT Is.27:9 לִכְן בִּזְאת יִכְפֹּר עוֹן יַעֲקֹב וְזֶה כָּל פְּרִי הַסֵּר חֲטָאתוֹ

Almost all scholars are agreed that the scriptural citation in the famous Rom. 11:26-27 is composite, conflating two Isaianic passages (Isa.59:20-21 and Isa.27:9).¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ Ps.69:22-23, in its original context, represents the psalmist's invocation of divine punishment upon his foes, who treated him so badly, and thus, it strikes a very harsh note of accusation; cf. M.E. Tate, *Psalms 51-100* (WBC 20; Texas: Word, 1990), pp.199,201. However, the present Rom. context does not seem to allow us to read it that way; *contra* F. J. Leenhardt, *The Epistle to the Romans* (London: Lutterworth, 1961), p.280. Rather, since it stands in parallel to the preceding Deut.-Isa. citation, it is plausible to see it as sharing a common motif and function with the composite citation. In fact, the Ps. citation does have a linguistic link with the Deut.-Isa. citation: "eyes not to see." It was very probably this linguistic link that interested Paul in citing it here.

¹⁵⁶ Some scholars have also included, or read an allusion to, Jer.31:33-34 here. However, the linguistic evidence seems to render such a reading less likely, though its possibility cannot

However, not all scholars have concurred that the conflation of the two Isaianic passages can be traced back to the hand of the apostle himself. Recently, for instance, C.D. Stanley advocates that it "seems more likely" to see the conflation of Isa.59:20-21 with 27:9 as not original with Paul himself but his appropriation of "a traditional proof-text from either the Jewish synagogue... or Jewish Christian apologetics...."¹⁵⁷ Stanley has refined his theory later in an article in which he has reached a rather firmer conclusion: "Paul has drawn his quotation in Rom.11.25-26 [26-27?] not directly from the Jewish Scriptures, but rather from a Jewish oral tradition in which Isa.59.20 and Isa.27.9 had already been conflated and adapted to give voice to a particular interpretation of Yahweh's coming intervention on behalf of his oppressed people Israel."¹⁵⁸ Stanley's theory is built primarily on several observations: first, "the stress placed here on the word διαθήκη;" second, the unusual use of the plural ἁμαρτίαι in Rom.11:27b;¹⁵⁹ third, the odd breaking-off of Isa.59:21 at the point where the coming of the Spirit is mentioned;¹⁶⁰ and fourth, the use of ἐκ instead of ἕνεκεν in Rom.11:26b.¹⁶¹

A careful examination of the evidence, however, leads us to reject Stanley's arguments as unconvincing. Let us consider the alleged "stress... on the word διαθήκη." First of all, it is not clear how, in the present context, Stanley has learned that the stress

be entirely ruled out. Cf. the text of Jer.38:33,34 LXX: ὅτι αὕτη ἡ διαθήκη, ἣν διαθήσομαι τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰσραὴλ μετὰ τὰς ἐκείνας.... ὅτι ἰλεως ἔσομαι ταῖς ἀδικίαις αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν οὐ μὴ μνησθῶ ἔτι.

¹⁵⁷ C.D. Stanley, *Language of Scripture*, p.170.

¹⁵⁸ C.D. Stanley, "The Redeemer will Come ἐκ Σιών: Romans 11:26-27," in *Paul and the Scriptures of Israel*, eds. C.A. Evans & J.A. Sanders (JSNTS 83 / SSEJC 1; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), p.126.

¹⁵⁹ For the first two points, see C.D. Stanley, *Language of Scripture*, p.169; and *idem*, "The Redeemer will Come," pp.123-24.

¹⁶⁰ Behind this argument of Stanley's lies a presupposition that the coming of the Spirit is "tailor-made for Paul's theology." See C.D. Stanley, "The Redeemer will Come," p.124.

¹⁶¹ Stanley has given some more arguments, but they will not be discussed here. For once these four arguments are reasonably rejected as unconvincing, then those not discussed here will also be discounted automatically. See his "The Redeemer will Come," pp.125-26.

is placed on the word διαθήκη. The context gives no hint at all that Paul intended an emphasis on the notion here. Rather, it seems to me likely that the emphasis lies on the removal of Israel's sin (which is very probably referring to Israel's disobedience and unbelief), considering the repetition of the notion in Rom.11:27b by adding a clause extracted from Isa.27:9. Secondly, it is true, as Stanley has observed,¹⁶² that "the notion of a 'new' covenant in Christ comes to expression in Paul's letters" just a few times, only in 1Cor.11:25; 2Cor.3:6; Gal.4:24.¹⁶³ But these instances are sufficiently strong to show that Paul has such a notion in mind. True, in 1Cor.11:25 Paul seems to have used traditional language, but his use of the language reflects that he has granted its underlying "theology." Likewise, Stanley's comment on 2Cor.3:6 and Gal.4:24 that "the idea is presupposed rather than developed," is self-defeating. For his own words that "the idea is presupposed" in fact imply that Paul had in mind the notion of a (new) covenant in Christ. Turning to Rom.11:25-27, finally, we learn from its larger context that Paul's language here indeed makes sense within a covenantal framework. At the start of Rom.11 Paul has confirmed God's faithfulness to His covenant with Israel; and this in turn lays a firm foundation for his subsequent, positive saying about Israel's final destiny. By using Isaiah's language here he simply winds up what is started in 11:1 and backs it up scripturally. So perhaps we may conclude, with R.D. Kaylor, that "[c]ovenantal ideas actually are present in much of what Paul says.... [T]he covenant as conviction... functions as a persistent presence and a dominant reality in Paul's life, work, and thought," even though the covenantal terminology does not frequently appear in his letters.¹⁶⁴

Concerning the use of the plural ἁμαρτίαι in Rom.11:27b, secondly, we also find Stanley's judgment difficult to support. It is true, as Stanley points out, that Paul seldom uses the term ἁμαρτία in the plural. Still, in a few instances in his letters he does use the

¹⁶² See C.D. Stanley, *op. cit.*, p.169, n.290.

¹⁶³ In Gal.4:24 the term "new" does not occur, but the notion of "a new covenant" certainly is present.

¹⁶⁴ R.D. Kaylor, *Paul's Covenant Community: Jew and Gentile in Romans* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1988), p.3; see also W.S. Campbell, "Covenant and New Covenant," in *DPL*, pp.179-82.

plural ἁμαρτίαι, i.e., in Rom.4:7; 7:5; 1Cor.15:3,17; Gal.1:4; 1Thess.2:16. Of these instances, Rom.4:7 occurs in a citation from Psalms, and 1Cor.15:3 and Gal.1:4 may come from fixed traditional language. But as for Rom.7:5; 1Cor.15:17; 1Thess.2:16, there is no doubt that they are of Pauline origin. In using the plural form of the term ἁμαρτία in these instances, Paul evidently refers to the actual sins of human beings. Such a use of ἁμαρτία in its plural form differs greatly from his use of the term in the singular, the latter speaking of sin almost always as a semi-personal power that is directed against God.¹⁶⁵ Considering this, then, there is good reason to believe that the change of the singular ἁμαρτία in the text of Isa.27:9 to the plural form in the present Rom. context is of Pauline origin. For as the present Rom. context suggests, Paul very probably would have taken "Israel's sin" in Isa.27:9 as referring to Israel's unbelief, self-reliance, and disobedience (cf. 11:32); hence, in using the text, it seemed natural enough for him to alter the singular form of the term ἁμαρτία in LXX Isa.27:9 to the plural.

Stanley has argued, thirdly, that, had Paul cited Isa.59:20-21 and 27:9 directly from the Book of Isaiah, "Paul would [probably not] have broken off his quotation of Isa.59.20 at precisely the point where the divine 'covenant' is linked with the coming of the Spirit, an association that seems tailor-made for Paul's theology."¹⁶⁶ Stanley's argument, in my view, is pointless. Even if the notion of the coming of the Spirit well coheres with and is of great significance for Paul's theology (cf. Rom.5:1-5; 8:1-28), there is no good reason whatsoever for him to "end the quotation [of Isa.59:21] after τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐμόν" in such a context as that of Rom.11:25-27. In Rom.11, what concerns Paul most is the final salvation of Israel. Thus, by ending his citation of Isa.59:20-21 "just before the reference to 'my Spirit'" and by adding to it a clause from Isa.27:9 as well, Paul's argument is effectively and emphatically made. In fact, in the present context, ending "the quotation [of Isa.59:20-21] after τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐμόν" would rather over-complicate his argument.

Finally, Stanley's contention that the use of ἐκ Σιων instead of ἕνεκεν Σιων in

¹⁶⁵ W. Günther, "Sin," in *NIDNTT*, vol.3, p.581.

¹⁶⁶ C.D. Stanley, "The Redeemer will Come," p.124.

Rom.11:26b is both pre-Pauline and Jewish, is not necessary. Stanley has pointed out, first, that the "idea that Jesus came (or will come) 'out of Zion' to deal with sins is without parallel in early Christian soteriological expressions, while the expectation that Yahweh would come 'out of Zion' to 'redeem' his people ... from their pagan overlords was common in early Judaism;"¹⁶⁷ and, secondly, that in the LXX the phrase ἐκ Σιων is quite often used in passages¹⁶⁸ that represent "the expectation that Yahweh would come 'out of Zion' to 'redeem' his people ... from their pagan overlords...". "With these ideological and linguistic factors in mind," Stanley moves on to suggest, "it requires little imagination to see how a conservative Diaspora Jew might have (consciously or unconsciously) replaced the less useful phrase ἔνεκεν Σιων with the more common ἐκ Σιων as part of the same interpretive process that molded Isa.27:9 and Isa.59:20 into a focused statement of the future hopes of his community."¹⁶⁹ My response to Stanley's suggestion is simple: couldn't that "conservative Diaspora Jew" actually be Paul himself? In my opinion, it could well be that Paul might have been inspired by certain Jewish eschatological expectations, and that nonetheless he, having re-interpreted them in light of the Christ event, cited the two Isaianic passages directly from Scripture and merged them together with alterations in Rom.11:26-27 in expressing his hope for a "bright future" of Israel. My opinion can be strengthened by two observations: (1) that there is so far no evidence whatsoever that Isa.59:20-21 and Isa.27:9 had ever been used elsewhere in a combined form as is found in Rom.11:26-27 in first century literature, whether Jewish or Christian; and (2) that Paul, writing Rom. in Corinth, might have had access to the Book of Isaiah, as we have pointed out earlier.

To summarize, having considered all the evidence, we conclude that Stanley's claim, that the conflation of Isa.27:9 with Isa.59:1 in Rom.11:27 was not original with Paul, can hardly stand up to examination; and, without sufficient evidence to the contrary,

¹⁶⁷ C.D. Stanley, "The Redeemer will Come," p.126.

¹⁶⁸ For instance, Pss.13:7; 109:2; Joel 4:16; Amos 1:2; Obad.21; Mic.4:2.

¹⁶⁹ C.D. Stanley, "The Redeemer will Come," pp.135-36.

we accept that it was directly from Scripture that Paul cited and combined together the two Isaianic passages in bolstering his point in Rom.11:25-27.¹⁷⁰

Let us now turn to the Isaianic passages themselves, seeing what and how they have contributed to Paul's argument here. Paul's lemma stands both in form and in sense closer to the Greek texts than to the Hebrew. Besides the change of the term ἁμαρτία and the third person possessive pronoun from the singular to the plural,¹⁷¹ there are two other variations, as compared to the extant MSS of the LXX: first, the omission of καὶ in the first two clauses of Isa.59:20; and second, the use of ἐκ, instead of ἔνεκεν or a Greek equivalent to ה, in the first clause of Isa.59:20. The first textual variation is very probably of Pauline origin and of little significance.¹⁷² But as for the second variation, opinions are diverse. Some scholars believe that it can be traced back to Paul himself,¹⁷³ whereas others regard it as pre-Pauline.¹⁷⁴ As we have argued above, the use of ἐκ is probably Pauline; his alteration of the text to ἐκ Σιων perhaps reflects the influence upon him of certain Jewish eschatological expectations that Yahweh would one day come "out of Zion" to rescue His "exiled" or "wandered" people.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. U. Wilckens, *Röm 6-11*, p.256, n.1153, who comments that "[die] Kombination von Jes 59,21a mit 27,9aß... könnte auf vorpaulinisch-traditionelle Entstehung schließen lassen..., kann aber ebenso eine ad-hoc-Bildung des Paulus sein" (emphasis mine).

¹⁷¹ As is discussed above, the change of the term "sin" to "sins" can probably be ascribed to Paul. And so can the alteration of the singular possessive pronoun to the plural, on which Koch rightly comments that "[d]ie Abänderung des Possessivpronomens ist durch Röm 11,27a (Jes59,21a): καὶ αὕτη αὐτοῖς ἡ παρ' ἐμοῦ διαθήκη veranlaßt." (Italics his; *Schrift als Zeuge*, p.113).

¹⁷² The omission of unnecessary particles is typical of Paul's style of citing Scripture; see, e.g., Rom.11:8 (Deut.29:3 LXX), and C.D. Stanley's discussion of this in *Language of Scripture*, pp.166,168.

¹⁷³ See, e.g., J.D.G. Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, p. 682; J.A. Fitzmyer, *Romans*, p.624; D. Moo, *Romans*, p.728.

¹⁷⁴ Despite their differences in argument and implication, see B. Schaller, "ΗΕΕΙ ΕΚ ΣΙΩΝ Ο ΠΥΟΜΕΝΟΣ: Zur Textgestalt von Jes 59.20f. in Rom 11.26f.," in *De Septuaginta: Studies in Honour of J.W. Wevers on his 65th Birthday*, eds. A. Pietersma & C. Cox (Ontario: Benben Publications, 1984), pp.201-6; D.-A. Koch, *Schrift als Zeuge*, pp.175-78; C.D. Stanley, *Language of Scripture*, pp.166-68; *idem*, "The Redeemer will Come," pp.118-42.

On a close look at their immediate contexts, it is noted that Isa.59:20-21 and Isa.27:9 resemble each other considerably in that each envisions Israel's eschatological revival and re-acceptance by Yahweh, which will be characterized by the removal of the nation's lawlessness and ungodliness. Here the notion of the remission of sin is incorporated as a distinctive characteristic into the prophet's vision of Israel's future re-acceptance by Yahweh. It was most probably such a distinctive stress on the remission of the sin of Israel that caught the apostle's eyes.¹⁷⁵ This is clearly shown in the way that the apostle combined the two Isaianic passages. Taking Isa.59:20-21a as a base text, Paul recruits from Isa.27:9 a clause, as a temporal modifier of Isa.59:21a, which presents a notion that already appears in Isa.59:20. Such an intentional repetition of the notion of removal of sin shows that the notion was probably of some significance to the apostle.

Conflating Isa.27:9 with Isa.59:20-21, three things have been achieved in Paul's argumentation. First, the notion of the removal of Israel's sin is heightened as the gist of the composite scriptural citation. With an emphasis on the notion of the removal of Israel's sin, which signifies Israel's future salvation and re-acceptance by Yahweh in the two Isaianic passages, Paul presses home his point made in Rom.11:26a, or even in 11:25c-26a,¹⁷⁶ i.e., the eventual salvation of Israel.¹⁷⁷

Secondly, the notion of the removal of Israel's sin is emphatically linked to God's covenant with Israel as (one of) its distinct characteristic(s). This seems to imply that to take away Israel's sins will fulfill or realize God's covenant with Israel. If that is the case, the introduction of the covenantal notion with Scripture here brings to a climax Paul's

¹⁷⁵ So U. Wilckens, *Röm 6-11*, p.256, n.1153.

¹⁷⁶ Based on syntactical structure, many scholars are agreed that Rom.11:26b-27 is to support or qualify 11:26a; see, e.g., F. Hahn, "Zum Verständnis von Römer 11.26a: '... und so wird ganz Israel gerettet werden'," in *Paul and Paulinism*, eds. M.D. Hooker & S.G. Wilson (London: SPCK, 1982), p.228; C.E.B. Cranfield, *Romans 9-16*, p.577; C.K. Barrett, *Romans*, p.207; B. Byrne, *Romans*, p.350. In fact, whether 11:26b-27 is to buttress 11:26a or the entire unit 11:25c-26a differs little. For the whole thrust of Paul's message here is clearly put on the final clause (v.26a): "all Israel will be saved."

¹⁷⁷ See H. Hübner, *Gottes Ich*, p.118: "Das σωθήσεται von v.26 wird durch die Wendung ἀποστρέψει ἀσεβείας ἀπὸ Ἰακώβ und ἀφέλωμαὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν begründet."

discussion of God's faithfulness *vis-à-vis* Israel, which starts specifically at Rom. 11:1, and powerfully secures his point that, despite her unfaithfulness, Israel has not been and will never be abandoned by her God, who out of His gracious love is always faithful to the covenant with Israel's patriarchs and her.

Thirdly, the divine initiative, or to use Hübner's phrase, "Gottes Ich," which is implied in ἀφέλωμα in Isa. 27:9, is manifestly underlined as the ultimate reason for the removal of Israel's sin and so her salvation. The addition of Isa. 27:9 betrays Paul's underlying conviction that it is precisely in accord with the mysterious design and under the complete control of Israel's God that everything happens concerning the salvation of Israel as well as of all nations. Such a conviction is indeed reflected at various points in his preceding sayings (e.g., 9:20-29; 10:19-20; 11:11-16) and will finally come to its full expression later in vv. 28-36.

Since Paul's language here is highly condensed and technical, so regarding the function of the composite Isaianic citation in the present context, scholars are of diverse opinions. Quite a lot of scholars think, for instance, that the apostle's Isaianic citation plays a crucial role, in one way or another, in decoding his vision of the future of Israel. They have suggested one should interpret in the light of the Isaianic citation the details of Rom. 11:25-26a as a whole or the true content of what Paul called a μυστήριον "mystery" in 11:25a.¹⁷⁸ These scholars, despite their differences in argumentation, emphasis, and implications, often see the Isaianic citation here as offering clues about both the time when and the manner in which Israel will be saved. These clues are found mainly in the first line of the citation, i.e., Isa. 59:20a, where a certain redeeming figure is mentioned. As for the identity (in Paul's view) of this enigmatic figure, scholars debate vigorously. Some suggest God Himself to be the ῥυόμενος, whereas others prefer Christ Jesus to God based on Rom. 7:25; 1 Thess. 1:10. Besides this figure's identity, the way in

¹⁷⁸ Scholars who see the composite Isaianic citation as explicating the content of Paul's "mystery" in v. 25a are, e.g., H. Schlier, *Der Römerbrief*, p. 341; O. Michel, *Römer*, p. 356; U. Wilckens, *Röm. 6-11*, p. 256; O. Hofius, "All Israel Will be Saved": Divine Salvation and Israel's Deliverance in Romans 9-11," in *The Princeton Seminary Bulletin - Supplementary Issue*, no. 1 (Princeton, NJ: Theological Seminary, 1990), pp. 33-37; B. Byrne, *Romans*, p. 350.

which "all Israel will be saved" has also become a bone of contention. In spite of the insistence of a majority of scholars on the "gospel track,"¹⁷⁹ some maintain that the salvation of "all Israel" will take place apart from the gospel.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁹ See, e.g., N.A. Dahl, "The Future of Israel," in *Studies in Paul* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1977), pp.137-58, esp. p.153; W.S. Campbell, "Salvation for Jews and Gentiles," in *Studia Biblica 1978: III, Papers on Paul and Other NT Authors*, ed. E.A. Livingstone (JSNTS 3; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1980), pp.65-72; D.G. Johnson, "The Structure and Meaning of Romans 11," *CBQ* 46(1984), pp.91-103; F.F. Bruce, *Romans* (TNTC; 2nd.ed.; Leicester, IVP, 1985), p.62; B. Witherington, III, *Paul's Narrative Thought World* (KY: Westminster/John Knox, 1994), p.71.

However, there are some scholars who hold a "Christo-centric parousia" view of the salvation of the unbelieving Israel. They posit that Israel's salvation will take place only at the final moment of human history, more precisely, at the parousia of Christ Jesus. These scholars have identified the coming of the "Redeemer" as Christ's second coming. In their view, "all Israel" will be saved "in a *different* way than the Gentile Christians and the 'remnant,' which already believes in Christ, namely, not through the evangelistic preaching of the church (my emphasis)... But that means that [Israel] is *not* saved without Christ, *not* without the gospel, and *not* without faith in Christ. If, therefore, Israel gets the gospel through a direct encounter with Christ himself..., then *Israel comes to faith in the same way as Paul himself.*" Cited from O. Hofius, "All Israel Will be Saved," p.37; italics his. Following Hofius, or holding a view akin to his, are G. Wagner, "The Future of Israel in Romans 9-11," in *Eschatology and the NT: Essays in Honor of G.R. Beasley-Murray*, ed. W.H. Gloer (MA: Hendrickson, 1988), pp.78-112; B. Longenecker, "Different Answers to Different Issues: Israel, the Gentiles and Salvation History in Romans 9-11," *JSNT* 36(1989), pp.95-123, esp. pp.100-1; J. Glancy, "Israel vs. Israel in Romans 11:25-32," *USQR* 45(1991), pp.191-203; R.H. Bell, *Provoked to Jealousy: The Origin and Purpose of the Jealousy Motif in Romans 9-11* (WUNT 63; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1994), pp.126-45; P. Stuhlmacher, *Romans: A commentary*, p.171-73. Cf. also E. Käsemann, *Romans*, p.314.

¹⁸⁰ Scholars who think Israel's final salvation will take place apart from the gospel champion a "theo-centric" or "non-Christo-centric" interpretation of Rom.11:25-27, which maintains that Israel's salvation will be effected by God Himself in a special way apart from Christ. For these scholars, the "Redeemer" mentioned in Isa.59:20a is generally identified as God and not Christ. Advocates of this view are M.A. Getty, "Paul and the Salvation of Israel: A Perspective on Rom.9-11," *CBQ* 50(1988), pp.456-69; L. Gaston, *Paul and the Torah* (Vancouver, BC: U.B.C. Press, 1987); J.G. Gager, *The Origins of Anti-Semitism* (Oxford: OUP, 1983), esp. pp.247-64. The views of the latter two differ slightly from Getty's, but all of them are one way or another influenced or inspired by K. Stendahl's famous and highly provocative essays, "Paul among Jews and Gentiles," written in 1963 and reprinted in *Paul among Jews and Gentiles* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976), pp.1-77; "Judaism and Christianity I: Then and Now;" "Judaism and Christianity II: A Plea for a New Relationship;" and "Christ's Lordship and Religious Pluralism," all of which are reprinted in *Meanings: The Bible as Document and as Guide* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), pp.205-44. K. Stendahl has refined his view in his latest *Final Account: Paul's Letter to the Romans*, pp.1-7, 33-44. See also F. Mußner, "„Ganz Israel

Although many scholars regard the Isaianic citation as of great significance for understanding Rom.11:25-27, there are nonetheless some who do not see the part which the citation plays here as that important. For them, the citation serves simply as a proof-text, which is intended to strengthen what Paul has just said.¹⁸¹

In my opinion, the observations made above lead me to side with the latter group of scholars, treating the Isaianic citation in Rom.11:26b-27 simply as a proof-text.¹⁸² Support for this may also be found in Paul's use of the citation-formula καθὼς γέγραπται. Paul uses this formula some seventeen times.¹⁸³ In these instances, the formula is employed to introduce the words of Scripture which basically repeat in sense what has already been asserted, whether explicitly or implicitly,¹⁸⁴ in the preceding sayings. In other words, the words of Scripture are cited by Paul not for the purpose of

wird gerettet werden", *Kairos* 18(1976), pp.241-55; M. Rese, "Die Rettung der Juden nach Römer 11," in *L'Apôtre Paul* (BETHL 73; Leuven: University Press, 1986), pp.422-30.

For responses to Stendahl's view, see W.S. Campbell, "Salvation for Jews and Gentiles," pp.65-72; W.D. Davies, "Paul and the People of Israel," in *Jewish and Pauline Studies* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), pp.123-52; E.P. Sanders, "Paul's Attitude Toward the Jewish People," *USQR* 33(1978), pp.175-87; S.J. Hafemann, "The Salvation of Israel in Rom.11:25-32 - A Response to K. Stendahl," *Ex Auditu* 4(1989), pp.38-58. For a discussion and critique of Gaston's view, see E.E. Johnson, *The Function of Apocalyptic and Wisdom Traditions in Romans 9-11* (SBLDS 109; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), pp.176-205. For a critique of Gager's point, see H. Räisänen, "Paul, God and Israel: Romans 9-11 in Recent Research," in *Social World of Formative Christianity and Judaism*, eds. J. Neusner, et al. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), pp.189-91. See also F. Hahn, "Zum Verständnis," pp.221-36; H. Hübner, *Gottes Ich*, pp.114-19; and R. Hvalvik, "A 'Sonderweg' for Israel: A Critical Examination of a Current Interpretation of Romans 11:25-27," *JSNT* 38(1990), pp.87-107, for a general critique of this view.

¹⁸¹ For instance, E.P. Sanders, "Paul's Attitude Toward the Jewish People," pp.175-87; H. Hübner, *Gottes Ich*, p.118; R. Hvalvik, "A 'Sonderweg' for Israel," p.95.

¹⁸² I am aware of a slight difference in defining "a proof-text" between these scholars and me. For me, a quotation is regarded as "a proof-text" if it simply functions to assert or repeat a point that is already stated. So my definition does not necessarily imply that the author disregards the original context of the text he cites.

¹⁸³ Besides here, Rom.1:17; 2:24; 3:4,10; 8:36; 9:13,33; 10:15; 11:8; 15:3,9,21; 1Cor.1:31; 2:9; 2Cor.8:15; 9:9.

¹⁸⁴ It is in Rom.10:15; 15:3, 21; 1Cor.1:31 that the words of Scripture are cited to make explicit a point that is implied in the context of Paul's (preceding) saying.

giving more information or further details to what has just been said. Such a use of the formula is entirely compatible with the present context. In Rom. 11:25-26a Paul clearly spells out his view as to Israel's eventual salvation and re-acceptance by God, and this is precisely the point implied by the composite Isaianic citation in vv. 26b-27,¹⁸⁵ as we have already observed above. Unless Paul is proved inconsistent in using this formula, the composite Isaianic citation here can hardly bear as great a significance for the interpretation of Paul's thinking in 11:25-26a as many scholars have believed. Instead, it is to be treated at most as showing the source from which the apostle drew inspiration about Israel's future. If that is the case, then efforts to detail the meaning of Paul's language in 11:25-26a based on the Isaianic citation in 11:26b-27 are misguided or overpressed.

In fact, further, the immediate context does not display sufficient and unequivocal evidence to allow us to do a "detailed" reading of the apostle's language. For instance, there is no clear indication in the immediate context that Paul must have understood the *ῥυόμενος* in Isa. 59:20 as Christ Jesus. Quite the contrary, the immediate context and the addition of the clause, *ὅταν ἀφέλωμαι [τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν]*, from Isa. 27:9 strongly suggest the *ῥυόμενος* to be God Himself.¹⁸⁶ If that is the case, then scholarly debates over whether or not the salvation of "all Israel" will take place at Christ's parousia and/or whether Israel's eventual salvation will bypass the gospel, appear to be somewhat time-

¹⁸⁵ So H. Hübner, *Gottes Ich*, pp. 116, 118, who comments on the function of the Isaianic citation: "Inhaltlich direkt bezieht es [d.h. das Zitat] sich... lediglich auf die in V. 26a ausgesagte Rettung von ganz Israel und bestätigt also, daß Rettung für ganz Israel kommen wird." (Underline his; p. 116.)

¹⁸⁶ See also Rom. 4:5, "wo Paulus Gott als τὸν δικαιοῦντα τὸν ἄσεβῆ bezeichnet." (H. Hübner, *Gottes Ich*, p. 118.)

Frankly, however, it seems to me, whether the "Redeemer" is God Himself or Christ Jesus would have mattered little to Paul, for this was not his major concern in this context. Even if he took the "Redeemer" as referring to Christ, he still could have good reason to see God as the ultimate architect of the salvation of "all Israel" as well as that of all nations. For, in Paul's view, Christ Jesus is divinely appointed and sent as the one and only representative and agent of God who is to execute His salvific plan. With E.P. Sanders, I find it incredible that the apostle would think of "God apart from Christ" or vice versa; see E.P. Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983), p. 194.

and-energy-wasting. That is not to say, the theocentric view of Israel's final salvation (or the double-path-salvation theory) advocated by K. Stendahl and others is to be preferred here. Again, according to the immediate context (vv.23-24) as well as the wider context,¹⁸⁷ it seems to me extremely difficult to imagine that the apostle would have shared the view of Stendahl and his followers. As the present context shows, in my opinion, Paul's major concern is to spell out his understanding (based on Scripture and/or divine revelation) of Israel's final destiny in God's salvific scheme in order to combat the arrogance and superiority of the Roman Gentile Christians over their Jewish fellow-believers and the unbelieving Israel (cf. 11:13-24, 25ab). Thus, what bothers Paul most is whether or not Israel really has been totally abandoned by God due to her disobedience and unfaithfulness to Him; for him, any detail about how and when Israel's eventual salvation will happen is of minor importance.

Finally, if the apostle really wanted to give details as to the salvation of "all Israel," why did he not delineate them by "exegeting" the words of Isaiah just as he did to those of Moses in Rom.10:6-8? It is true that Paul does not often "exegete" the words of Scripture he cites; but considering the burning nature of the problem of Israel's final destiny, Paul's silence about its details is remarkable. His silence seems to imply that he might have had no idea what exactly would happen to Israel, except for her sure, eventual salvation due to God's faithfulness and gracious love toward her patriarchs. Here, perhaps N.A. Dahl's words deserve our careful consideration:

Paul does not draw an exact map of future events, neither in Romans 9-11 nor elsewhere. Attempts to coordinate what Paul writes in Romans 11 with other eschatological statements in the Pauline letters do not succeed in constructing a unified Pauline doctrine about the last things.... Paul has no interest in giving a detailed description of what is going to happen at the end of time. He does not speak abstractly about the distant future but concretely about a course of events already in progress, of which his own work as

¹⁸⁷ By "the wider context" here, I mean the letter to the Romans as a whole and Paul's other letters, especially *Galatians*.

apostle to the Gentiles is an important part.¹⁸⁸

14. Rom.11:34 → Isa.40:13

Rom.11:34 τίς γὰρ ἔγνω νοῦν κυρίου; ἢ τίς σύμβουλος αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο;

Isa.40:13 τίς ἔγνω νοῦν κυρίου, καὶ τίς αὐτοῦ σύμβουλος ἐγένετο, ὃς συμβιβᾷ αὐτόν;

MT Is40:13 מִי תִכֵּן אֶת רוּחַ יְהוָה וְאִישׁ עֲצָתוֹ יוֹדִיעֵנוּ

Rom. 11:34 represents two of the three rhetorical questions Paul raised in vv.34-35, stressing God's unparalleled "wisdom and knowledge." Many scholars¹⁸⁹ have identified these two rhetorical questions as an explicit citation from Isa.40:13.¹⁹⁰ However, due to the lack of any citation formula and to the syntactical smoothness between v.34 and its context, it does not seem far-fetched to claim that Paul here did not actually intend an explicit quotation from Isa.40:13 but rather a mere linguistic borrowing from the Isaianic passage. This reading may be favored by one more observation, namely, that the notion that God's knowledge and wisdom is unfathomable, which constitutes the gist of Paul's "hymn" here, needs no explicit scriptural support or proof.

As regards wording, Paul's lemma is closer to the Greek version of Isa.40:13 than the Hebrew. Compared with the LXX, the addition of the particle γὰρ is very probably of Pauline origin and made for smoothing the train of thought from v.33 to v.34; whereas the substitution of ἢ for καὶ, whether originated by Paul or not, may have been influenced by Isa.40:14 (LXX), where ἢ occurs thrice. The omission of the final clause ὃς συμβιβᾷ αὐτόν here is probably due to the fact that it is implied in its preceding main clause and so was dropped by Paul to avoid redundancy. Recently, T.H. Lim has advocated that the "absence of the phrase 'so as to instruct him' in Romans 11 may be accounted for if it is

¹⁸⁸ N.A. Dahl, "The Future of Israel," pp.154-55; emphasis mine.

¹⁸⁹ See, for instance, J.A. Fitzmyer, *Romans*, pp.632, 634-35; B. Byrne, *Romans*, pp.358,360.

¹⁹⁰ The third rhetorical question in v.35 is based on Job 41:11 (= MT & LXX 41:3).

recognized that verses 33-36 constitute a pre-Pauline doxology.... Within this source are two biblical excerpts from Isaiah 40:13 and Job 41:3. Only the first two phrases are cited in the former, perhaps with the rhetorical consideration of linking the thrice repeated τί [sic]...."¹⁹¹ It is not clear how Lim has come to such a conclusion, for he has not given any evidence or argument to substantiate his opinion. Further, I am not sure how Lim would interpret 1Cor.2:16, where Isa.40:13 is cited by the apostle including (with variation) the final clause ὃς συμβιβᾷ αὐτόν.¹⁹² This of course cannot entirely rule out the possibility of Lim's theory, but at least shows Paul's knowledge of Isa.40:13 prior to Rom.. If Paul had already been familiar with Isa.40:13 before Rom. and, in using it, did tailor the text to his aims, why couldn't Paul have done the same in Rom.11:33-36? Why should we bother to appeal to a pre-Pauline origin for Rom.11:33-36, which is indeed a theory without solid foundation? Without sufficient evidence to the contrary, I maintain that Rom.11:33-36 is a skillfully crafted literary product of Paul himself.

As is noted above, Paul here borrows from Isa.40:13 the prophet's language to praise God's inscrutable knowledge and wisdom. The two rhetorical questions borrowed here clearly expect a negative answer: "No one!" These rhetorical questions appear originally in the context of a prophetic oracle of Israel's not-long future deliverance. The prophet declares that Yahweh has sent messengers to Zion to proclaim His coming deliverance of the Israelite exiles from Babylon. The salvation oracle in Isa.40 shares many thematic affinities with the two Isaianic passages that are cited in Rom.11:26b-27, i.e., Isa.27:9 & 59:20-21. These Isaianic passages clearly portray a very bright picture for Israel's future. The notion of Yahweh coming to Zion to rescue and rule His people provides the link between Isa.59 (v.20) and Isa.40 (vv.10-11); and it was probably this notion which drew Paul's attention to the latter passage.

Theological continuities between the Isaianic and the Rom. contexts are very clear.

¹⁹¹ T.H. Lim, *Holy Scripture in the Qumran Commentaries and Pauline Letters*, p.160; emphasis mine.

¹⁹² Thus 1Cor.2:16 runs: τίς γὰρ ἔγνω νοῦν κυρίου, καὶ τίς σύμβουλος αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, ὃς συμβιβᾷσει (a variant of συμβιβᾷ) αὐτόν; ἡμεῖς δὲ Χριστοῦ ἔχομεν.

Just as the prophet introduced in his oracle the notion of God's unsearchable power and wisdom to assure his audience that Yahweh's plan of delivering and restoring Israel would surely be achieved, so also the apostle stresses God's unsearchable power and wisdom in his concluding "praise-hymn" so as to affirm the fact that Israel will one day be re-accepted by her God. This contextual continuity shows that the original context of Isa.40:13 did exert certain influence upon the apostle's thinking in the present Rom. context.

If this reading is granted, then Paul's use of Isa.40:13 may help strengthen the suggestion that Paul might have understood the "Redeemer" in Isa.59:20 as referring to God Himself rather than Christ. For in Isa.40:11-12 the one who is to come to rescue and shepherd Israel is clearly Yahweh Himself and in Rom.11:34 (unlike in 1Cor.2:16) Paul also applies Isa.40:13 to God, extolling the depth and greatness of His power and wisdom manifested in His plan of the salvation of all humanity.

d. Concluding Remarks

In the preceding pages, we have traced and scrutinized the Isaianic influence upon Paul that is reflected, both explicitly and implicitly, in his argumentation in Rom.9-11. On the basis of our investigation, some preliminary observations can be made here.

First of all, Paul has made lavish use of the Isaianic material that in its original context concerns mainly the prophetic judgment upon a disobedient Israel. In many instances, the apostle applies the prophet's harsh language of accusation to his unbelieving Jewish contemporaries. Our analysis of his use of this kind of prophetic language leads us to think that the material adduced from Isaiah's oracles of judgment probably serves in the apostle's argumentation a more than simply rhetorical purpose. In other words, when employing the prophetic judgment language from *Isaiah*, the apostle really meant to condemn his unbelieving contemporary Jews, even though his condemnation of them was not absolutely unconditional.

Secondly, the Isaianic tradition exerts influence upon Paul's thinking not only in the contexts of the apostle's judgment of unbelieving Israel, but all the more in the

contexts of his delineation of God's gracious plan of salvation of Israel as well as all nations. The most remarkable of these is found in Rom. 11:25-27, where Isa. 59:20-21 and 27:9 are adduced and merged together as a scriptural proof for Israel's "unexpected" final re-acceptance by God.

Thirdly, our examination of the Isaianic material in Rom. 9-11 has shown that Paul's use of the material exhibits a very strong theological continuity between its original and its new Rom. contexts. This is even true of the case of the apostle's application of Isa. 65:1 to the Gentiles in Rom. 10:20, as our analysis of the passage has shown. Perhaps this demonstrates that the apostle, at least at the time of composing Rom., had a good knowledge of the Book of Isaiah and was continually subject to its influence.

Finally, in a few instances, like Rom. 9:20-21 and 9:28, Paul's use of the Isaianic material seems to be some kind of linguistic borrowing or imitation. That means, the original context and theological significance of the material Paul utilized play only a little part in the apostle's argument; what is important to the apostle is, instead, the plain literal sense of the prophet's words or sayings.

D. The Isaianic Tradition in Romans 14-15

a. Analysis of the Data

1. Rom. 14:11 cites Isa. 45:23

Rom. 14:11 γέγραπται γάρ· ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος, ὅτι ἐμοὶ κάμψει πᾶν γόνυ καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσεται τῷ θεῷ.

Isa. 45:23 ... οἱ λόγοι μου οὐκ ἀποστραφήσονται ὅτι ἐμοὶ κάμψει πᾶν γόνυ καὶ ἐξομολογήσεται πᾶσα γλῶσσα τῷ θεῷ.

MT Is45:23 ... ולא ישוב כי לי תכרע כל ברך תשבוע כל לשון

In dealing with the misunderstandings and mutual criticisms among the Roman Christians in Rom. 14:1-12, Paul adduces the words of Scripture as a support for his argument. The scriptural words are introduced simply by γέγραπται γάρ, without clearly specifying their origin in the OT scriptures. Despite this, scholars still have no

difficulty tracking down their origin as Isaianic, due to the fact that the expression κάμψει πᾶν γόνυ καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσεται in Rom. 14:11 is found only in Isa. 45:23 throughout the entire Greek OT.

As the above text-diagram shows, Paul's lemma differs at some points and mainly in wording and word-order from the text of the Isaianic passage, whether the Hebrew or the Greek. As compared with the LXX, the most conspicuous of these differences is the addition of "ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος" as a preface to Isa. 45:23b. Some scholars have attempted to account for the addition by claiming that the scriptural citation here is actually composite, consisting of some other OT passages as well as Isa. 45:23. D.-A. Koch, for instance, suggests that "ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος (ὅτι) in Röm 14,11 durch Jes 49,18 vermittelt ist."¹⁹³ True, it is highly likely that the beginning section of Paul's lemma here is cited from or based on some other OT passages; however, we cannot be as certain in determining its exact origin as Koch has thought, considering the fairly high frequency of its occurrence in the Greek OT.¹⁹⁴ Further, the possibilities that Paul may have been influenced by the prophetic tradition as to the use of the expression and/or that Paul's lemma was based on a *Vorlage* that is no longer extant¹⁹⁵ cannot be readily discounted. So, despite the fact that Paul's lavish use of *Isaiah* in Rom. (as examined so far) suggests his good knowledge of the prophetic Book, thereby strengthening Koch's suggestion, all this seem to suggest that the source-influence relationship between Isa. 49:18 and Rom. 14:11 is, at most, likely.

¹⁹³ D.-A. Koch, *Schrift als Zeuge*, pp. 184-85, (p. 185). Cf. also U. Wilckens, *Der Brief an die Römer - Röm 12-16* (EKK VI/3; Zürich: Benziger/ Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1982), p. 85; M. Black, *Romans*, p. 195; J.A. Fitzmyer, *Romans*, p. 692; NA²⁷'s reference note for this Rom. passage in the margin.

¹⁹⁴ The expression in question occurs fifteen times in the LXX: Num. 14:28; Isa. 49:18; Jer. 22:24; 26(46 MT):18; Eze. 5:11; 14:16, 18, 20; 16:48; 17:16; 18:3; 20:31, 33; Zeph. 2:9; cf. Eze. 17:19. See also C.D. Stanley's response to Koch in *Language of Scripture*, p. 177, n. 320.

¹⁹⁵ C.D. Stanley has not taken this possibility into account in his discussion of this passage; see *Language of Scripture*, pp. 176-77.

Isa.49:18 occurs in the context of a prophetic oracle of Zion's restoration.¹⁹⁶ This might easily enhance the likelihood of the suggestion that the apostle had Isa.49:18 in mind when composing Rom.14, considering the fact that passages from *Isaiah* that carry a similar theme are cited earlier in Rom.11. But in spite of this, questions remain: what is the function of the expression in this context if it was deliberately added here by Paul? For emphatic purposes? If so, why did the apostle add emphasis to the words of Isa.45:23? M. Black suggests that "the asseverative formula prefacing the quotation, 'As I live'... is introduced by Paul, not just as a formula of asseveration (an 'honest to God!'), but with the clear intention of identifying 'the Lord' in the quotation with the Lord Christ who 'lived again'... and is the Lord both of the dead and the living (verse 9)."¹⁹⁷ It is clear that Black's suggestion is dependent on his identification of the term κύριος as Christ the Lord; however, the immediate context seems to favor an identification of the term κύριος with God Himself.¹⁹⁸ So, context does not seem to allow us to derive from Paul's saying here more than speculative answers, although, in my opinion, the expression might well serve an emphatic purpose. A possibility not easily dismissed, in view of this, is that if the addition of the expression was Paul's, it might have been unconscious.

Let us move on to Isa.45:23. The message of the prophet in Isa.45 is very clear and positive; it is a message of Israel's deliverance (from foreign rule). In order to secure his message of Israel's salvation, the prophet appealed to Yahweh's supreme sovereignty and power over all nations by claiming repeatedly throughout his oracle that there is no God/Lord besides Him. He deeply believed that Yahweh, being the unique God, was powerful enough to deliver His people. As we have noted above, Paul the apostle to the nations

¹⁹⁶ Isa.49:18 LXX thus runs: ... ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος, ὅτι πάντας αὐτοὺς ἐνδύσῃ καὶ περιθήσῃ αὐτοὺς ὡς κόσμον νύμφης.

Isa.49:18b MT: חַי אֲנִי נָא יְהוָה כִּי כָל כַּעֲדֵי תִלְבָּשִׁי וְתִקְשְׁרִים כְּכֹלָה....

¹⁹⁷ M. Black, *Romans*, pp.194-95.

¹⁹⁸ So C.E.B. Cranfield, *Romans 9-16*, p.710; J.D.G. Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, p.810; D. Moo, *Romans*, p.848. See Black's response to this view in his *Romans*, p.195, which, however, I think underestimates the force of the fact that in the latter part of the citation (Isa.45:23) God is clearly referred to.

also does the same thing when he delineates God's salvation of all humanity through Christ (cf. 3:26-31; 10:11-13). Both Isaiah the prophet to Israel and Paul the apostle to the nations place Israel's/Jewish monotheistic belief in the service of spelling out Yahweh's salvific plan for Israel as well as all nations. For them, the belief that Yahweh is the Unique and Supreme God is no abstract concept but is clearly revealed and worked out in His creation and, above all, in His salvation of all humanity. If Israel's God is the Unique and Supreme One and the Savior of all, then it is He alone that deserves human worship and praise. If Israel's God is the Most High and the Most Righteous One, then it is for Him alone that the right to judge all humanity is reserved. It is in this context that the prophet's saying in Isa.45:23, "to Me every knee shall bow and every tongue shall swear/confess," should be understood. In Isa.45:23, as the context suggests, emphasis is clearly put on human reverence and praise before God due to His gracious salvation; however, in Rom.14:11 God's just judgment over human deeds is underscored as a reminder to the Roman Christians that they have no right at all to pass judgment upon their fellow-believers. Such a shift of emphasis nonetheless does not render Paul's use of the passage arbitrary, for the apostle's application operates within the theological and interpretive framework of the passage's actual sense.

2. Rom.15:12 cites Isa.11:10

Rom.15:12 καὶ πάλιν Ἡσαΐας λέγει· ἔσται ἡ ῥίζα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ ὁ ἀνιστάμενος ἄρχειν ἐθνῶν, ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔθνη ἐλπιοῦσιν.

Isa.11:10 Καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἡ ῥίζα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ ὁ ἀνιστάμενος ἄρχειν ἐθνῶν, ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔθνη ἐλπιοῦσιν, καὶ ἔσται ἡ ἀνάπαυσις αὐτοῦ τιμῇ.

MT Is11:10 והיה ביום ההוא שרש ישי אשר עמד לנס עמים אליו גוים ידרשו והיתה
מנחתו כבוד

In Rom.15:7-13 Paul brings to an end his treatment of the "Weak"-"Strong" problem among the Roman Christians. Paul's point in his concluding exhortation is very clear: mutual acceptance, as it is modelled in Christ's acceptance of his Roman readers.

Paul is not content to appeal to Christ's example as such, he also spells out to his readers the meaning of Christ's acceptance of them, namely, "for the glory of God." For him, it is because of (or to the effect of) the glorifying of God that Christ has accepted the Roman Christians (v.7b),¹⁹⁹ and so glorifying God serves as the underlying rationale for mutual acceptance among the Roman Christians. In other words, mutual acceptance is the hallmark of an eschatological, believing community, which ultimately makes known God's glory. This idea is developed in the subsequent saying in vv.8-9a, where Paul expressly asserts that the nations (i.e., Gentile Christians) are to glorify God for His mercy that has been shown through Christ to them. To back up his assertion, the apostle moves on to adduce in vv.9b-12 scriptural evidence from Psalms, 2 Samuel, Deuteronomy, and finally Isaiah.

Here the words of Isaiah, along with three other scriptural citations, constitute a catena of Scripture to reinforce what immediately precedes. These scriptural citations conspicuously have in common such terms as "nations" and "people(s)." This seems to suggest that the apostle's exhortation was directed mainly to the Gentile Christians at Rome.²⁰⁰ This reading may find support in vv.8-9a. Rom.15:8-9a is notoriously difficult with respect to its grammatical and syntactical structure. Space does not allow us to rehearse the details; reference can be made to C.E.B. Cranfield's excellent analysis in his Commentary. In my opinion, the most grammatically and syntactically natural reading of vv.8-9a is to take δόξασαι and γεγενῆσθαι as parallel to each other and both dependent upon the main verb λέγω, with which v.8 begins;²⁰¹ and to see the particle δέ in v.9a as

¹⁹⁹ The prepositional phrase εἰς δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ could be attached either to the main verb of v.7, προσλαμβάνεσθε (cf. UBS³ [1975], NA²⁵, RSV, NIV, NRSV; C.E.B. Cranfield, *Romans 9-16*, pp.739-40), or to προσελάβετε (cf. UBS³ [1983], NA²⁶, NA²⁷; very many commentators). In my opinion, the latter option is preferable; and indeed, the difference in sense between the two is little.

²⁰⁰ So B. Byrne, *Romans*, p.429.

²⁰¹ So F. Godet, *Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans*, vol.2 (tr. A. Cusin; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1887), p.359; C.E.B. Cranfield, *Romans 9-16*, pp.742-44; U. Wilckens, *Röm 12-16*, p.106; D. Zeller, *Römer*, p.231; B. Byrne, *Romans*, pp.431-32.

representing a comparison or parallel between Christ and the "nations," not one between the "circumcised" and the "nations." This syntactical construct discloses the logic of the apostle's thinking: Far from setting the Gentiles in contrast/parallel to the "circumcised" *vis-à-vis* the redemptive work of Christ, Paul instead places Christ and the "nations/Gentiles" side by side and delineates the reason for the latter's glorifying God by spelling out how the former's work has a bearing on the glorifying of God.²⁰² Syntactically, vv.8-9a is to explain v.7.²⁰³ So, if in vv.8-9a Paul intends to underscore the nations/Gentiles' responsibility of glorifying God by appealing to Christ's example, then those that he urges in v.7 to accept their fellow-believers (for the glorifying of God) will most likely be the Gentile Christians.

This reading is supported also by the wider context. In Rom.15:1-6 Paul urges the "strong" not to seek their own good but to bear the weaknesses of those who are "weak." There Paul's exhortation is delivered out of an anthropocentric concern: for the sake of others' good; and it is further illustrated by Christ's self-sacrificial example with scriptural support and finally ended with a wishful prayer. This mode of argumentation emerges in Rom.15:7-13 too. Here, as noted above, Paul's admonition of his audience to accept one another is formulated out of a theocentric concern: for the sake of God's glory; and the admonition is further illustrated again by Christ's example with scriptural support and finally closed with another wishful prayer. Such a distinct, structural and thematic parallel between 15:1-6 and 15:7-13 is certainly no accident but is skillfully crafted. It

²⁰² "Betont ist ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας θεοῦ [in v.8a]. Sie zur Geltung und Erscheinung zu bringen ist der für die περιτομή (=Beschnittenen) geleistete Dienst Christi." H. Schlier, *Der Römerbrief*, p.424. The phrase, parallel to v.9a 's ὑπὲρ ἐλέους, no doubt has a bearing on the theme of the glorifying of God here.

Note also that in v.8 Paul does not clearly spell out the relation of Christ's work to the salvation of the "nations." The fact that the "nations" (Gentile Christians) are now entitled to divine mercy is here not something to be argued, but something assumed (on the basis of Paul's previous arguments, e.g., in 11:13-32, esp. 11:31). According to the present context, it seems that Paul's concern in v.8 is to point out the fact that Christ has finished his work for the sake of upholding God's truthfulness, which in turn manifests God's glory.

²⁰³ So C.E.B. Cranfield, *Romans 9-16*, p.740. In fact, it does not make a great difference in sense whether vv.8-9a is taken to explain v.7 as a whole or simply v.7b.

seems to suggest that these two literary units were designed to form a single twofold argument having a common purpose and a common target group of audience. If so, then Rom.15:7-13 was directed also to the "strong" Christians at Rome. These "strong" Christians were probably (at least mainly)²⁰⁴ the Gentile Christians who ate with good conscience whatever they wanted and who saw every day the same (cf. Rom.14:3,5-6,15,17,20-23). For them, it was meaningless and indeed unnecessary to observe Jewish food laws and "special days." In view of Rom.11:13-24(27), it probably was these "strong" Gentile Christians who felt a sense of superiority over their fellow Jewish believers and unbelieving Israel. Rom.11:13-24(27) appears to suggest that Roman Gentile Christians were the main target group of readers to whom Paul addressed his letter. If this is the case, it can be explained why throughout the entire letter to the Roman Christians, and only in this letter, phrases such as "Jews first and Gentiles" (1:16; 2:9,10; 3:9; 10:12; cf. 9:24) repeatedly occur. It may well be that, with the Roman situation in mind, Paul deliberately employed the phrase repeatedly to remind his Gentile Christian audience of the (at least, historical) priority of the Jews in God's salvific plan.

The suggestion that Paul here aims his exhortation (primarily) at the Roman "strong" Gentile Christians may also find indirect support in the apostle's "previous practice" in dealing with a "similar"²⁰⁵ problem among the Corinthian Christians. In 1 Cor.8:1-11:1, where eating food sacrificed to idols is said to have been an issue to the Corinthian church, Paul sternly advised the "strong," who had knowledge, to give up their rights for the sake of the conscience of the "weak," despite their good and sound

²⁰⁴ "Dem steht nicht entgegen, daß sich unter den »Schwachen« durchaus nicht nur geborene Juden, sondern auch viele Heiden befunden haben können, wie übrigens auch umgekehrt unter den »Starken« sicherlich zumindest jene Judenchristen wie Aquila und Priskilla (16,3) waren..." U. Wilckens, *Röm 12-16*, p.107; emphasis mine. However, these "strong" Jewish Christians were probably a minority. Further, considering Rom. 11:13-27, it would seem to me hard to think that these "strong" Jewish Christians in Rome would have "despised" their native religious heritage.

²⁰⁵ For the contextual differences between the Corinthian problem and the Roman one, see, e.g., P.D. Gooch, *Dangerous Food: 1 Corinthians 8-10 in Its Context* (Studies in Christianity and Judaism 5; Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier U. Press, 1993), pp.115-18.

knowledge of the matter in question (cf. 1Cor.10:14-22). In dealing with the Corinthians' problem, the apostle carefully avoided "solemn lectures" to the "weak;" these "weak" Corinthian Christians seem to have become the "secondary audience" of his admonitions. This shows that in the apostle's pastoral advice and practice it is always the "strong," whatever their ethnic identity, who are required to take the initiative to restore with their "weak" brothers the reconciliation and unity in Christ.²⁰⁶

Let us look at Paul's use of Isa.11:10. In Rom.15:12 Paul explicitly designates the origin of the words that he cites from Scripture. No clear and sure reason can be deduced to explain his "inconsistent" practice of quoting Scripture. Here Paul's lemma stands closer to the Greek tradition than to the Hebrew. The deletion of the initial καὶ in Isa.11:10 is probably of Pauline origin, as is observed elsewhere in Rom.; yet, whether the omission of the temporal phrase ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ is Pauline is debatable. While some have regarded it as pre-Pauline, the possibility, in my opinion, that it was Paul who dropped the phrase due to its inappropriateness in this context, cannot be easily discounted.²⁰⁷ In fact, Paul did sometimes exercise a great degree of freedom to tailor the text of Scripture to his aims, as we have so far noted in Rom..

Isa.11:10 ends the scriptural catena in vv.9b-12 as support for Paul's exhortation to the Roman (esp. Gentile) Christians. As is pointed out above, the four individual

²⁰⁶ Note that Paul was writing Rom. in Corinth now, and that the same passage Deut.32 lies behind Paul's exhortation both in 1Cor.8:1-11:1 (esp. 10:20-22, which alludes to Deut.32:16-21) and in Rom.14:1-15:13 (esp. 15:10, which cites Deut.32:34 LXX). All this suggests that Paul's former practice of dealing with the Corinthian problem may have served as a blueprint for his admonition to the Roman Christians here; cf. T. Engberg-Pedersen, "Galatians in Romans 5-8 and Paul's Construction of the Identity of Christ Believers," in *Texts and Contexts*, eds. T. Fornberg & D. Hollholm (Oslo: Scandinavian U. Press, 1995), pp.477-505, who comments: "Rom.14:1-15:6 is a generalized reworking of themes in 1 Corinthians 8 and 10" (p.487). I am not sure Engberg-Pedersen is right in seeing Rom.14:1-15:6 (not up to 15:13) as a "generalized" form of Paul's treatment of the Corinthian problem and in ignoring 1Cor.9; but I think his point that when composing Rom., Paul did make use of the material in his earlier letters is plausible.

See the interpretation of 1Cor.8-11:1 by G.D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), pp.357-491, esp. pp.357-63; and R.B. Hays, *First Corinthians* (Interpretation; Louisville: John Knox, 1997), pp.134-81.

²⁰⁷ See D.-A. Koch *Schrift als Zeuge*, p.117, who regards the omission of the phrase as pre-Pauline; and the response of C.D. Stanley, *Language of Scripture*, p.183.

components of the scriptural catena are linked together by the terms ἔθνη, "nations," and λαός, "people(s)." Despite this, however, a closer reading of these scriptural passages exposes a thematic discontinuity between the citations from Psalms and Deuteronomy in vv.9b-11 and that from *Isaiah* in v.12. In the first three passages, whose origins are not clearly indicated, themes of praising, thanking, and glorifying God are very readily read;²⁰⁸ these passages forcefully present to their audience the urgency of glorifying Israel's God.²⁰⁹ However, in the Isaianic passage these themes are totally absent. Instead, the motif emerges that the "nations" are said to be subject to and to put trust in the "root of Jesse." This thematic disruption seems to imply that the citation of Isa.11:10 was intended to serve a special purpose here, namely, adding force to the point made in the preceding three scriptural citations that the nations/Gentiles are to praise God. Thus, with the citation of Ps.18:49, Deut.32:34 (LXX), and Ps.117:1, Paul emphatically bolstered his exhortation to the "strong" Gentile Christians at Rome to honor God by accepting their "weak" fellow-believers; and by citing Isa.11:10, he pressed further his Gentile audience to follow Christ's example in glorifying God because they were under his Lordship and derived hope from him.²¹⁰

The above interpretation of Paul's use of Isa.11:10 has presupposed that the apostle, understanding the passage messianically, identified the "root of Jesse" as a

²⁰⁸ Rom.15:9b is cited probably from either Ps.18:49 or 2 Sam.22:50; in fact, either case makes little difference, for both of them present an almost identical song, attributed to David, of praise and thanksgiving for divine deliverance from enemies. It is by no means clear in the present context whether Paul here applies the first person "I" in the Song to Christ, himself, or neither of them. In my opinion, the apostle's main interest here is to highlight the fact that nations/Gentiles will be led to extol God.

Rom.15:10 is probably based on Deut.32:34 LXX. The point expressed here is clear: nations/Gentiles are invited or summoned to praise God with His people.

Rom.15:11 is quoted from Ps.117:1, where nations/peoples are summoned to praise God.

²⁰⁹ Note that the imperative mood is used in both Rom.15:10 (= Deut.32:43 LXX) and 15:11 (= Ps.117:1).

²¹⁰ S.K. Williams, "The 'Righteousness of God' in Romans," *JBL* 99(1980), pp.285-89, comments that Paul's "emphasis in vv.9b-12 falls upon the nations/Gentiles becoming the people of God" (p.288). If my reading of Rom.15:9b-12 is granted, his comment is hardly on target.

reference to Christ Jesus. Such a presupposition is certainly justifiable according to the train of thought shown in Paul's argumentation, even though the apostle does not explicitly articulate the identification. Further, this is also widely accepted by all Rom. commentators. Paul's identification of the "root of Jesse" with Jesus of Nazareth exposes his eschatological view of God's salvific plan. For Paul, Jesus is the final fulfillment or realization of Isaiah's prophecy (cf. Rom.1:3-4). His realized eschatology, as the underlying rationale of his use of Isa.11:10, bridges the contextual gap between Isa.11:10 and Rom.15:12. Isa.11 is concerned evidently with Israel's eschatological revival. But in Rom.14:1-15:13 Israel's restoration is no issue to Paul; rather, it becomes something presupposed, something seen as realized (in Jesus). It is in such a realized-eschatological frame that Isa.11:10 is used by Paul to help settle the Roman "Strong"-"Weak" conflict. To fully appreciate Paul's use of the passage and its implications, we need to look at how his contemporaries understood Isa.11.

That Isa.11 strikes a messianic note was widely accepted by Jewish readers around the turn of the era. According to some Jewish traditions,²¹¹ whether originated from Palestine or not, a strong belief was derived from Isa.11 that God had promised Israel a glorious future when a ruler or king, who is of Davidic lineage, would come to revive Israel and bring about eternal peace on earth. Such a belief clearly carries political implications. The fervent expectation of the nation's revival in its essence embraces a hope of the re-establishment of Israel as an independent state, totally free from brutal foreign rule. Not only that, many Jews also believed that the coming ruler or king would at that time subdue all nations of the earth to his powerful and righteous rule,²¹² which is characterized by an unparalleled state of peace (cf. Sib.Or.3). The extent to which and the ways in which such a belief found its expression in the life and the writings of the Jews, whether in Palestine or in the Diaspora, were (simply) determined by the political

²¹¹ See, e.g., Sirach 47:22; Sib.Or.3:385-95; Test.Jud.24:5-6; 1QSb5:21-26; 4QpIsa^a (= 4Q161); 4Q285 frag.5.

²¹² Note that this aspect of the messianic belief is not clear in the Hebrew version of Isa.11:10 but is unambiguous in the Greek, which is reflected in Paul's lemma.

and social situations of the people.

Against this backdrop, we find that Paul's use of Isa.11:10 in Rom.15:11 carries some significant implications. As we pointed out earlier, in the person of Jesus of Nazareth Paul had seen the fulfillment of Isaiah's prophecy of the coming of "Jesse's root," i.e., Israel's Messiah. Like other Jewish writers, Paul also noticed and indeed underscored the lordship of Israel's Messiah over all nations, a dominant motif of Isa.11. In applying the passage, however, his concern was by no means politically oriented; rather, it was completely spiritual. He was trying to give in a powerful way a further ground that his Gentile readers should follow Christ's example in glorifying God (by accepting their weak Jewish fellow-believers). The present context gives no hint whatsoever that Paul here intended to conduct a politically nuanced interpretation or application of the Isaianic passage. It is true that Paul's letter to the Romans, viewed from a certain angle, is one that addresses Israel's future restoration and that the present Rom. context does represent the motif of peace (v.13), which is also typical of Isa.11;²¹³ but it is surely misguided to read all these as betraying Paul's interest in the political implications of the passage. For Paul, Israel's eventual restoration, from which the entire human race will benefit (cf. 11:12,15), is just part of God's plan as to how human beings can restore their right standing and glory before God their Creator. The state of peace that was promised/prophesied in *Isaiah* to be brought about by "Jesse's root" is concerned fundamentally with a spiritual state of peace to which a good relationship between God and man is essential, a relationship on which all inter-human relationships are based. This is precisely what Paul seeks to achieve by urging his "strong" Gentile audience at Rome to accept, and be reconciled with, their "weak"/ "Torah-abiding" brothers so as to live out the divine peace that is in and among all those who have been reconciled to God the Creator. Indeed, what Paul has sought to do is already anticipated and well prepared in Rom.5:1-11.

²¹³ See our discussion of the Isaianic allusion detected in Rom.5:1, where we have pointed out that Paul was deeply influenced by the Isaianic prophecies about Israel's eschatological restoration, which was said to be characterized by the outpouring of God's Spirit, righteousness and peace, both political and spiritual.

3. Rom.15:21 cites Isa.52:15

Rom.15:21 ἀλλὰ καθὼς γέγραπται· οἷς οὐκ ἀνηγγέλη περὶ αὐτοῦ ὄψονται, καὶ οἱ οὐκ ἀκηκόασιν συνήσουσιν.

Isa.52:15 ... ὅτι οἷς οὐκ ἀνηγγέλη περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὄψονται, καὶ οἱ οὐκ ἀκηκόασιν, συνήσουσιν.

MT Is52:15 כִּי אֲשֶׁר לֹא סָפַר לָהֶם רָאוּ וְאֲשֶׁר לֹא שָׁמְעוּ הִתְבֹּנְנוּ ...

Having offered his advice and admonitions to the Roman Christians for the solution of their "Strong"- "Weak" problem, Paul moves on to the final yet important section of his letter, explaining to his readers his imminent task and ambitions as to the spread of the gospel of Christ and also inviting them to have a part in his mission work. In Rom.15:20-21 he expressly asserts that he is determined to preach the gospel where Christ has not been known, and cites again from Scripture to endorse his missionary strategy.

Here the words of Scripture are introduced by Paul's oft-used formula καθὼς γέγραπται, thus leaving their OT origin unnamed. Nonetheless, the wording of Paul's lemma is so striking and familiar (to modern scholars)²¹⁴ that it can easily be identified as Isaianic, originating from the famous Suffering Servant Song (Isa.52:13-53:12). Put specifically, Paul's lemma is cited from Isa.52:15. This identification is strengthened by the fact that the Song has exerted a profound and continuing influence upon the apostle throughout the letter, as we have noted above in Rom.4:25; 5:1,18-19; 8:32.

Originally, Isa.52:15 appears in the context of Yahweh's introduction of His servant, through whom His salvific plan will be executed and accomplished. It was said that Yahweh's servant had to undergo incredibly severe sufferings and afflictions before his exaltation. By his divinely ordained misfortune as well as his final exaltation, not only his own people were shocked (cf. v.14), but so were those afar who were not told about

²¹⁴ It is very difficult to know whether or not the first Roman readers/hearers of Paul could have identified the OT origin of his citation. In my opinion, this problem mattered very little to Paul here, in view of his use of καθὼς γέγραπται. He seems to have been content to let his audience know that his ambition had nothing arrogant about it but was scripturally founded.

him and had never heard of him (v.15). The nations and foreign kings were astounded by what Yahweh had done to His servant in order to achieve His purposed scheme, i.e., His salvation of "all" humanity.

As is touched on above, Isa.52:15 is cited here as a scriptural ground for the apostle's determination to preach the gospel not in places where Christ's name was already known. The apostle was thus determined probably because he regarded his mission work in the east (i.e., "from Jerusalem and as far as Illyricum"; cf. v.19) as fully accomplished. Here it is obvious from the present context that emphasis is put on the two negative substantival clauses in Isa.52:15c (LXX), οἷς οὐκ ἀνηγγέλη and οἷ οὐκ ἀκηκόασιν. Those that are referred to in these two clauses no doubt fit well with the apostle's next target group of mission, i.e., the people(s) in Spain and beyond. For Paul, what these people(s) have not been told about and yet will see and understand is the gospel, the story of God's salvation of all humanity through and in Jesus of Nazareth. Although it is unclear here whether Paul had identified the Isaianic suffering servant as Jesus Christ,²¹⁵ nonetheless it is pretty clear that his use of Isa.52:15, which declares that the nations and kings will see and understand what they were not told about and had never heard of (namely, the story about God's salvation of all humanity through His appointed one Jesus) concords well with the original sense and implications of the passage in the Isaianic context.

b. Concluding Remarks

In the preceding pages we have looked at three instances of Paul's explicit use of the Isaianic material, all of which appear in chs.14-15. As in Rom.1-8 and 9-11, the Isaianic material is employed here as scriptural proofs to strengthen the apostle's arguments. In Rom.14:11 Paul quotes Isa.45:23 to back up his argument that everyone is accountable for his/her own deeds to God, who is the one and only God and Judge. By

²¹⁵ The present context does not give sufficient evidence either that Paul, in applying the Isaianic passage, has seen himself in the role of the suffering servant; *contra* J.D.G. Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, p.866.

citing Isa.11:10 in Rom.15:12, he appeals to the lordship of Christ over the nations so as to buttress his claim that the Roman "strong" Gentile Christians should follow Christ's example in accepting their "weak" brothers for the glory of God. In Isa.52:15 the apostle has found a scriptural confirmation or basis for his missionary strategy of preaching the gospel not in places where Christ's name has been known.

Our analysis of these instances has demonstrated that Paul's use of the Isaianic material exhibited a good knowledge of its original context and message. Of particular importance is his use of Isa.11:10 in Rom.15:12. Despite the latent political implications of the passage, as is implied in the Greek version, with which Paul's lemma agrees, Paul unlike his predecessors and contemporaries has articulated to his Roman audience simply the spiritual connotations of the Messiah's lordship over all nations. His live application of the passage was directed altogether by his religious concerns and nothing more.

E. Concluding Analysis of Paul's Use of the Isaianic Tradition

We have traced and examined in the preceding sections most (if not all) of the important instances of Paul's use of the Isaianic tradition in *Romans*. Let us here wrap up our study by summarizing our findings and seeing, from an overall perspective, what Paul's use of the tradition signifies.

a. Paul's hermeneutical techniques

1. The way Paul handles the Isaianic texts.

As noted above (in Chapter One, section D), the text of the Book of Isaiah was extremely diverse around the turn of the era. This makes it difficult to determine with full certainty whether the textual differences between our extant Isaianic manuscripts and Paul's lemmata could be traced back to Paul himself. Moreover, the attempt to achieve a definite judgment is even hindered by factors such as our lack of certainty as to whether the *Vorlage* of Paul's lemmata was Hebrew or Greek, and whether Paul cited/used *Isaiah* from memory or simply paraphrased his *Vorlage*. However, based on our extant

evidence, our analysis of Paul's (esp. explicit) use of *Isaiah* has shown that the apostle did sometimes tailor-make the text to his aims, whether by deletion (e.g., Rom.2:24), or addition (cf. Rom.14:11), or conflation with other scriptural texts (either from *Isaiah* itself, like Rom.9:32c-33 and 11:26b-27, or from other OT books, e.g., Rom.9:27-28 and 11:8). His practice of tailoring the Isaianic texts seems to suggest that, although he regarded the Scriptures as written for the good of God's people (cf. Rom.4:23-24; 15:4; 1 Cor.10:6,11), he had no concept of such things as "fixed texts" that cannot be altered. In handling the Isaianic texts, he did exercise great freedom to change the texts for his own purposes.

2. The purpose for which Paul uses the Isaianic texts

Our examination of Paul's (esp. explicit) use of the Isaianic material has exposed a variety of functions the apostle intended the prophet's words to serve. First of all, the commonest purpose of the apostle citing the prophet's words or sayings is to confirm, reinforce, or endorse a point he has made or argued earlier (e.g., Rom.2:24; 11:26b-27). Second, in some cases, Paul utilized the Isaianic words to make plain what is implied in his argumentation, e.g., Rom.10:15; 15:21. Third, our study has found no instance that Paul in citing from *Isaiah* intended to offer fresh information or further details to his argument or teaching.

3. How much Paul was influenced by the original context of the texts

Our analysis of Paul's use of the Isaianic material, both implicit and explicit, has shown that the apostle was greatly indebted to the "theology" of the Isaianic tradition in shaping and formulating his own teachings, whether doctrinal or ethical/pastoral. Put differently, there has been observed a high degree of continuity between the original and the new contexts of the Isaianic material Paul used. The most distinctive example is the conflated citation of Isa.8:14 and 28:16 in Rom.9:32c-33. There, it has been noted that these two Isaianic "stone" passages exerted a profound influence upon the apostle's reflection on the nature of Israel's stumbling and fault.

However, our scrutiny of Paul's use of the Isaianic material has also disclosed that in some instances the apostle seems to have been more interested in conveying the plain literal meaning of the prophet's words or phrases than in transplanting the prophetic words' theological significance to the context of his argumentation. Yet, that does not mean that in those cases Paul disregarded the initial context and theological implications of the material used; on the contrary, even in those cases a contextual continuity can still readily be constructed. These instances, e.g., Rom.5:6,8b; 8:32, can be classified as some kind of linguistic borrowing or imitation.

Apart from these, there are also other instances in which a shift of emphasis is detected in Paul's appropriation of the Isaianic language. For instance, Paul utilized the potter-pot/clay image in Isa.29:16, stressing in Rom.9:20-21 God's authority to do whatever He wills instead of God's inscrutable knowledge as in its original context; see also the citation of Isa.45:23 in Rom.14:11.

b. Major themes of the Isaianic Tradition in *Romans*

1. Monotheism

At least in three places in Rom. (3:29-30; 10:12; 14:11), we have detected the Isaianic influence upon Paul in believing Israel's God to be one and only God/Lord. If, in Paul's logic, Israel's God is the Unique Supreme One, then He must be God/Lord of all. Paul elaborated the implications of this aspect of Jewish belief in the context of his formulations of God's salvation and judgment of all humanity, Jewish and non-Jewish alike. Rom.10:12, as we have pointed out above, presents a distinctive instance of Paul's appropriation of this belief. The apostle employed the Isaianic monotheistic language to depict Christ Jesus as the one Lord who shows no partiality in relation to all those who call upon his name. Such an appropriation discloses Paul's conviction that Jesus as Lord shares God's nature, power, and glory. It is important to note that throughout his sayings about Jesus the Messiah in Rom.10:4-13 Paul expressly stressed the lordship of Jesus by using the term κύριος. Perhaps such a way of designating Jesus is aimed at disapproving or avoiding the logical inference (from his sayings) that there are two Gods, and so

keeping his monotheistic belief intact. For him, there is one God the Father and one Lord Christ Jesus (cf. 1Cor.8:4-6), but absolutely not two Gods or two Lords.

2. The remnant motif

In Rom.9 and 11 Paul utilized one of the most significant motifs in Isaiah's prophecy about God's dealings with Israel, i.e., the remnant motif. In *Isaiah* the remnant motif plays a dialectical role: on the one hand, it presents very negative overtones, speaking of Yahweh's relentless punishment of the disobedient and unfaithful Israel; and on the other hand, it offers hopes, guaranteeing the return of divine favor and blessings. Such a dialectical interplay of the motif also occurs in Paul's argumentation as to the fault and future of his unbelieving Jewish contemporaries. Rom.9:27-29, as we discussed above, clearly represents Paul's use of the motif in both a positive and a negative way. There two remnant passages are cited to round off Paul's arguments that "not all of Israel are Israel" (v.9b) and that out of Israel God has left/ chosen some to be "vessels of mercy" (vv.23-24). The positive implications of the remnant motif are here not yet fully spelled out, but later in Rom.11:1-6, the motif emerges again and exerts very positive effects on the apostle's argument concerning God's faithfulness and Israel's future. In Rom.11:1,5 Paul clearly regarded himself and his Jewish fellow-believers as the remnant that God has spared as a sign of His unwavering covenanted love toward Israel and her patriarchs. The quotation of the story of Elijah (from 1Kings 19) illustrates well Paul's point of the consistency of God's dealings with Israel from the days of old (i.e., of the prophet Elijah) till now (i.e., the time of Paul).

3. The famous Suffering Servant Song

Throughout Rom., traces of the influence of the famous Isaianic Suffering Servant Song are readily detected. The Song offers Paul a wealth of notions and expressive idioms pertaining to the work and fate of Christ Jesus and the "gospel" mission of his followers. These numerous marks of influence suggest that the Song's influence upon the apostle was profound and persistent. For instance, it helped shape the apostle's concept

of the one-many-solidarity-relationship when he reflected on the inter-relations between the work of Jesus and of Adam and their respective outcomes for humanity in Rom.5:12-19.

Intriguingly, despite the fact that he drew heavily on the material from this Servant Song, Paul never clearly addressed the question of whether there is any hermeneutical relation between the enigmatic suffering servant and Christ Jesus. Did Paul read the Song as a messianic prophecy about Jesus and see in Jesus the final fulfillment or accomplishment of the prophetic words? Or did he understand the relation of the suffering servant to Jesus in a type-antitype model just as he did that of Adam to Jesus? To these questions, no answers can be given that are more than tentative.

Let us start with the Song itself. It seems to be agreed among scholars that "the so-called Servant Songs in Deutero-Isaiah are not messianic, for the songs possess their own content and literary form that do not conform to messianic texts."²¹⁶ The Suffering Servant Song, at least on first reading, is not foretelling a certain figure that is to come to do what is said in the oracle, but is speaking of someone who really lived at, or not long before, the time of the prophecy being delivered. So the Song seems to have its own historical reference and significance. Further, there is no sure evidence that Isa.52:13-53:12 was ever read messianically among Jewish circles before Paul was composing Rom.. *The Isaiah Targum* might be an exception, but since its dating is a moot point it cannot be a secure piece of evidence to clinch the matter. Also, if the Isaianic passage really had messianic overtones and was noted by first-century Jewish readers, why was it then that "of many passages from the Book of Isaiah that are prescribed to be recited regularly in the synagogue, this is not one"?²¹⁷ All this seems to imply that Isa.52:13-53:12 was taken to be messianic only at a later time.

If that is the case, that Paul did not formulate clearly the theological relation of the suffering servant to Jesus is telling. His silence could be explained in three possible ways:

²¹⁶ H.D. Preuss, *Old Testament Theology*, vol.2 (tr. L.G. Perdue; OTL; Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox, 1996), p.37.

²¹⁷ J.F.A. Sawyer, *Isaiah*, vol.2 (DSB; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986), p.149.

first, a messianic or type (=Servant)-antitype (=Jesus) understanding of the Song was presupposed between him and his readers; second, Paul himself either read in the Song a messianic prophecy or understood the relation of the servant to Jesus in a type-antitype manner, but found it unnecessary to make it explicit in his letter; and third, Paul neither read in the Song a messianic prophecy nor understood the relation of the servant to Jesus in a type-antitype manner; instead, he assumed the historicalness of the Servant character and yet simply saw him as setting a model of being God's servant that is applicable to all who serve God, including Jesus himself. The first option assumes the existence of a certain pre-Pauline "the Servant=Jesus" tradition; but as noted above, there is no evidence for that tradition. The second and the third alternatives are equally possible. In my opinion, however, considering the non-messianic nature of the Song itself and the fact that the Song was not read messianically among Paul's contemporary Jewish readers, I am inclined to think that, impressed by the striking parallels between the servant and Jesus, Paul probably found in the Song simply a wealth of both conceptual and verbal expressions that were useful to his delineations of the life and work of Jesus the Messiah.

How then did Paul "discover" this Isaianic passage? There are two possibilities. First, Paul was acquainted with this passage through early Christian traditions or other Christians; and second, through Scripture reading by himself. In view of the lack of any evidence for the presence of such early Christian traditions, the first option is at most just possible. On the contrary, Paul's own witnesses to his pre-Christian background (cf. Gal.1:14-15; Phil.3:5-6; Acts 22:3) renders the second option at least likely. Thus, it seems plausible to say that Paul was, if not the first, at least one of those who first caught the parallels between the suffering servant and Jesus.

4. The Isaianic prophecies about Israel's final re-acceptance by God

Throughout our study, it has been observed that the Isaianic material Paul utilized mostly comes from Isaiah's prophetic oracles concerning God's merciful re-acceptance of the disobedient and unfaithful Israel. These oracles have inspired Paul much in reflecting on how God deals with His people. The most intriguing example is found in the conflated

citation of Isa.27:9 and 59:20-21 in Rom.11:26b-27, where Paul expressly asserts that in the end "all Israel will be saved." In fact, Paul's positive use of the remnant motif in 11:1-6 has already anticipated this "conclusion."

Apart from the prophet's oracles of salvation, Paul also used lavishly the material from the prophet's judgmental sayings about unfaithful Israel. He quoted Isaiah's harsh and relentless words of condemnation to express his judgment on his unbelieving contemporary Jews. Paul's use of the Isaianic judgmental language does not seem to serve a merely rhetorical purpose; rather, our study has shown that by citing Isaiah's language Paul may have really meant a harsh condemnation on the Jews, who in rejecting Christ proved themselves disobedient and unfaithful to God. However, this is only part of Paul's purpose in using this kind of material. Just as in *Isaiah*, in Rom. too this kind of material plays a significant part in Paul's addressing God's unwavering faithfulness and merciful grace as well as Israel's fault. In the apostle's argumentative strategy, his use of such material forcefully underlines Israel's responsibilities for her self-reliance and unbelief in Christ, the agent of God's eschatological salvation, and her proper desert, divine punishment; but at the same time, it also shows that God's covenantal love and faithfulness is everlasting and unfrustrated.

Why did Paul show keen interest in Isaiah's oracles of the salvation of Israel in Rom.? In my opinion, there are perhaps two major reasons. First, at the verge of his imminent mission of bringing the Gentile Christians' "offerings" to the Jerusalem churches (cf. Rom.15:25-28), Paul may have had to reflect further on the role of Israel in God's salvific plan as well as the meaning of the Gentile Christians' gifts to Israel. The need to do so may be further intensified by his worry that the Jerusalem churches might have been reluctant to accept his gifts (cf. Rom.15:31). So in this situation a well thought-out idea about Israel's role and future would certainly be needed in explaining to the Jerusalem churches the inter-relations between his Gentile mission and Israel's future.

The second reason for Paul's keen interest in Isaiah's oracles of salvation is related to the situation of the Roman Christians. As we pointed out above, it is generally (and increasingly) agreed by Pauline scholars that Israel's future was at issue among the Roman

Christians. Israel's future became an issue to Roman Christians, mainly because, most scholars believe, the composition of the Roman Christian communities was largely Gentile at the time of Paul writing to them and these Gentile Christians showed a strong sense of superiority over the minority Jewish Christians and unbelieving Israel.²¹⁸ This theory finds its support in Rom.9-11, where Paul formulates in full detail his view regarding Israel's future in order to combat the Gentile Christians' arrogance, and in 14:1-15:13, where the conflicts between the "strong" (of whom the majority were Gentile) and the "weak" (of whom the majority were Jewish) are detected over the validity of the observance of Jewish dietary laws and "special days." If that really was the case, then Paul's special interest in Isaiah's oracles of Israel's final salvation in Rom. can be well explained.²¹⁹

5. The Isaianic prophecies about (the salvation of) the nations

No reader of the Book of Isaiah could overlook the presence therein of a considerable amount of material that is concerned with God's dealings with the nations. Paul the apostle to the nations was no exception. Traces of the influence on him of this kind of material have been found throughout Rom.. Among Isaiah's prophecies about the nations, Isa.45:20-25 is probably the most influential for the apostle's theological thinking and formulations about the significance of God's salvation in and through Jesus. Our study has shown that its influence on Paul was profound and continuous throughout the entire letter (see Rom.3:29-30; 10:12; 14:11). There is little doubt that it was these sayings about the future of the nations (of course, along with those about Israel's final salvation) in *Isaiah* that made Paul interested in the material from the Book and able to

²¹⁸ A very useful discussion of the ethnic issues in earliest Roman Christianity can be found in J.C. Walters, *Ethnic Issues in Paul's Letter to the Romans* (Valley Forge: TPI, 1993).

²¹⁹ Here our argument commits no error of circularity. Our logic runs thus: Paul's language in Rom., on a first reading, leads to an impression that the problem of Israel's future, being one of Paul's major topics in the letter, is probably at issue among Roman Christians; and then this impression is further strengthened by our study of the Isaianic influence upon Paul, which has explored the underlying theological substructure of Paul's language in this letter.

utilize it abundantly.

Besides, Paul's use of Isa.11:10 is worthy of note. Isa.11 is a distinct messianic passage in the OT that envisions the coming of the Davidic Messiah and the eschatological glorious future of Israel (and the whole world). Isa.11:10, which Paul cited in Rom.15:12, spells out the implications of the appearance of Jesse's root to the nations; it, at least in its Greek version, envisages the rule/lordship of this messianic figure over the nations. As we showed, Paul here presents a distinct appropriation of the passage. Retaining the passage's fundamental notion of the lordship of Jesse's root over the nations, he underscores its spiritual implications to his Gentile audience. Here Paul's concern in applying the passage is thoroughly religious and spiritual in nature; this is very different from what we have seen, e.g., in some of the Qumran sectarian writings, where the same Isaianic passage is interpreted and appropriated in a much more political sense.

Chapter Five

Conclusions and Reflections

In the previous three chapters, we have detected and examined the influence of the Isaianic tradition upon three important bodies of literature. The documents examined represent works that are composed by different Jewish writers within a period of about two and a half centuries, though some of the material therein may overlap with each other chronologically. Our examination has shown that the Isaianic tradition exerted influence upon the authors of these documents in a variety of ways. The influence of the Isaianic tradition is not only exhibited clearly in these authors' explicit citations from *Isaiah*, but is also felt throughout their writings, in which allusions to the prophet's sayings and thoughts abound. To conclude our study, we will attempt in this final chapter an overall synthesis of these authors' use of the Isaianic tradition. Our synthesis is comparative in nature, highlighting both the similarities and the dissimilarities between these authors, and will be focused basically on two major areas: first, the hermeneutical characteristics of these authors; and second, the distinctive Isaianic themes that emerged in their writings. Finally, this synthesis will be brought to a close with some reflections on our findings as a whole.

A. Hermeneutical characteristics of the Sibyls, the Qumran sectarians and Paul

Functionally and most basically, *Isaiah* serves as a resource from which these writers derived material as proofs or witnesses to verify, strengthen, and/or confirm their

particular sayings or practices. This is clearly demonstrated in the explicit citations of *Isaiah* in their writings. For instance, in 1QS 8:14 the sectarian author cites Isa.40:3 as a scriptural proof to strengthen and confirm their devotion to the study of the Law as a proper response to the prophetic calling "to prepare the way of the Lord." Isa.52:5 is cited in Rom.2:24 to confirm the Apostle's indictment of his Jewish contemporaries that they have dishonored God as they boast of having the Law and yet fail to observe it.¹

As regards the way in which the text of *Isaiah* is handled by the sectarians and Paul, we cannot reach a definite conclusion in view of the fact that the text of *Isaiah*, whether Hebrew or Greek, was indeed very diverse in antiquity. Based on the textual evidence that is preserved and available to us, we note that, in the case of Paul, there are certain textual changes which seem to be attributable to the Apostle himself, e.g., the replacement of μου with τοῦ θεοῦ in Rom.2:24, the addition of the particle γάρ in Rom.11:34, and the deletion of the beginning καί in the Isaianic texts. As for the sectarians, it is uncertain whether or not they, like Paul, had tailor-made the Isaianic texts to their aims, since they possessed (at least) two different copies of the Book of Isaiah, which show the textual plurality of *Isaiah* at Qumran. But we have noted no instances where the sectarian authors merged together two different Isaianic texts, or an Isaianic text with other scriptural texts.² By contrast, instances of this kind are readily found in Rom. (e.g., 9:32-33; 11:26b-27; 9:27-28; 11:8). This might suggest that the sectarian use of the Isaianic material is a little more straightforward and less sophisticated than Paul's.

In the cases of the explicit use of the material from *Isaiah*, the sectarian authors tended to contemporize the prophet's sayings by identifying the one-to-one correlation of the details of the material cited. Examples can be found in the sectarian use of Isa.24:17 and Isa.10:33-11:5 in CD 4:13-14 and 4QpIsa^a 3:11-24 respectively. Compared with the

¹ Due to the nature of the genre of the Sibylline Oracles, no examples can be deduced of the Sibyls' explicit use of *Isaiah*.

² Having taken a brief survey of the explicit use of Scripture in the sectarian writings, C.D. Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture* (Cambridge: CUP, 1992), p.306, concludes that "some instances of 'combined citations' and one 'conflated citation' were also noted" (emphasis mine). But he does not give the references to these instances.

sectarians, however, Paul does not seem to have treated the Isaianic material in that way. In citing Isaiah's sayings in Rom., Paul rarely contemporizes or appropriates the prophet's message by finding one-to-one correlation of the details of the material used. Rather, his use of the Isaianic material often exhibits a deeper level of understanding of the prophet's sayings; he derived from the material he used theological insights or implications as grounds for his arguments. Thus, though the sectarian use of the Isaianic material and Paul's both reflect their respective theological convictions and concerns, the latter deals with the prophet's sayings really at the analytical and conceptual level of interpretation, while the former is much less analytical in interpretation and more direct in application.

Despite this, however, similarities also emerge between the sectarian application of the prophet's message and Paul's. It has been noted in some cases that, when appropriating Isaiah's sayings to their life setting, the sectarians changed their original referents (e.g., 1QS 5:17; CD 5:16; CD 6:8). In Rom., instances of this kind are also found in Paul's dealings with the Isaianic texts. The most conspicuous of these appears in Rom.10:21, where Isa.65:1, a passage that originally speaks of the Israelites, is applied to the Gentiles. Also, Paul's use of the potter-pot/clay of Isa.29:16 in Rom.9:20-21 and his citation of Isa.45:23 in Rom.14:11 exhibit a shift in emphasis. It is difficult to explain these authors' mode of appropriation with a general rule or a universal axiom; these cases should be considered individually, as we have done above. These perhaps simply display the ingenuity of these authors in their efforts to apply and contemporize their predecessor's sayings to their respective situations.

Our study has showed that *Isaiah* offers these authors a wealth of expressions and concepts. Throughout their writings, apart from the explicit citations, allusions to and echoes of the prophet's sayings are not difficult to read. The Sibyls, the Qumran sectarians, and the Apostle Paul all betrayed a great indebtedness to Isaiah in their language and ideological formulations; they readily utilized the prophet's terminology and concepts. It is very difficult to be certain whether such use of the Isaianic material happened consciously. This is especially true of the Qumran sectarians and Paul, for they were evidently highly Scripture-versed. Hence, it is virtually always a tentative task to

evaluate the significance of the Isaianic influence upon these authors.

However, as our study has demonstrated, in some cases we can be fairly sure that these authors' "use" of the Isaianic material seems to be merely some kind of thematic borrowing or linguistic imitation. That means, these authors sometimes expressed a greater interest in the plain verbal meaning of the prophet's language than in its theological significance. Instances of this kind seem rather frequent in the Sibylline Oracles and 1QH. Yet in other cases, we have seen that these authors' "use" of the Isaianic material reflects at once their theological convictions and their intention to transplant into their respective writings the "theology" of the material "used." For instance, when the sectarians identify themselves as God's "tested stones/wall" (cf. 1QS 8:7b and 1QH 6:26f.) and eschatological "remnant" (cf. 1QH 6:8), they betray their conviction that their sect is the only reliable source of divine favor and salvation. Similarly, Paul's use of Isaiah's "stones" passages and remnant language in Rom. also discloses his theological convictions and exhibits his effort to transplant into his sayings the theological significance of the prophet's message. Similar phenomena occur in the Third Sibyl's formulation of a dramatically bright future by "using" Isaiah's language in Isa.2:2-5; 11:6-9; and 65:25. These cases, in their own right, clearly display a high degree of theological continuity between the prophet's sayings and his successors'. In fact, it is not only in these cases, but in most others that these authors' "use" of the Isaianic material is found to be in line with its original context, either literary or theological; this is especially so in the case of Paul.

It is important to note, finally, a major difference that lies behind these authors' understanding of Isaiah's sayings, namely, that of their interpretive presuppositions. Unlike the Sibyls and the Qumran sectarians, Paul read Isaiah's sayings with the presupposition that God's eschatological intervention, though not yet complete at the moment, had already begun (specifically in the person and work of Jesus of Nazareth). This difference is clearly demonstrated in these authors' use and understanding of Isa.11. Despite their different messianic formulations, both the Sibyls and the Qumran sectarians evidently expressed an intense hope for the coming of the messiah(s). This shows that,

although they believed that their current age was pen-ultimate, full of wickedness and evil, and that the Eschaton was imminent, for them God's eschatological salvation still lay ahead, in an imminent yet unknown future. For these writers, the point of reference of understanding the prophet's sayings is projected into the future; but for Paul, it lies both in the past and in the future. A quick look at Paul's notion of peace suffices to illustrate the point. In Rom., Paul's notion of peace, heavily indebted to Isaiah (e.g., Isa.32:17; 54:1-14; 60:8-17), has at least two dimensions: God-human, and human-human. In Paul's view, the eschatological peace has already been achieved in Jesus' death; it has come about in God's justification of sinful humanity because of the work of Jesus. Because of this, he says, Christians can have free access to God and are to live at peace with each other and even with all people (cf. Rom.5:1-11; 12:16,18; 14:1-15:13). But Paul does not see the state of peace that Isaiah prophesied as fully realized; he sees its complete realization as still lying in the future (cf. Rom.8:18-25), presumably in the Parousia of Christ. Thus, evidently, his understanding of Isaiah's sayings is conceived and formulated in the light of both a historical event and a future one. By contrast, in the eschatological vision of the Third Sibyl, the cosmic state of peace which Isaiah prophesied centuries earlier lies in an unknown future; it will come about on earth only at the end of days when God's messiah shows up.

To summarize, despite some dissimilarities shown in the way they utilized and handled the Isaianic material, Paul, the Qumran sectarians and the Sibyls basically shared the same interpretive traditions and techniques. However, Paul set himself apart from the sectarians and the Sibyls in messianic belief, which in turn affected his understanding of the Isaianic prophecies.³

³ Based on different data and a different approach, T.H. Lim, *Holy Scripture in the Qumran Commentaries and Pauline Letters* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), has reached a similar view of the similarities and dissimilarities between Paul's and the sectarian use of Scripture.

B. Distinctive Isaianic themes in these writings

a. Divine judgment of disobedient Israel and Israel's final restoration

As our study shows, the Sibyls, Qumran sectarians and Paul frequently drew on material from Isaiah's prophecies of divine judgment and salvation of Israel. The extent to which this kind of material was utilized varies from author to author; it depends on these authors' particular concerns and needs. Indeed, as presented in their writings (in one way or another), all these authors exhibited a common major concern: Israel's future and its relations to all humanity.

Evidently, these authors had different understandings and definitions of the identity of the true Israel/God's people. For the Sibyls, God's people are the godly and wise ones who are faithful to God by observing His Law and practicing His Temple cult (at Jerusalem). In their Oracles, unfortunately, no instance has been found that these Jewish Sibyls defined God's people specifically in Isaianic terms or concepts. By contrast, the Qumran sectarians and Paul did so. The Qumran sectarians, for instance, designated themselves "God's eternal plantation" (1QS 8:5 & CD 1:7f.) and eschatological "remnant" (1QH 6:8). In 1QS 8:7 they applied the famous Isaianic "tested-stones" imagery to their fifteen man "council," and perhaps to the entire community (cf. 1QH 6:26f.; 7:9). In so doing, the sectarians probably implied that outside their community, which they claimed possessed a unique covenant with God, there would not be salvation. Paul also defined Israel/God's people in Rom. (chs.2 and 9); in his view, true Israel is defined by faith and not by pedigree and religious heritage. He did utilize the Isaianic "stones" passages, but he applied them to Christ Jesus not to the Christians, for the purpose of confirming his gospel that trust in Christ is the one and only requirement for membership of God's people/true Israel. He also utilized the Isaianic "remnant" passages, but he applied these only to the Jews who put their trust in Christ, with the purpose of proving that God has not abandoned Israel. From this point of view, theological discontinuities emerge between Paul and the Sibyls and the Qumran sectarians.

In addition, Paul also reaches a differing verdict on the fate of the "non-member" Jews. For the Qumran sectarians, the non-sectarian Jews, especially the opponents of the sect, are regarded as "vipers' eggs," "spider's webs" (CD 5:13-15), and "people without understanding" (cf. CD 5:16; 1QH 2:18-19); these non-sectarian Jews are blind to God's truth and thus excluded from God's eschatological covenant with the true Israel. The sectarians see no hope for them. By contrast, Paul puts forward a quite different view on a similar issue. He employs the Isaianic language to depict the non-Christian Jews as disobedient and stubborn (Rom.10:21), as blind and insensitive to God's salvific will (Rom.11:8). But based on Isaiah's sayings again, he contends that this condition of Israel is only temporary, thus leaving great hope for the disobedient, obstinate, blinded Israel (Rom.11:26b-27).

Not only in the matter of God's dealings with Israel, but also in the matter of God's dealings with other nations, these authors hold differing opinions. Their attitudes toward the nations lead them to a differing understanding and appropriation of Isa.2:2-5 and Isa.11, the two famous Isaianic passages that are concerned with Israel's eschatological revival and its meaning for the nations. As was pointed out above, Sib.Or.5 presents a very strong hatred and bitterness toward the nations (esp. toward the Romans). Any sign of the influence of these two Isaianic passages on the Fifth Sibyl is extremely meagre. Whether or not the influence of Isa.2:3-5 on lines 382-383 is accepted, it seems quite likely that, for the Fifth Sibyl, the bright and peaceful day is reserved only for the "wise people," who probably are the godly Jews. By contrast, (the main core of) Sib.Or.3 presents a different point of view. Despite his severe censure of pagan idolatry and sexual perversions, the author did not shut the nations out of divine merciful grace; Greeks were repeatedly invited to come to the Great Immortal One for forgiveness of sins. Traces of the influence of Isa.2 and Isa.11 are evident enough throughout the Oracle; these passages enriched the author's eschatological imagination. In his vision, the eschatological state of peace is characterized by social and political harmony: "no wars," "no fighting."

Turning to the Qumran literature examined, we see that the sectarians, like the Fifth Sibyl and those who were responsible for the later material in Sib.Or.3, expressed

a deep hostility toward the nations, especially those nations who oppressed Israel. While 1QH 6:12 might (arguably) offer a gleam of hope to the nations, in 1QSb, 4Q285, and 4QpIsa^a (4Q161), Isa.11 was utilized implicitly or explicitly to formulate the sectarian writers' verdict of woe on the fate of the nations.

Compared with these writers, however, Paul "the Apostle to the nations" espoused a quite positive view of God's dealings with the nations. True, the majority of his Jewish contemporaries at the moment were hardened to the Gospel, but he saw such a hardened state as temporary in the light of God's salvation of the nations and explained that the latter at the present time would paradoxically serve the divine purpose of provoking the hardened Israel to jealousy and so to salvation. As was shown above, Paul was also influenced by Isa.11. The passage helped shape his conception of the eschatological peace. He considers, with the Third Sibyl, that peace is one of the important characteristics of the eschatological kingdom of God (Rom.14:17), but his concept of peace goes deeper than that of the Third Sibyl. For Paul, the peace that was prophesied by Isaiah is spiritual as well as physical/social; such a state of peace is something entirely otherworldly and yet experienceable in this age; it is an essential characteristic of our relations to God and all our inter-human relations. Because of this, in Rom. he instructs his Roman readers that it is imperative to live a brand new quality of life from the inside out in a Christian community and in pagan society alike. His use of Isa.11:10 in Rom.15:12 exhibits this well. In dealing with the Roman version of the "Strong-Weak" problem, he appealed to Christ's example and His lordship over the Gentile Christians and urged them to follow in their Lord's footsteps in glorifying God. Here, to exhort his Roman Gentile audience to live out among them the eschatological peace that Christ their Lord had achieved for them in his death, Paul underscored the spiritual aspect of the prophet's saying about the lordship of Jesse's shoot over the nations. The primary concern of his appropriation of Isa.11:10 is evidently religious and spiritual. This indicates that, in Paul's view, the real actualization of the eschatological, cosmic peace and Christ's lordship over all humanity takes its start in the change of one's inner life, a change which in turn greatly affects, and is to be dynamically lived out in, one's daily

living and interactions with other people.

What led Paul to such an understanding of the Isaianic notion of the eschatological cosmic peace and the messiah's lordship? Tentatively, several factors can be suggested. First of all, as was pointed out (in our discussion of Rom.5:1), the Isaianic notion of the eschatological peace itself implicitly carries spiritual implications; it at least assumes a reconciled relationship with God as the prerequisite for the realization of such a state. What Paul has contributed in Rom. is to bring out these implications of the prophet's notion in the light of the Christ event and the Christian experience of the Holy Spirit. The second factor is Paul's personal encounter with and commission by the risen Christ Jesus at Damascus. In Gal.1:15-17; Rom.1:1-2,5; 11:13; 15:16,⁴ Paul explicitly testifies to his calling to be God's messenger bringing the gospel to the nations/Gentiles. Such a calling from heaven would no doubt affect the Apostle's attitudes toward the nations and his understanding of Isaiah's sayings about the destiny of the nations (e.g., Isa.45:17-25).⁵

Thirdly, Paul might have been influenced by Jesus himself. According to the Gospels, Jesus seldom discusses the nature of the eschatological peace and his lordship/messiahship. In John 14:27 and 16:33, we are told that Jesus sees the peace that he brings to his followers as utterly otherworldly and yet experienceable in this world. This exactly concurs with Paul's conception of the Isaianic eschatological peace. It is of course impossible that Paul was influenced by the Fourth Gospel, in view of the latter's date of composition. But that Paul did "quote" Jesus' sayings in his letters several times⁶ does suggest the influence of the early Jesus tradition on his thoughts and teachings. Also, Paul's use in Rom.14:17 of the phrase "kingdom of God," a phrase rarely used in his own letters but predominantly in Jesus' sayings, evidently betrays traces of the influence of the

⁴ Cf. also Acts 9:3-19; 22:2-16; 26:1-18.

⁵ The impact of the Damascus encounter with the risen Lord upon Paul's theological thinking and understanding of Scripture has been discussed in detail by S. Kim, *The Origin of Paul's Gospel* (2nd. ed.; WUNT 2.4; Tübingen: J.B.C. Mohr, 1984); see also the articles in *The Road from Damascus: The Impact of Paul's Conversion on His Life, Thought and Ministry*, ed. R.N. Longenecker (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997).

⁶ Cf. 1Cor.7:10; 9:14; 11:23; 1Thess.4:15.

Jesus tradition in his letter. If that is the case, it seems not unlikely that Paul's understanding of the lordship of Jesse' shoot over the nations (as well as Israel) was also influenced by Jesus' own understanding of his messiahship. As the Gospels witness, Jesus never understands, or speaks of, his messiahship or kingship in political terms or ideologies.⁷ Rather, he views his messiahship or kingship as to be realized or achieved through his sufferings and death, and spells out the effect/consequence of his messiahship as the ultimate victory over Satan (and sin) and the complete reign of God in/among humans (cf. Luke 10:18; 17:20-25; John 18:36). So, it seems that Jesus sees the nature of the eschatological peace and his lordship as primarily spiritual and as concerned with one's inner life.⁸

In sum, all of these factors are clearly not exclusive but complementary; they undoubtedly exerted significant influence upon Paul's religious orientation and understanding of Isaiah's prophecies, even though we cannot be sure how much and in what way Paul was influenced by the Jesus tradition.

b. Monotheism

These writers' attitudes toward the nations are also reflected in their respective appropriation of the Jewish monotheistic belief. In their writings, we have detected traces of this belief, as strongly presented in Isa.40-55. In her Oracle, the Third Sibyl presents her God as the unique and supreme One; it is He alone who deserves worship from/by humans and He alone who has right to judge, and power to save, humans. The Sibyl's

⁷ So D. Mendels, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Nationalism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), pp.228-29.

⁸ I am aware of the complicated issues that are involved here; what is suggested here is simply tentative and perhaps serves as a pointer for further study in the future. For a similar view of Jesus' understanding of his messiahship and God's kingdom, see N.T. Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996); and for differing views, see M.J. Borg, *Conflict, Holiness and Politics in the Teaching of Jesus* (NY/Toronto: Edwin Mellen Press, 1984); *idem*, *Jesus: A New Vision* (London: SPCK, 1993); R.A. Horsley, *Jesus and the Spiral of Violence* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993 [1987]). On the relationship between Paul and Jesus, see, e.g., J.M.G. Barclay, "Jesus and Paul," in *DPL*, pp.492-503.

belief comes close to Paul's as presented in Rom.. In 1QH 7:32; 10:9; 12:11 the sectarian psalmists also expose their monotheistic belief. For them, God is the most transcendent and most incomparable and yet is merciful to those who worship and are faithful to Him, i.e., the psalmists themselves and their fellow-members of the sectarian community. Compared with the sectarians, the Third Sibyl and Paul were more "universalist." They seem to have appropriated the Jewish monotheistic belief to the extent that God, being the Unique One and Most High, is both judge and savior of all humanity, Jewish and non-Jewish. Such appropriation is evidently due to their respective understandings of God's eschatological dealings with the nations.

c. The Suffering Servant Song

In our study, traces were detected of the influence of the famous Suffering Servant Song upon the Third Sibyl (cf. line 721), the sectarians and Paul. We have noted that the influence of the Song upon these writers seems to be mainly on the linguistic and thematic level. None of these writers appears to have understood the Song as speaking of a definite messianic figure, even though the Apostle clearly utilized material from the Song to depict Jesus' life and work. Most importantly, we noted that Paul, unlike the Third Sibyl and the sectarians, not only extracted from the Song powerful expressions and distinct concepts to delineate the implications of Jesus' life and death, but also drew inspiration about the intriguing theological relations between Adam and the entire human race having noticed the parallels between the Isaianic suffering servant and Jesus.

C. Concluding reflections

- a. Sib.Or.3:286 and Sib.Or.5:493-502 present us with two distinct instances that alert us to be cautious in identifying a given text's "intertextual" undercurrent. Our study has shown that the source-text of a given text/saying is not necessarily an earlier text, but could well be a historical event or its related legend. In such cases, linguistic and thematic evidence, by which an allusive relationship is to be

determined, is not sufficient to establish a text-text relationship. Rather, the accessibility of the historical legend to the author of the given text plays a significant part in reaching a fair verdict.

- b. In our study, it has been observed that, in utilizing the Isaianic material, the Sibyls, the sectarians, and (especially) Paul often showed signs of knowledge of, or even respect for, its original context. If such an observation is on target, it seems fair to say that the Isaianic tradition, among many other OT traditions, more or less directed the thinking of these Jewish writers. It then follows that it is essential and generally fruitful to give serious attention to the original context of the scriptural material that is used by the Jewish writers in question, in order to assess the magnitude of the impact of Scripture upon, and/or to examine the characteristics of, their thinking. This is especially true of Paul, whose thinking (as shown in Rom.) was evidently greatly moulded by Isaiah's sayings.
- c. Our study has also shown that sometimes these writers were influenced by or indebted to the Isaianic tradition simply on the verbal and/or thematic level. This alerts us not to overstate the influence of a certain scriptural tradition upon a given Jewish writer. These cases make us aware that sound knowledge of the contexts of the texts under discussion is indispensable. Only by a careful contextual comparison could one precisely determine the real import of a certain scriptural tradition.
- d. It is important to reflect on the significance of the scriptural allusions for our knowledge of the author and the reader. The scriptural allusions provide some information about the author himself; they usually display both an author's knowledge of a scriptural tradition and that tradition's influence upon him. But the allusions can hardly offer us any sure knowledge about the reader. Whether the reader could catch an allusion is a question that is, if not impossible, extremely difficult to determine. For the fact that the author himself does not explicitly notify his reader that he is citing/using Scripture may imply either that the alleged allusive effect happens unconsciously, or that the author does not expect his reader

to pay attention to the significance of the underlying intertext of his saying, or that the author assumes the intertext to be understood by, or familiar to, his reader. All these are equally possible, so it is impossible to reach any judgment on this matter.

- e. Our study has also stimulated rethinking of the notion of "context" and so that of the phrase "out of context." It is true that, when a text is quoted in a later text, it is transferred into another literary and, sometimes, cultural context; however, it does not necessarily follow from such a contextual change that that text is utilized in/by the later one out of context. The determining factor is how much the old and new contexts of the words quoted overlap or parallel each other. Moreover, in my study I have adopted the notion of "contextual circles" and have tried to understand the (esp. explicit) use of Scripture in the selected literature from different contextual levels. We have noted that in some cases the use of Scripture could be considered as "out of context." For instance, we may take Paul's use of Isa.65:1 in Rom.10:20 (see above pp.285-291). From the perspective of the immediate context of Isa.65:1, Paul's appropriation of the passage to the Gentile Christians is surely awkward; yet, if viewed from the wider context, it seems to make sense to modern readers. Although such a reading of Paul's use of Isa.65:1 is no more than tentative, the possibility cannot be readily denied that Paul could have read the prophet's saying from a larger literary and theological perspective.
- f. A final point of reflection may be made on the significance of the Isaianic tradition for these authors. It seems justifiable not to claim too much about the significance of the Isaianic tradition for the author(s) of Sib.Or.5, considering the meagre (and sometimes uncertain) evidence for the Isaianic influence therein and the fact that equally intensive study of the influence of other scriptural traditions has not been carried out on the Oracle. As for the case of Sib.Or.3, we can be fairly confident that the Isaianic tradition was important or useful in that it provided the author of (the main core of) the Oracle powerful and dramatic language about the eschatological future of Israel. However, the fact that we have not intensively investigated the influence of other scriptural traditions on the Oracle prevents us

from saying anything beyond this. That the Isaianic tradition was important to the Qumran sectarians seems beyond doubt, in view of the conditions of the two Isaiah Scrolls found at Qumran. However, how important it actually was for them is hard to tell, although quite a lot of traces of its influence have been caught. Perhaps only after a thorough study of the influence of other scriptural traditions upon all of their writings, can a fair verdict be reached. Compared with the Sibylline oracles and the sectarian writings, Rom. offers more information that enables us to have a rather more definite understanding of why Paul was so interested in the Isaianic tradition. The fact that, out of about 50 scriptural citations in Rom.,⁹ sixteen instances are Isaianic clearly suggests the importance of the Isaianic tradition to the Apostle. Indeed, the tradition's importance is not only exhibited in these citations but also in the allusions to the tradition throughout Rom., as our study has shown above. The tradition was important to Paul probably on two fronts, in view of the Apostle's personal situation and that of the Roman Christians. First, it presents a wealth of material about God's dealings with His people, which enriched Paul's vision of Israel's future. Second, it also contains plenty of information about the destiny of the nations *vis-à-vis* Israel's future. This kind of information no doubt would have helped the Apostle better understand his divinely appointed mission to the Gentiles and so strengthen his conviction of its importance to God's salvific scheme for all humanity.

⁹ The one in Rom.10:13, counted here, can arguably be treated as a non-citation.

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