

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament 89

Paul and the Mosaic Law



Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament

Herausgegeben von
Martin Hengel und Otfried Hofius

89

Paul and the Mosaic Law

edited by

James D.G. Dunn

The Third Durham-Tübingen Research Symposium
on Earliest Christianity and Judaism
(Durham, September, 1994)



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In Honour
of
Charles E.B. Cranfield
Emeritus Professor of Divinity
University of Durham
to celebrate his
80th birthday
13. September, 1995

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Preface

The third Durham-Tübingen Research Symposium on Earliest Christianity and Judaism met in St John's College, Durham, from September 19 to 23 in 1994. It followed the same pattern as the previous meetings of the Symposium: the first on 'Paulus, Missionar und Theologe, und das antike Judentum', which met at Tübingen in September 1988 and whose papers were published under the same title in 1991;¹ and the second on 'The Parting of the Ways, AD 70 to 135', which met at Durham in September 1989, and whose papers were published in 1992.² The pattern had been established at a previous Tübingen Symposium, organised by Peter Stuhlmacher, on 'Das Evangelium und die Evangelien' in September 1982, whose papers appeared a year later.³

The pattern is a simple but effective one, which has now proved itself over four Symposia. The key to success is threefold: first, to limit numbers to about 16 where all are actively engaged at a professional level with the subject of the Symposium; second, to meet for a number of days for intensive working sessions, but interspersed with opportunities for social relaxation; and third, to ensure as far as possible that papers are distributed beforehand, with introductions limited to 20–30 minutes and more than an hour allowed for discussion. In this case some of the thirteen sessions were overloaded: there was a much more positive response to initial invitations than had been anticipated! And there was the usual problem of some papers arriving late, limiting the time for preparatory reading. But as before, the blend of intensive debate (where numbers allowed all who wished to participate to do so and at sufficient length to make their point clear) and casual conversation over meals and on the outing gave the discussions a richness, including (I do not say despite) the diversity of views involved, which is often lacking in other academic exchanges. In this case, living and meeting as we did in the shadow of Durham's great Norman cathedral, the sense of collegiality and common purpose which the few days engendered among us was quite exceptional in quality and will live in our memories for a long time.

¹ *Paulus und das antike Judentum*, hrsg. M. Hengel & U. Heckel (WUNT 58; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1991).

² *Jews and Christians: The Parting of the Ways A.D. 70 to 135*, ed. J.D.G. Dunn (WUNT 66; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1992).

³ *Das Evangelium und die Evangelien*, hrsg. P. Stuhlmacher (WUNT 28; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1983).

As usual the Symposium was composed of a core of Durhamites and Tübingers with other international participants invited to take part. On this occasion, with so many engaged in the discussion on 'Paul and the Law', it was not possible to draw in the full range of those who have taken a leading part in the debate over the past fifteen to twenty years. The object was rather to achieve a representative spread of the leading New Testament scholars actively engaged in this area of contemporary debate, and in this we succeeded. Indeed, it would be hard to conceive of a more high-powered and representative gathering on this subject anywhere in the world.

This very fact may have engendered hopes and even expectations of a degree of consensus among the Symposiasts which were too high or unrealistic. One member of the postgraduate support team wrote afterwards: 'War denn in Durham nicht die Elite einer ganzen Generation von Neutestamentlern zusammengekommen? Ein jeder wußte ausgesprochen vernünftig und mit unwiderleglich durchdachten Argumenten zu debattieren, und doch war an Konvergenz in der Frage "Paul and the Law" nicht zu denken.'

Yet neither should the extent of the disagreement and diversity of opinion be exaggerated. The great bulk of disagreement was in fact contained within broad parameters of agreement. The final paper attempts to sketch out these parameters and to suggest that much of the continuing disagreement is disagreement of emphasis, or, as we might say, disagreement over the effect of perspective and the degree of light and shade appropriate in transferring such a complex subject on to our own two-dimensional canvas. Moreover, since there will always be disagreement on points of interpretation, it is equally, perhaps more important, that those who disagree learn to appreciate the strengths (as well as the weaknesses) of the others' opinions, and to frame their own views in such a way as to recognize and, if possible, incorporate these strengths (the revision of the papers following the Symposium and before publication has given opportunity for this). When the degree of complementarity is thus brought more clearly to light the extent and seriousness of the continuing disagreements can be given their proper weight.

Of those originally envisaged as taking part, Sandy Wedderburn's appointment to a Chair in München caused him to withdraw early on, though happily his newly arrived successor, Loren Stuckenbruck, was able to participate. Unfortunately Peter Stuhlmacher and Robert Jewett also had to pull out later on because of unforeseen obligations, though the presence of Paul Trebilco on research leave in Durham was an unplanned-for bonus. The members of the Symposium were delighted that Kingsley Barrett and Charles Cranfield were able to be present for some of the meetings, and still more delighted to be able to dedicate their papers to Charles in appreciation of his own work on the subject and in honour of his 80th birthday.

Thanks are especially due to the local team of postgraduates who took a mountain of work from my shoulders and left me free for the main chairing and coordinating roles in organisation – particularly Elizabeth Danna, Jey Kanagaraj, Ken Schenk and Derek Tovey. Also part of the support team were Friedrich Avemarie, Wieland Bopp, Carsten Claußen, George van Kooten, Ivar Vegge, and Arie Zwiep. Their occasional contributions to the discussion from ‘the outer circle’ only enhanced its value. Also featuring in the photographs of the occasion is the warum supporting presence of Marianne Hengel.

Thanks are due to the British Academy, the University of Durham Research Committee and the Durham Department of Theology and Durham Centre for Theological Research for their funding and sponsorship of the Symposium. Also to the Dean of Durham, John Arnold and his wife Anneliese, for offering a welcome and nightcap on the first night in the splendid Deanery, to the University of Durham and the Cathedral Chapter for delightful receptions during the course of the Symposium, to Dr. Ian Doyle and again the Chapter for much-appreciated tours of the Castle and the Cathedral, and to St John’s College for providing such collegial-inducing and effective facilities. J.C.B. Mohr have done their usual efficient job in producing a volume which is a pleasure to handle and, hoffentlich, a profit to peruse.

Durham, Conversion of John Wesley,
May 24, 1995

James D.G. Dunn

Introduction

by

JAMES D.G. DUNN

For those who have spent many years studying the theology of Paul the present-day Sturm und Drang over the question of Paul and the Mosaic Law must have come as something of a surprise. Up until the last fifteen years or so there was no real debate on the subject. For the most part lectures and textbooks seemed content to rehearse lines of exposition and solutions to old exegetical problems which had been settled in previous generations. If truth be told, the subject had become boring to many students and scholars, not worth much original effort on the part of those anxious to make their name in New Testament scholarship, the results being too predictable.

As is now widely recognized among Pauline specialists, however, a new phase in Pauline studies was introduced by E.P. Sanders' *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*.¹ In English speaking scholarship my own description of Sanders' work, in the T.W. Manson Memorial Lecture of 1982, as opening up a 'new perspective on Paul',² seems to have caught the mood of a more widespread perception. In contrast, the initial response from within Germanspeaking scholarship was a good deal less sympathetic. As one German colleague expressed it to me, what was sound in Sanders' analysis of early Judaism was familiar to them and had already been well expressed in M. Limbeck's *Die Ordnung des Heils: Untersuchungen zum Gesetzesverständnis des Frühjudentums*.³ However the translation of Sanders into German⁴ and the hum of debate in Britain and north America occasioned by Sanders has made it impossible for the most recent wave of German-speaking scholarship to avoid addressing the challenge posed by Sanders – even if the seeming disparagement of Luther, and of some classic Lutheran scholarship, which has been a feature of Sanders' polemical style grates harshly with many German schol-

¹ London: SCM, 1977.

² 'The New Perspective on Paul', *BJRL* 65 (1983) 95–122; reprinted with slight modification and Additional Note in my *Jesus, Paul and the Law* (London: SPCK/Louisville: Westminster, 1990) 183–214. The perspective has been substantially refined in the intervening twelve years.

³ Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1971.

⁴ *Paulus und das palästinische Judentum* (SUNT 17; Göttingen, 1985).

ars.⁵ The breadth and vigour of the debate to date is sufficiently indicated by the fact that in compiling a bibliography for the Symposium it was not difficult to amass some 150 titles (essays and monographs) on the subject, well over half of them with 'law' or 'Torah' in the title.⁶

It is probably unnecessary here to retrace the course of the renewed debate on the subject of Paul and the Law. It has been traced several times in the interim,⁷ and those interested in the papers from the Symposium will probably be already familiar with it. Suffice it to say that Sanders' protest against the denigration of Second Temple Judaism as characterised by a teaching of 'works-righteousness' has been widely accepted. But the role of the law within Second Temple Judaism remains disputed. Does Sanders' alternative summary phrase, 'covenantal nomism', serve more effectively? Even if 'doing' the law was not required for 'getting in' to the covenant people, was the doing of the law, which on Sanders' formulation was necessary for 'staying in',⁸ equally tantamount to making salvation dependent on 'doing' the law?

Räsänen's *Paul and the Law* heightened the crisis by postulating a Paul whose several treatments of the law in his writing, including passages within the same letter, cannot adequately be reconciled and must be left in uncomfortable juxtaposition. His work remains a standing caution to all who seek for easy syntheses, and an unavoidable challenge to all who claim to have found such a synthesis, as to whether they have given enough weight to the awkward elements and passages in Paul's letters.

My own various attempts to integrate Paul himself into Sanders' new perspective on Second Temple Judaism have focused on the social function of the law, particularly in its role of separating off Jew from Gentile.⁹ That such a role is to be recognized has also gained considerable support, but the degree to which that role is focused in Paul's phrase, 'the works of the law', has been more controversial,¹⁰ though the significance of the appearance of the phrase in the newly published 4QMMT has yet to be fully appreciated.¹¹

⁵ See now M. Hengel & R. Deines. 'E.P. Sanders' "Common Judaism", Jesus and the Pharisees. A Review Article' *JTS* 46 (1995) 1–70 (here 68–9).

⁶ See the bibliography at the back, to which the following bibliographical references refer.

⁷ See e.g. Barclay, 'Paul and the Law'; Bruce, 'Paul and the Law'; Klein, 'Sturmzentrum'; Laato § 2; Moo, 'Paul and the Law'; Schreiner, *Law* 13–31; Thielman, *Paul and the Law* 14–47; Wedderburn; Westerholm, *Israel's Law*; and Zeller. As well as being the most recent, Thielman's review is one of the best informed.

⁸ See my 'In Search of Common Ground' below n. 5.

⁹ See my *Jesus, Paul and the Law*, particularly chap. 8.

¹⁰ See my 'Yet Once More'.

¹¹ See particularly M. Abegg, 'Paul, "Works of the Law" and MMT', *Biblical Archaeological Review* 20.6 (1994) 52–55, 82; and my forthcoming '4QMMT and Galatians' *NTS*.

Westerholm in particular has responded by arguing that behind the social function of the law is clearly the more fundamental issue of whether salvation depends on human activity, and it is this which Paul has in mind in his key argument, Rom. 4.4–5. This passage, above all others, shows that Luther was right in understanding works of the law to denote human effort in antithesis to divine grace.

Major questions therefore remain. For example, does the phrase ‘works of the law’ express Jewish self-understanding (and if so what?), or simply Paul’s own (possibly idiosyncratic) experience of the law? What is the focus of Paul’s critique of the law? How to correlate the seemingly positive assertions he also makes (about believers fulfilling the law) with his more negative comments? Can all his statements about the law be synthesized into a single coherent view?

And within these larger questions particular questions arise. For example, Did Second Temple Judaism expect/require ‘perfect’ obedience to the law? What was the impact of the Damascus road event (Paul’s conversion) on his view of the law? What was the issue at Antioch (Gal. 2.11–14) and to what was Paul objecting in Gal. 2.16?¹² How negative is Paul’s treatment of the law in Gal. 3–4? How should the law/Torah be related to the ‘old covenant’ and the *gramma* in 2 Cor. 3? How does Rom. 2 function within the letter? How to translate/understand *nomos* in Rom. 3.27 and 8.2? How to understand Rom. 4.4–5 within the flow of the argument? Does Paul conceive of the law as a ‘power’ like sin and death in Rom. 5? Is Rom. 7.7–25 intended primarily as a defence of the law, and what does 8.3–4 say about the law and its (continuing) function for believers? How much weight should be given to Rom. 9.4 (*nomothesia* as one of Israel’s blessings), and how should the train of thought from 9.30–10.8 be evaluated in reference to the law? Does 1 Cor. 7.19 indicate that Paul saw Christian paraenesis as a kind of halakah? How does Paul’s own social conduct (1 Cor. 9) and the conduct he advocated for churches to which he wrote (particularly Rom. 14–15) relate to and interact upon his view of the law?

These were some of the questions posed when the Symposium was set up. They were not intended to be prescriptive and contributors were left quite free to develop their presentations as they wished. It seemed wiser to focus on the key passages in the current debate, and so passages were assigned to participants in accordance with their own preferences and suggestions so far as was possible. Given the starting point of the ‘new perspective’ and the ongoing character of the debate, it was obviously important to start with the understanding and function of the Torah within Second Temple Judaism. Equally

¹² As will be evident from my own work, I regard these last two questions and areas in Paul as of particular importance in illuminating his thought on the law.

obvious was the need to give early consideration to the impact of Paul's conversion and of his preliterary career on his view of the law. Thereafter, however, it was simply a case of working through the most important passages in sequence, without making too much depend on issues of chronological relationship.

And so the Symposium proceeded with fifteen papers in twelve sessions, two of those involved in the double sessions designed as responses to the session's main paper. As may be imagined, with participants like Hengel, Hofius, Hübner, Räisänen and Wright, the contributions were very frank and the discussion very vigorous. But always with good humour and mutual respect and never once (so far as the chairman recalls) a note of rancour.

At the end no major opinion had been radically altered or abandoned. That never was likely, nor was it to be expected. On the contrary, the participants had been invited precisely because they already had well-formed and well-informed views on the subject. Damascus road conversions we did not look for! The objective was rather to enable the strengths of these various views to be fed into the whole in the hope that the others would recognize these strengths and seek to incorporate them in some measure into their own views. Apart from anything else, where mutual respect and regard has been engendered and strengthened by such a Symposium, it becomes harder to ignore, misrepresent and dismiss the Gesprächspartner who continues to disagree. And the very effort to give and take genuine account of the other participant's view in future writing is bound to change the content and character of that writing for the better. Consequently, no 'How I changed my mind' pieces may be expected from the members of the Symposium. At the same time, however, the opportunity for each participant to revise his paper after the Symposium and in the light of the Symposium's discussions should mean that the contributions to the following volume have a roundedness and sympathetic awareness of alternative views which helps forward the continuing debate on Paul and the Law in the most positive terms.

The final session was intended as an opportunity to draw threads together into some kind of overview which would pull together as much as possible of what was agreed and integrate as much as possible of what was disagreed! In the time available that proved over-ambitious. It would probably have been impossible to draft a consensual statement which went beyond broad methodological agreement and generalised affirmations. Something could certainly have been produced, had we had sufficient time. But the Symposium was not a church body having to produce a report which could serve as basis for teaching and further study. And beyond the generalisations, the nuances which each would call for, to ensure his own view was properly represented, would soon lose the positive effect of the agreed statements in a mist of qualifications.

Instead I was charged by the Symposium to reflect on the whole subject as illuminated by the papers and discussion, to attempt to convey something of the scope, character and content of the discussion, including the measure of agreement and disagreement, and, in effect, to try to illustrate the success of the Symposium's objective by restating my own position in the light of and as influenced by the discussions of the Symposium. This I have attempted to do, with what success (or otherwise) I must leave others to judge.

Das Tora-Verständnis im Judentum zur Zeit des Paulus

Eine Skizze*

von

HERMANN LICHTENBERGER

I. Zum Stand der Diskussion

Die *historia calamitatum* der Verzerrung des jüdischen Toraverständnisses in der christlichen Bibelwissenschaft seit dem letzten Drittel des vorigen Jahrhunderts mit ihren verheerenden Wirkungen auf die Sicht des Judentums und des Urchristentums, besonders auf die Paulusauslegung, ist mehrfach mit großer Entschiedenheit geschrieben worden, am klarsten und weitreichendsten von E.P. Sanders¹; und mit einem Gefühl der Erleichterung darf man heute, knapp zwei Jahrzehnte nach dem Erscheinen seines „Paul and Palestinian Judaism“, feststellen, daß die Demontage des alten Klischees von einem Judentum, das in krämerhafter Werkgerechtigkeit, engherziger Ritualkasuistik und einer sterilen Gottesbeziehung erstickt, mit Erfolg weitergeht. Julius Wellhausen konnte über das nachprophetische Judentum noch ungnädig – und in offener Unkenntnis der überragenden Bedeutung von Lev 18,5 für das rabbinische Toraverständnis² – das Urteil fällen: „Gesetze sind nach Ezechiel dazu da, daß man dadurch mag leben. Damit wird über das System der pharisäischen Satzungen der Stab gebrochen. Das Leben wurde dadurch nicht gefördert, sondern behindert und eingeengt. (...) Das Gesetz verdarb nicht bloß die Moral (...); es entseelte auch (...) die Religion. (...) Es herrschte ein wahrer Götzendienst des Gesetzes.“³ Und in der – von Wellhausen entscheidend mitgeprägten – theologischen Atmosphäre des frühen 20. Jahrhunderts konnte selbst ein so unbestrittener Kenner der antiken jüdischen Literatur wie Paul Billerbeck sich dazu hinreißen lassen, die „altjüdische Religion“ als „eine

* Marietta Hämmerle danke ich für das Schreiben des Manuskripts, Dr. Friedrich Avemarie für die Durchsicht und stete Hilfe.

¹ Paul and Palestinian Judaism, London 1977; deutsch: Paulus und das palästinische Judentum, StUNT 17, Göttingen 1985.

² Vgl. hierzu etwa D.R. Schwartz, Leben durch Jesus versus Leben durch die Torah. Zur Religionspolemik der ersten Jahrhunderte, Franz-Delitzsch-Vorlesung 1991, Münster 1993, S. 5.

³ Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte, ⁹1958, S. 283f.

Religion völliger Selbsterlösung“ zu disqualifizieren.⁴ Heute sind derartig eklatante Fehlurteile spürbar seltener geworden. Nur noch vereinzelt – wenn auch mitunter an ganz unerwarteter Stelle – liest man in der neueren Literatur von jüdischer „Erstarrung und Mumifizierung“ oder davon, daß der „jüdische Gott“ ein „archaischer Volks- und Landesgott“ geblieben sei und das „komplizierte Gesetz ... nur Schriftgelehrten“ hätten erfüllen können.⁵

Bezeichnend für den seit Mitte der siebziger Jahre sich anbahnenden Umbruch ist die revidierte englische Ausgabe von Emil Schürers Standardwerk zur antiken jüdischen Geschichte.⁶ Schürer selbst, dessen Paragraph über das „Leben unter dem Gesetz“⁷ weder besondere Sympathie für die jüdische Religion noch das Bemühen um ein tieferes Verständnis erkennen ließ, hatte sich nicht gescheut, Spitzensätze jüdischer Theologie schlicht als irrelevant abzutun: „Das Wort des Antigonus von Socho: ‚Gleichen nicht den Knechten, die ihrem Herrn um des Lohnes willen dienen, sondern seid denen gleich, die ohne Rücksicht auf Lohn Dienste leisten‘, ist keineswegs ein korrekter Ausdruck der Grundstimmung des pharisäischen Judentums. Dieses gleicht in der Tat den Knechten, die um des Lohnes willen dienen“ (II, 548). Die englische Revision hat jenen Paragraphen unter dem Titel „Life and Law“ umfassend neuformuliert (II, 464ff.) und beläßt dem Diktum des Antigonus nun sein Recht: „(It) foreshadows many similar counsels preserved in rabbinic literature“ (II, 466). Die Neuorientierung erfolgt, noch ein wenig tastend, bereits in der Einleitung, deren zweiter Abschnitt ehemals gelautet hatte: „Das Charakteristische dieser Periode ist die *Herrschaft des Pharisäismus*. Die gesetzliche Richtung, die einst Esra begründet hatte, ist jetzt weit über das von Esra geforderte Maass hinaus gesteigert. Man begnügt sich nicht mehr, die Forderungen der schriftlichen Thora zu erfüllen. Dieselben sind in eine Unzahl der peinlichsten und minutiösesten Einzelvorschriften zerlegt, deren genaue Beobachtung zur heiligen Pflicht, ja zur Bedingung der Seligkeit ge-

⁴ Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch, Bd. IV/1, München 1928, S. 6.

⁵ Die Zitate sind entnommen aus K. Beyer, Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer, Ergänzungsband, Göttingen 1994, S. 60–61. In dem 1984 erschienenen Hauptband hatte Beyer noch ausgeführt, im Judentum „schiebt sich das Gesetz zwischen den Einzelnen und seinen Nächsten und endet schließlich in spitzfindiger Kasuistik. Gott aber verstummt und verschwindet in unendlicher Ferne“ (S. 158). Immerhin wird in dem Ergänzungsband derartiges nicht wiederholt; stattdessen findet sich hier ein Hinweis auf das Werk von Sanders (S. 61).

⁶ E. Schürer, The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.–A.D. 135): A new English version, rev. and ed. by G. Vermes, F. Millar et al., Bd. I–III, 2, Edinburgh 1973–87. Vgl. M. Hengel, Der alte und der neue ‚Schürer‘, JJS 35 (1990), S. 19–72.

⁷ E. Schürer, Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi, Bd. II, Leipzig 1907, S. 545ff. Schürers Haltung läßt sich am besten mit seiner Feststellung zusammenfassen, das Resultat der Gesetzesfrömmigkeit sei „eine unglaubliche Veräußerlichung des religiösen und sittlichen Lebens“ gewesen (II, 548; Hervorhebungen hier und bei den folgenden Zitaten von Schürer).

macht wird. Und diese gesteigerte Gesetzlichkeit hat die unbedingte Herrschaft über die Gemüther erlangt, so dass alle anderen Richtungen in den Hintergrund gedrängt sind“ (I, 2). In der revidierten Fassung wird sehr viel sorgsamer formuliert: „The chief character of this period was the growing importance of Pharisaism. The legalistic orientation initiated by Ezra had slowly developed into a religio-social system in which it was no longer sufficient to fulfil the commandments of the written Torah; the generalities of biblical law were resolved into an immense number of detailed precepts, the performance of which was imposed as a most sacred duty. Though never universally followed, and never completely divorced from truly spiritual and even charismatic tendencies, this concern with the punctilious observance of the minutiae of religion became the hall-mark of mainstream Judaism“ (I, 1). Über die Ausgestaltung des Arbeitsverbots am Sabbat heißt es bei Schürer: „... mit diesem schlichten Verbot konnten sich die Rabbinen natürlich nicht begnügen. Sie mußten auch genau bestimmen, *welche Arbeit* verboten sei. Und so brachten sie denn mit vielem Scharfsinn endlich heraus, dass im ganzen 39 *Hauptarbeiten* verboten sind, von denen natürlich nur die wenigsten im Pentateuch sich irgendwie angedeutet finden“ (II, 552). Der neue *Schürer* hat den überheblich-ironischen Tonfall des alten abgelegt: „The short pentateuchal ban on work on the Sabbath day ... grew in the course of time into a lengthy Mishnah tractate. For the rabbis, feeling it necessary to be more exact, specified the following thirty-nine activities as forbidden on the Sabbath ...“ (II, 468). Hatte Schürer über den jüdischen Gottesdienst geurteilt: „Wenn aber vollends auch das Zentrum des religiösen Lebens, das *Gebet* selbst, in die Fesseln eines starren Mechanismus geschlagen wurde, dann konnte von lebendiger Frömmigkeit kaum mehr die Rede sein. Auch diesen verhängnisvollen Schritt hatte das Judentum zur Zeit Christi bereits getan“ (II, 569), so nimmt man dankbar zur Kenntnis, daß die revidierte Ausgabe ein derartiges Urteil ersatzlos fallenläßt.

Auf die durch Sanders' „Paul and Palestinian Judaism“ eingeleitete Abarbeitung überfälliger Vorurteile sollte sich freilich das judaistische Interesse der neutestamentlichen Forschung nicht beschränken. Denn gerade die von Sanders geschlagene Bresche ist es, durch die hindurch das Problem der christlichen Perspektive auf das jüdische Gesetz wieder neu, und womöglich schärfer als zuvor, wahrnehmbar wird. Bezeichnenderweise ist die Anfrage, der sich die neutestamentliche Theologie hier zu stellen hat, von *jüdischer* Seite formuliert worden, und zwar in zweifacher Gestalt: In einer Münsteraner Franz-Delitzsch-Vorlesung wandte sich 1992 Daniel R. Schwartz gegen die Geringschätzung einer „Religion, die einen Lohn als Gegenleistung für Gehorsam gegen Gott verspricht“, und eine in ihr begründete „revisionistische Exegese“, die mit der These, „daß Paulus gar nicht angenommen habe, die Juden meinten, die Torah verspreche einen Lohn“, Paulus und das Juden-

tum gleichermaßen in Schutz zu nehmen versucht.⁸ Auch wenn der belastete Ausdruck „Werkgerechtigkeit“ mit gutem Grund im Begriff ist, aus dem Vokabular der neutestamentlichen Wissenschaft zu verschwinden, so bleibt doch die Frage, ob ihr alter Irrtum nicht weniger in der *Wahrnehmung* als vielmehr in der *Bewertung* traditionell jüdischer Vorstellungen von Toragehorsam, Verdienst und Lohn gelegen haben könnte.⁹ – Die andere Seite hat, schon vor Jahrzehnten, Hans Joachim Schoeps aufgezeigt, der bereits an der Wiege des Christentums ein verkehrtes, verhängnisvolles Toraverständnis diagnostizierte und bemerkte, es werde „für immer denkwürdig bleiben, daß die christliche Kirche sich von einem den väterlichen Glaubensvorstellungen weithin entfremdeten Assimilationsjuden der hellenistischen Diaspora hat ein völliges Zerrbild vom jüdischen Gesetz überreichen lassen.“¹⁰ Wenn wir uns an dem provokanten Tonfall stören, mit dem Schoeps hier von dem Heidenapostel spricht, und dabei vielleicht auch an die Auskunft der Apostelgeschichte denken, daß Paulus seine Ausbildung zum Schriftgelehrten in Jerusalem empfangen habe, so werden wir eine Erklärung dafür liefern müssen, weshalb das, was das *corpus paulinum* über das mosaische Gesetz sagt, in vielem so anders auszusehen scheint als das, was die judaistischen Studien der letzten Jahre im Großen wie im Detail herausgearbeitet haben.

Und schließlich bedarf es auch einer Fortschreibung und Vertiefung dieser judaistischen Forschungsarbeit selbst. Es wäre fatal, wenn Sanders' „Paul and Palestinian Judaism“, inzwischen längst zum Standardwerk geworden, dasselbe Schicksal ereilen sollte wie Billerbeck's „Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch“, durch dessen monumentale Fülle sich, von Ausnahmen abgesehen, eine ganze Forschergeneration von der Pflicht zu eigenem, unabhängigem Quellenstudium entbunden glaubte. Auch *nach* Sanders darf die Frage nach dem jüdischen Gesetzesverständnis nicht *ad acta* gelegt werden. Was die rabbinischen Traditionen angeht, so hat vor kurzem die Tübinger Dissertation von Friedrich Avemarie¹¹ anhand einer breiteren Quellenbasis eine kritische Überprüfung der Positionen Sanders' (und der einiger seiner Vorgän-

⁸ Vgl. a.a.O. (Anm. 2), S. 10–11. Schwartz nimmt hier u.a. Bezug auf den oben erwähnten Ausspruch des Antigonos von Sokho und merkt sogar zur Revision des „Schürer“ mit einer gewissen Distanzierung an: „Die hohe Religion à la Antigonos wird von einer Ausnahme zur Regel“ (ebd., Anm. 12).

⁹ Hinzu kommt, daß diese Bewertung zugleich zu einer eingeschränkten Wahrnehmung führt, die den Gedanken der Barmherzigkeit Gottes und der Vergebung weitgehend ausblendet.

¹⁰ Paulus, Tübingen 1959, S. 278. Paulus, ein „Theologe des Mißverständes“, sei dann „auch von seinen Anhängern wieder gründlich mißverstanden worden“, die Geschichte des Paulusverständnisses sei „eine einzige Kette von Mißverständnissen, paulinische Theologie gleichsam „die Theologie des potenzierten Mißverständnisses“ (S. 279).

¹¹ Tora und Leben. Untersuchungen zur Heilsbedeutung der Tora in der frühen rabbinischen Literatur, TSAJ, Tübingen 1996.

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