

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen  
zum Neuen Testament · 2. Reihe 43

Karl Olav Sandnes

Paul –  
One of the Prophets?



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43

Paul –  
One of the Prophets?

A Contribution to the Apostle's  
Self-Understanding

by

Karl Olav Sandnes



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## Preface

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to several persons and institutions for their support during the completion of this study. The present book is a slightly amended edition of my doctoral dissertation. I would like to thank the University of Oslo for accepting this dissertation as partial requirement for the Degree of Doctor Theologiae, and also my opponents Professor Halvor Moxnes, and Professor Edvin Larsson, both of Oslo, for constructive criticism when the dissertation was defended in September 1988.

I started the project while working at the *Free Faculty of Theology* in Oslo. Most of the work has been done at the *School of Mission and Theology* in Stavanger. I am most grateful to these two institutions and to my colleagues there. I had the pleasure of spending two semesters in Tübingen. It was, indeed, a time of inspiration and learning. I wish to express my gratitude to *Eberhard Karls Universität (Evangelisch-Theologisches Seminar)* in Tübingen for this seminal time. Valuable financial support during one of the semesters came from *Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD)* in Bonn. I am also very grateful to *Albrecht Bengel Haus* for the two semesters I spent there with my family.

During the time I have been working on this investigation I have taken part in Prof. E. Larsson's seminar at the *Free Faculty of Theology*. Through the comments and criticism of his colleagues there I have received advice which has been of great help. I would especially thank Prof. E. Larsson, who has kindly supervised my work and provided a wealth of constructive criticism.

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Stavanger, March 1990

Karl Olav Sandnes

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## Abbreviations

Abbreviations follow the practice recommended to their contributors by the periodicals *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* and *Journal of Biblical Literature*; see e.g. *CBQ* 46 (1984) 393–408. Departures from this standard are self-evident. Some abbreviations appearing in this study are, however, not mentioned in the “Instructions”. They are the following:

ANRW	H. Temporini, W. Haase, <i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> , Berlin, New York
GTPS	E. Hammershaimb, J. Munck, B. Noack, P. Seidelin, <i>De Gammetestamentlige Pseudepigrapher I–II</i> , København 1976
OTP	J.H. Charlesworth, <i>The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha I–II</i> , London 1983–1985
THAT	E. Jenni, C. Westermann, <i>Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament I–II</i> , München, Zürich 1971–1976
NIDNTT	C. Brown, <i>The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology I–III</i> , Exeter 1975–78
Par. Jer.	Paraleipomena Jeremiou (in OTP called 4 Baruch)
Jos. As.	Joseph and Aseneth
ed.	editor/edited by
eds.	editors
tr.	translated by
s.v.	sub voce

All biblical quotations are from the *RSV*, abbreviated as for example “1 Cor 2:6–16”, though when referred to in literature I have tried to preserve the pattern used by the authors. Texts from Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha are quoted from *OTP*, or if not found there, from *APOT*. An exception is Paraleipomena Jeremiou which is quoted according to R.A. Kraft, A.E. Purinton (see bibliography). Philo, Josephus, the Fathers and Romano-hellenistic Literature are quoted from the Loeb Classical Library. The Qumran texts are quoted in German, from E. Lohse (see bibliography). Otherwise the footnotes give the sources for the quotations.

The bibliography is mainly composed of works cited in the footnotes.

Articles from Dictionaries (e.g. *TDNT*, *THAT*) are not mentioned unless they are of special importance for this study. Some works are, however, added without being cited, since they have in a special way contributed to the process of learning and thinking behind this investigation.

Part One  
Introduction, Method and Definitions

1 Introduction

The life of the early Christian Church was Spirit-led. The basis of their new life was that God had poured out upon the community His promised Spirit. This is extensively witnessed to by Luke in Acts and Paul in his Epistles. Luke depicts Paul's missionary activity as being led by the Spirit. On the command of the Spirit, Paul and Barnabas were chosen as missionaries (Acts 13:2). The Spirit forbade Paul to preach the gospel in one place, and directed him to proclaim it in other areas (Acts 16:6–10). Paul was driven by the Spirit, and the Spirit testified to his future in Jerusalem (Acts 20:22–23 cf. 21:10–11). This Spirit-led activity manifested itself in his visionary and ecstatic experiences<sup>1</sup>.

In his letters Paul connects his apostolate even more intimately with the Spirit. To the "pneumatics" in Corinth he says, quite self-confidently:

"and I think I have the Spirit of God" (1 Cor 7:40).

Paul's proclamation of his gospel was accompanied by the power of the Spirit (1 Thess 1:5; 1 Cor 2:4; Rom 15:17–19). When driven to it, he also boasted of his visions and revelations (2 Cor 12:1–4). In the list of the *χαρίσματα* (1 Corinthians 12) it is the fundamental point that they are all Spirit-given. The unity is defined on the basis of the one Spirit as the giver. Paul's apostleship may also be correctly regarded as a spiritual gift<sup>2</sup>.

This life of the Spirit in the early Church was based on a consciousness of living in the time when God finally poured out the Spirit on His people. Luke alone connects this with a fulfillment of Joel's prophecy (Acts 2:14–21). To Luke, this fulfillment meant a revival of prophecy. That is seen in his interpretative addition to the scriptural quotation 2:18b: *καὶ προφητεύσουσιν*. Accordingly, it is natural that several prophets appear in his account of the early Church (Acts 11:27–28; 13:1–2; 15:32; 21:9–11)<sup>3</sup>.

---

1 It is the merit of J. Jervell that he has put the charismatic Paul, in Acts as well as the Epistles, on the agenda of Pauline scholarship (see his 1976 and 1979. This last article is translated into English in J. Jervell 1984). For the Lucan conception of apostleship and Spirit see also V.C. Pfitzner 1980.

2 See H. von Lips 1985. The term *ἐθερο* in 1 Cor 12:28 is a continuation of *ἐθερο* in v. 18 where it clearly refers to the different spiritual gifts in the community.

3 For prophets and prophecy in Acts see E.E. Ellis 1970 (cf. our criticisms on pp. 110–111 n. 116).

Luke's use of the Joelprophecy partly corresponds to its interpretation in later Judaism. The most famous text in this respect is *Num. Rab.* 15:25 where the statement

"In this world a few individual have prophesied, but in the World to Come all Israel will be made prophets"

is founded on the Joelprophecy. Similarly in *Midr. Ps.* 14:6 Moses' wish that all Israel were prophets (*Num* 11:29) is answered with a reference to *Ezek* 36:26 and *Joel* 3:1<sup>4</sup>.

This eschatological revival of prophecy calls for a new perspective upon how Paul conceived of his apostolate. It demands an investigation into Paul's self-understanding by emphasizing the spiritual and charismatic elements in his apostolate. Of course, this purpose suggests several investigations. In this study, however, we will concentrate upon Paul's presentation of his apostolate, comparing it to living traditions concerning prophetic figures. We ask if such traditions in some way dictated how he thought of his apostolate, and then presented it to his converts.

It should be emphasized that Paul never calls himself a prophet. Nor is he titulated so by Luke. This fact, though very important, does not do away with the quest for prophetic elements and features in Paul's ministry. It is in fact a commonplace in Pauline scholarship that Paul's apostolate was more or less marked by prophetic features<sup>5</sup>. This agreement is based upon several, but also different kinds of observations:

1. The first point is a very general one, namely that the terms *ἀπόστολος* and *προφήτης* often are associated. Significant is *1 Kgs* 14:6 (*LXX* 3 *Kgs*) where the prophet Ahijah, according to *Alexandrinus* and *Aquila's* translation, says to the king's wife: *ἐγὼ εἰμι ἀποστολος προς σε σκληρός*. The word *ἀπόστολος* here renders *נִלְשָׁ* as a passive participle, and nearly becomes a noun<sup>6</sup>. The NT also attests that *ἀπόστολος* and *προφήτης* are used in tandem. Clearest is perhaps *Luke* 11:49; *ἀποστελῶ εἰς αὐτοὺς*

4 For an extended attestation see *Str-B* II, 615–617. That the Spirit in contemporary Judaism was very often identified with "the Spirit of prophecy" is widely attested (*Mek. R. Ishmael Pisha* 1:150–156; *Shirata* 10:58–73; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 16). In *Abot R. Nat.* 34 the Holy Spirit is called by ten names. The same names describe prophecy in *Gen. Rab.* 44:6. Though the above-mentioned texts are of later date, what they witness is older; see the examples quoted by P. Schäfer 1972, 21–26; B. Chilton 1983, 48–50. Josephus frequently refers to prophecy where *LXX* speaks of the Spirit (*Ant.* 5:285 – *Judg* 13:25; *Ant.* 8:295 – 2 *Chr* 15:1; *Ant.* 9:10 – 2 *Chr* 20:14).

5 See chap. 2.0. For the present we will just mention S. Sandmel 1979, 75–78 and E. Cothenet 1971 b, 35–39: "*les Apôtres ont été considérés comme les prophètes par excellence de la Nouvelle Alliance*" (p. 35).

6 See K.H. Rengstorf, "ἀπόστολος", *TDNT* I, 413–414. In Samaritan tradition Moses is spoken of thus: "By your life, O Apostle of God, remain with us a little longer. By your life, O seal of the prophets, stop with us a little" (*Memar Marqah* 5 § 3 cf. 6 § 7); quoted according to J. Macdonald, *Memar Marqah* II, BZAW 84, Berlin 1963, 201).

προφήτας καὶ ἀποστόλους. Luke here, when depicting the emissaries of Jesus according to the pattern of God sending His prophets in OT, certainly uses tradition (Matt 10:41; 23:34 and parallels)<sup>7</sup>. Other NT texts that may be mentioned are Eph 2:20; 3:5 and Rev 18:20.

2. We noticed above that not even in Acts was Paul called a prophet. This has however, to be defined with reference to Acts 13:1. Paul is there mentioned among *προφῆται καὶ διδάσκαλοι* in Antioch. It is impossible to group the names, some as prophets and others as teachers. That Luke changes from *καὶ-καὶ* to *τε* is only due to his style (cf. Acts 2:9–11; 26:20). This means, beside the fact that Luke has not upheld Paul's division between prophets and teachers (1 Cor 12:28), that to Luke, Paul was among the community prophets in Antioch<sup>8</sup>. That is indirectly supported in Acts 13:9–11 where Paul, inspired by the Spirit pronounces judgement upon Bar-Jesus or Elymas, a false prophet (see vv. 6–8). This pronouncement of judgement is similar to corresponding utterances in OT<sup>9</sup>. Moreover, in Acts 15:32 Luke mentions Judas and Silas who were to inform the communities about the apostolic decree (vv. 28–29). He says about them: *αὐτοὶ προφῆται ὄντες*. In 15:22 they are mentioned alongside Paul and Barnabas (cf. v. 35). It is not unlikely that *καὶ* in Acts 15:32 has to be connected with these two names in v. 22. If so, this means that Paul is here indirectly reckoned as a prophet by Luke.

To be mentioned is the identification of Paul made in Acts 21. The mob observed Paul in the temple and cried out that he defiled the holy place. The soldier who led Paul away from the mob asked this question:

“Are you not the Egyptian, then, who recently stirred up a revolt and led the four thousand of men of the Assassins out into the wilderness?” (Acts 21:38)

Paul is here identified to a well-known prophet of his time (*Ant.* 20:169–172; *J.W.* 2:261–263) (see pp. 46–47).

3. Paul's preaching, as well as his injunctions are given in the Spirit (1 Cor 2:13; 7:40). We have pointed out that in contemporary Judaism Spirit and prophecy were associated. Likewise, the Christian prophets delivered revelations given by the Spirit (Acts 11:28; 21:11 cf. Rev 2:19; 3:6). In the role the Spirit played for them, Paul and the early Christian prophet seem to converge.

4. In his instructions as to how to practice prophecy in the community, Paul indirectly says that he occasionally uttered prophetic oracles in the community (1 Cor 14:6 cf. 14:19).

7 See O.J.F. Seitz 1968; R. Riesner 1981, 464; D.M. Farkasfalvy 1980, 112.

8 So also E. Haenchen 1977, 379–380; M.E. Boring 1982, 38; 116; D.E. Aune 1983, 191; 248. A.F. Zimmermann 1984, 123–135 proposes that Manaen, the man mentioned alongside Paul after *τε*, was a former Essene prophet (cf. *Ant.* 15:373–379) (see pp. 130–132).

9 See D.E. Aune 1983, 269–270. He calls Acts 13:9–11 a “prophetic speech by Paul”.

5. The connection between Paul's apostolate and the Spirit presented above in no way conflicts with the origin of his ministry in the encounter with the risen Lord. Paul's self-concept as an apostle was formed by his encountering the risen Lord and being commissioned by Him<sup>10</sup>. From that moment on he was aware of being an apostle of Jesus Christ to the nations. Even though Paul never unfolds the Damascus revelation, in Gal 1:15–16a significant similarities to prophetic call-narratives are demonstrable, with respect both to vocabulary and structure. Paul was confronted with the risen Lord by revelation and commissioned to preach the gospel to the Gentiles. The basic structure, call, election, revelation, commission and definition of target group, corresponds to the basic structure of the commission texts of the OT prophets. This can be stated at this early stage, before accurate exegesis of Gal 1:15–16a.

6. Sometimes Paul describes his apostolic commission by using OT quotations or allusions which in OT itself and in the tradition are associated with prophets (Phil 2:16; 1 Cor 9:16; 2 Cor 10:8; 13:10). This will be elucidated later on, but on first reading the passages already sound familiar to readers trained in the Jewish Scriptures. The presence of biblical language might, however, be due to the apostle's unconscious usage of scriptural language and nothing more. The investigation has to settle that.

These observations are not revolutionary innovations in Pauline scholarship. To our knowledge, however, no one has taken these observations as a starting point for a monographic investigation of Paul's apostolic self-concept<sup>11</sup>. It is therefore high time that this is done. That is the aim of this study. It will soon become clear, if it is not already, that the above-mentioned observations might lead in different directions. It is an open question whether the investigation should emphasize a comparison mainly with the OT prophets or the early Christian prophets. This difficult question has to be settled in the following chapters 2.0 and 3.0. We turn first to the current state of research.

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<sup>10</sup> J. Roloff 1965, 41–42; J.A. Bühner, "ἀπόστολος", *EWNT* 1, 344–346.

<sup>11</sup> The only monographic study known to us is W.S. Hall 1982 (see 2.2). Only about 50 pages of about 200 is here devoted to Paul.

## 2 The Current State of Research – An Outline

In a majority of Pauline studies it is mentioned that Paul conceived of his apostleship in prophetic terms. This survey of the current state of research will concentrate on the studies which can be labelled as landmarks in the research into this element of Paul's apostolate. Beside providing a survey of the literature, this chapter also lays a foundation for the reflections on methodology to be used for the Pauline material. It is convenient to present the contributions in two distinct groups, according to their focus.

### 2.1 Paul and the OT Prophets

In his study on *Paulus und Christus, Ein biblisch-religionsgeschichtlicher Vergleich* (1934) H. Windisch makes a broad comparison between Jesus and Paul as "*Gottesmänner biblischer Prägung*"<sup>1</sup>. In Part Two they are compared in their charismatic functions. Jesus and Paul are associated by the fact that they both were called to a prophetic commission. H. Windisch works this out especially in chap. 4 "*Apostel und Knecht*"<sup>2</sup>. He concludes on Paul's vocation that it was a renewal and fulfillment of the OT prophetic vocations,

"insbesondere erscheint Paulus als ein neuer Knecht Jahwe's oder als derjenige Profet (sic), an dem sich die Knechtprofezeiungen erfüllen"<sup>3</sup>.

This he finds confirmed in Luke's account of the Pauline mission where Acts 13:47 is reminiscent of Isa 49:6, and Acts 26:17–18 recalls Isa 42:7. 16; 61:1. Jesus' words to Paul outside Damascus, that He would deliver him from people to whom Paul was about to be sent (Acts 26:17) recalls Jeremiah's call as well (Jer 1:7.8.19). Concerning Jeremiah, H. Windisch

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1 The title of the second part of his book.

2 H. Windisch 1934, 143–175. See also his 1935. Chap. 4 in that study is called "*Paulus der Prophet*" (pp. 77–85).

3 H. Windisch 1934, 137.

mentions other points of similarities too: Paul's authority for building up and not for destroying (2 Cor 10:8; 13:10) recalls Jeremiah's authority received in his call (Jer 1:10). The apostle speaking from compulsion (1 Cor 9:16), recalls Jeremiah's statement in Jer 20:9 (cf. Amos 3:8). Furthermore, the opposition against Paul, and his persecution resemble the fate of the prophet Jeremiah, as does Paul's prayer for Israel and his celibate status (cf. Jer 16:1–4). He concludes that

“Das ‘Senden’ (*ἀποστέλλειν* LXX) ist das typische Wort für diese Ermächtigung und Beauftragung des Profeten. Der Profet ist Apostel, daher der Apostel auch Profet, von keinem ist diese Identität stärker bezeugt als von Paulus”<sup>4</sup>.

*J. Munch, Paulus und die Heilsgeschichte* (1954) also argues that Paul's call in Gal 1:15–16 is described with vocabulary recalling Isa 49:1.6 and Jer 1:4–5<sup>5</sup>. *J. Munck* emphasizes that Paul is not alone in describing his call in such terms. This happens in Acts as well<sup>6</sup>, which means that

“es scheint eine Tradition bestanden zu haben, diese Berufungstexte aus dem Alten Testament auf Paulus anzuwenden”<sup>7</sup>.

Both *H. Windisch* and *J. Munck* maintain that Paul's call with respect to vocabulary recalls both Deutero-Isaiah and Jeremiah. This is emphatically denied by *T. Holtz*, “Zum Selbstverständnis des Apostels Paulus” (1966) who excludes Jeremiah and emphasizes the similarities with the Servant of the Lord<sup>8</sup>. He argues that the absence of election (*καλεῖν*) in Jer 1:5 favours Isa 49:6 as the text to which Paul alludes in Gal 1:15–16<sup>9</sup>. He further refers to Rom 10:15–16; 15:21; 2 Cor 6:2 where Paul quotes Deutero-Isaiah<sup>10</sup>. Finally, Jeremiah could not have been in Paul's mind since he prophesied against the nations. In Isa 49:6, however, the nations are the objects of saving activity. The “*bewusste Anknüpfung an die prophetische Sendung nach dem Alten Testament*” associates, according to *T. Holtz*, Paul with Deutero-Isaiah<sup>11</sup>.

The above-mentioned investigations are typical in their drawing lines of similarity between Paul and the OT prophets. This is valuable, but some of the analogies are noticeably weak. It is questionable to reckon Paul's celibate status and his apostolic sufferings as being in some way prophetic. It has to be more seriously considered whether Paul himself conceived of

4 *Ibid.* p. 152.

5 *J. Munck* 1954, 15–27; see also his 1947.

6 *J. Munck* 1954, 18–21. He mentions the same examples as *H. Windisch*, but develops the similarities further and more precisely.

7 *Ibid.* p. 18.

8 Similarly also *L. Cerfaux* 1954 a. *C. Wolff* 1976, 134–142 denies that Paul ever made use of the book of Jeremiah in his theology.

9 *T. Holtz* 1966, 325.

10 *Ibid.* 327.

11 *Ibid.* 322.

his celibate status and his sufferings as prophetic, and whether or not this is really communicated through his Epistles<sup>12</sup>. A point of similarity is not necessarily to be considered evidence of imitation. Furthermore, in these studies the image of the OT prophet is tacitly understood on the basis of modern scholarship. Contemporary sources on OT prophets and prophecy in general are to be more seriously considered. Paul's apostolic-prophetic self-concept has to be settled on a broader basis. Since his apostolate was also something radically new<sup>13</sup> compared to OT prophets, it seems somewhat arbitrary to isolate one particular prophet in OT for the comparison. Finally, the question of how Paul's prophetic consciousness functioned, what Paul aimed at by presenting himself as an apostle-prophet, is missing in the above-mentioned investigations.

The Tübingen dissertation *The Letter and the Spirit* (1985) by S.J. Hafemann also compares Paul to the OT prophets, but in a somewhat different way. He investigates the traditio-historical background of Paul's question concerning his apostolic sufficiency: *πρὸς ταῦτα τις ἱκανός*; (2 Cor 2:16b). S.J. Hafemann draws on the Mosaic (-prophetic) call tradition, and takes as his point of departure the LXX-version of Moses' protest against God's call in Exod 4:10 *οὐχ ἱκανός εἰμι*. In the MT Moses objects to the call because he was "not a man of words". According to LXX he simply states that he is not sufficient to bring about the commission. The purpose of this account of Moses' call within the Exodus narrative is to demonstrate the sufficiency of Moses to be God's appointed prophet, despite his own insufficiency. S.J. Hafemann argues that this Mosaic pattern of "sufficiency in spite of insufficiency as a result of the grace of God" implicitly appears as a structural element in the call narratives of the OT prophets<sup>14</sup>.

In extra-biblical literature it becomes explicit that the figure of Moses was used to undergird the authority for those who wished to speak to the people of God<sup>15</sup>. In Philo *ἱκανός* is being used with respect to Moses' call<sup>16</sup>, but he re-interprets it as a reference to Moses' awareness that God's

12 See also J.M. Myers, E.D. Freed 1966 who list several points in support of the view that Paul was a prophet: 1) Paul frequently quotes the OT prophets. 2) Like the OT prophets Paul calls himself "servant". 3) He speaks favourably of the practice of Christian prophecy. 4) His language often has a poetic quality. 5) His call is analogous to OT prophetic calls. 6) He spent some time in the wilderness. 7) He had visions. 8) He was an intimate at the council of the Lord. 9) He functioned as an extension of the Lord. 10) His attitude toward ecclesiastical authority corresponds to the anticultic attitude of OT prophets. We consider a list of such similarities as far from convincing.

13 See chap. 3.0 pp. 17-18.

14 S.J. Hafemann 1985 145-160; see also pp. 64-65 in this study.

15 S.J. Hafemann 1985, 160-168; 171-175.

16 Ibid. 175-180.

truth cannot be contained in the physical instrument of speech, and is therefore a reference to Moses' acknowledgement of God's supremacy.

*S.J. Hafemann* says that Josephus' account of Moses' call in *Ant.* 2:264–267 nowhere explicitly refers to the objection in Exod 4:10. In our opinion *Ant.* 2:271 does so:

“Yet I am as a loss to know how I, a mere commoner, blest with no strength (*μηδεμίας ισχύος εἰσπορῶν*), could either find words to persuade my people...”

A possible reason for *LXX*'s rendering of Exod 4:10 is illuminated by a word-play in the Targums where *MT*'s לא איש דבר ים אנכי is rendered לא גבר, which as a noun mean “man”, but as a verb “to be strong”<sup>17</sup>. In the verbal sense גבר could be a parallel to *ικανός*. The verb גבר is in *LXX* frequently rendered by *ισχύειν* or cognates (Exod 7:11; Zech 10:6.12; Isa 42:13). This might explain Josephus' way of speaking about Moses' objection. Paul's allusion to the call of Moses in 2 Cor 2:16b

“functions to establish a parallel between Paul and Moses which supports Paul's own claim to authority and ‘sufficiency’ in spite of those aspects of his life which would seem to call such sufficiency into question ..... Paul, like Moses and the prophets, also anchors his sufficiency in his call”<sup>18</sup>.

*S.J. Hafemann* seems to hold that Paul's sufficiency could be called into question by his personal weakness and unimpressive speech (2 Cor 10:10; 11:6)<sup>19</sup>. This investigation into the traditio-historical background of Paul's question in 2 Cor 2:16b (see also 3:5–6) is significant, because it has succeeded in demonstrating that Paul's claim to authority was associated with a central motif of the prophetic call tradition, as found particularly concerning Moses, but also other OT prophets. Furthermore, it is significant that he establishes this without referring to the “standard text”, Gal 1:15–16, for this seems to imply that Gal 1:15–16 is not an isolated witness in Paul's epistles.

## 2.2 Paul and the Early Christian Prophets

Since the publication of the *Didache* by *A. von Harnack* in 1883, the early Christian prophets have been on the agenda of NT scholarship. *R. Bultmann* thought that many sayings of the risen Jesus are present in the

17 For this wordplay see *ibid.* 139–140.

18 *Ibid.* 195.

19 But according to 1 Cor 15:9, Paul's insufficiency, which was overcome by the grace of God, was his previous persecutions of the Church (*οὐκ εἰμι ἱκανός καλεῖσθαι ἀπόστολος, διότι ἐδίωξα τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*). In a way this is confirmed in Acts 22:17–21 where Paul objects to the call of

synoptic tradition as utterances of early Christian prophets<sup>20</sup>. From R. Bultmann's *Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition* to about 1970 the early Christian prophets were treated mainly as part of another theme, namely the origin of the gospels. Independent studies on the NT prophets were few<sup>21</sup>. From the middle of 1970's, however, an independent interest in the NT prophets has increased dramatically<sup>22</sup>. From some of the observations mentioned in chap. 1.0 it is quite natural that Paul was incorporated into this new interest in the NT prophets.

It is the merit of U.B. Müller, *Prophetie und Predigt im Neuen Testament* (1975) to have carried out this pioneering work. The subtitle *Formgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur urchristlichen Prophetie* describes his method. Based on form critical criteria<sup>23</sup> he sets out to isolate utterances in the letters to the seven churches (Rev 2–3) and in the Pauline Epistles. The third part of his study is devoted to Pauline texts. Several texts are investigated and labelled “*prophetischer Mahnrede*” (Rom 13:11–14; 1 Thess 5:1–11; 1 Cor 7:29–31), “*prophetische Gerichtspredigt*” (Rom 16:17–20; Phil 3:17–4:1; Gal 1:6–9)<sup>24</sup> and “*prophetische Heilsvkündigung*” (1 Thess 4:13–17; Rom 11:25–26). This part of his investigation is introduced by a chapter called “*Zum prophetischen Selbstverständnis des Paulus*”<sup>25</sup>. U.B. Müller there argues that “apostle” and “prophet” are closely related. Referring to Gal 1:15–16 and Rom 10:15 he says that Paul consciously saw his call “*in das Urbild alttestamentlich-prophetischer Berufungsberichte*”<sup>26</sup>. Paul was also among the early Christian prophets, says U.B. Müller and refers to 1 Cor 7:40; 14:18–19.37. How Paul actually spoke as a prophet must be discovered through a form-critical investigation of his preaching. Beside the above-mentioned texts, in which Paul's prophetic voice speaks, U.B. Müller also argues that the introductory formula  $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\ \delta\epsilon\ \upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$  (e.g. Gal 5:2; 1:9) or  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \phi\eta\mu\iota$  (1 Cor 7:29; 15:50) and

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God to preach to the Gentiles by referring to his former persecution. For this last text see especially O. Betz 1970.

20 R. Bultmann 1921 (e.g. pp. 77; 99); see M.E. Boring 1982 for a modern development of this view.

21 This is correctly pointed out by M.E. Boring 1982, 2–3.

22 The most important contributions are E. Cothenet 1971 a and b; T.M. Crone 1973; U.B. Müller 1975; G. Dautzenberg 1975; J. Panagopoulos (ed.) 1977; D. Hill 1979; W.A. Grudem 1982; M.E. Boring 1982; D.E. Aune 1983. For a useful survey of the research on early Christian prophecy till the beginning of the 1970's see G. Dautzenberg 1975, 15–41. For the latest development see D.E. Aune 1983, 1–14 and K.O. Sandnes 1983.

23 U.B. Müller 1975, 43–46; 139; 162–165; 211–212.

24 See also C.J. Roetzel 1969 who compares 1 Thess 4:3–8; Gal 6:7–10; 1 Cor 5:1–13; 10:1–14; 11:17–34; 2 Thess 1:5–12 and Gal 1:6–9 to the observations made by C. Westermann 1964. He concludes that “the apostle Paul, like the prophets, possesses the full authority of the divine judge since as the Lord's messenger he brings God's verdict” (p. 311).

25 U.B. Müller 1975, 109–117.

26 Ibid. p. 110.

the Pauline formula *παρακαλῶ διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* (Rom 15:30; 1 Cor 1:10) are prophetic legitimation-formulae corresponding to the messenger-formula in the OT<sup>27</sup>.

A further development of *U.B. Müller's* method has to define more precisely the relationship between prophetic "*Predigt*" and prophetic *logia*. The form-critical method is necessarily directed towards smaller textual units, and it may be questioned in what way *U.B. Müller* connects that method to Paul's general preaching. He defines the prophetic "*Predigt*" as always having a "*paränetischer Grundzug, sei er mahnend oder tröstend*"<sup>28</sup>. We consider it incorrect to take *παρακαλεῖν per se* as a reference to prophetic speech, as is, unfortunately, repeatedly stated by scholars<sup>29</sup>. *U.B. Müller*, who maintains the strong connection between *παρακαλεῖν* and prophecy, thus seems to turn the Pauline parenthesis into a prophetic speech. Moreover, the relationship between OT and NT prophets is not clarified by him. He draws analogies moving beyond what the sources actually say about the NT prophets<sup>30</sup>. Finally, we consider that a form-critical investigation of utterances of early Christian prophets has to be grounded on a broader basis than OT<sup>31</sup>.

A somewhat divergent conception of early Christian prophets is provided by *E. Cothenet*<sup>32</sup>. He also takes *παρακαλεῖν/παράκλησις* to be distinctive of the activity of NT prophets, but he defines the *παράκλησις* as prophetic exegesis of the scriptures (cf. Rom 15:4). Paul's sermon at Pisidian Antioch is proposed as a prime example of a prophetic homily (Acts 13:16–47). It is introduced as *λόγος παρακλήσεως* (v. 15). This sermon is marked by a new dimension in the interpretation of OT history, says *E. Cothenet*. He further points to 1 Cor 2:13 *πνευματικοῖς πνευματικὰ συγκρίνοντες*:

"Par dérivation *συγκρίνω* convient à l'interprétation des paroles prophétiques par une exégèse charismatique du type de l'interprétation des songes"<sup>33</sup>.

The same view is held by *E.E. Ellis*<sup>34</sup>. His arguments run parallel to *E. Cothenet's*. Moreover he argues that the nine quotations of the OT in the NT which exhibit modification of the text, and are introduced with the formula *λέγει κύριος*, are the products of early Christian prophets<sup>35</sup>. Both

27 Ibid. 118–140. For a criticism see G. Dautzenberg 1978, 130; see also p. 160 in this study.

28 U.B. Müller 1975, 13.

29 See our criticism pp. 110–111 n. 116; also G. Dautzenberg 1978, 126–127.

30 See pp. 14–15 nn. 2 and 3 in this investigation.

31 See D.E. Aune 1983, 262 for this point.

32 E. Cothenet 1977.

33 Ibid. p. 95.

34 E.E. Ellis 1978, 147–253. This part of his book is called "Prophecy as Exegesis: Early Christian Hermeneutic".

35 Ibid. pp. 182–187 (originally published in his 1957, 107–112); see also M.E. Boring 1982,

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