

SHIU-LUN SHUM

Paul's Use of Isaiah
in Romans

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe*

156

Mohr Siebeck

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zum Neuen Testament · 2. Reihe

Edited by
Jörg Frey, Martin Hengel, Otfried Hofius

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A Comparative Study of Paul's Letter
to the Romans and the
Sibylline and Qumran Sectarian Texts

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ISBN 3-16-147925-4

ISSN 0340-9570 (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe)

978-3-16-157188-6 Unveränderte eBook-Ausgabe 2019

Die Deutsche Bibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data is available in the Internet at <http://dnb.ddb.de>.

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The book was printed by Druck Partner Rübelmann GmbH in Hemsbach on non-aging paper and bound by Buchbinderei Schaumann in Darmstadt.

Preface

This is a revised version of my PhD dissertation submitted to and accepted by Glasgow University (Scotland) in June, 1999. The revision is confined mainly to typographical corrections, stylistic improvement, and some minor updates and additions; only in some places, have changes of a larger scale been made. I should like to thank Prof. Martin Hengel for his acceptance of my work into the prestigious series WUNT, and all of the staff of the Publication Department of J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) for the publication of this work.

The research work underlying this book would certainly never have been completed, had its author not gained help and support of various kind from different people. Thanks, first of all, go to my supervisor Dr. John Barclay. It was he who, in a certain morning in early Feb. 1995, challenged me to change to doing a PhD instead of doing a MTh. Throughout the years of my struggling to respond to this challenge, he showed me great patience, concern, and encouragement, along with helpful guidance and acute criticisms on my work.

Thanks also go to Dr. Joel Marcus (now of Boston University), who supervised me in doing the Qumran research and finally as my internal examiner gave me valuable comments on my work as a whole. I would want to acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Timothy H. Lim, who in an *ad hoc* occasion read an early draft of my work of 1QS and pointed out to me some mistakes. I am also thankful to Dr. Markus Bockmuehl, who as my external examiner reminded me of the importance of the textual matters relevant to my work.

Rev. Dr. John Pao, Rev. Ching-Chung Wu, Rev. Dr. Sven Soderlund, Dr. & Mrs. Stuart and Elisabeth Hoggar, and all the friends of Glasgow Chinese Christian Church deserve my special thanks for their friendship, concern, and constant prayers for me and for my family.

Here are some persons who gave me great financial support during my study in Glasgow: my mother Yuk-Wah Ho Shum, my mother in-law Wai-Chun Lee Chan, my elder brother Shiu-Kee Shum, my elder sister Oi-Lin Shum, and my best friends Rev. & Mrs. Robin C.-H. and Fuk-Yan To Fung. To all of them, I express my heartfelt gratitude.

To my wonderful wife Aza and my lovely daughter Priscilla, I am most grateful. Admittedly, I fail to find any words that can appropriately and thoroughly describe how much they have sacrificed for me. Looking back on those years of my study at Glasgow, I have deeply learned that doing a PhD is certainly not only a matter of my own, but also of the whole family. To them, therefore, I dedicate this small piece of work with the deepest gratitude and love.

Finally, I should be extremely thankful to God the heavenly Father, not only for giving me the opportunity to equip myself academically, but also for bringing to me all these wonderful people to enrich my life. *Soli Deo gloria.*

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Abbreviations

In this work abbreviations follow the systems set forth by *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* (NY: Doubleday, 1992), volume 1, pages IX-XXXV, with the following exceptions and/or 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, et al., (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, et al., (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, et al. (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 and for him.

Yet, to understand how Scripture works in and for Paul, one cannot simply focus on the letters of the apostle, but attention must also be paid to how Scripture works in and 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 to that of his fellow kinsmen will the uniqueness of Paul's use of Scripture be clearly and fully appreciated.

Thus, in this work, 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 among Paul's letters¹ the Letter to the Romans (henceforth as *Romans*) has widely been noted as heavily Scripture-loaded,² this letter will be taken as the sample text of examination. Those that will be chosen for analysis and comparison with Paul are the "Jewish Sibyls" who were responsible for the Jewish material in the Third and Fifth Books of the Sibylline Oracles, and the

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.

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 (henceforth as *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 of the Qumran sectarians as midrashic or midrash-peshheristic;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 the Book of Daniel and in the

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.

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 Peshet: 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 Peshet of Habakkuk* (SBLMS; Missoula, 1979), use the phrase "midrash-peshet" 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); *idem*, "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.

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 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

⁸ See L.H. Silberman, "Unriddling the Riddle," *RevQ* 3(1961), pp.323-64; M. Fishbane, "The Qumran Peshar 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, "Peshar, 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.

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).

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. 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 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 noted and in a differing degree of detail discussed by some

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), pp.609-32.

scholars.²⁰ Of these scholars, Florian 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 the Book of Isaiah, both explicit and implicit, in his letters. Like Koch's, Wilk's work is aimed at dealing systematically with the way in which Paul quotes and handles the words of Scripture and the function of Scripture in the apostle's theological thinking. Unlike Koch, however, Wilk confines himself to investigating the apostle's use of the Isaianic material with regard to his self-understanding as an apostle and his proclamation of the gospel.²² Wilk's work is surely important in its own right; yet, despite in a general and brief manner,²³ it fails to offer us a coherent picture showing how the Isaianic material serves as and helps shape the substructure of the apostle's argumentation in the Letter to the Romans *as a whole*. Hence, work of this kind needs to be done; and it is this task that the present work 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.

B. Methodology

1. Criteria for identifying allusions/echoes

Hearing allusions to or echoes²⁴ 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

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). (Unfortunately, I have not been able to have access to Oss's dissertation.)

²¹ F. Wilk, *Die Bedeutung des Jesajabuches für Paulus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998).

²² Wilk states at beginning of his work that "Die Frage nach der Bedeutung des Jesajabuches für Paulus hat einen doppelten Bezugsrahmen. Zum einen gilt sie einem Aspekt des paulinischen Umgangs mit der Schrift.... Die Themafrage zielt zum andern in grundlegender Hinsicht auf das apostolische Selbstverständnis des Paulus.... Angesichts dieser Zusammenhänge besteht die Intention der vorliegenden Studie darin, den Einfluß des Jesajabuches auf die Ausformung des paulinischen Selbstverständnisses und der ihm anvertrauten Verkündigung Jesu Christi unter den Heiden zu bestimmen." (*Die Bedeutung des Jesajabuches*, p.1; cf. pp.12-13.)

²³ See, e.g., F. Wilk, *Die Bedeutung des Jesajabuches*, pp.351-352, 404.

²⁴ 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.

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 to accurately identify their echoes in a later text; nor does it help us to 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 material 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 popular Greek NT texts. Given the same degree of familiarity with the Isaianic text, the difference in the number of instances of the allusions and echoes identified seems to suggest that two different sets of criteria were operative in the identification of the material.

It is admitted that the task of detecting allusions or echoes is inevitably subjective in character. It often appears that everyone does what is right in his or her own eyes. However, detecting allusions or 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 criteria) for the game has recently been put forward by Richard B. Hays and has increasingly been accepted by biblical scholars.²⁵ Hays's rules serve as a good starting point for all studies 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).²⁶ 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 the OT allusions or echoes in Paul's letters, but

²⁵ 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.

²⁶ Here and afterwards in this section, the pagination refers to Hays's *Echoes of Scripture*.

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 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., *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 or 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 or 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 or

dictated. And it also cannot be assumed that he would have expected his readers to overhear the allusions or 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 evidence* 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 or 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 or contextual continuity between the original and the new contexts 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 allusions/echos 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 or hear an 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 Job 13:16LXX, then Job 13:16LXX 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 or 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 or 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.

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¹ S stands for the LXX, while MT for the Masoretic Text.

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