

PETER NAGEL

Paul's Concept of a
Hebrew Deity
in Relation to Jesus

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe*

593

Mohr Siebeck

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593



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Paul's Concept
of a Hebrew Deity
in Relation to Jesus

Insights from the Kyrios
and Theos Citations

Mohr Siebeck

Peter Nagel, born 1975, 1999–2002 studied Theology at the University of Pretoria; 2005–2007 completed Masters’s degrees at the same Institution; 2007–2008 DAAD scholarship; 2012 PhD in New Testament; 2013 lecturer in New Testament at Unisa; since 2018 Senior Lecturer at Stellenbosch University.
orcid.org/0000-0001-9724-6178

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*Dedicated to my dearest son, Peter Theunis Nagel jnr, who only lived with us
here on earth for a short while, but who continues to live on in our
hearts, minds, and souls.*

28/05/2014 – 27/05/2015

Preface

I am forever indebted to so many people who made this publication even remotely possible. The first of which is Prof. Dr. Gert J. Steyn who supervised me during my doctoral studies. None of this would have been possible without his guidance, supervision, and subsequent friendship. He played a central role in creating various opportunities that contributed to my research. One of which is to apply for a DAAD: Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst Scholarship, which was awarded to me 2007–2008. This allowed me to conduct valuable and formative research at the Westfälische Wilhelms Universität in Münster, Germany, under the guidance and supervision of my “Doktorvater”, Prof. Dr. Dietrich-Alex Koch. His expert knowledge, advice, and generosity made my time in Germany a productive one. To this end, a word of heartfelt thanks to DAAD for making resources available that contributed to the quality of my research that ultimately led to this publication.

The reworking and publishing of my PhD thesis with Mohr Siebeck WUNT II Series all began with Prof. Dr. Tobias Nicklas as an external examiner of my PhD thesis and an associate editor of the series proposing I publish my thesis with them and introducing me to the editor, Prof. Dr. Jörg Frey in 2013. I am deeply indebted to them for offering me this opportunity and for being accommodating and supportive throughout. A word of heartfelt thanks to Mohr Siebeck for being patient with me for such a long period of time. Their accommodating attitude, understanding, and kindness showed toward me make this publication so much more than what is printed on paper. They have gone a few extra miles to make this possible. I am eternally grateful!

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List of Abbreviations

The abbreviations in this thesis adopt those in Collins, Billie Jean, Bob Buller, and John F. Kutsko (eds.), *The SBL Handbook of Style, Second Edition: For Biblical Studies and Related Disciplines* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2014). Only abbreviations not found in the *SBL Handbook of Style* are noted below. For abbreviation, symbols, characters, and signs relating to text-critical apparatus for New Testament texts, Eberhard Nestle and Erwin Nestle, *Nestle-Aland: NTG Apparatus Criticus*, ed. Barbara Aland et al., 28. revidierte Auflage (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2012) was used. The abbreviations, symbols, characters, and signs relating to text-critical apparatus for Greek Old Testament text, the text-critical editions of Septuaginta. *Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum*, Göttingen, 1931–, 20 vol. were used.

J. Early Christ. Hist.	Journal of Early Christian History
LXX ^{Gött}	Göttingen Edition of the Septuagint
LXX ^{Rahlfs}	Alfred Rahlfs' Edition of the Septuagint
NTG	Novum Testamentum Graece
Psalms ^{LXX}	Septuagint Version of the Psalms
Stellenbosch Theol.J.	Stellenbosch Theological Journal
ⲕ	Symbol used for Codex Sinaiticus by NA ²⁸
S	Symbol used for Codex Sinaiticus by LXX ^{Gött}
Codex ^{Len}	Codex Leningraden
Codex ^{Alep}	Codex Aleppo

Chapter 1

Introduction

A. Problem History

The primary aim of this study is to come to a more nuanced and deeper understanding of Paul's concept of a Hebrew deity. To confirm, this study wants to determine whether Paul conceptualised Jesus as the Χριστός and κύριος to be a literary conceptual representation of the 'personal,' 'exclusive' deity known as יהוה; the deity of a Hebrew-speaking people – the Israelites. To this end, the study aims to get a clearer and deeper understanding of how Paul understood, interpreted and conceptualised the terms κύριος, θεός, and δεσπότης as possible Greek counterparts for יהוה, אדוני, אל, אלהים, and מרי.¹ To answer the question as to how Paul conceptualised a Hebrew deity, the bridging, integration, and relation of the terms used when referring to such a deity is therefore essential to the study. It demands a specialised focus on the explicit κύριος and θεός citations in the Pauline literature to gain access to a larger Judean-Hellenistic literary conceptual context. To put it differently, this study will attempt to construct Paul's concept of a Hebrew deity and how he relates his concept to Jesus as the κύριος and Messiah through the explicit κύριος and θεός citations against a broad Judean-Hellenistic literary conceptual frame of reference.

It is due to the scholarly contributions over centuries that this attempt is even remotely possible.² Research into Paul's use of the Old Testament was introduced in the 19th century with the work of Emil F. Kautzsch,³ Hans A. Vollmer,⁴ and Wilhelm Dittmar.⁵ Kautzsch aimed to compare and determine which of the

¹ Not all these terms will be equally prominent and will be dealt with in-depth. However, they represent a spectrum of possible terms used when reference was made to a Hebrew deity.

² See the history of research on Paul in Friedrich W. Horn, *Paulus Handbuch* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 16–41.

³ Emil F. Kautzsch, *De Veteris Testamenti Locis a Paulo Apostolo Allegatis* (Leipzig: Metzger & Wittig, 1869).

⁴ Hans A. Vollmer, *Die Alttestamentlichen Citate bei Paulus textkritisch und biblisch-theologisch gewürdigt* (Freiburg, Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1895).

⁵ Wilhelm Dittmar, *Vetus Testamentum in Novo. Die alttestamentlichen Parallelen des Neuen Testaments im Wortlaut der Urtexte und der Septuaginta* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1903).

Septuagint manuscripts⁶ relate more closely to Paul's citations, with the ultimate purpose to establish a more accurate *Vorlage*.⁷ Kautzsch's investigation was foundational and was built on by Vollmer. Dittmar's investigation into the citations and the possible *Vorlage* covered the entire New Testament. His comparison included the Masoretic text and the later Symmachus, Theodotian, and Aquila text renditions.⁸ These early works set the stage for a century-long enquiry into Paul's use of the Hebrew Scriptures. Lucien Cerfaux, in his article published in 1943,⁹ realised a need to investigate and focus on those citations that attested to the term κύριος. He interprets them as "texts applied to God" as well as "texts applied to Christ." E. Earle Ellis¹⁰ focused on the rationale underlying the use of the citations by Paul and its theological application.¹¹ Otto Michel's work,¹² particularly the chapter devoted to what Paul understood as "Holy Scripture," produces valuable insight into what Paul would have understood as "authoritative Scripture."¹³ A new era was introduced when Dietrich-Alex Koch realised the magnitude and complexity of the problem when dealing with citations in the Pauline literature. In his extensive and pioneering work, he states: "Zu nennen sind hier die Frage nach der jeweiligen Textvorlage und Textabänderungen in den zahlreichen abweichenden Zitatwiedergaben durch Paulus [...]"¹⁴ Koch's statement captures the essence of the dynamics of these citations and their content, and because of his acute awareness of the complexity of the problem, the work he has done is groundbreaking; particularly his meticulous and comprehensive investigation into the various text readings. Koch also dealt, albeit briefly, with the issue of the "Herkunft von KYRIOS in den Schriftziten des Paulus,"¹⁵ as he confirms the complexity in bridging between יהוה, אלהים – κύριος and θεός.¹⁶

⁶ Kautzsch, *De Veteris*, 1–4.

⁷ In Kautzsch's comparison, he also accounts for the Masoretic text as a potential *Vorlage*.

⁸ See an example of Mt 11:3 in Dittmar, *Vetus Testamentum in Novo*, 22–23.

⁹ Lucien Cerfaux, "Kyrios' dans les citations pauliniennes de l'Ancien Testament," *ETL* 20 (1943): 5–17.

¹⁰ E. Earle Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1957).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹² Otto Michel, *Paulus und seine Bibel* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1972).

¹³ *Ibid.*, 8–18.

¹⁴ Dietrich-Alex Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1986), 9.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 84–88.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 84–87.

In his brief investigation into the origin of the term κύριος, Koch makes three preliminary concluding remarks based on literary findings:¹⁷

- (a) Paul was acquainted with and trusted the fact that the term κύριος was a suitable equivalent for the Tetragram within the oral tradition. That in turn might imply that the term had no new meaning for both Paul and his readers when he employed the citations that contained such a term.
- (b) Paul was conscious that whenever he used an explicit κύριος citation, its Hebrew counterpart reads יהוה'.
- (c) Paul considered and interpreted such citations as being Christological in nature.

Despite Koch's extensive work on the Pauline citations, and his preliminary findings regarding the origin of κύριος, he concedes that further investigation into the explicit κύριος and θεός citations is both necessary and essential. His work was followed by the study done by Richard B. Hays who made it clear that he pursues questions that deviated considerably from those asked by historical criticism, of which Koch's study is a prime example.¹⁸ Hays' approach is to read the letters as literary texts shaped by complex intertextual relations with Scripture.¹⁹ He believes that his intertextual approach may prove theologically fruitful as he attempts to answer questions about the relationship between Judaism and Christianity and the authority of Scripture.²⁰ David B. Capes also gave due attention to the citations in the Pauline literature that attest to the term κύριος.²¹ He approaches the problem through what he calls the "Old Testament Yahweh-Texts" which for him culminates into Paul's Christology. Capes structures his line of thought by firstly dealing with the term κύριος in the Septuagint;²² secondly, dealing with Paul's use of κύριος²³ and finally, he moves onto the 'so-called' 'Yahweh' texts in Paul's letters followed by some conclusions.²⁴ Capes' contribution is valuable in the sense that he saw the need to focus on and interpret the κύριος citations. A point of critique, though, is that

¹⁷ Ibid., 87–88. The monographic work of Koch was followed by three articles that continue his line of thought and approach: "Beobachtungen zum christologischen Schriftgebrauch in den vorpaulinischen Gemeinden," *ZNW* 71.3–4 (1980): 174–191; "Der Text von Hab.2.4b in der Septuaginta und im Neuen Testament," *ZNW* 76.1–2.1/2 (1985): 68–85 and "The Quotations of Isaiah 8,14 and 28,16 in Romans 9,33 and 1 Peter 2,6.8 as Test Case for Old Testament Quotations in the New Testament," *ZNW* 101. 2 (2010): 223–240.

¹⁸ Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (London: Yale University, 1989), xi.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid., xii.

²¹ David B. Capes, *Old Testament Yahweh-Texts in Paul's Christology*, WUNT 24/7 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992).

²² Ibid., 34–42.

²³ Ibid., 43–89.

²⁴ Ibid., 90–183.

some of Capes' conclusions can be described as 'giant leaps' which lack a nuanced reflection; Rom 4:7–8 can be taken as an example.

Capes introduces Rom 4:7–8²⁵ by pointing out some text-critical notes after which he immediately assumes that the LXX text is a verbatim account of its Hebrew counterpart, thus making Rom 4:7–8 a 'Yahweh-Text.'²⁶ He then draws a general conclusion against a broad literary context of the LXX within the literary context of Rom 3:21–4:8.²⁷ In addition to this conclusion, Cape argues for general themes 'traditionally' used by Paul.²⁸ Another fitting example is Rom 11:34. Capes once again makes an 'uncomplicated' connection between the LXX and the Hebrew text, whereby he hastily classifies Rom 11:34 as a 'Yahweh-Text.'²⁹ This critique is not against the fact that he makes these connections, but it is his failure to appreciate the complexity of these connections. He does, however, give a helpful overview of the possible origin of κύριος in the LXX³⁰ while adopting a synchronic approach to Paul's use of κύριος³¹ as the denominator when he deals with those citations containing the term κύριος. Capes' assumption that these citations should be regarded as 'Yahweh-Texts' – as if Paul read יהוה' when he cited Scripture – cannot be accepted as it lacks an in-depth investigation and appreciation of the textual complexities that cause fundamental discontinuities in his work.

In the same year as Capes' publication, Christopher D. Stanley's inquest into Paul and the language of Scripture was also made public.³² Stanley noticed and commented on some of the issues surrounding the terms κύριος and θεός, but to a limited degree.³³ His focus was more on the techniques implemented by Paul when he (Paul) used Scripture. Stanley's discussion on the various proposed techniques of scholars in understanding Paul's use of Scripture is helpful.³⁴ He convincingly argued for two theses introduced as (1) "that Paul actively adapted the wording of his biblical quotations to communicate his understanding of the passage in question," and (2) "that, in offering such interpretative renderings of the biblical text, Paul was working consciously but unreflectively within the

²⁵ Ibid., 156.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid., 157.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid., 168–172.

³⁰ Ibid., 56–72.

³¹ Ibid., 72–151.

³² Christopher D. Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture. Citation Technique in the Pauline Epistles and Contemporary Literature*, SNTS Monograph Series 74 (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1992).

³³ Stanley's attempt to establish the text should be commended, see Stanley, *Language of Scripture*, 67–87; cf. *ibid.*, 84–86 and 176–182.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 8–28.

accepted literary conventions of his day.”³⁵ Both these theses are adopted here, with the disclaimer that it remains uncertain to what extent Paul allowed his understanding of the citations when they contained the terms κύριος and θεός. It remains uncertain to what extent Paul allowed himself to reinterpret and conceptualise terms used when reference is made to a Hebrew deity, such as יהוה.³⁶

In 1980 Halvor Moxnes published a study of Paul’s understanding of God in Romans. According to him, the rationale for such a study is that Paul specially focused on God.³⁷ This ‘God-centered’ reading is supported by the frequent use of the term θεός in the letter.³⁸ He further asserts that the special position of Romans in Paul’s letters is affirmed by the use of the term κύριος in quotations from Scripture.³⁹ To this end, he offers a list of quotations found in Romans, a list compiled by Werner Kramer. This list reveals that Kramer, and so too Moxnes, are clear on when the term κύριος refers to ‘God’⁴⁰ and when it refers to Christ^{41, 42} Although he acknowledges that the actual function of the term θεός within the sentence must also be considered, whether it is used as a subject or in some other position,⁴³ he does not show an appreciation of the complexity surrounding the use of the terms κύριος and θεός and the relationship between these terms. In 1993, a monograph was published under the editorship of Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders that includes contributions from sixteen essayists on Paul and the use of the Scriptures of Israel.⁴⁴ Two of the studies are of particular interest; the first being from James A. Sanders,⁴⁵ and the other from J. Christiaan Beker.⁴⁶ Unfortunately, neither of these studies considered it necessary to reflect on the terms κύριος and θεός, especially because of their

³⁵ Stanley, *Language of Scripture*, 29.

³⁶ Both Koch and Stanley’s *inter alia* contention is that Paul relied on the Greek *Vorlage* when he cited Scripture.

³⁷ Halvor Moxnes, *Theology in Conflict. Studies in Paul’s Understanding of God in Romans* (Leiden: Brill, 1980), 15.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 16

⁴⁰ Rom 4:8; 9:28, 29; 10:16; 11:3, 34; 12:19; 14:11; 15:11; 1 Cor 3:20; 14:21; 2 Cor 6:17, 18.

⁴¹ Rom 10:13; 1 Cor 1:31; 10:21, 22; 2 Cor 3:16, 18; 10:17.

⁴² See the list in Moxnes, *Theology in Conflict*, 16.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁴⁴ Craig A. Evans, and James A. Sanders, *Paul and the Scriptures of Israel* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1993).

⁴⁵ James A. Sanders, “Paul and Theological History,” in *Paul and the Scriptures of Israel*, ed. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1993), 52–57.

⁴⁶ J. Christiaan Beker, “Echoes and Intertextuality. On the Role of Scripture in Paul’s Theology,” in *Paul and the Scriptures of Israel*, ed. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1993), 64–69.

theological significance. To be fair, they presumably kept to the brief which was to reflect on the work of Richard B. Hays⁴⁷ by way of addressing various topics.⁴⁸

Florian Wilk's⁴⁹ study explicitly introduced two assumptions, (1) that one cannot assume *a priori* that Paul's multi-thematic use of Scripture, resembling Isaiah content, implies that Isaiah as a literary unit – with a coherent message – informs Paul's thematic approach,⁵⁰ and (2) because of the uneven separation of the citation in the Pauline literature, he rightfully assumes: “daß der Einfluß des Jesajabuches sich nicht überall in derselben Weise vollzieht, sondern Entwicklungen oder Wandlungen unterworfen ist.”⁵¹ Wilk's contention is helpful in the sense that it allows a more dynamic and creative interpretative process on the part of Paul.⁵² In 2002, another attempt was made to account for the use of the Isaiah content by Paul. In this study, Shui-Lun Shum limits the investigation to the Romans epistle.⁵³

With his interest in the hermeneutical techniques and theological aspirations that emerge in the Jewish Sibyls and Qumran sectarian manuscripts in mind,⁵⁴ Shum assumes that the uniqueness of Paul's use of Scripture can only be fully appreciated if it is considered in comparison with his fellow kinsmen.⁵⁵ Shum's decision to use Jewish Sibyls and Qumran sectarian manuscripts as comparative literature, while focusing on the book of Isaiah, opens a variety of 'source' possibilities and places the spotlight on the Jewish character of the citations in the Pauline literature. His acknowledgement of, and attention to, the Judean character of these citations is a valuable contribution that is often underappreciated. To add to this, he too embraces the complexity of the κύριος or θεός problem in his reference to Paul's possible *Vorlage* with reference to

⁴⁷ Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, xi.

⁴⁸ In the same year as the publication of *Paul and the Scriptures of Israel*, James W. Aageson published his monograph, *Written Also for Our Sake. Paul and the Art of Biblical Interpretation* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1992). Aageson's approach is very similar to that of Hays due to his (Aageson's) interest in how biblical text is used, interpreted, and taught. Aageson focused on 'Old Testament' themes interpreted by Paul for the Christian tradition.

⁴⁹ Florian Wilk, *Die Bedeutung des Jesajabuches für Paulus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 12–13.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁵² Wilk also perceived the κύριος-*Tetragram* problem when he dealt with the Isaiah citations in Paul, but he did not pursue the issue any further than mere reference, *ibid.*, 364–367. One would have expected a more extensive reflection from Wilk on this matter because at least twenty-five explicit citations, of which ten are taken from Isaiah, reflect the terms κύριος and θεός (See Rom 9:29; Rom 10:16; Rom 14:11 [quoting Isa 45:23 and Isa 49:18] and 1 Cor 2:16).

⁵³ Shui-Lun Shum, *Paul's Use of Isaiah in Romans* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002).

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 1.

יהוה.⁵⁶ In a recent monographically work on Paul's use of Scripture, J. Ross Wagner recognises the detail offered in the work done by Koch, Stanley, and Lim. He is cognisant of their approach, even though his method in reconstructing Paul's *Vorlage* is more in line with the work of Hays as he seeks to uncover the hermeneutical logic that guides Paul's reinterpretation of Scripture.⁵⁷ That being said, his methodology deviates from that of Hays as he systematically employs a text-critical investigation of Paul's *Vorlage* as a tool for exposing Paul's interpretive strategies and aims.⁵⁸ What Wagner accomplished, is to expose Paul's strategies and aim for a better understanding of how he (Paul) interpreted κύριος or θεός in light of יהוה.

Several scholars refined the citation in the Pauline literature as a broad research area by focusing on specific aspects of Paul's use of Scripture.⁵⁹ Examples include Robert B. Hughes⁶⁰ who zooms into the textual and hermeneutical issues in the Corinthian correspondence as he states that his study will "endeavour to understand the Old Testament through the mind of one New Testament

⁵⁶ Shum, *Isaiah in Romans*, 205–215.

⁵⁷ J. Ross Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News. Isaiah and Paul "in Concert" in the Letter to the Romans*, NovTSup 101 (Leiden: Brill, 2002). He concurs with both Dietrich-Alex Koch and Christopher D. Stanley that Paul relied on Greek *Vorlagen* when he cited Scripture and that Paul himself adapted the citations, *ibid.*, 6. Wagner also dealt with Isaiah citations in Paul, but he narrowed it down to Isa 51–55 in "The Heralds of Isaiah and the Mission of Paul. An Investigation of Paul's Use of Isaiah 51–55 in Romans," in *Jesus and the Suffering Servant. Isaiah 53 and Christian Origin*, ed. William H. Bellinger, Jr. and William R. Farmer (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press, 1998), 193–222. What Wagner did is to apply the thematic criterion, proposed in an article by Hays, to the question of Paul's use of Isaiah in Romans, *ibid.*, 194. His aim was to, and I quote: "attempt a more wide-ranging account of the influence of the larger 'story' of Isaiah 51–55 on the 'story' underlying Paul's argument in Romans," *ibid.*, 195.

⁵⁸ Determining the *Vorlage* is of lesser importance for Leonard J. Greenspoon, "The Historical Context. By the Letter? Word for Word? The Role of Memory in Paul's Citation of Scripture," in *Paul and Scripture. Extending the Conversation*, ed. Christopher D. Stanley (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2012), 10–16, who is of the opinion that Paul cited Scripture from memory in some instances, while arguing for Paul's memory skill and the 'lack of' the availability of written material.

⁵⁹ The contribution of Gert J. Steyn, "The Text Form of the Torah Quotations Common to the *Corpus Philonocum* and Paul's Corinthian Correspondence," in *The Scriptures of Israel in Jewish and Christian Tradition. Essays in Honour of Maarten J. J. Menken*, NovTSup 148 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 193–210, is worth mentioning. His study, in part, is an attempt to answer the question whether an old Greek version of the Torah can be constructed. Harm W. Hollander, "Paul's Use of the Old Testament and His Attack on Apollos' Adherence in Corinth," in *The Scripture of Israel in Jewish and Christian Tradition. Essays in Honour of Maarten J. J. Menken*, NovTSup 148 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 179–191, turned to the Old Testament citations in the Corinthian correspondence to resolve the Apollos conflict issue.

⁶⁰ Robert B. Hughes, "Textual and Hermeneutical Aspects of Paul's Use of the Old Testament in 1 and 2 Corinthians," (PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 1978).

writer, the Apostle Paul, as seen in his use of explicit quotations in First and Second Corinthians.”⁶¹ In an article published in 1985, Roy A. Harrisville presents a ‘formal study’ of Paul and the Psalms⁶² in which he deals with some peculiarities in Paul’s use of the Psalms. Wendell L. Willis focuses on 1 Cor 2:16. His interest is the problem of the ‘Mind of Christ’ as it occurs in the literary context of 1 Cor 2:6–16,⁶³ while C. Kavin Rowe searched for the name of the ‘Lord’ through the lens of Rom 10:13.⁶⁴ Jean-Noël Aletti directs his attention to Romans 4 and the role Genesis 17 plays.⁶⁵ In this article, he proposes the technique of Gezerah Shawah⁶⁶ used by Paul as a technique to better understand the use of Genesis 17 in Romans 4.⁶⁷ James W. Aageson narrows down the field of research in his monograph as he focuses his attention on Romans 9–11 in a comparative study of biblical interpretation.⁶⁸ His thesis is based on two basic arguments, (1) that Paul’s methods in using Scripture are largely adaptations of methods found in a wide range of early Judean sources, and (2) that the latter method is fundamental to the theological development of Romans 9–11.⁶⁹ Jared W. Ludlow asserts that the primary use of the Old Testament texts by the earliest Christians was to highlight the fulfilment and the awaited expectation of the Messiah.⁷⁰ This, according to him, is how Paul used the Old Testament; it is prophecy

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁶² Roy A. Harrisville, “Paul and the Psalms. A Formal Study,” *Word & World* 5.2 (1985): 168–179.

⁶³ Wendell L. Willis, “The ‘Mind of Christ’ in 1 Corinthians 2:16,” *Bib* 70.1 (1989): 110–122.

⁶⁴ C. Kavin Rowe, “Romans 10:13. What is the Name of the Lord?” *HBT* 22.1 (2000): 135–173.

⁶⁵ Jean-Noël Aletti, “Romans 4 et Genèse 17. Quelle énigme et quelle solution?” *Bib* 84.3 (2003): 305–325.

⁶⁶ A rabbinic principle, the second of Hillel’s exegetical rules.

⁶⁷ Aletti, “Romans 4 et Genèse”; cf. Capes, *Old Testament Yahweh-Texts*, 155. Geoffrey Turner, “Paul and the Old Testament. His Legacy and Ours,” *New Blackfriars* 91.1032 (2010): 128–141, acknowledges the notion that Paul was trained in traditional Rabbinic techniques and used them when quoting Scripture, *ibid.*, 128; an idea introduced and extensively unpacked by Martin Hengel, *The Pre-Christian Paul* (London: SCM Press, 1991). According to his classical consultation, Geoffrey also asserts that citations are written more freely and less explicitly, which implies that there is a lot more “Old Testament content” compared to the suggestions varying between 70–89 explicit citations, *ibid.*, 130–131. He distinguishes between a citation and quotation; the former is when Paul says he is quoting from Scripture, whereas the latter is not made explicit, *ibid.*, 131.

⁶⁸ James W. Aageson, *Paul’s Use of Scripture. A Comparative Study of Biblical Interpretation in Early Palestinian Judaism and the New Testament With Special Reference to Romans 9–11* (Oxford: Oxford University, 1983).

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁷⁰ Jared W. Ludlow, “Paul’s Use of the Old Testament Scripture,” in *How the New Testament Came to Be. The Thirty-Fifth Annual Sidney B. Sperry Symposium*, ed. Kent P. Jackson and Frank F. Judd, Jr. (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 2006), 227–242.

fulfilment and expectations,⁷¹ but concedes that Paul's citations went beyond showing fulfilment.⁷² In his publication, Brian J. Abasciano contributes to a more nuanced understanding of Paul's use of the Old Testament in Rom 9:10–18.⁷³ Abasciano investigates the 'source context' of the citations. This 'source context' refers to the standard grammatical-historical exegesis of a New Testament text that alludes to the Old Testament, informed by a detailed analysis of the author's use of Scripture that entails exegeting the Old Testament text in its original context.⁷⁴ The study is helpful in that it offers an in-depth analysis of the source context against which to interpret the explicit κύριος and θεός citations in Rom 9:26–29; even though Abasciano could not conclusively solve the 'sourcing' issue in Rom 9:26–29. In a 2019 publication by Stanley E. Porter and Christopher D. Land,⁷⁵ none of the essayists considered it important to deal with the term κύριος or θεός as it is presented in the citations; not even the considerations and new proposals made by Porter and Land themselves.⁷⁶ Colin G. Kruse's⁷⁷ discussion on the use of Scripture in Romans and Arland J. Hultgren's⁷⁸ determination of the status and role of Israel's Scripture in the Pastoral epistles realise the need to account for the use of the term κύριος and θεός in the citations. In a recent study, Tilling offers a very insightful history of research on the question of whether Paul's Christology is divine or not.⁷⁹ One of the questions Tilling's thesis centres around is how Paul's Jewish-like faith in 'God' affect our understanding of his Christology.⁸⁰ He goes on to postulate that anyone examining Pauline Christology must say something about Paul's faith in 'God' because they belong together and that a faulty notion of Paul's faith in 'God' will obscure a Christological study.⁸¹ His theory is premised on the 'transcendent uniqueness' of the 'God' of the Old Testament. He argues the latter by determining what the major Old Testament Theologies detail about monotheism, OT-related

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 228.

⁷² *Ibid.* It can be argued that Paul's use of the Old Testament citations is predominately not concerned with the idea of fulfilment. The nine categories identified by Ludlow reveal a 'creative' interpretation of the citations – guilty of overstretching it.

⁷³ Brian J. Abasciano, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament in Romans 9.10–18. An Intertextual and Theological Exegesis* (London: Bloomsbury, 2011).

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁷⁵ Stanley E. Porter, and Christopher D. Land, eds., *Paul and Scripture* (Leiden: Brill, 2019).

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 7–30.

⁷⁷ Colin G. Kruse, "Paul's Use of Scripture in Romans," in *Paul and Scripture* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 77–92.

⁷⁸ Arland J. Hultgren, "The Pastoral Epistles and the Scriptures of Israel," in *Paul and Scripture* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 372–390.

⁷⁹ Chris Tilling, *Paul's Divine Christology* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), 11–33.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 63.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

monographs, and of course Paul.⁸² He concludes by suggesting that “If God was understood, and faith in him expressed, in a thoroughly relational manner, then one would expect to find God’s uniqueness likewise expressed. i.e., relationally.” The repetition of the Shema twice a day by devoted Jews implies “an understanding of God’s unique identity – YHWH’s oneness – as intrinsically tied to the relationally accented notion of loving commitment to God.”⁸³ He postulates that Jews, such as Paul, maintained the uniqueness of ‘God’ by the unique YHWH-relation.⁸⁴ Tilling concludes that the ‘Christ-relation’ was Paul’s way of expressing the function of a divine Christology in chronological matters.⁸⁵ Tilling, however, does not appreciate the nuances and complexity of referencing a Hebrew deity, he refers to as ‘God’.

B. Framing the Problem and Potential Questions

In all fairness to the scholars who have contributed immensely to come to a deeper and more nuanced understanding of how Paul used Hebrew Scriptures, they could not have answered all the questions and solved the numerous problems produced by Paul’s use of the Old Testament.⁸⁶ There are thus several unanswered questions and unresolved problems that demand attention. It remains uncertain as to how Paul understood, interpreted, and conceptualised the terms κύριος and θεός; more so, how Paul related these concepts with Jesus as the Χριστός and κύριος. It is not clear whether Paul shared the general rule of thumb idea that the terms κύριος and θεός were the Greek equivalents for אלהים and יהוה respectively.⁸⁷ It is irresponsible to infer that it is obvious what these Hebrew terms meant for Paul and whether he shared the presumed ‘generally expected view’ of the translators of the Greek Old Testament that the terms κύριος and θεός are the most suitable Greek equivalents for אלהים and יהוה. These are all issues embedded in a complex transmission and transition history. To add to the complexity, Paul used the term κύριος when he referred to Jesus,

⁸² Ibid., 66.

⁸³ Ibid., 71.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 256.

⁸⁶ Although Harrisville, Willis, Wagner, and Aletti implicitly deal with the κύριος citations in one way or another, they do not consider it necessary to investigate the apparent questions posed by the appearance of the term κύριος in the citations. Rowe, on the other hand, found it necessary to pursue problems posed by the latter term. He does this using a synchronic analysis in both the literary contexts of Rom 10:13 and Joel 2:32.

⁸⁷ The insightful study of Paula Fredriksen, “How Jewish Is God? Divine Ethnicity in Paul’s Theology,” *JBL* 137.1 (2018): 193–212, postulates that for gentile Christian theologians – during the second century – God the father (the high god formerly of Jewish tradition) lost his Jewish identity, *ibid.*, 210.

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