

C. MARVIN PATE

# The Reverse of the Curse

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen  
zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe*

114

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**Mohr Siebeck**

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen  
zum Neuen Testament · 2. Reihe

Herausgegeben von  
Martin Hengel und Otfried Hofius

114





C. Marvin Pate

# The Reverse of the Curse

Paul, Wisdom, and the Law

Mohr Siebeck

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*To My Wife and Daughter  
Sherry and Heather*



## Preface

This work is the culmination of seven years of research on the topic of Paul, wisdom, and the law. Ironically, I began the investigation assuming the opposite findings than those espoused in this volume, namely, Paul *equated* wisdom with law. After two years into the process, however, I came to a rather startling reversal of opinion — in fact, the apostle to the Gentiles par excellence opposed the two. His Damascus Road conversion could lead him to do no other. I came to see that, in reality, to miss Paul's disassociation of Christ, the wisdom of God, from the law of Moses was to run the risk of downplaying his message of justification by faith alone; a theme, I fear, not nearly as hospitable as it once was to Pauline scholarship. If this study can in any way help redress that problem, I will be most grateful.

There are numerous individuals without whose help this project would have never seen the light of day. There are three groups of people especially to whom I am indebted for their acts of kindness. First, on the technical side, I am deeply thankful to Cathy Wegner, Marty Hartley, and Erin Bonnell, for the production of this manuscript. Their skills in typing, indexing, and computer technology in general, saved the day for me many times. I particularly appreciate Mrs. Wegner's expertise and perseverance in typing the book. Second, while the work is my own, a number of my colleagues here at Moody Bible Institute have offered invaluable interaction with it along the way: Jon Laansma, Paul Wegner, John Walton, Bill Marty, Doug Kennard, John Hart, Andrew Schmutzer, Michael Vanlaningham, and Ron Sauer. The last-mentioned associate rescued me from a multitude of grammatical errors. Any remaining mistakes, syntactical or otherwise, are my own. Neither should it be assumed that my friends just listed would agree with all that I have said theologically in this work. Third, last but certainly not least, how grateful I am for my students and those parishioners I have served as pastor whose provocative questions and comments continued to motivate me to pursue the topic at hand.

It is a special privilege for me to acknowledge Professor Martin Hengel for his encouragement and feedback on an earlier version of this study, whose insight and watchful eye made the writing of this book one of the greatest joys of my academic experience. And to him, together with Professor Otfried Hofius, I express my appreciation for including this volume in the WUNT



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Finally, I am profoundly thankful to God for my wife, Sherry, and our daughter, Heather, who have taught me the most about grace.

June, 2000  
Chicago, Illinois

C. Marvin Pate

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# Abbreviations

## *I. Journals and Series*

AGAJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
ALUOS	Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society
AnBib	Analecta Biblica
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
<i>APOT</i>	<i>Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament</i>
AThANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
<i>BAR</i>	<i>British Archaeological Reports</i> (International Series, Oxford)
<i>BBibB</i>	<i>Bonner Biblische Beiträge</i>
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium
BEvTh	Beiträge zur Evangelischen Theologie
<i>BHTh</i>	<i>Beiträge zur historischen Theologie</i>
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
<i>BibT</i>	<i>Bibliothèque théologique</i>
<i>BJRL</i>	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester</i>
<i>BN</i>	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
<i>BTB</i>	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CRINT	Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad novum testamentum
<i>CTJ</i>	<i>Concordia Theological Journal</i>
<i>DBSupp</i>	<i>Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément</i>
EOS	EOS commentarii societatis philologiae polonorum
<i>ETL</i>	<i>Ephemerides theologicae louvanienses</i>
<i>EvanQ</i>	<i>Evangelical Quarterly</i>
<i>EvT</i>	<i>Evangelische Theologie</i>
<i>ExT</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
FBBS	Facet Books, Biblical Series
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
FzB	Forschung zur Bibel
GTA	Göttinger theologische Arbeiten
HDS	Harvard Dissertation Series
<i>HeyJ</i>	<i>The Heythrop Journal</i>
<i>HR</i>	<i>History of Religions</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>IDB</i>	<i>Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i>
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>

<i>ITQ</i>	<i>Irish Theological Quarterly</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JR</i>	<i>Journal of Religion</i>
<i>JSHRZ</i>	Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
<i>JSNTSS</i>	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>KD</i>	<i>Kerygma and Dogma</i>
<i>LTP</i>	<i>Laval théologique et philosophique</i>
<i>LUA</i>	Lunds Universiteits Årsskrift
<i>NIDNTT</i>	<i>New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology</i>
<i>NKZ</i>	<i>Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift</i>
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
<i>NovTSupp</i>	Novum Testamentum Supplements
<i>NTA</i>	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen
<i>NTD</i>	Das Neue Testament Deutsch
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>PEQ</i>	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
<i>PVTG</i>	Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti graece
<i>QD</i>	Quaestiones disputatae
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i>
<i>REJ</i>	<i>Revue des études juives</i>
<i>RestQ</i>	<i>Restoration Quarterly</i>
<i>RHPR</i>	<i>Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses</i>
<i>RQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
<i>RSR</i>	<i>Recherches de science religieuse</i>
<i>SB</i>	Sources bibliques
<i>SBLDS</i>	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
<i>SBLMS</i>	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
<i>SBM</i>	Stuttgarter biblische Monographien
<i>SBS</i>	Society for Biblical Study
<i>SBT</i>	Studies in Biblical Theology
<i>SE</i>	<i>Studia Evangelica</i>
<i>SJLA</i>	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
<i>SJT</i>	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
<i>SNT</i>	Studien zum Neuen Testament
<i>SNTSMS</i>	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
<i>SPCK</i>	Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge
<i>ST</i>	<i>Studia Theologica</i>
<i>SVTP</i>	Studia in Veteris Testamenti pseudepigrapha
<i>TAPA</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
<i>TDNT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i>
<i>ThBeitr</i>	<i>Theologische Beiträge</i>
<i>TJ</i>	<i>Trinity Journal</i>
<i>TLZ</i>	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
<i>TOTP</i>	<i>The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i>

<i>TQ</i>	<i>Theologische Quartalschrift</i>
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
<i>TynB</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
<i>TZ</i>	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>USQR</i>	<i>Union Seminary Quarterly Review</i>
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSupp	Vetus Testamentum, Supplements
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
<i>WTJ</i>	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>ZThK</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>

## II. Commentaries

AB	The Anchor Bible
CNT	Commentaire du Nouveau Testament
EKKNT	Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
HNTC	Harper's New Testament Commentary
HThK	Herders theologischer Kommentar
ICC	International Critical Commentary
KNT	Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
MNTC	Moffatt New Testament Commentary
NCBC	New Century Bible Commentary
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
TNTC	Tyndale New Testament Commentary
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary

## III. Biblical Literature

[OT]	Gen.	Judg.	Esth.	Ezek.	Zech.
	Ex.	Sam.	Ps.	Dan.	
	Lev.	Kgs.	Prov.	Hos.	
	Num.	Chr.	Isa.	Hab.	
	Deut.	Neh.	Jer.	Zeph.	
[NT]	Mt.	Rom.	Phil.	Heb.	
	Mk.	Cor.	Col.	Js.	
	Lk.	Gal.	Thess.	Rev.	
	Jn.	Eph.	Tim.		

## IV. Extra-Canonical Literature

## A. Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

<i>Add. Esth.</i>	<i>Additions to Esther</i>
<i>Apoc. Mos.</i>	<i>Apocalypse of Moses</i>
<i>Assum. Mos.</i>	<i>Assumption of Moses</i>
<i>Bar.</i>	<i>Baruch</i>
<i>Jos. and As.</i>	<i>Joseph and Aseneth</i>
<i>Jub.</i>	<i>Jubilees</i>
<i>Jud.</i>	<i>Judith</i>
<i>Macc.</i>	<i>Maccabees</i>
<i>Pss. Sol.</i>	<i>Psalms of Solomon</i>
<i>Sib. Or.</i>	<i>Sibylline Oracles</i>
<i>Sir.</i>	<i>Sirach</i>
<i>T. Ab.</i>	<i>Testament of Abraham</i>
<i>T. Ash.</i>	<i>Testament of Asher</i>
<i>T. Ben.</i>	<i>Testament of Benjamin</i>
<i>T. Gad.</i>	<i>Testament of Gad</i>
<i>T. Iss.</i>	<i>Testament of Issachar</i>
<i>T. Jos.</i>	<i>Testament of Joseph</i>
<i>T. Jud.</i>	<i>Testament of Judah</i>
<i>T. Levi</i>	<i>Testament of Levi</i>
<i>T. Naph.</i>	<i>Testament of Naphtali</i>
<i>Tob.</i>	<i>Tobit</i>
<i>T. Reub.</i>	<i>Testament of Reuben</i>
<i>T. Sim.</i>	<i>Testament of Simeon</i>
<i>T. Zeb.</i>	<i>Testament of Zebulun</i>
<i>Vita</i>	<i>Life of Adam and Eve</i>
<i>Wis.</i>	<i>Wisdom of Solomon</i>

## B. Qumran

1QH	Thanksgiving Hymns
1QpHab	1Q Habbakkuk Peshier
1QM	The War Scroll
1QS	The Rule of the Community
1QSa	The Rule of the Congregation
4Patr	Blessings of the Patriarchs
4QDibHam	Words of the Luminaries
4QFlor	4Q Florilegium
4QMMT	Some Works of the Torah
4QPss	Apocryphal Psalms
4QTest	4Q Testimonia
11QPs <sup>a</sup>	11Q Apocryphal Psalms
CD	Damascus Document
TS	Temple Scroll

*C. Babylonian Talmud*

<i>b. Ber.</i>	<i>Babylonian Berakoth</i>
<i>b. Pes.</i>	<i>Babylonian Pesahim</i>
<i>b. Shab.</i>	<i>Babylonian Shabbath</i>
<i>b. Kid.</i>	<i>Babylonian Kiddushin</i>
<i>b. B. Qam.</i>	<i>Babylonian Baba Qamma</i>
<i>b. Sanh.</i>	<i>Babylonian Sanhedrin</i>
<i>b. Mak.</i>	<i>Babylonian Makkoth</i>

*D. Palestinian Talmud*

<i>t. Toh.</i>	<i>Palestinian Tohoroth</i>
<i>y. Ber.</i>	<i>Palestinian Berakoth</i>

*E. Midrashim*

<i>Gen. Rab.</i>	<i>Genesis Rabbah</i>
<i>Exod. Rab.</i>	<i>Exodus Rabbah</i>
<i>Lev. Rab.</i>	<i>Leviticus Rabbah</i>
<i>Midr. Pss.</i>	<i>Midrash Psalms</i>
<i>Num. Rab.</i>	<i>Numbers Rabbah</i>

*F. Mishnah*

<i>m. Abod. Zar.</i>	<i>m. Abodah Zarah</i>
<i>m. 'Abot</i>	<i>m. 'Aboth</i>
<i>m. Ber.</i>	<i>m. Berakoth</i>
<i>m. Hag.</i>	<i>m. Hagigah</i>
<i>m. Ned.</i>	<i>m. Nedarim</i>
<i>m. Pes.</i>	<i>m. Pesahim</i>
<i>m. Shab.</i>	<i>m. Shabbath</i>
<i>m. Toh.</i>	<i>m. Tohoroth</i>

*G. Josephus*

<i>Ag. Apion</i>	<i>Against Apion</i>
<i>Ant.</i>	<i>Antiquity of the Jews</i>
<i>J.W.</i>	<i>Jewish War</i>
<i>Life</i>	<i>Life of Flavius Josephus</i>

*H. Philo*

<i>Abr.</i>	<i>De Abrahamo</i>
<i>Aet. Mund.</i>	<i>De aeternitate mundi</i>
<i>Cher.</i>	<i>De cherubim</i>

<i>Confus.</i>	<i>De confusione linguarum</i>
<i>De Plant.</i>	<i>De plantatione</i>
<i>De Spec. Leg.</i>	<i>De specialibus legibus</i>
<i>Det.</i>	<i>Quod deterius</i>
<i>Deus</i>	<i>Quod deus sit immutabilis</i>
<i>Her.</i>	<i>Quis rerum divinarum heres</i>
<i>Ios.</i>	<i>De Josepho</i>
<i>Leg. Alleg.</i>	<i>Legum allegoriae</i>
<i>Migr. Abr.</i>	<i>De migratione Abrahami</i>
<i>Mutat.</i>	<i>De mutatione nominum</i>
<i>Opif.</i>	<i>De opificio mundi</i>
<i>Post.</i>	<i>De posteritate Caini</i>
<i>Praem.</i>	<i>De praemiis</i>
<i>Quaest. Ex.</i>	<i>Quaestiones et solutiones in Exodum</i>
<i>Quaest. Gen.</i>	<i>Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesim</i>
<i>Quod Omnis</i>	<i>Quod omnis probus liber sit</i>
<i>Sacrif.</i>	<i>De sacrificiis Abelis et Caini</i>
<i>Som.</i>	<i>De somniis</i>
<i>Virt.</i>	<i>De virtutibus</i>

### I. Other Jewish Writings

<i>Mek. on Ex.</i>	<i>Mekhilta on Exodus</i>
<i>Sifre Deut.</i>	<i>Sifre Deuteronomy</i>

### J. Translations

LXX	Septuagint
MT	Masoretic Text
<i>Tg. Onk.</i>	<i>Targum Onkelos</i>
<i>Tg. Ps.-J.</i>	<i>Targum Pseudo-Jonathan</i>
<i>Tg. Ps.</i>	<i>Targum Psalms</i>

### K. Early Christian Works

<i>Adv. Haer.</i>	<i>Adversus Haereseis</i> [Epiphanius]
<i>AH</i>	<i>Against Heresies</i> [Irenaeus]
<i>Dial.</i>	<i>Dialogue with Trypho</i> [Justin Martyr]
<i>Did.</i>	<i>Didache</i>
<i>EH</i>	<i>Ecclesiastical History</i> [Eusebius]
<i>Ep. Barn.</i>	<i>Epistle of Barnabas</i>
<i>Haer.</i>	<i>Haereseis</i> [Irenaeus]
<i>Herm. Mand.</i>	<i>Hermas, Mandate</i>
<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Refutatio</i> [Hippolytus]

*L. Pagan Authors*

<i>Ann.</i>	<i>Annals</i> [Tacitus]
<i>Diss.</i>	<i>Discourses</i> [Epictetus]
<i>Sat.</i>	<i>Satires</i> [Juvenal]

## Introduction

# The Current State of Research: A Survey

The thesis of this study, “The Reverse of the Curse: Paul, Wisdom, and the Law,” is as follows: A two-fold concern is at the heart of the gospel proclaimed by the apostle to the Gentiles, *par excellence*. Those two foci involve the relationship of wisdom to the Mosaic law in Paul’s thinking and how that association, or lack thereof, informs his understanding of the Deuteronomistic tradition. More particularly, this work aims to demonstrate that Paul employs the wisdom motif for the purpose of reversing the Deuteronomistic curses and blessings (Deut. 27–30). Thus for the apostle to the Gentiles, God’s wisdom is none other than the crucified Christ, whose death and resurrection brought the end of the Torah as the means for acquiring justification. That is to say, Paul views Christ as having removed the Deuteronomistic curses by embracing divine judgment on the cross and thereby dispensing the Deuteronomistic blessings to all who believe in him.

In our tracking of these concerns in the indisputed Pauline epistles,<sup>1</sup> we will repeatedly encounter two crucial ideas. First, because Christ crucified is the true wisdom of God and therefore the reason for the end of the law, all who attempt to be justified by the Torah ironically find themselves to be under a divine curse, while those whose faith is in Christ alone experience God’s blessing. This perspective obviously reverses the Deuteronomistic tradition in that it interprets the law of Moses negatively. Second, flowing from the first dynamic, because the cross of Christ, the supreme manifestation of God’s wisdom, spelled the end of the law, salvation is now open to the Gentiles; it is universal in scope. Clearly this attitude toward the nations is positive in outlook.

The preceding two components — Paul’s negative view of the law and his positive attitude toward the Gentiles — are the direct results of his separation of wisdom from the Torah and, concomitantly, his reversal of the Deuteronomistic tradition. Furthermore, as we will see in this study, such thinking rep-

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<sup>1</sup> Those letters are: Galatians, 1 Thessalonians, Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Philippians, and Philemon.



resents an about-face compared to Paul's previous understanding when he, as a former Pharisee zealous for the Torah and therefore hostile to the Hellenization of his Jewish heritage, was converted to Christ on the Damascus Road. In those bygone days, and in consonance with those Jewish writings that intimately associated wisdom and Torah, Paul affirmed passages like Deuteronomy 4:5–6, which insist that divine wisdom leads to obeying the law (cf. Pss. 1; 19; 119). Two consequences accompanied that conviction. First, the way for Israel to remove the covenantal curses and actualize its blessings was to obey the Torah. This is, of course, a positive view of the law. Second, in accomplishing that God would exalt Israel over the nations. Such particularism amounts to a negative attitude toward the Gentiles. All of that changed, however, with Paul's conversion. The documentation for these claims that the Christian Paul treats the law negatively but the Gentiles positively, while many of his Jewish near contemporaries viewed the law positively but the Gentiles negatively, will unfold in the course of our analysis. Before developing this thesis, however, we first offer an outline of the current state of research on the previously delineated topic of wisdom and law in Paul, as well as on his usage of the Deuteronomistic tradition. After that, we provide a summary of our procedure in this study.

### *I. Forschungsbericht*

Here we survey scholarly analysis of two key ideas in the indisputed Pauline literature: the relationship therein of wisdom and law and the apostle's usage of the Deuteronomistic tradition. We will see that more needs to be said on both subjects, and even more so regarding their combination. Our intended contribution in this work lies in arguing that these two ideas are interwoven in Paul's thought, forming the core of his message.

#### *A. Wisdom and Law according to Paul*

While research on the Pauline understanding of the impact of the Christ event on the Mosaic law is voluminous<sup>2</sup> and attention devoted to Paul's wisdom

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<sup>2</sup> As Brice L. Martin notes, there are both positive and negative statements about the law in Paul's writings. Positively, the law is of no mere human authority (cf. 1 Cor. 9:8) but is "the law of God" (Rom. 7:22, 25; 8:7). Given by God (Rom. 9:4; cf. 3:2) and written by God (1 Cor. 9:9; 14:21; cf. 14:34), it contains the will of God (Rom. 2:17–18), bears witness to the righteousness of God (Rom. 3:21), and is in accord with the promise of God (Gal. 3:21). The law is "holy," "good," and "of the Spirit" (Rom. 7:12, 14, 16); its essence is

Christology is on the increase,<sup>3</sup> the confluence of the two — wisdom and law in Paul — has only rather recently caught the scholarly eye.<sup>4</sup> This despite the

love (Rom. 13:8–10; Gal. 5:14), its embodiment is “knowledge” and “truth” (Rom. 2:20). Through faith rather than works it is established (Rom. 3:31). Its “just requirement” is fulfilled by the one who walks “according to the Spirit” rather than “according to the flesh” (Rom. 8:4); etc. Negatively, the law brings a curse (Gal. 3:13), wrath (Rom. 4:15), sin (Rom. 7:7f.), and death (Rom. 7:9–11) and its power (1 Cor. 15:56), and allows sin to be charged against us (Rom. 5:13). It produces transgressions (Rom. 4:15; cf. 15:56), makes the trespass increase (Rom. 5:20), enslaves (Gal. 3:23; 4:5, 21–31; Rom. 6:14f.; 7:4–6, 23–25), and condemns to death (Rom. 2:12; 2 Cor. 3:9; cf. Rom. 8:1, 3; Col. 2:14). It so stands at the root of sin and death that it is called the law of sin (and death) Rom. 7:23, 25; 8:7; etc. (*Christ and the Law in Paul*, NovTSupp 62 [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1989], pp. 19–20). The interpretation of this data has generated a vast and vexing body of literature. We propose, therefore, to categorize the material under three convenient headings relative to the apparent ambiguity of the evidence in Paul’s writings. (1) *Discontinuity*: Here we include some of those modern authors emphasizing a discontinuous relationship between the Christian and the Mosaic law: Albert Schweitzer, *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle*, trans. William Montgomery (New York: Henry Holt, 1931), pp. 23, 25, 69–70, 177ff.; H. J. Schoeps, *Paul: The Theology of the Apostle in the Light of Jewish Religious History*, trans. Harold Knight (London: Lutterworth Press, 1961), pp. 171, 173, 180–83; Ernst Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans*, trans. Geoffrey Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), pp. 191, 210, 215, 218; F. F. Bruce, *Paul: Apostle of the Heart Set Free* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977), pp. 191–92; idem, *Commentary on Galatians*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), pp. 151–52, 218, 239, 240, 243, 255. (2) *Continuity*: Subsumed under this label are those who argue that the law has continuing validity for the Christian: C. E. B. Cranfield, “St. Paul and the Law,” *SJT* 17 (1964), pp. 43–68; *The Epistle to the Romans, I–VIII*, ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1975), e.g., pp. 158–59; 384–85; George E. Howard, “Christ the End of the Law. The Meaning of Romans 10:4ff.,” *JBL* 88 (1969), pp. 331–37; C. Thomas Rhyne, *Faith Establishes the Law*, SBLDS 55 (Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1981); Roberto Badenas, *Christ the End of the Law: Romans 10:4 in Pauline Perspective*, JSNTSS 10 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985); J. D. G. Dunn, “The Incident at Antioch (Gal 2:11–18),” *JSNT* 18 (1983), pp. 2–57; idem, “‘Works of the Law and the Curse of the Law’ (Galatians 3:10–14),” *NTS* 31 (1985), pp. 523–42; his two-volume commentary on Romans systematically follows this viewpoint, idem, *Romans*, WBC 38a, b (Waco, Tex.: Word, 1988). (3) *Continuity/Discontinuity*: Those who allow both strands of thought to stand concerning Paul’s positive and negative statements about the law include: John W. Drane, *Paul: Libertine or Legalist? A Study in the Theology of the Major Pauline Epistles* (London: SPCK, 1975); E. P. Sanders, *Paul, the Law and the Jewish People* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983), who argues in this work that Paul’s argumentation regarding the law is contradictory, as does Heikki Räisänen, *Paul and the Law*, WUNT 29 (J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1983); Frank Thielman, *From Plight to Solution. A Jewish Framework for Understanding Paul’s View of the Law in Galatians and Romans*, NovTSupp 61 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1989); idem, *Paul and the Law: A Contextual Approach* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 1994), in which the author modifies the thesis of his first book to emphasize more the discontinuity aspect.

<sup>3</sup> Eckhard J. Schnabel’s summary of and bibliography on the subject are very helpful, *Law and Wisdom from Ben Sira to Paul*, WUNT 2/16 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1985), pp. 236–63. A sample of the pertinent literature includes: H. D. Windisch, “Die

fact that the correlation of wisdom and law is pervasive in early Judaism, forming a key backdrop to the apostle's writings.<sup>5</sup> The relevant Jewish literature highlights the significance of the intimate association of these entities and prompts the question: Does Paul agree with that identification? The answer to this query is far reaching in importance, for it touches upon the very heart of Pauline soteriology. In the course of this study, we will see that the relationship between wisdom and law influences at least two categories subsumed under the umbrella of the apostle's concept of justification: the role of the law in the aftermath of the cross and resurrection, and the place of the Gentiles in the plan of God. Interestingly enough, these two nodal ideas, as we will later argue, find their negative counterparts in pertinent Jewish writings approximately contemporaneous with Paul.<sup>6</sup>

In this introductory material, we broach the subject of the relationship between the Mosaic law and wisdom in Paul by surveying scholarly research on the matter. Surprisingly, other than the monumental work by Eckhard J. Schnabel, the literature is not extensive.<sup>7</sup> We may conveniently classify treatment of the topic vis-à-vis the question: Does Paul agree with the current, prevailing Jewish opinion that wisdom and law are to be equated? Three basic replies can be detected in the scholarly literature. There is continuity between the two (W. D. Davies, M. Jack Suggs). There is discontinuity between them (Martin Hengel, Seyoon Kim, M. Wolter, H. Merklein). Finally, there is both continuity and discontinuity between the two (Eckhard J. Schnabel). We will proceed in that order.

göttliche Weisheit der Juden und die paulinische Christologie," *Neutestamentliche Studien*, FS G. Heinrici, ed. A. Deissmann (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1914), pp. 220–34; Hans Conzelmann, "Paulus und die Weisheit," *NTS* 12 (1966), pp. 231–44; B. A. Pearson, "Hellenistic-Jewish Wisdom Speculation and Paul," in *Aspects of Wisdom in Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. R. L. Wilken (South Bend: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975), pp. 43–66; J. D. G. Dunn, *Christology in the Making: A New Testament Inquiry into the Origins of the Doctrine of Incarnation* (London: SCM Press, 1980), pp. 176–96; A. Feuillet, *Le Christ Sage de Dieu d'après les Épîtres Pauliniennes* (Paris: Gabalda, 1966); A. van Roon, "The Relation between Christ and the Wisdom of God according to Paul," *NovT* 16 (1974), pp. 207–39; R. A. Horsley, "Wisdom of God and Words of Wisdom in Corinth," *CBQ* 39 (1977), pp. 224–39; James A. Davis, *Wisdom and Spirit. An Investigation of 1 Corinthians 1:18–3:20 against the Background of Jewish Sapiential Traditions in the Greco-Roman Period* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1984); E. Elizabeth Johnson, *The Function of Apocalyptic and Wisdom Traditions in Romans 9–11*, SBLDS 109 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989); Ben F. Witherington III, *Jesus the Sage* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1994).

<sup>4</sup> In addition to the works surveyed in this introduction, see Schnabel's treatment and bibliography, *Law and Wisdom*, pp. 232–349.

<sup>5</sup> Part I of this study will document the importance of this correlation in early Judaism.

<sup>6</sup> Again, Part I of this work is devoted to that theme.

<sup>7</sup> Schnabel, *Law and Wisdom*.

### 1. Continuity between Wisdom and Law

Two authors who see an intimate connection between wisdom and the Mosaic law in Paul's writings will be briefly reviewed here: W. D. Davies and M. Jack Suggs. W. D. Davies' discussion of the subject proceeds from the thesis earlier established by H. Windisch that Paul's Christology was influenced by Jewish wisdom traditions. For Windisch, Paul equated Christ with preexistent wisdom.<sup>8</sup> Assuming that argument, Davies attempts to clarify the process which led Paul to describe Christ as wisdom. According to Davies, the beginning point was Paul's identification of Christ as the (new) Torah. Furthermore, because pre-Christian Judaism equated preexistent wisdom with Torah, Davies drew the logical conclusion that Paul, in describing Christ as the New Torah, consequently equated him with wisdom.<sup>9</sup> Davies writes:

It is now necessary to recall our contention that for St Paul the person and teaching of Jesus had replaced the Torah as the centre of his religious life, and had assumed for him, therefore, the character of a New Torah. Once this step had been taken, however, that of substituting Jesus for the Torah of Judaism, Paul's mind would inevitably move forward to transfer to Jesus those attributes with which Judaism had honoured the Torah. We have seen, moreover, that the Torah had become identified in Judaism with the Wisdom of God and had been given the qualities of the latter, both pre-existent and participation in the creation of the universe as well as the moral discipline or redemption of mankind. The way was therefore open for Paul to identify Jesus with the same Wisdom of God and to ascribe to him pre-existence and creative activity.<sup>10</sup>

A second author who fits into the continuity category is M. Jack Suggs.<sup>11</sup> In an article focusing on Paul's hermeneutic in Romans 10:6–10, Suggs approvingly invokes Davies' formula: Christ = Wisdom = Torah. Writing of Romans 10:6–10, and particularly vv. 6–8, Suggs observes:

That Paul was able to take up an opposition proof-text with such boldness is to be explained by the foundation provided his interpretation by the Jewish wisdom tradition. The apostle had already drawn upon this tradition, with its speculation concerning the personified Sophia, to identify Christ and wisdom in I Corinthians. This identification offered obvious values in

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<sup>8</sup> H. Windisch, "Die göttliche Weisheit der Juden und die paulinische Christologie," pp. 220–34.

<sup>9</sup> W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism. Some Rabbinic Elements in Pauline Theology* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1948), chap. 7.

<sup>10</sup> Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, p. 172.

<sup>11</sup> M. Jack Suggs, "The Word Is Near You: Rom 10, 6–10 within the Purpose of the Letter," in *Christian History and Interpretation, FS to J. Knox*, ed. W. R. Farmer (Cambridge: University Press, 1967), pp. 289–312. James W. Aageson's recent work also fits in this category, *Written Also for Our Sake. Paul and the Art of Biblical Interpretation* (Louisville, Kent.: Westminster/John Knox Prss, 1993), pp. 117–27.

a situation involving a Gnosticizing spiritualism. But, once it had been made, it also furnished Paul with a new means of relating law and gospel. The intimate connexion between Torah and Wisdom — indeed, the view that Torah is the embodiment of Wisdom (cf. Rom. 3:20) — paves the way for the view that Christ = Wisdom = Torah.<sup>12</sup>

Like Davies before him, Suggs draws on such diverse Jewish literature as *Sirach* 24:23; *Wisdom* 6:4, 9; 9:9; *Baruch* 3:9–4:4; 2 *Baruch* 38:1–39:1; 48:24; 51:3–4, 7, which equate wisdom and law, and he argues that Romans 10:6–8 presupposes that identification.<sup>13</sup> More specifically, Suggs argues that Romans 10:6–8, in its usage of Deuteronomy 30:11–14, is of the same piece of cloth as a text like *Baruch* 3:9–4:4, which also both draws on Deuteronomy 30:11–14 and equates wisdom with law.<sup>14</sup> The rationale for doing so, Suggs contends, is that thereby Paul uses the wisdom tradition to help ameliorate the problem of gospel and law, “In Rom. 10:6–10 Paul has taken up the familiar identification of Wisdom and Torah and added a third term: Jesus Christ. The tension between Gospel and Law is resolved by the identification of Christ with Wisdom — Torah.”<sup>15</sup> For Paul, hopefully this identification would lay to rest the rumor believed by Jews, and perhaps Jewish Christians in Jerusalem as well, that he was antinomian.<sup>16</sup>

## 2. *Discontinuity between Wisdom and Law*

Four authors who deny that Paul equates Christ the wisdom of God with the Torah will be noted here: Martin Hengel, Seyoon Kim, Michael Wolter, and Helmut Merklein. According to Hengel, it was Jesus’ exaltation as the Son of Man and the Son of God through the resurrection that prompted the early church to transfer the predicates of wisdom to him, especially the attributes of preexistence and incarnation.<sup>17</sup> Hengel describes this process:

After the introduction of the idea of pre-existence it was natural that the exalted Son of God also attracted to himself the functions of Jewish Wisdom as a mediator in creation and salvation. Even the pre-existent Wisdom, which was connected with God in a unique way, could

<sup>12</sup> Suggs, “The Word Is Near You,” p. 304.

<sup>13</sup> Suggs, “The Word Is Near You,” p. 308.

<sup>14</sup> Suggs, “The Word Is Near You,” pp. 308–9.

<sup>15</sup> Suggs, “The Word Is Near You,” p. 311.

<sup>16</sup> Suggs, “The Word Is Near You,” pp. 289, 311–12.

<sup>17</sup> Martin Hengel, *The Son of God: The Origin of Christology and the History of Jewish-Hellenistic Religion*, trans. by J. Bowden (London: SCM, 1976). Hengel’s argument that the concept of Christ’s preexistence is dependent on wisdom theology is indebted to E. Schweizer’s earlier study, “Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Hintergrund der ‘Sendungsformel.’” Gal 4,4f., Rm 8,3f., Joh 3,16f., 1 Joh 4,9,” *ZNW* 57 (1966), pp. 199–210.

no longer be regarded as an independent entity over against the risen and exalted One and superior to him. Rather, all the functions of Wisdom were transferred to him, for 'in him are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge' (Col 2.3). Only in this way was the *unsurpassability and finality of God's revelation* in Jesus of Nazareth expressed in a final, conclusive way.<sup>18</sup>

For Hengel, the logical consequence of all of this, especially as reflected in Paul's writings, was the shattering of the connection between wisdom and law:

If, however, the Son of God entered into the all-embracing function of Wisdom as mediator, then the function of the Torah, which was identified with Wisdom, was also completely shattered. For the Jews the Torah had an authoritative, ontologically based function in the ordering of the world and in salvation. Paul, the former Pharisee and scribe, drew the ultimate radical consequences here. If others before him pondered as to what changes were brought about in the Torah through the interpretation of the true will of God in the message of the Messiah Jesus, his characteristic statement 'Christ is the end of the law to every believer for righteousness' (Rom 10.4) expresses in a fundamental way, against the claim of the Torah, the unique soteriological function of the crucified and risen One as the all-embracing, final, eschatological revelation of God. Not just Moses, but the Christ of God alone mediates salvation.<sup>19</sup>

A couple of observations emerge from Hengel's statements. (1) In the aftermath of the death and resurrection of Christ, the Mosaic law ended, which (2) posed devastating repercussions, as mentioned before, for the intimate connection between wisdom and law.

Seyoon Kim concurs with Hengel's conclusion regarding wisdom and law in Paul. For Kim, when Jesus of Nazareth, the crucified Lord who was accused by God because of the demands of the Torah, was revealed to Paul on the Damascus Road, the apostle recognized the Mosaic law was finished. This led Paul to reflect upon the relationship between Christ and wisdom:

If the Torah was formerly thought of as the embodiment of the divine wisdom and was indeed identified with her . . . , it is now Christ who has revealed himself (instead of the Torah) to be the true revelation of God, that is, the true embodiment of the divine wisdom, indeed wis-

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<sup>18</sup> Hengel, *The Son of God*, p. 113; italics are that author's.

<sup>19</sup> Hengel, *The Son of God*, p. 115. Most recently, that author applies the separation of wisdom and law to Pauline texts espousing the preexistence of Christ, "Präexistenz bei Paulus?" in *Jesus Christus als der Schrift. Studien zur Hermeneutik des Evangeliums*, ed. Christof Landmesser, Hans-Joachim Eckstein, and Hermann Lichtenberger (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1997), pp. 479–518. We draw on that study in chapter seven of this work.

dom herself. Thus Paul “identified” Christ with wisdom and transferred to him the predicates of wisdom — pre-existence and mediatorship in creation which were in Rabbinic Judaism transferred to the Torah.<sup>20</sup>

Kim enlists passages like 2 Corinthians 3:4–4:6 and Romans 10:1–13 to support his contention that Christ, the wisdom of God, superseded the Torah. Thus for Paul, wisdom and law, since the coming of Christ, can no longer stand together. The only significant difference between Hengel and Kim on this point is that the former attributes the beginning of the rupture between the two to the early church (Greek-speaking Jewish Christians in Jerusalem) while the latter claims that Paul, as a result of his Damascus Road conversion, was the catalyst for doing so.<sup>21</sup>

A third author to be included in the discontinuity category is Michael Wolter, whose article, “Verborgene Weisheit und Heil für die Heiden,”<sup>22</sup> while not dealing extensively with the relationship of law to wisdom in Paul, nevertheless does make an important contribution to the discussion. An investigation of the role of wisdom in key Jewish texts like *1 Enoch* 28:1–27, *Baruch* 3:9–4:4, and *Wisdom* 9:13–17 leads Wolter to three conclusions. (1) Wisdom is hidden from all people and is known only by God; (2) wisdom is obscured from Gentiles but revealed to Jews through the Mosaic law; (3) God’s mercy alone is the basis for his revelation of wisdom (to Israel).<sup>23</sup>

According to Wolter, with Paul’s “revelation schema” (evident in passages like Rom. 16:25; 1 Cor. 2:6–8; Eph. 3:1–11; Col. 1:26) things dramatically change such that now divine wisdom is being disclosed to Gentiles. The necessary corollary to this truth is that the wisdom-Torah equation is disrupted. God’s wisdom is revealed in the Gospel, not the Torah.<sup>24</sup> Two remarks that surface in Wolter’s discussion have a direct bearing on our thesis. (1) According to Paul, God’s wisdom is no longer manifested through the law; (2) God’s wisdom is now revealed to Gentiles through the preaching of the gospel. As will be seen later, although Wolter approaches the subject of wis-

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<sup>20</sup> Seyoon Kim, *The Origin of Paul’s Gospel*, WUNT 2/4 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1981), p. 127.

<sup>21</sup> Kim, *The Origin of Paul’s Gospel*, pp. 126–27, 131; more on this point in chapter five.

<sup>22</sup> Michael Wolter, “Verborgene Weisheit und Heil für die Heiden. Zur Traditionsgeschichte und Intention des Revelationsschemas,” *ZThK* 84 (1987), pp. 297–319.

<sup>23</sup> Wolter, “Verborgene Weisheit,” pp. 300–1.

<sup>24</sup> Wolter, “Verborgene Weisheit,” pp. 315–17.

dom and law from a different angle than we do (he examines Pauline revelation schema texts, whereas we will examine Pauline wisdom texts), similar conclusions are reached. First, we both argue that Paul separates law from wisdom; the former is negatively portrayed by the apostle while the latter enjoys a positive role. Second, Paul's concern is to overcome Jewish national exclusivism by including Gentiles in the plan of God's salvation.

The final representative of the discontinuity approach to be reviewed here is Helmut Merklein, whose article attempts to identify the origin of the idea of Christ's preexistence.<sup>25</sup> For Merklein, that concept came from associating Christ with preexistent wisdom, the final result of which was that the equation of law and wisdom was jettisoned. Five steps comprising Merklein's argument can be delineated. (1) Pre-Christian Hellenistic Judaism associated preexistent wisdom with the Torah (the embodiment of God's will) and the Temple (the locus of God's presence).<sup>26</sup> (2) However, Jewish Hellenistic Christians asserted that Jesus' death, the ultimate manifestation of God's wisdom, spelled the beginning of the end of the Torah and the Temple:

Wenn es richtig ist, daß weisheitliches Denken als Motiv für Tempel- bzw. Torakritik der Hellenisten anzusprechen ist, dann war ein weiterer Schritt nur die notwendige Folge. Daß Jesu Heilstod die Heilsmittlerfunktion von Tempel und Tora in Frage stellte, konnte ja nicht als Infragestellung der Heilsmittlerfunktion der Weisheit ausgelegt werden. Vielmehr mußte in dem Maße, als man Tempel und Tora aus ihrer Verbindung mit der Weisheit löste, Jesus selbst das Gepräge der Weisheit bekommen: Jesus mußte als Verkörperung und Offenbarung der Weisheit bekannt werden.<sup>27</sup>

(3) Jesus' death, as the manifestation of the wisdom of God, therefore broke the tie with Torah and Temple. (4) One need not conclude, however, from this that the law is finished according to Hellenistic Jewish Christianity. Merklein writes of this:

Die vorausgesetzte Identifizierung Jesu mit dem Gesetz könnte die Vermutung M. Hengels stützen (zu Apg 6, 13f; s.o. 3.2.2.2), wonach Jesus nach Auffassung der Hellenisten nicht das Ende des Gesetzes markiert (vgl. Röm 10, 4), sondern eher als neuer Gesetzgeber auftritt. Die Torakritik würde sich dann nicht grundsätzlich gegen das Gesetz wenden, sondern der Mose-Tora das Gesetz Jesu bzw. Jesus als Gesetzgeber gegenüberstellen.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Helmut Merklein, "Zur Entstehung der Urchristlichen Aussage vom präexistenten Sohn Gottes," in *Zur Geschichte des Urchristentums*, ed. Gerhard Dautzenberg (Herder, Greiburg: Basel Wien, 1979), pp. 33–62.

<sup>26</sup> Merklein, "Zur Entstehung," p. 49.

<sup>27</sup> Merklein, "Zur Entstehung," p. 53.

<sup>28</sup> Merklein, "Zur Entstehung," p. 56.



(5) It was Paul, however, who introduced the notion that the law was ended, “Die Antithese Christus-Gesetz wäre dann erst von Paulus ausgebildet worden. . . .”<sup>29</sup>

It should also be noted that Merklein believes that the “Sendungsformel” passages in the New Testament (hereafter NT) presuppose the identification of Christ as preexistent wisdom (Jn. 3:11; Rom. 8:3; Gal. 4:4; 1 Jn. 4:9; cf. Phil. 2:6–11; Col. 1:15–20; 1 Tim. 3:16) and that these texts also contain negative statements about the law.<sup>30</sup> Our own work will confirm this claim relative to the undisputed Pauline letters. In fact, the two components inherent in our thesis begin to take shape with Wolter and Merklein. First, Paul’s revelation schema occurs in passages where the apostle emphasizes the salvation of the Gentiles (Wolter). Second, the “Sendungsformel” texts in Paul occur in contexts where the apostle criticizes (or announces the end of) the Torah (Merklein).

### 3. *Discontinuity and Continuity between Wisdom and Law*

Eckhard J. Schnabel has provided us with the first full-scale treatment of the subject, wisdom and law in Paul.<sup>31</sup> His thesis is two-fold, arguing on the one hand that there is discontinuity between the two with regard to Pauline soteriology:

It seems unlikely, however, that Paul’s identification of Jesus Christ with Wisdom, thus establishing Christ’s pre-existence, was derived from the traditional Jewish correlation of Law and wisdom. Paul never describes Christ in terms of Law (notice how he eliminates all references to the Torah when he uses Deuteronomy 30:12–14 to describe the presence of Christ in Romans 10:6–8). Rather, Paul describes and defines the Law in terms of Christ: the Law comes under the rule of Christ (Gal 6:2; 1 Cor 9:21; cf. Rom 3:27; 8:2). Paul apparently sought to avoid the misunderstanding that Christ, as the embodiment of God’s will, brought a new Torah which humans must fulfill, replacing the old Torah. As Christ has fulfilled the Torah in his death and resurrection “for us,” the soteriological function of the Torah (cf. the sacrifices) as a way to righteousness has come to an end. Since Paul asserted that the Torah has lost all salvific significance with the death and the resurrection of Christ, it was possible to transfer functions of divine wisdom to Christ without having to introduce wisdom’s correlation with Torah.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Merklein, “Zur Entstehung,” p. 56; in this assertion Merklein anticipates Kim’s argument, *The Origin of Paul’s Gospel*, pp. 126–27, 131.

<sup>30</sup> Merklein, “Zur Entstehung,” pp. 34–35.

<sup>31</sup> Schnabel, *Law and Wisdom*; cf. his article, “Wisdom” in *Dictionary of Paul & His Letters*, ed. Gerald F. Hawthorne, Ralph P. Martin, Daniel Reid (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 1993), pp. 967–73.

<sup>32</sup> Schnabel, “Wisdom,” p. 971; cf. *Law and Wisdom*, pp. 298–99.

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