

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament 81

Scott J. Hafemann

Paul, Moses,
and the History of Israel



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Martin Hengel und Otfried Hofius

81

Paul, Moses, and the History of Israel

The Letter/Spirit Contrast and the Argument
from Scripture in 2 Corinthians 3

by

Scott J. Hafemann



J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) Tübingen

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To

Prof. Dr. Peter Stuhlmacher

Doktorvater

Acknowledgments

This book has had a long gestation period. The initial seeds were planted by my Doktorvater, Prof. Dr. Peter Stuhlmacher, who first suggested in 1980 that I write my dissertation on 2 Corinthians 3. Although I began to do so at that time, it soon became obvious that all I could hope to accomplish then was to complete the first part of the project. This initial work became my dissertation on 2 Cor. 2:14–3:3, the majority of which was first published under the title, *Suffering and the Spirit* (J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1986), and then later released in an abridged form as *Suffering and Ministry in the Spirit* (Wm.B. Eerdmans, 1990). But the purpose of this earlier work was always to prepare to go on to the heart of the matter, as indicated by the fact that Chapter One of the present work is built upon an unpublished section of my dissertation. This goal would not have been accomplished had it not been for the continued support and encouragement of Prof. Stuhlmacher, under whose supervision and recommendation I enjoyed a year of post-graduate study at the University of Tübingen in the academic year 1989–1990. At that time he wisely insisted that I first bring this dormant seed to fruition before doing anything else, and it was this year of study that made it possible in the midst of the rigors of teaching and pastoring to bring this book to completion. Because Prof. Stuhlmacher's work on the eschatological framework of Paul's thought, together with his own willingness to rethink the age-old question of Paul and the Law, provided much of the impetus for my thinking, and because he has continued to be a model of what it means to be a Christian scholar in ways too many to recount here, I have dedicated this study to him with gratitude and admiration. From the very beginning he has continued to take a genuine interest in my work and life far beyond what any student deserves. His support has been invaluable, and those who are familiar with his contributions will detect his influence in the following pages in ways too subtle to footnote. In a very real way, this book bears the fruit of his labors, though he will no doubt not be pleased with all of my conclusions!

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January 16, 1995

Scott Hafemann

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Introduction

The Current Debate Surrounding the Letter/Spirit Contrast and the Context for Solving It

In 2 Corinthians 3:6 Paul supports the assertion that his apostolic ministry is not “of the letter, but of the Spirit” with his now famous statement, “For the letter kills, but the Spirit makes alive”.¹ This seemingly proverbial, thesis-like statement and the context within which it is found epitomize why Second Corinthians has come to be known as both “the paradise and the despair of the commentator.”² Though theologically rich and suggestive, its apparent clarity and seemingly transparent significance for understanding Paul’s thought are dangerously misleading. Embedded within an extended discussion concerning the nature and validity of Paul’s apostolic office (2:14–3:6a and 4:1 ff.), and introduced just prior to an interpretation of the Old Testament tradition from Exodus 34:29 ff. (3:7–18), this contrast is one of the most difficult passages to understand within the Pauline corpus.³ If “context is king” in exegetical study, the letter/Spirit contrast is protected by a very formidable monarch indeed.

1. The Modern Consensus Concerning the Meaning of the Letter/Spirit Contrast in 2 Cor. 3:6

The appeal of an exegetical and theological paradise often overshadows the perils of the passage, which, if not leading to despair, ought at least to create caution. Thus, in spite of the many interpretive and historical problems surrounding this text, there existed until recently a surprising degree of confidence that a consensus had already been reached regarding the meaning of the

¹ For the sake of uniformity, *γράμμα* will be translated literally as “letter” throughout this study. This should not be taken, however, as a prior indication of my own understanding of its actual meaning, since the precise denotation of this term in 2 Cor. 3:6 is once again a matter of dispute. See below, chapter two.

² Ralph P. Martin, *2 Corinthians*, WBC Vol. 40, 1986, p. x.

³ The first part of this context was the subject of my earlier study, *Suffering and the Spirit, An Exegetical Study of II Cor. 2:14–3:3 within the Context of the Corinthian Correspondence*, WUNT 2. Reihe 19, 1986. But cf. already A. Jülicher, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 1931⁷, p. 85, who calls the “Lobpreis” in 3:1–4:6 the “rätselhaftesten unter den Paulusbriefen” (taken from I. Hermann, *Kyrios und Pneuma. Studien zur Christologie der paulinischen Hauptbriefe*, SANT 2, 1961, p. 20).

letter/Spirit antithesis. According to the prevailing opinion, γράμμα represented the Mosaic Law which “kills” because of its demand for an obedience impossible to render, and/or because it makes demands *per se* and thus produces, by its very nature, a legalistic works-righteousness. In contrast, πνεῦμα stood for the Gospel which, due to its promise of life and the power of the Spirit, “makes alive.” Thus, with little serious regard for its own context, 2 Cor. 3:6 could simply and quickly be interpreted in line with Paul’s other contrasts between the “works of the Law,” the “Law,” or simply “works” on the one hand, and “faith” or “grace” on the other (cf. Gal. 2:16; 3:2, 5, 10–12, 21–25; 5:4; ; Rom. 3:20–22, 28; 4:1–4; 6:14 f.; 9:30–32; 11:6). As such it was read as a distinction between two contrary principles of salvation or two theologically distinct dispensations.⁴

This consensus was even more surprising in view of the fact that for the 1200 years stretching from Origen to the Reformation there existed not one, but two competing interpretations of the letter/Spirit antithesis in 2 Cor. 3:6.⁵ As G. Ebeling summarized it,

“In the ancient Church and in the Middle Ages the understanding of Spirit and letter gravitated into the interpretation of the antithesis as a *hermeneutical* principle (i.e. as the distinction between a literal and spiritual sense of Scripture) on the one hand, and as an *economy-of-salvation* contrast (i.e. as the distinction between the law and the Spirit, the OT and the NT) ... on the other.”⁶

Ebeling’s distinction between the “hermeneutical” and “economy-of-salvation” interpretations of the letter/Spirit antithesis was earlier proposed by B.

⁴ This position received its classic formulation at the beginning of our century in Paul Feine’s *Das gesetzfreie Evangelium des Paulus*, 1899, esp. pp. 159 f. and 195 f. on 2 Cor. 3:6 ff. For a more recent exposition of this view in relationship to 2 Cor. 3:6, see K. Prümm, *Theologie des Zweiten Korintherbriefes, Apostolat und christliche Wirklichkeit Band II Teil I, Diakonia Pneumatos. Der Zweite Korintherbrief als Zugang zur Apostolischen Botschaft*, 1960, pp. 176–188, 194–210. For the extension of the “killing” function of the Law to the nature of the Law *per se*, see R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament, I*, 1951, pp. 240, 260–264, and his famous statement that “*man’s effort to achieve salvation by keeping the Law only leads him into sin, indeed this effort itself in the end is already sin*” (p. 264, emphasis his).

⁵ There is to date no comprehensive study of the history of the interpretation of the letter/Spirit contrast available. Nevertheless, the basic lines of its development have already become clear through the initial works of K. Prümm, “Der Abschnitt über die Doxa des Apostolats, 2 Kor 3:1–4:6 in der Deutung des Hl. Johannes Chrysostomus, Eine Untersuchung zur Auslegungsgeschichte des paulinischen Pneuma,” *Biblica* 30 (1949) 161–196 and 377–400; Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 1952; B. Schneider, “The Meaning of St. Paul’s Antithesis ‘The Letter and the Spirit’,” *CBQ* 15 (1953) 163–207; R. M. Grant, *The Letter and the Spirit*, 1957; G. Ebeling, “Geist und Buchstabe,” *RGG*³, Bd. 2, 1958, pp. 1290–1296; and Karl Froelich, “‘Always to Keep the Literal Sense in Holy Scripture Means to Kill One’s Soul’: The State of Biblical Hermeneutics at the Beginning of the Fifteenth Century,” in *Literary Uses of Typology from the Late Middle Ages to the Present*, ed. Earl Miner, 1977, pp. 20–48.

⁶ “Geist,” p. 1292 (translation given due to the abbreviated nature of the formulations in the original).

Schneider. But in Schneider's terminology, the distinction was between those who held to a "formalistic" interpretation and those who supported a "realistic" view. In the former, γράμμα referred to the material or literal sense of a document or norm over against its spiritual sense. In the latter, γράμμα represented the Mosaic law as a "cold, naked written law, lacking any internal force to give help towards its observance," while πνεῦμα referred to the Holy Spirit as the agent of the internal, active reality of grace, indwelling one as the "vivifying principle of Christian life."⁷

In the light of recent work on 2 Cor. 3:6 and the renewed debate concerning Paul's view of the Law and post-biblical Judaism, the clear-cut distinction which is made between these two competing interpretations is jarring. Equally striking are the stark negative connotations associated with the "letter" as the Mosaic law in the "realistic" ("economy-of-salvation") interpretation. We will return to these observations below. At this point in our discussion, however, the history of the interpretation of this passage has another important lesson to teach us. Those living in the current era of biblical interpretation must not overlook the fact that the consensus which existed in the modern period until recently is precisely the *opposite* of the predominant view in the Middle Ages. Scholars agree that Origen was the father of the "hermeneutical" or "formalistic" interpretation of the letter/Spirit contrast, and that his influence, as embodied in the Alexandrian school of exegesis,⁸ soon became dominant, if not all-pervasive, until the Reformation.⁹ What is significant for us to note is that 2 Cor. 3:6 became *the* biblical proof-text used to support the hermeneutical program of distinguishing between a literal or external and a spiritual or internal sense of Scripture and the allegorical method through which it was carried out, which together became determinative for the Middle Ages.¹⁰

⁷ "Meaning," p. 164. Ebeling himself notes the correspondence between his view and Schneider's, cf. "Geist," p. 1292.

⁸ The Fathers most often associated with the Alexandrian school are Origen (d. 254), Athanasius (d. 373), Gregory of Nazianzus (d. 389), Basil (d. 379), Gregory of Nyssa (d. 395), Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444), Eucherius of Lyons (d. 449), and Faustus of Riez (d. 490/500); cf. Schneider, "Meaning," pp. 164–184 and Ebeling, "Geist," p. 1292. The dates of their deaths are taken from *The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. J.D. Douglas, 1974.

⁹ Opinions vary as to the actual extent of the Alexandrian school's dominance. For example, Schneider gives the impression that the "realistic" approach was almost as important, whereas Grant and Smalley emphasize the pervasiveness of the "hermeneutical" approach. Smalley, *Bible*, p. 14, can even conclude that "To write a history of Origenist influence on the West would be tantamount to writing a history of western exegesis."

¹⁰ For a vivid illustration of this from the writings of Claudius, Bishop of Turin (d. 827), cf. Smalley, *Bible*, p. 1. Origen's influence and the central role played by 2 Cor. 3:6 among the passages he used to justify his allegorical interpretations (i.e., Rom. 7:14; 1 Cor. 2:10, 12, 16; 9:9–10; 10:11; 2 Cor. 3:6; 3:15–16; Gal. 4:24) can be seen in the work of Gregory of Nyssa as outlined by Ronald E. Heine, "Gregory of Nyssa's Apology for Allegory," *Vigiliae Christianae* 38 (1984) 360–370, pp. 363, 365.

The minority view, which advocated a “realistic” or “economy-of-salvation” interpretation of 2 Cor. 3:6, also continued to exist, of course, throughout the Middle Ages. But its emphasis on literal exegesis, as it came to be associated with the Antiochene school, did little to curbe the excesses of the allegorical approach. M.F. Wiles suggests that the reason for its lack of influence was that later generations considered third-century Antioch to be “a training ground for Arians” and the fourth-century Antiochene school “a nursery for Nestorians.”¹¹ Even John Chrysostom, “the one leading Antiochene scholar of that time to remain free of any suspicion of heretical taint,” had little impact on subsequent practice.¹² Smalley attributes this to the fact that his works were not theological treatises, but sermons or exhortations based for the most part on the Pauline epistles. As such they exercised little influence on exegetical practice. For ironically, the very epistles which provided the proof-texts for the legitimacy of the allegorical method were themselves ill-sorted for such a method.¹³ Moreover, even those within the “Antiochene School” were concerned with the spiritual character, meaning, and application of the biblical text (*theoria*) in which the prophet expressed *both* a historical *and* future messianic meaning in the one literal sense.¹⁴ Hence, to the proponents of the allegorical method, the position of the Antiochene school seemed quite compatible with that of their own, since an emphasis on the literal sense of Scripture could be accepted as appropriate to those passages not suitable for allegorizing without affecting at all the validity of the allegorical method *per se*. As is often the case, the majority view simply incorporated the minority emphasis as part of its own position, thus essentially nullifying the latter’s particular contribution. Consequently,

“Antiochene exegesis as a distinct method had been forgotten by the time it would have been useful, forgotten beyond hope of recovery. It was missing from the vast amount of material to be ‘received’ in the 12th and 13th centuries from Greek originals.”¹⁵

¹¹ Cf. M.F. Wiles, “Theodore of Mopsuestia as Representative of the Antiochene School,” *The Cambridge History of the Bible, Vol. 1, From the Beginning to Jerome*, ed. P.R. Ackroyd and C.F. Evans, 1970, pp. 489–510, pp. 489 f.

¹² Wiles, “Theodore of Mopsuestia,” pp. 489 f.

¹³ Cf. Smalley, *Bible*, p. 18.

¹⁴ I owe this point to Bradley Nassif’s seminar paper, “Spiritual Exegesis in the School of Antioch,” “History of Exegesis Section,” Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting, Nov. 18, 1990. See now his *Mystical “Insight” (theoria) in John Chrysostom’s Literal Exegesis of Scripture*, Ph.D. diss., Fordham University, 1991. See too Karlfried Froehlich, *Biblical Interpretation in the Early Church*, 1984, p. 20, who also points out that the contrast between the two approaches to Scripture was never black and white, since even the Antiochene exegetes held to a higher sense of Scripture (i.e., the *theoria*), though their methodological emphasis was certainly different.

¹⁵ Smalley, *Bible*, p. 20. Among the Fathers representing the “realistic” interpretation, Schneider, “Meaning,” pp. 164–184, lists Tertullian (d. 215/220), Ephraem (d. 373), Apollinarius of Laodicea (?), Ambrosiaster (?), John Chrysostom (d. 407), Augustine (d. 430),

The history of this unstable merger between the allegorical and literal approaches, with the allegorical method assuming the role of “senior partner,” can be traced from Augustine¹⁶ to the Reformers.¹⁷ Due to this merger, 2 Cor. 3:6 could be used for over 1200 years to support both a *hermeneutical program* focused on the fourfold sense of Scripture,¹⁸ and a *theological distinction* between two economies of salvation, the Law and the Gospel, the old and the new covenants, or in effect, Judaism and Christianity. In other words, Paul’s letter/Spirit antithesis sustained two radically different interpretations and could be used for two very different purposes. It was not until the Reformation that this merger came to an end, and with its dissolution the modern history of the interpretation of the letter/Spirit contrast began.

Severian of Gabala (d. 408), Pelagius (d. after 424), Ps-Jerome (?), Ps-Primasius (?), Theodoret (d. 458), and Gennadius I of Constantinople (d. 471) (dates where available again from the *New Intern. Dict. of the Christian Church*, see above, n. 8). Schneider regards Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428) as holding both positions, while Smalley, *Bible*, p. 15 and Wiles, “Theodore of Mopsuestia,” pp. 507 f., regard him as a representative solely of the Antiochene school.

¹⁶ Here is not the place to enter into the debate concerning whether Augustine represented the “realistic” view alone, or in fact held to both possibilities. The issue revolves around the relative value of the positions presented in his works *De doctrina Christiana* (“hermeneutical”) and *De spiritu et littera* (“realistic”). Ebeling, “Geist,” pp. 1292 f., views the latter as the key to Augustine’s position, while Smalley, *Bible*, p. 23, and Froehlich, “Biblical Hermeneutics,” pp. 23, 31, view the former as Augustine’s “hermeneutical handbook” or “philosophy of Bible study” and therefore argue that he represented both positions. But all would agree with Ebeling’s conclusion. “Geist,” p. 1293, that the “fact that Augustine did not prevent the coexistence of the two interpretations determined the tradition of the Middle Ages.”

¹⁷ Cf. K. Froehlich’s work, “Biblical Hermeneutics,” for an insightful analysis of how this double tradition was questioned and reaffirmed in the 15th cent. Council of Constance (1414–1418). For a helpful survey of the ways in which the two approaches could be combined, especially in the “double literal sense” of Nicholas of Lyra (d. 1349) and Paul of Burgos (d. 1435) and in the identification of the spiritual with the literal or “prophetical literal sense” of Faber in his editions of the Psalms (1509) and commentary on Paul’s epistles (1512), see Heiko Oberman, “Biblical Exegesis: The Literal and the Spiritual Sense of Scripture,” in his *Forerunners of the Reformation, The Shape of Late Medieval Thought*, 1966, pp. 281–296. As Oberman points out, Faber claimed that the “‘precise’ or ‘historical sense’ is the letter which kills the spirit” (p. 287), and that the spiritual sense, which was equated with the literal, is “not available through simple grammatical exegesis” (p. 288). For Faber, this grammatical, objective reading of the OT was to be associated with rabbinic exegesis, with its focus on the “naked letter,” the antidote to which was to return to the Scriptures themselves (p. 289). In contrast, Jean Gerson (d. 1429) had, a century earlier, taken this same concern for the true literal sense of Scripture to support a return to the tradition of the Church against the attempts of the Hussites to base their teaching on the Scriptures alone (cf. pp. 289 f.). Oberman thus traces one line of tradition “from Lyra through Burgos, Pérez, Faber, to Luther,” in contrast to that which runs from Gerson to the Counter Reformation (p. 291).

¹⁸ I.e. the original literal/spiritual division was expanded by naming three specific modes of the spiritual sense of Scripture: allegory or typology, tropology or morality, and anagogy or eschatology. This expansion first appears in Augustine’s contemporary John Cassian’s *Conlationes*. XIV.8. Cf. Smalley, *Bible*, pp. 27 f., and Froehlich, “Biblical Hermeneutics,” p. 23.

The contribution of the Reformation to the modern understanding of the letter/Spirit contrast was twofold. It was now no longer possible to accept the merger between the allegorical and literal approaches to the Bible which stood at the heart of the interpretive tradition of the Middle Ages. The allegorical method associated with Origen was explicitly rejected (though of course it continued on in practice) in favor of the minority view of the Antiochene school.¹⁹ As a consequence of this reversal, the corresponding and dominant hermeneutical interpretation of 2 Cor. 3:6 was also rejected. Rather than referring to the literal meaning of the Old Testament, γράμμα came to be seen as referring exclusively to the Law, with its ministry of death and condemnation, while πνεῦμα became an equivalent for the Gospel, with its life-producing message of faith.²⁰ Against the backdrop of the Middle Ages, the unilateral nature of this position stood in bold relief. Both Luther and Calvin take as their starting point an exegetical decision concerning Paul's *one* intention in 2 Cor. 3:6.²¹ As a result, the use of 2 Cor. 3:6 to support the classical hermeneutical distinction between the literal and spiritual sense of the Scriptures was now completely replaced by its use as a proof-text for the Reformation contrast between the Law and the Gospel.

Finally, it was the eventual rise of the "historical-critical" method in the modern period, characterized by an insistence on rediscovering an author's one intention,²² that brought the Reformation impulse concerning 2 Cor. 3:6 to its climax. For when forced to choose, modern scholars almost unanimously decided that Paul's expressed intention in the statement, "the letter kills, but the Spirit makes alive," was to introduce a theological "economy-of-salvation" contrast, *rather than* a contrast which could serve as a basis for a new, distinctively Christian hermeneutic.²³ In this respect, F.W. Farrar anticipated

¹⁹ For an example of the explicit rejection of Origen's program, cf. Luther's "Epistel am XII. Sonntag nach Trinitatis" (Sept. 3, 1536) concerning 2 Cor. 3:4–11 in WA 22.211–231, esp. 22.219.1, 15–17, 21 f., 28–38; and Calvin's comments to 3:6 (found in T.A. Smail, *The Second Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians and the Epistles to Timothy, Titus and Philemon, Calvin's New Testament Commentaries, Vol. 10*, 1964, pp. 41–43).

²⁰ For examples of Luther's understanding of 2 Cor. 3:6, cf. WA 22.219.23–25; 22.219.28–38 and 220.1–14; 22.217.20–37; 22.222.23 ff.; 8.495.15–19; 8.249.3–8; 12.569.18–25; 10 III.207.1–4; 10 III.205 Anm.; 10 III.89.12–15. It is beyond our purposes to investigate the application Luther made of this distinction in his struggle with Rome. For Calvin's view, cf., besides his commentary, *Institutes* II.11.8 and I.9.3.

²¹ Cf. Calvin's dismissal of Origen's position with the assertion that "in fact nothing could be further from (Paul's) mind," *Second Epistle*, p. 42.

²² For just one example of the many modern formulations of this goal, see Norman Perrin, "Eschatology and Hermeneutics: Reflections on Method in the Interpretation of the NT," *JBL* 93 (1974) 3–14, p. 4, who defines the goal of historical criticism to be "the attempt to understand the meaning of a text in its specific and original historical context, the endeavor to recover, so far as is possible, the meaning intended by the author and understood by the first readers or hearers."

²³ But see M. Gudemann, "Spirit and Letter in Judaism and Christianity," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 4 (1892), 345–356, who attempted to argue (unconvincingly) that Paul's con-

our century well when he responded to Origen's use of 2 Cor. 3:6 by concluding that "the foundations of his exegetical system are built upon the sand."²⁴ For almost a century later, C.H. Dodd spoke for modern scholarship as a whole in his judgment that the day Ambrose persuaded Augustine that the letter/Spirit contrast in 3:6 meant that the literal understanding of the OT was dangerous and the allegorical edifying was "an unlucky day for Christian theology."²⁵ Until recently, the legacy and dominance of Origen's interpretation and the allegorical method which it supported had thus been decisively overturned in favor of a "realistic" or theological interpretation of the letter/Spirit contrast understood almost universally in terms of the Law/Gospel antithesis inherited from the Reformation.²⁶ But Dodd's statement appeared in the same year that E.P. Sanders' programmatic work *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* was published.²⁷ And since then, students of Paul have been wondering, in an unprecedented way, if this modern consensus, wedded as it was to the traditional Reformation Law/Gospel distinction, has not been an equally unfortunate inheritance.

2. The Paradigm Shift in Pauline Studies

For over 400 years, the traditional Reformation understanding of Paul's Law/Gospel contrast has determined the exegesis of 2 Cor. 3:6. Moreover, due to its seemingly maxim-like character, its own surrounding context was usually used merely to support this perspective, which was imported into 2 Cor. 3 on the basis of Galatians and Romans. Hence, the letter/Spirit contrast has been repeatedly interpreted as an expression of the Reformation understanding of Paul's view of the Gospel as the answer to his "quantitative" critique of the

trast represented two distinct ways of reading Scripture, the literal (characteristic of Judaism, from Paul's perspective) and the symbolic or allegorical characteristic of the Christian approach (cf. pp. 352, 354 f.). To my knowledge, the only scholar in this century to hold the position that Paul intended both meanings is J. Hering, *The Second Epistle of Saint Paul to the Corinthians*, 1967 (ET of the French, 1958), p. 23. But he offers no support for his interpretation.

²⁴ *History of Interpretation*, 1886, p. 201.

²⁵ "New Testament Translation Problems II," *The Bible Translator* 28 (1977) 110–112, p. 110.

²⁶ For a long list of those scholars who have suggested some sort of "realistic" interpretation of the letter/Spirit contrast up until the early 1950's, cf. Schneider, "Meaning," p. 186, and his own view on pp. 188–207, esp. pp. 191 f., 196. Nevertheless, as James Barr has pointed out, modern scholarship's rejection of Origen's allegorical method does not mean that historical criticism is not characterized by the search for a theological understanding of the Bible. Rather, it has merely rejected the attempt to interpret texts apart from their contexts or to allegorize texts which are intended to be taken literally in their original context. See his "The Literal, the Allegorical, and Modern Biblical Scholarship," *JSOT* 44 (1989) 3–17, esp. pp. 13 f.

²⁷ Subtitled, *A Comparison of Patterns of Religion*, 1977.

law ('no one can keep the whole law perfectly') and/or its "qualitative" anthropological extension (the law's demands *themselves* lead to sinful boasting and self-righteousness).²⁸ Viewed from this perspective, the "letter (= Law) kills" because it demands a sinless perfection which cannot be attained and/or because it produces a deluded self-confidence and self-justification in the attempt to do so. In contrast, the "Spirit (=Gospel) makes alive" because it calls for a justification by grace through faith alone, made possible by the cross of Christ.

But as Douglas Moo observed in 1987, "scholarship on Paul and the Law in the last ten years has witnessed a 'paradigm shift.'"²⁹ All the traditional "assured results" concerning Paul's Law/Gospel contrast are now being so seriously called into question that "the explanation of Paul's understanding of the law is probably the topic about which there is the most debate" among New Testament scholars.³⁰ The recent destruction of the modern consensus concerning Paul's Law/Gospel contrast merely brings to fruition earlier, but largely unheeded, dissatisfaction in our century with the traditional Reformation understanding of Paul. From Wrede's *Paul* (1908), to Schweitzer's *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle* (1931), to Stendahl's "The Apostle Paul and the Introspective Conscience of the West" (1963), the modern consensus concerning the central place of justification by faith and the concomitant criticism of the soteriological claims of the Law in Paul's theology had already been increasingly challenged from a number of different fronts and for various historical and exegetical reasons.³¹ However, though widely cited for their his-

²⁸ For these helpful descriptive terms, see C.H. Cosgrove, *The Cross and the Spirit, A Study in the Argument and Theology of Galatians*, 1988, p. 10. and Douglas Moo, "Paul and the Law in the Last Ten Years," *SJTh* 40 (1987) 287–307, pp. 297 f., who attributes them to E.P. Sanders. Cosgrove traces both critiques back to Luther himself, though Thomas R. Schreiner, "'Works of Law' in Paul," *NovT* 33 (1991) 217–244, pp. 218 f. n. 6, argues that most likely Luther taught only the quantitative view, i.e. that no one is justified by the Law because all sin and cannot keep the Law perfectly. See Cosgrove, pp. 10 f., for the recent criticism of the "qualitative" interpretation so forcefully presented in this century by Bultmann (see above, n. 4). Representatives of the "qualitative" view are divided and not always clear over whether the Law itself promotes this sinful attitude or whether this extension is a human perversion of the Law's intent. For a more recent and influential presentation of this latter view in regard to Romans, see Hans Hübner, *Das Gesetz bei Paulus, Ein Beitrag zum Werden der paulinischen Theologie, FRLANT 119*, 1980², esp. pp. 76 f., 104, 115 f., 118 ff.

²⁹ "Paul and The Law," p. 287. Moo is in turn indebted to Robert Jewett for the observation. Moo's article provides a helpful orientation to the blur of recent opinions and literature on Paul.

³⁰ So Klyne Snodgrass, "Spheres of Influence, A Possible Solution to the Problem of Paul and the Law," *JSNT* 32 (1988) 93–113, p. 93. Snodgrass goes on to detail no less than nine different contemporary views before offering his own!

³¹ For an insightful and extended treatment of the debate concerning Paul's view of the Law beginning with Wrede, see Stephen Westerholm, *Israel's Law and the Church's Faith, Paul and His Recent Interpreters*, 1988, pp. 15–101. That this question can now sustain such an extensive review is further evidence of the new, undetermined status of the issue.

torical significance, the works of Wrede and Schweitzer were, until recently, largely overlooked. For its part, Stendahl's work initiated and anticipated in programmatic fashion much of the later criticism of the Reformation approach to Paul, but was itself too brief and undeveloped to turn the tide alone. Moreover, Stendahl's subordination of Paul's Law/Gospel contrast to the relationship between Jews and Gentiles has led to an interpretation of Paul's soteriology as distinct for Jews and Gentiles, a position which seems to compromise many of Stendahl's other insights.³²

On the other hand, W.D. Davies' *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism* (1948) and H.J. Schoeps' *Paul: The Theology of the Apostle in the Light of Jewish Religious History* (ET, 1961; German, 1959) sought to challenge the traditionally negative view of post-biblical Judaism as legalistic, against which Paul's thought was commonly interpreted. Yet Schoeps did not deny the basic Reformation understanding of the Law in Paul's *own* thinking, but merely sought to show its irrelevance to the Judaism of Paul's Palestinian contemporaries, in contrast to those Hellenistic Jews who, like Paul before his conversion, had perverted the nature and function of the Law into legalism.³³ Such a distinction between Palestinian and Hellenistic Judaism has not held up, however. And Davies, though his work is undoubtedly a landmark in Pauline studies, discounted Paul's critique of the Law too readily as merely polemical, and therefore not essential to Paul's otherwise normal "rabbinic" views. In other words, Schoeps' Paul was not Jewish enough, while Davies' Paul was too Jewish to win the day.

However, within a year of the publication of Stendahl's proleptic study, C.E.B. Cranfield significantly attacked the modern consensus again, this time from within.³⁴ Cranfield did not deny the centrality of justification by faith for Paul's theology or the Reformation understanding of his opponents as legalists. Rather, he sought to redefine the focus of Paul's criticism of the Law in terms of its *perversion* into legalism by post-biblical Judaism as a whole. This perversion was represented in Paul's thought by the phrase ἔργα νόμου ("works of the law," cf. Rom. 3:20, 28; Gal. 3:2, 10, etc.), which Paul coined to signify "legalism," a meaning unique to him.³⁵ Thus, for Cranfield, when Paul speaks negatively of the "works of the Law," he is not opposing the Law itself,

³² For my own critique of Stendahl's work in regard to this latter issue, see "The Salvation of Israel in Romans 11:25–32. A Response to Krister Stendahl," *Ex Auditu* 4 (1988) 38–58.

³³ Cf. Schoeps, *Paul*, pp. 29, 31 f., 213, 257, 260.

³⁴ See his "St. Paul and the Law," *SJTh* 17 (1964) 43–68. Cranfield later developed his views in "Some Notes on Romans 9:30–33," in *Jesus and Paulus, FS W.G. Kümmel zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. E.E. Ellis and E. Grässer, 1975, pp. 35–43, summarized in "Romans 9:30–10:4," *Interpretation* 34 (1980) 70–74. For the development of his view in relationship to Romans as a whole, see *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, ICC, Vol. II*, 1979, esp. the excursus "The OT Law," pp. 845–862.

³⁵ Cranfield's thesis is based on his premise that Paul had no word in Greek to represent this legalistic perversion and thus coined this phrase since, "in this difficult terrain Paul was to a large extent pioneering," "St. Paul and the Law," p. 157.

but its perversion into legalism. Conversely, Paul's positive statements concerning the Law refer to the Law freed from this legalistic misuse. In arguing this, Cranfield intended to counter the axiom of the modern consensus that, for Paul, Christ had abolished the Law.³⁶ For while Christ had abolished legalism, he was, for Paul, the "goal" (τέλος) of the Law itself (Rom. 10:4).³⁷ In 2 Cor. 3:6, it is thus the "legalistic misunderstanding and perversion of the law," not the Law itself, which kills.³⁸ For Cranfield, the letter/Spirit contrast is consequently

"... a contrast not between the Old Testament law which is written and a spiritual religion which knows no law, but between the legalistic relation of the Jews of Paul's time to God and to His law and the new relation to God and to His law established by the Holy Spirit and resulting from Christ's work."³⁹

Cranfield's view has won many followers and has been refined in many directions.⁴⁰ But it has also been severely criticized for its reliance on what appears to many to be an artificial linguistic distinction in Paul's writings between the Law and its works (cf. e.g. Gal. 3:10–12, 17–19) and its apparent failure to take into account adequately some of Paul's negative statements concerning the abolition of the Law itself (e.g. Gal. 3:12 par. 4:5; 3:15 ff.; Rom. 6:14; 7:4–6).⁴¹ Moreover, whether correct or not, the advent of Sanders' work has

³⁶ Cf. "St. Paul and the Law," pp. 152–169.

³⁷ "St. Paul and the Law," p. 152.

³⁸ "St. Paul and the Law," pp. 155 and 156.

³⁹ "St. Paul and the Law," p. 159.

⁴⁰ Cf. e.g. C.F.D. Moule, "Obligation in the Ethic of Paul," in *Christian History and Interpretation: Studies Presented to John Knox*, ed. W.F. Farmer, C.F.D. Moule and R.R. Niebuhr, 1967, pp. 389–406; Ragnar Bring, "Die Gerechtigkeit Gottes und das Alttestamentliche Gesetz," in his *Christus und das Gesetz*, 1969, pp. 35–72; Bring's *Commentary on Galatians*, 1961, and most importantly, his "Paul and the Old Testament, A Study of the Ideas of Election, Faith and Law in Paul, with Special Reference to Romans 9:30–10:30," (*sic*) *Studia Theologica* 25 (1971) 21–60. The most significant extension of Cranfield's work has been that of D.P. Fuller, "Paul and 'The Works of the Law,'" *WJT* 38 (1975) 28–42 and his chapter on "Paul's View of the Law" in his *Gospel and Law: Contrast or Continuum? The Hermeneutics of Dispensationalism and Covenant Theology*, 1980, pp. 65–120.

⁴¹ See most recently Westerholm, *Israel's Law*, p. 110, 121, 127–133, Snodgrass, "Spheres," p. 95, and Thomas R. Schreiner, "The Abolition and Fulfillment of the Law in Paul," *JSNT* 35 (1989) 47–74, pp. 50 f., and now his "'Works of Law' in Paul," *NovT* 33 (1991) 217–244, where he surveys the various basic interpretations of "works of the Law" in Paul, concluding that the traditional Lutheran view is essentially correct, i.e. that Paul was opposing a Judaistic and legalistic works-righteousness as the basis for attaining righteousness because it required perfect obedience to the Law for salvation, which no one can do (p. 241). But contra Bultmann, Schreiner rejects the further extension of this to include the very attempt to obey the law as a means of justification as being sinful (pp. 220, 241, 244). Rather, the problem is simply that no one can keep the Law perfectly, which then leads to the corresponding legalistic "delusion of those who think they can earn merit before God by their obedience to the law, even though they fail to obey it" (p. 244). However, Schreiner does not pose the question of the relationship between "works of the Law" in Paul and the OT Law itself as raised by the work of Cranfield and Fuller.

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