

**THE ORIGIN OF  
PAUL'S CONCERN FOR  
THE GENTILES  
AND  
PAUL'S GENTILE MISSION**

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**A THESIS SUBMITTED IN ACCORDANCE  
WITH THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF THEOLOGY  
IN THE FACULTY OF THEOLOGY  
DEPARTMENT OF NEW TESTAMENT  
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF THE FREE STATE**

**30 NOVEMBER 2007**

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## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

My father was a pastor. He wanted me to study in a foreign country. In particular, he was interested in Pauline studies and the Fourth Gospel. He, furthermore, wanted me to become a Pauline theologian. Thus, I chose South Africa in 2003.

By God's grace, I met my promoter, Prof. D. F. Tolmie who has two doctoral degrees (in Pauline and Johannine studies). Furthermore, he has taught, encouraged, and directed me a great deal. He was always kind to me. In particular, his logical thinking enabled me to formulate my research findings consistently. Thus, I want to thank him.

I also want to thank my family (my mother, my elder sister's family, my younger sister's family, my wife, Nam-Young, and my son, Hyun-Seo). They have supported me in physical and mental terms. Especially, my loved younger sister has helped me so much.

There is also one person who I will not be able to forget. Elfrieda Veitch has loved me like her son, and polished my English.

Finally, hopefully, I contribute by means of this study to understanding Paul's views on the Gentiles.

## ABBREVIATIONS

### **Bibliographic and General**

AB	Anchor Bible
ACNT	Augsburg Commentary on the New Testament
BBR	Bulletin for Biblical Research
BECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentaries
BR	Biblical Research
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
ConBNT	Coniectanea Biblica New Testament Series
CT	Christianity Today
EC	Epworth Commentaries
ExpTim	The Expository Times
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
HTKNT	Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
ICC	International Critical Commentary
Int	Interpretation
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JSNT	Journal for the Study of the New Testament
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
KBCS	Korea Bible Commentary Series
MNTC	Moffatt New Testament Commentary
NAC	The New American Commentary
NCB	New Century Bible
Neotest	Neotestamentica
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NovT	Novum Testamentum
NovTSup	Novum Testamentum Supplement Series
NTC	New Testament Commentary

NTS	New Testament Studies
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SJT	Scottish Journal of Theology
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
STh	Studia Theologica
TDNT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> . 10 vols., edited by G. Kittel and G. Friedrich. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964–76.
TNTC	Tyndale New Testament Commentaries
TynB	Tyndale Bulletin
TZ	Theologische Zeitschrift
USQR	Union Seminary Quarterly Review
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WdF	Wege der Forschung
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WTJ	Westminster Theological Journal
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

## **Bible**

In general, I use the NIV (New International Version); sometimes, the NRSV (New Revised Standard Version).

## **Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha**

<i>Apoc. Abr.</i>	Apocalypse of Abraham	<i>T. Ash.</i>	Testament of Asher
<i>Apoc. Mos.</i>	Apocalypse of Moses	<i>T. Ben.</i>	Testament of Benjamin
<i>1 Bar.</i>	1 Baruch	<i>T. Dan</i>	Testament of Dan
<i>2 Bar.</i>	2 Baruch	<i>T. Iss.</i>	Testament of Issachar
<i>1 En.</i>	1 Enoch	<i>T. Jud.</i>	Testament of Judah
<i>Jos. As.</i>	Joseph and Asenath	<i>T. Levi</i>	Testament of Levi
<i>Jub.</i>	Jubilees	<i>T. Mos.</i>	Testament of Moses
<i>1 Macc.</i>	1 Maccabees	<i>T. Naph.</i>	Testament of Naphtali
<i>2 Macc.</i>	2 Maccabees	<i>T. Sim.</i>	Testament of Simeon
<i>4 Macc.</i>	4 Maccabees	<i>T. Zeb.</i>	Testament of Zebulun
<i>Ps. Sol.</i>	Psalms of Solomon	<i>Tob.</i>	Tobit
<i>Sib. Or.</i>	Sibyline Oracles	<i>Wis. Sol.</i>	Wisdom of Solomon

*Sir.* Ecclesiasticus (Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach)

**Texts used:**

*The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, edited by R. H. Charles. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1913.

*The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, edited by J. H. Charlesworth. 2 vols. London: Darton, 1983, 1985.

E. G. Clarke, *The Wisdom of Solomon: Commentary*. The Cambridge Bible Commentary. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973.

**Philo**

*Legat.* *De Legatione ad Gaium*

*Migr. Abr.* *De Migratione Abrahami*

*Quaest. Exod.* *Quaestiones et Solutiones in Exodum*

*Quaest. Gen.* *Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesin*

*Spec. Leg.* *De Specialibus Legibus*

*Virt.* *De Virtutibus*

*Vit. Mos.* *De Vita Mosis*

**Texts used:**

*Philo*, trans. F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker. 12 vols. London: Heinemann, 1941–62.

**Josephus**

*Ant.* The Antiquities of the Jews     *Vita*     The Life of Flavius Josephus

*Apion*     Against Apion     *Wars*     The Wars of the Jews

**Texts used:**

*The Works of Josephus*, trans. W. Whiston. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1987.

**Rabbinic Document**

*m.* *Mishnah*

*b.* *Babylonian Talmud*

*Rab.* *Midrash Rabbah* (e.g. *Gen. Rab.* [*Genesis Rabbah*]; *Exod. Rab.* [*Exodus Rabbah*]; *Lev. Rab.* [*Leviticus Rabbah*]; *Num. Rab.* [*Numbers Rabbah*].)

**Tractates**

*Ab. Zar.* *Abodah Zarah*     *Sanh.* *Sanhedrin*



<i>Abot.</i>	<i>Aboth</i>	<i>Shab.</i>	<i>Shabbath</i>
<i>Ker.</i>	<i>Kerithoth</i>	<i>Suk.</i>	<i>Sukkah</i>
<i>Ned.</i>	<i>Nedarim</i>	<i>Yeb.</i>	<i>Yebamoth</i>
<i>Pes.</i>	<i>Pesahim</i>		

**Texts used:**

*The Mishnah*, trans. H. Danby. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933.

*The Mishnah: A New Translation*, trans. J. Neusner. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988.

*The Babylonian Talmud*, trans. I. Epstein. 34 vols. London: The Soncino Press, 1935–52.

*Midrash Rabbah*, trans. H. Freedman and M. Simon. 10 vols. London: The Soncino Press, 1951.

**Dead Sea Scrolls**

CD	Cario Damascus (Document)
1QH <sup>a</sup>	Hodayot (Thanksgiving Hymns) from Qumran Cave 1
1QM	Milḥamah (War Scroll) from Qumran Cave 1
1QS	Serekh ha-Yaḥad (Community Rules) from Qumran Cave 1
1QSa	Appendix A (Rule of the Congregation) to 1QS from Qumran Cave 1
1QSB	Appendix B (Blessings) to 1QS from Qumran Cave 1
4QapocrDan	An Aramaic Apocalypse ar from Qumran Cave 4
4QDibHam	Words of the Luminaries from Qumran Cave 4
4QFlor	Florilegium (Eschatological Midrashim) from Qumran Cave 4
4QPrEnosh	Prayer of Enosh from Qumran Cave 4

**Texts used:**

*The Dead Sea Scrolls*, edited by J. H. Charlesworth. 1st and 2nd vols (in 10 vols). Louisville & Tübingen: Westminster John Knox Press & J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1994, 1995.

*The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader*, edited by D. W. Parry and E. Tov. 6 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2004.

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1. Overview and problems in recent Pauline studies

In recent Pauline studies certain questions seem to surface again and again, and the main issues are the followings: (1) Who is Paul/Saul?; (2) What is the nature of the relationship between Paul and Jesus?; (3) What was the reason for Paul's conflict with the Judaisers?; (4) What were Paul's opinions concerning the future of Judaism and Israel?; (5) Why did Paul break with Judaism?; (6) Is Pauline theology consistent or not?; (7) Is Paul a theologian?; and (8) If he is a theologian, what is the core of his theology? All these questions are in a sense related to views as to what happened to Paul on the road to Damascus (briefly referred to in the rest of this study as "Paul at Damascus") or as to what happened to Paul after Damascus (briefly referred to in the rest of this study as "Paul post-Damascus/the post-Damascus Paul.")

After the Reformation, most scholars were interested in Paul as the founder of Christianity, a theologian,<sup>1</sup> and a missionary to the Gentiles. Under tremendous influence of the Lutheran way of thinking – deliberately or not – they were not interested in what happened to Paul before Damascus (briefly referred to in the rest of this study as "Paul

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<sup>1</sup> W. Wrede, *The Origin of the New Testament*, trans. J. S. Hill (London/New York: Harper & Brothers, 1909), p. 19; and L. E. Keck, "Paul as Thinker", *Int* 47 (1993), pp. 28-29, regarded Paul as the first Christian theologian. Especially Wrede insisted that the real founder of Christianity was not Jesus, but Paul. So Wrede preferred "Paul and Jesus" to "Jesus and Paul". However, L. Baeck, *Judaism and Christianity* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1958), p. 199, argues that Paul was not so much a creator of ideas as a connector of ideas. Keck, however, regards Paul as an original thinker.

pre-Damascus/the pre-Damascus Paul”), i.e. that he was a persecutor, a Jew or “Saul”. The reason why they were interested only in Paul at Damascus and post-Damascus is Paul’s statements in 2 Cor. 5:17 and Phil. 3:5–9:

Therefore, if anyone is in Christ, he is a new creation; the old has gone, the new has come! (2 Cor. 5:17.)

... circumcised on the eighth day, of the people of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew of Hebrews; in regard to the law, a Pharisee; as for zeal, persecuting the church; as for legalistic righteousness, faultless. But whatever was to my profit I now consider a loss for the sake of Christ. What is more, I consider everything a loss compared to the surpassing greatness of knowing Christ Jesus my Lord, for whose sake I have lost all things. I consider them rubbish that I may gain Christ and be found in him, not having a righteousness of my own that comes from the law, but that which is through faith in Christ the righteousness that comes from God and is by faith. (Phil. 3:5–9.)

M. Hengel<sup>2</sup> highlights the tendency that most scholars have of being interested only in Paul at Damascus and post-Damascus, as follows:

The usual monographs on Paul seldom devote more than a couple of pages to the apostle’s pre-Christian period.

However, many scholars, such as E. J. Goodspeed,<sup>3</sup> G. Bornkamm,<sup>4</sup> J.

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<sup>2</sup> M. Hengel, *The Pre-Christian Paul*, trans. J. Bowden (London: SCM Press, 1991), p. xiii.

<sup>3</sup> E. J. Goodspeed, *Paul* (Nashville/New York: Abingdon Press, 1947), pp. 1–18.

<sup>4</sup> G. Bornkamm, *Paul*, trans. D. M. G. Stalker (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1971), pp. 3–12.

Murphy-O'Connor,<sup>5</sup> C. Dietzfelbinger<sup>6</sup> and J. Becker,<sup>7</sup> do refer to Paul pre-Damascus. However, they do not attach any theological meaning to the pre-Damascus period in Paul's life. Although they discuss Paul's life before Damascus and investigate the pre-Damascus Paul, it is approached as nothing more than a subsidiary issue or a point of departure apart from the main issue. This situation implies that recent Pauline studies are in general mainly interested in understanding Paul's view of the law without paying attention to the value of investigating the pre-Damascus Paul.<sup>8</sup>

In fact, many scholars have argued with each other as to whether Pauline theology is consistent or not and what the centre of Pauline theology is.

Some scholars, such as H. Räisänen<sup>9</sup>, one of the most articulate

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<sup>5</sup> J. Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul: A Critical Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 32-70; *Paul: His Story* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 1-19.

<sup>6</sup> C. Dietzfelbinger, *Die Berufung des Paulus als Ursprung seiner Theologie* (WMANT 58, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1985), pp. 4-42. I prefer the structure of his book - *Teil I*: Paulus als Verfolger (Paul as a persecutor); *Teil II*: Der Vorgang der Berufung (The event of the calling); *Teil III*: Konsequenzen der Berufung (Consequences of the calling).

<sup>7</sup> J. Becker, *Paulus: Der Apostel der Völker* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1989), pp. 34-59.

<sup>8</sup> Hengel, *The Pre-Christian Paul*, p. 87.

<sup>9</sup> H. Räisänen, *Paul and the Law* (WUNT 29, Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1983), pp. 228-256, is of the opinion that Paul's statements about the law are not harmonious and reflect what he chose as he faced different situations; T. L. Donaldson, "Zealot and Convert: The Origin of Paul's Christ-Torah Antithesis", *CBQ* 51 (1989), pp. 661-662, basically accepting Räisänen's view on this point, says that Paul is incoherent and that this is caused by the attempt to hold together incompatible convictions. Donaldson believes that the convictional world of the pre-Damascus Paul largely differs from the convictional world of Paul at Damascus and post-Damascus. This statement is the core of Donaldson's views. E. P. Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983), p. 147, believes that there is no single unity which properly accounts for every statement of Paul about the law. However, Sanders, who agrees with Becker's approach, does not regard Paul as fully-scaled inconsistent. He

advocates of inconsistency,<sup>10</sup> believe that Paul does not have any systematic, consistent and coherent theology, and claim that Paul's theology shows more serious contradictions than that of any other author in the New Testament. On the other hand, some scholars, such as L. E. Keck,<sup>11</sup> believe that Paul does have a coherent theology.<sup>12</sup>

In the case of scholars who do believe that Paul's theology is coherent, many scholars, such as E. Käsemann,<sup>13</sup> M. A. Seifrid<sup>14</sup> and H. Boers,<sup>15</sup> regard the centre of Pauline theology as "justification by faith". Some scholars prefer other options: Wrede<sup>16</sup> believes that "*Rechtfertigung* (justification by faith)" is a *Kampfeslehre* (polemical doctrine) or a device which Paul developed in the course of his conflict with the

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says:

Against those who argue in favor of mere inconsistency, however, I would urge that Paul held a limited number of basic convictions which, when applied to different problems, led him to say different things about the law.

<sup>10</sup> For a discussion of this issue, see D. G. Reid, "Did Paul Have a Theology?", *CT* 39 (1995), pp. 18-22.

<sup>11</sup> Keck, "Paul as Thinker", pp. 27-38.

<sup>12</sup> For a discussion of this issue, see I. G. Hong, "Does Paul Misrepresent the Jewish Law? Law and Covenant in Gal. 3:1-14", *NovT* 36 (1994), pp. 164-182. C. Beker, "Paul's Theology: Consistent or Inconsistent?" *NTS* 34 (1988), pp. 364-377, insists that while Paul's theological teaching is contingent, Paul nevertheless had a coherent theology.

<sup>13</sup> E. Käsemann, *Perspectives on Paul*, trans. M. Kohl (London: SCM Press, 1971).

<sup>14</sup> M. A. Seifrid, *Justification by Faith: The Origin and Development of a Central Pauline Theme* (NovTSup 68, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992).

<sup>15</sup> H. Boers, *The Justification of the Gentiles: Paul's Letters to the Galatians and Romans* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1994).

<sup>16</sup> W. Wrede, "Paulus" in *Das Paulusbild in der neueren deutschen Forschung*, edited by K. H. Rengstorff with U. Luck (WdF 24, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1982), pp. 67-69. K. Stendahl, *Paul among Jews and Gentiles* (London: SCM Press, 1976), pp. 2-4, regards the doctrine of justification by faith merely as a device which Paul employs in the service of his main theme, the relation of Jew and Gentile; it establishes the Gentiles' right to share in God's promises to Israel. I agree with his criticism that many scholars overemphasise justification by faith. However, I do not agree with him that Paul's main theme is the relation of Jew and Gentile and that, as one of his arguments, Paul used the idea of justification by faith in the development of his main theme, namely the relationship between Jews and Gentiles.

Judaisers in his pastoral and missionary context, and therefore does not regard it as the centre of Pauline theology. H. Ridderbos<sup>17</sup> and C. M. Pate<sup>18</sup> regard “salvation history” as the centre of Pauline theology; P. Stuhlmacher<sup>19</sup> and R. P. Martin,<sup>20</sup> “reconciliation”; A. Schweitzer,<sup>21</sup> “Christ-mysticism or participation in Christ”; Beker,<sup>22</sup> the “apocalyptic motif”; and E. P. Sanders,<sup>23</sup> “participation in Christ”.<sup>24</sup>

To my mind, even though each of these “cores” mentioned above, is important in understanding Paul, there is no doubt that the whole of Paul’s thought cannot be explained and comprehended by anyone of them. Furthermore, such discussions are restricted to Paul at Damascus and post-Damascus, and ignore the pre-Damascus Paul’s

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<sup>17</sup> H. Ridderbos, *Paul: An Outline of His Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975).

<sup>18</sup> C. M. Pate, *The End of the Age Has Come: The Theology of Paul* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1995).

<sup>19</sup> P. Stuhlmacher, *Reconciliation, Law and Righteousness: Essays in Biblical Theology* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986).

<sup>20</sup> R. P. Martin, *Reconciliation: A Study of Paul’s Theology* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1989).

<sup>21</sup> A. Schweitzer, *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle*, trans. W. Montgomery (New York: Seabury Press, 1968), p. 225, claims that the doctrine of righteousness by faith is a “subsidiary crater”, which has formed within the rim of the “main crater” – the mystical doctrine of redemption through the participation in Christ (being-in-Christ). Later, in a different way, I will use these words (“subsidiary crater” and “main crater”) in the section in which I explain the background of Paul’s thought.

<sup>22</sup> C. Beker, *Paul the Apostle: The Triumph of God in Life and Thought* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), pp. 15–18; “Paul’s Theology: Consistent or Inconsistent”, pp. 368–371; “Paul the Theologian: Major Motifs in Pauline Theology”, *Int* 43 (1989), pp. 352–365.

<sup>23</sup> E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977); *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People*, pp. 5f., emphasises that, though he agrees with Schweitzer that participation in Christ is the centre of Paul’s thought (or, in his terms, part of Paul’s “primary convictions”), he differs from Schweitzer in that he rejects the idea that justification by faith is hedged off from the centre of Pauline theology.

<sup>24</sup> T. R. Schreiner, *Paul: Apostle of God’s Glory in Christ* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2001), pp. 16–22, suggests that we may focus so much on one centre only, that we run the risk that a proposed centre may suppress part of the Pauline gospel. Thus he prefers the term “the dynamic interaction of the various themes” to the term “centre”.

views. Because of this, they cannot maintain that the whole of Paul's thought was dealt with. Hengel<sup>25</sup> quite rightly insists:

In addition to Paul's well-known autobiographical testimonies, indirect conclusions can be drawn from his theological argumentation, which – and I deliberately put this in a pointed way – cannot be understood as Christian theology without attention to its Jewish roots, indeed I would venture to say its latent 'Jewish' character. Knowledge of Saul the Jew is a precondition of understanding Paul the Christian. The better we know the former, the more clearly we shall understand the latter.

In the case of the Korean church, which emphasises evangelisation and conversion, Paul at Damascus is regarded as the prime example of conversion. Accordingly, they are interested only in Paul at and post-Damascus. The main reason for this is that the pre-Damascus Paul was not a Christian.

At this stage, I wish to emphasise that, to my mind, the pre-Damascus Paul is as important as Paul at and post-Damascus. What I wish to prove in this study is that, when we investigate the nature of the Damascus event, we cannot settle the matter by saying that the pre-Damascus Paul was not a Christian. Furthermore, I wish to prove that even Paul at Damascus and post-Damascus still, in way, held on to Judaism. In terms of the issue investigated in this study, I wish to prove that Paul's concern for the Gentiles and his Gentile mission are not exclusively linked to Paul at and post Damascus; instead the whole life of Paul should be taken into account.

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<sup>25</sup> Hengel, *The Pre-Christian Paul*, p. xiii.

## 2. Outline of thesis

### 2.1. Research problem

#### 2.1.1. The problem of the origin of Paul's concern for the Gentiles

There are two different opinions about this matter. One is that Paul's concern for the Gentiles originated before Damascus; the other is that Paul was not interested in the Gentiles before Damascus.

- Some scholars believe that Paul was dissatisfied about the exclusion of the Gentiles from God's people, already during his time in Judaism.

※ W. D. Davies<sup>26</sup> refers firstly to the thought of 4 Ezra that the majority of the human race is doomed to destruction,<sup>27</sup> and then proposes that Paul was already concerned about the fate of the majority of the human race which was doomed to destruction before Damascus. Referring to the evidence that the New Testament supplies (Mt. 23:15: Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, because you travel about on sea and land to make one proselyte; and when he becomes one, you make him twice as much a son of hell as yourselves), Davies explains Gentile proselytism as a symptom of "an uneasy conscience".<sup>28</sup>

※ E. P. Sanders<sup>29</sup> argues that Paul was certainly not the only Jew to read Gen. 15:6. Furthermore, Judaism basically maintained Jewish exclusivism which either ignored Gentiles or which relegated them to a second place in God's plan. Therefore Sanders suggests that the pre-Damascus Paul felt a "secret dissatisfaction" about this issue. Sanders<sup>30</sup> claims that we have to approach Paul "from solution to plight", but in terms of the issue of Gentile mission, Sanders chooses the reverse approach,

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<sup>26</sup> W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism* (London: SPCK, 1948), p. 63, uses "uneasy conscience" to describe Paul's mind set toward the Gentiles.

<sup>27</sup> In particular, see *4 Ezra* 8.41f.; 9.21.

<sup>28</sup> Schweitzer, *The Mysticism of Paul*, pp. 178f., is of the similar opinion as Davies.

<sup>29</sup> Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People*, pp. 152-154.

<sup>30</sup> Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, pp. 442-447.



namely, “from plight to solution”.<sup>31</sup> By this he means Paul had a conscious or unconscious concern for the Gentiles before his conversion/call. In other words, Paul’s concern about the Gentiles can be viewed as “plight”, and what happened to Paul at Damascus may be described as “solution”.

※ On the basis of Gal. 5:11, L. Gaston<sup>32</sup> believes that, as a Shammaite, Paul engaged in Gentle proselytism and that Paul therefore emphasised circumcision to proselytes who wanted to become members of the covenant–Torah.<sup>33</sup> Furthermore, Gaston claims that Paul’s close proximity to the gentile world gave him sympathy for his neighbours and an urgency for his task. Finally, Gaston concludes that “Paul’s commissioning outside Damascus was significant not only in personal terms but as providing a meaningful answer from God himself to his quandary concerning Gentiles and the law”.

• Some scholars suggest that, since Judaism was very particularistic, Paul had no interest in the Gentiles before Damascus.

※ S. Kim<sup>34</sup> points out that we should not forget that Paul was a “zealot” for the law and Judaism, and an extreme nationalist. Therefore Paul was concerned about the integrity and purity of Israel rather than Gentiles.

Those scholars who believe that Paul was dissatisfied about the exclusion of the Gentiles from God’s salvation, maintain that there were

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<sup>31</sup> Sanders believes that Paul’s conversion/calling helped him to solve his conscious or unconscious dissatisfaction. Therefore to my mind, Sanders actually seems to choose the reverse approach to Paul (“from plight to solution) against his original approach to Paul (“from solution to plight”). T. L. Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles: Remapping the Apostle’s Convictional World* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997), p. 265, is of the similar opinion with regard to Sanders’ view about this matter.

<sup>32</sup> L. Gaston, “Paul and the Torah”, in *Antisemitism and the Foundations of Christianity*, edited by A. T. Davies (New York/Toronto: Paulist, 1979), pp. 61–62, uses the word “personal quandary” to describe Paul’s mind set about the exclusion of the Gentiles from God’s salvation.

<sup>33</sup> Many scholars think that, since Paul was a Hillelite, he must have engaged in Gentile proselytism. However, Gaston argues that if Paul had been a Hillelite, he would not have forced circumcision on proselytes.

<sup>34</sup> S. Kim, *Paul and the New Perspective: Second Thoughts on the Origin of Paul’s Gospel* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), p. 38.

different patterns of Jewish universalism, i.e. different views on the issue of the inclusion of the Gentiles into God's people. We can summarise the different patterns of Jewish universalism in two representative groups:

- ※ Eschatological Pilgrimage: According to this view, when God finally would redeem Zion, the Gentiles would come to abandon idolatry, and recognise and worship Israel's God as the one true deity at the sanctuary in Jerusalem. For example, Sanders,<sup>35</sup> emphasises the phrase "offering of the Gentiles" in Rom. 15:16 and then regards Paul's entire work, both evangelising and collection of the money, as the expected pilgrimage of the Gentiles to Mount Zion in the last days.
  
- ※ Gentile Proselytism: According to the views, after the righteous Gentiles had abandoned idolatry, they could worship Israel's God and be incorporated into the nation of Israel. Circumcision played a significant role with regard to the boundary between the Jewish world and the Gentile world. So the Gentiles who converted to Judaism (only male Gentiles) had to be circumcised. For example, Donaldson<sup>36</sup> thinks that Paul played an active role in the making of proselytes (on the basis of Gal. 5:11), and then presents the proselytising activities of Eleazar, the Pharisaic adviser to king Izates, as a similar case. Donaldson<sup>37</sup> portrays Paul as someone concerned not only about protecting the covenant and Israel's purity, but also about the salvation of the Gentiles.

### **2.1.2. The problem of the origin of Paul's Gentile mission**

There are two different opinions on this matter: one is that Paul's Gentile mission originated *at* Damascus; the other is that Paul's Gentile mission originated *after* Damascus.

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<sup>35</sup> Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People*, p. 171.

<sup>36</sup> Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles*, pp. 275-284; "Israelite, Convert, Apostle to the Gentiles: The Origin of Paul's Gentile Mission", in *The Road from Damascus: The Impact of Paul's Conversion on his Life, Thought and Ministry*, edited by R. N. Longenecker (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), p. 82. In his article, "The 'Curse of the Law' and the Inclusion of the Gentiles: Galatians 3.13-14", *NTS* 32 (1986), pp. 94-112, esp. 99-100, he opted for the tradition of an eschatological pilgrimage, but later changed his view and opted for the tradition of Gentile proselytism, because of Rom. 11.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, esp. pp. 277-278.

- Some scholars claim that, as soon as Paul was called, he immediately went to the Gentiles. However, while agreeing on the origin of Paul's Gentile mission, they have different opinions about the nature of the Damascus event.

※ Kim<sup>38</sup> views Paul's Christological insights and his calling as apostle as essential parts of the Damascus events. According to Kim, Paul regarded the Christophany as a confrontation with the universal Lord, and thus could not help going to the Gentiles. In other words, Kim thinks that Paul received the new Christological insights and the call at the same time, and asserts that we do not have to understand the relationship between the new christological insights and Paul's apostolic call as a relationship between cause and effect.

※ J. D. G. Dunn<sup>39</sup> criticises Kim for trying to explain too much by means of the Damascus event. Instead, he argues, on the basis of Gal. 3:13, that, for the pre-Damascus Paul, Jesus' crucifixion implied that he was in a position similar to that of a Gentile sinner, but that the Christophany at Damascus meant that God accepted and vindicated precisely this crucified one. The immediate corollary for Paul would be that God must therefore favour the cursed one, the sinner outside the covenant, the Gentiles. This is why "therefore to the Gentiles" could follow directly from the Damascus events and need not be linked to other more elaborate Christological and soteriological schemes.

- Some scholars believe that it took Paul quite a while after the Damascus events prior to going to the Gentiles.

※ Räisänen<sup>40</sup> presents a reconstruction of events from the beginning of the early Christian movement to Paul's Gentile mission in the first century. Firstly, the early Christian movement starts. Secondly, the Hellenistic Jewish Christian practice of

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<sup>38</sup> Kim, *Paul and the New Perspective*, pp. 1-84.

<sup>39</sup> J. D. G. Dunn, *Jesus, Paul, and the Law: Studies in Mark and Galatians* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1990), pp. 89-101.

<sup>40</sup> Räisänen, *Paul and the Law*, pp. 251-263; "Paul's Conversion and the Development of His View of the Law", *NTS* 33 (1987), pp. 404-419.

admitting uncircumcised Gentile converts into their community emerges, but there is not yet any clearly articulated theology in this regard. Thirdly, when Paul ceases persecuting this movement and instead becomes part of it, he simply adopts the unreflective liberalism of the Hellenists, accepting Gentile salvation. Fourthly, only later, when this approach gives rise to conflict with Judaizing Christians, Paul is forced to develop a theological defence of the Gentile mission.

- ※ F. Watson<sup>41</sup> believes that Paul began his career as a missionary to the Jews, but turned to the Gentiles out of frustration at the lack of a Jewish response to the gospel, developing his more radical approach to the Torah in the context of the Gentile mission. Watson<sup>42</sup> claims that Rom. 11 is a reflection of this situation.

### ◆ ***Problems related to the issue of the origin of Paul's Gentile mission***

Whenever scholars deal with the Damascus event, the following two questions regularly emerge:

- What is the nature of the event? A call or a conversion?

#### – ***The nature of the event is a calling:***

- ※ K. Stendahl<sup>43</sup> claims that Paul's interpretation of his experience at Damascus in Galatians 1:15-16 reflects the tradition of a prophetic calling. Thus according to him, Paul viewed this event as a prophetic calling.
- ※ Dunn<sup>44</sup> summarises five traditional views about Paul's conversion: from Judaism to Christianity; from a troubled conscience to peace with God; from denial to affirmation of Jesus as Messiah; from the law to the gospel; and, from his own righteousness to God's righteousness. Dunn then rejects the first view due to

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<sup>41</sup> F. Watson, *Paul, Judaism and the Gentiles* (SNTSMS 56, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 28-32.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, esp. p. 32.

<sup>43</sup> Stendahl, *Paul among Jews and Gentiles*, pp. 10-11.

<sup>44</sup> J. D. G. Dunn, "Paul's Conversion – A Light to Twentieth Century Disputes", in *The New Perspective on Paul: Collected Essays* (WUNT 185, Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 2005), pp. 341-350.

anachronistic problems; the second view, since the pre-Damascus Paul did not show a troubled conscience (Phil. 3:6; Gal. 1:13-14); the third view, since Paul's full-blown Christology was not reflected in the event; the fourth view, since the post-Damascus Paul continues to maintain a positive view of the law in his letters; the fifth view, which is based on Phil. 3:9 that reflects self-achieved righteousness, since Judaism did not teach a self-earned righteousness in terms of covenantal nomism.

– ***The nature of the event is a conversion:***

- ※ Kim,<sup>45</sup> criticising Dunn's rejection of five traditional views (esp. the third view), believes that Paul acquired a new Christological view on the Damascus Road through the revelation of Jesus Christ. Thus the new Christology gave rise to a conversion from being a persecutor as a Zealot about the law to being a Christian. Kim, who is adamant that a new Christology was the central issue at Paul's conversion at Damascus, simply cannot regard the event merely as a call.
- ※ Donaldson<sup>46</sup> believes that the Damascus experience brought a reconstruction of the Paul's convictional world. This reconstruction meant a move from one set of convictions (centred on the Torah) to another (centred on Christ and a mission to the Gentiles).
- Was Paul called verbally or not? In other words, was it a verbal commissioning or not?

– ***Paul was verbally called at Damascus:***

- ※ Dunn<sup>47</sup> believes that the fact that Paul uses Isa. 49:1-6 and Jer. 1:4-5 in his description of the Damascus event in Gal. 1 should not be lightly ignored. Furthermore, according to him, Paul at least intended it to be understood that his commission came to him directly from and in the Damascus encounter. Paul never heard his commission from any other person.

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<sup>45</sup> Kim, *Paul and the New Perspective*, pp. 1-84.

<sup>46</sup> Donaldson, "Israelite, Convert, Apostle to the Gentiles", pp. 62-64.

<sup>47</sup> Dunn, *Jesus, Paul, and the Law*, p. 89.

– ***Paul was not verbally called at the Damascus:***

※ J. Dupont<sup>48</sup> believes that Paul did not claim that Christ had given him the command to evangelise the Gentiles and that there is nothing that warrants us to imagine that this injunction was given him explicitly at this time.

The reason why these two questions are so important is that, in the case of the first question, one's decision on the nature of the event influences one's view on how Paul interpreted the Christophany and how he connected it to the Gentile mission. In the case of the second question, one's decision on the way Paul was called influences one's view on the matter whether or not Paul needed a period to realise that he himself had to go to the Gentiles as the apostle to the Gentiles.

### **2.1.3. Further perspectives on the issue investigated in this study**

Nowadays Pauline theology is often divided into two representative schools, the Old and the New Perspective. This division relates to the following three issues: (1) the problem of justification by faith; (2) the problem of the nature of the event on the Damascus Road; (3) the problem of all Israel's salvation. The origin of the New Perspective was the result of a dissatisfaction about the Old Perspective, i.e. those who followed the traditional approach to Paul; in particular as a result of a re-estimation of Judaism in the first century. While the re-estimation of Judaism in the first century had already been begun by Wrede, Sanders'

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<sup>48</sup> J. Dupont, "The Conversion of Paul, and Its Influence on His Understanding of Salvation by Faith", in *Apostolic History and the Gospel: Biblical and Historical Essays Presented to F. F. Bruce on his 60<sup>th</sup> Birthday*, edited by W. W. Gasque and R. P. Martin (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans: 1970), pp. 191-194.

work<sup>49</sup> paved the way for a full-scale turning-point in the re-estimation of Judaism in the first century. Sanders' contribution can thus be identified as the real beginning of the New Perspective on Paul.

Since the Reformation, many scholars assumed that the Jews (even in the first century) depended for their salvation on the power of their good works. In other words, many scholars believed that the Judaism of the first century was a religion of legalistic works-righteousness, according to which humans were saved by fulfilling more commandments than the transgressions committed.<sup>50</sup> However, Sanders indicated that the long-entrenched view of Judaism in the first century as legalistic was mistaken. Sanders argued that the view that Judaism in the first century believed that one could be saved by keeping the law cannot be defended from the Jewish literature of the Second Temple Period. He insisted that the Israelite pattern of religion, so-called covenantal nomism, meant that a person became part of the covenant through acceptance of the law and stayed in it through fulfilment of the law.<sup>51</sup> For

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<sup>49</sup> Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, p. 422, summarises the pattern of religion in Palestinian Judaism, so called covenantal nomism, as follows:

- (1) God has chosen Israel and (2) given the law. The law implies both (3) God's promise to maintain the election and (4) the requirement to obey.
- (5) God rewards obedience and punishes transgression. (6) The law provides for means of atonement, and atonement results in (7) maintenance or re-establishment of the covenantal relationship. (8) All those who are maintained in the covenant by obedience, atonement and God's mercy belong to the group which will be saved.

<sup>50</sup> T. R. Schreiner, "'Works of Law' in Paul", *NovT* 33 (1991), 217-244; S. Westerholm, *Israel's Law and the Church's Faith. Paul and His Recent Interpreters* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988); D. J. Moo, "'Law,' 'Works of the Law,' and Legalism in Paul", *WTJ* 45 (1983), pp. 73-100; B. L. Martin, *Christ and the Law in Paul* (Leiden: Brill, 1989). In particular, Martin is convinced that since Paul opposed legalistic Judaism, Sanders' thesis is not persuasive, nor is it possible to prove his thesis.

<sup>51</sup> Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, pp. 419-422.

Sanders, it is of the greatest importance that the election and finally the salvation of Israel depended not on human merit, but on the grace of God.<sup>52</sup> Observance of the law as obedience toward God effected the “staying in” of a Jew within the covenant, but as such did not earn the grace of God.<sup>53</sup>

On the other hand, some scholars, such as Kim and T. Laato, take a middle position, namely that Judaism should be viewed as a form of covenantal nomism with an element of works-righteousness.<sup>54</sup> According to them, the term “synergistic nomism” is a more accurate definition of the Judaism of Paul’s time.

The reason why I mention the two perspectives on Paul is not because I want to deal with the two perspectives on Paul as such in this study, but because I want to refer to the fact that, as a result of the New Perspective School, the pre-Damascus Paul is increasing in importance. According to the Old Perspective School, the pre-Damascus Paul was not a Christian. Furthermore, since Paul converted from Judaism to Christianity, the Paul who abandoned Judaism at Damascus, is much more

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<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 422.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 420.

<sup>54</sup> Kim, *Paul and the New Perspective*; T. Laato, *Paul and Judaism: An Anthropological Approach* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995); Seifrid, *Justification by Faith*, pp. 46-77; “Blind Alleys in the Controversy over the Paul of History”, *TynB* 45 (1994), pp. 73-95; D. A. Hagner, “Paul and Judaism: The Jewish Matrix of Early Christianity: Issues in the Current Debate”, *BBR* 3 (1993), pp. 111-130; F. Thielman, *From Plight to Solution: A Jewish Framework for Understanding Paul’s View of the Law in Galatians and Romans* (NovTSup 61, Leiden: Brill, 1989), pp. 339-353. Seyoon Kim at first took the traditional position about Judaism in the first century, especially in his book, *The Origin of Paul’s Gospel* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981). However, he lately became more moderate in his view, especially in his book, *Paul and the New Perspective*. Thielman in his book *From Plight to Solution* agreed partially with Sanders’ view. He believes that Sanders basically made a mistake in constructing Paul’s reasoning “from solution to plight”.



important than the Paul who was a persecutor of Christianity. Therefore there is no need for an investigation of the pre-Damascus Paul. On the other hand, according to the New Perspective School, since Paul was only “called” at Damascus, Paul did not convert to another religion. Accordingly, the pre-Damascus Paul became the object of interest in Pauline studies. However, it is also true that the pre-Damascus Paul still does not receive much attention. For this reason, this issue will receive detailed investigation in this study.

## **2.2 Research hypothesis**

In the light of the discussion thus far the following research hypothesis can now be formulated:

*That the necessity of the Gentile mission was already clear to Paul at the Damascus event and did not originate at a later stage.*

This research hypothesis can be divided into the following facets:

Firstly, the pre-Damascus Paul was aware of the different patterns of Jewish universalism that was current in his time.

Secondly, it is highly likely that the universalistic views shared by the pre-Damascus Paul were those of *Gentile proselytism*, i.e. that Gentiles could only be converted to Judaism if they were circumcised. Thus, Paul’s concern for the Gentiles had already originated before the Damascus event.

Thirdly, the Damascus event is best regarded as a call.

Fourthly, the Damascus event should be regarded as the origin of Paul's Gentile mission.

### **2.3. Outline of study**

In Chapter 2 I will investigate the main background of Paul's thought in the light of his own statements in Phil. 3:4-6 and Gal. 1:13-14 and I will consider the problems regarding Paul's place of birth and his upbringing in the light of Acts 21:39 and 22:3. In this chapter the first two facets indicated in the research hypothesis above, will be considered. In the process Jewish views on universalism contemporary to Paul (e.g. in the apocrypha and pseudepigrapha) will be considered as well as relevant sections from Paul's letters, such as Gal. 5:11 and Rom. 11.

In Chapter 3 I will deal with the third and fourth facets indicated in the research hypothesis above. In particular I will consider Gal. 1:11-17 and 2 Cor. 4:4-6 and consider the nature of the Damascus event, the relationship between this event and Jewish eschatology and how Paul connected the Christophany to his Gentile mission.

Chapter 4 will serve as the conclusion of the study.

## CHAPTER 2

### THE ORIGIN OF PAUL'S CONCERN FOR THE GENTILES

#### 1. Introduction

Many scholars believe that the pre-Damascus Paul was not concerned at all about the Gentiles. For example, Kim<sup>55</sup> believes that Paul's "zealotic" back-ground indicates that he was not really concerned about the Gentiles before Damascus. However, I think that such a view cannot be accepted. It is true that Paul did not write much about his life before Damascus. Accordingly, it is not easy to logically unfold the pre-Damascus Paul's thoughts and attitude towards the Gentiles. Nevertheless, I am of the opinion that it is not impossible to prove that the pre-Damascus Paul was concerned about them. We find reflections of the pre-Damascus Paul's mind and thoughts in Paul's letters, as well as reflections of what happened at Damascus and post-Damascus. Thus our task is to connect the pre-Damascus Paul to the Paul at Damascus and post-Damascus. Let us consider some representative examples of the answers given by scholars to the question as to the origin of Paul's concern for the Gentiles.

The first to be considered is *Wrede*.<sup>56</sup> To my mind, he failed in

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<sup>55</sup> Kim, *Paul and the New Perspective*, p. 38.

<sup>56</sup> W. Wrede, *Paul*, trans. E. Lummis (London: Philip Green, 1907), pp. 151-168; cf. 42-43. The reason why Wrede's view is paradoxical is that if it is true that Paul was concerned about the Gentiles before Damascus in terms of a Jewish belief which stressed the universal scope of the Messiah's work, Wrede fails to explain why his

this task. Wrede's statements about Paul's concern for the Gentiles are best described as paradoxical. According to Wrede's view on the origin of Paul's concern for the Gentiles, it is clear that at a later stage he understood the Messiah as having universal significance (in terms of particular Jewish beliefs), which implies that his concern for the Gentiles must have originated before Damascus. However, paradoxically Wrede also claims that this concern was not present from the time of Paul's conversion, but was something that developed only after an unsuccessful period of mission work in Judaism as a result of his experience in the Antiochian church.

*Sanders*'<sup>57</sup> view in this regard can also be described as paradoxical, even though he unfolds his view in a way that differs from that of Wrede. *Sanders*'<sup>58</sup> believes that, while Paul broke with Judaism, his thought remained nevertheless largely Jewish. *Sanders*'<sup>59</sup> in particular explains Paul's concern for the Gentiles on the basis of the tradition of the eschatological pilgrimage, namely, that Paul expected the eschatological gathering of the Gentiles, a notion that represented one pattern of Jewish universalism.

*Donaldson*'<sup>60</sup> explains Paul's concern for the Gentiles on the basis of the tradition of Gentile proselytism. However, *Kim*'<sup>61</sup> objects to

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concern for the Gentiles appeared for the first time in the Antiochian church (cf. *Donaldson, Paul and the Gentiles*, p. 12).

<sup>57</sup> *Sanders, Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People*, pp. 207–210.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 207.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 171.

<sup>60</sup> *Donaldson, Paul and the Gentiles*, pp. 65–69; “Israelite, Convert, Apostle to the Gentiles”, pp. 79–81.

<sup>61</sup> *Kim, Paul and the New Perspective*, p. 37.

this, arguing that in New Testament times Judaism was not really concerned about mission to the Gentiles. Thus, according to him, it is quite difficult to envisage the phenomenon of Gentle proselytism within the Judaism of New Testament times.

In this chapter I will consider various arguments in this regard, wishing to prove that the main background of the pre-Damascus Paul's thought was Judaism; that Paul was aware of the various patterns of Jewish universalism; and furthermore, that it is highly likely that he accepted a specific pattern in this regard, namely, the tradition of Gentile proselytism. This will be based on the exegesis of Gal. 5:11 and Rom. 11.

## **2. The main background of the pre-Damascus Paul's thought**

In general, we focus on three aspects when we investigate a notable person's career: birth, childhood, and education. Therefore, I will focus on Paul's birthplace as the first stage of my investigation, and then focus on Paul's childhood and education as the second stage of the investigation into what the main background of the pre-Damascus Paul's thought was.

### **2.1. Hellenism**

*Paul answered, "I am a Jew, from Tarsus in Cilicia, a citizen of no ordinary city. Please let me speak to the people" (Acts 21:39).*

*"I am a Jew, born in Tarsus of Cilicia" (Acts 22:3a).*

First of all, we need to deal with the introductory issues of Acts, since this might have an influence on how one interprets Luke's statement

about Paul; moreover the historicity of Acts is often suspected. After this I will investigate the significance of Tarsus as Paul's birthplace in the light of the exegesis of Acts 21:39 and Acts 22:3a; as well as the question as to how dominant the influence of the Hellenistic background was on Paul.

### **2.1.1. Introductory issues of Acts**

• **Who wrote Acts?** Many scholars believe that Acts was not written by Luke due to differences between Acts and the Pauline letters. Some scholars, such as P. Vielhauer,<sup>62</sup> believe that the author of Acts did not know the Pauline letters, since there are differences between Luke-Acts' view of Paul's attitude to natural theology, obedience to the Jewish law, Christology and eschatology and Paul's own views. The main reason why some scholars reject the idea that Luke wrote Acts, therefore, is that if the author of Acts were a companion of Paul, there would be similarity or consensus between Acts and the Pauline letters in historical and theological aspects. Thereby, they assert that there are historical and theological differences/discrepancies between Acts and the Pauline letters.<sup>63</sup> However, F. F. Bruce,<sup>64</sup> providing external and internal

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<sup>62</sup> P. Vielhauer, "On the 'Paulinism' of Acts", in *Studies in Luke-Acts*, edited by L. E. Keck and J. L. Martyn (London: SPCK, 1978), pp. 33-50.

<sup>63</sup> J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 31, New York: Doubleday, 1998), p. 49, refers to two groups: One group is those who agree with the common authorship of Luke-Acts (A. von Harnack, J. H. Hawkins, W. L. Knox, H. J. Cadbury, and B. E. Beck); the other group is those who deny the common authorship of Luke-Acts (A. W. Argyle, A. C. Clark, and J. Wenham).

<sup>64</sup> F. F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostle: The Greek Text with Introduction and Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984), pp. 1-8.

evidence, asserts that Luke indeed wrote Acts.

The following pieces of internal evidence can be pointed out:

(1) The fact that the same person wrote both the Third Gospel and Acts is sufficiently indicated by the opening words of Acts, where the “former book” refers to the Third Gospel. While A. C. Clark<sup>65</sup> strongly denies the fact that Acts was written by the Third Evangelist, it cannot be doubted that the Theophilus addressed in the opening words of Acts is identical to the Theophilus in Luke 1:1-4;<sup>66</sup> (2) N. Geldenhuys<sup>67</sup> claims that, since “there is such an unmistakable similarity” between the Gospel of Luke and Acts in language, style and vocabulary, there can be no doubt that the same person had written the Gospel of Luke and Acts;<sup>68</sup> (3) According to Col. 4:14, Luke was a professional physician (Col. 4:14). If Luke’s vocabulary in both the Gospel of Luke and Acts is analysed, it seems as if the author of Acts could have been a medical doctor who reflects his job in his writings.<sup>69</sup>

With regard to external evidence, the following should be pointed out: (1) At the beginning of the third century, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Tertullian believed that Luke was the author of

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<sup>65</sup> A. C. Clark, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Critical Edition with Introduction and Notes on Selected Passages* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1933), pp. 393-408.

<sup>66</sup> S. J. Kistemaker, *Exposition of the Acts of the Apostles* (NTC, Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1990), p. 21; Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostle*, p. 2; N. Geldenhuys, *Commentary on the Gospel of Luke: The English Text with Introduction, Exposition and Notes* (NICNT, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983), p. 15.

<sup>67</sup> Geldenhuys, *The Gospel of Luke*, p. 15.

<sup>68</sup> A. Plummer, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Luke* (ICC, Edinburgh, T&T Clark, 1901), pp. xi-xii, suggests that there are parallels of arrangement between the Gospel of Luke and the Acts.

Hebraic (2-5) – Transitional (6-12) – Gentile (13-28)

<sup>69</sup> Kistemaker, *The Acts of the Apostles*, p. 20.

both the Gospel of Luke and Acts; (2) Irenaeus mentions Luke, ‘*sectator Pauli*’, as the author of the Third Gospel and Acts.<sup>70</sup>

If so, how does one solve the problem of historical and theological differences? In this regard P. Borgen<sup>71</sup> answers that there is no contradiction between Acts and Pauline letters. R. E. Brown,<sup>72</sup> giving examples, highlights the similarities between Acts and the Pauline letters. Even though differences/discrepancies between Acts and the Pauline letters might be found, I think that is not enough reason to accept that the author of Acts was not Luke, the fellow-worker of Paul. The reason for this is that, if we accept that Luke was one of the “we” companions referred to in Acts, he was with Paul only at certain times.<sup>73</sup> Furthermore, the “we” references begin in the second missionary journey (16:10–17), then the “we” references end after the companion and Paul have gone from Troas to Philippi, and then the “we” references

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<sup>70</sup> Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostle*, p. 1; I. H. Marshall, *The Acts of the Apostles: An Introduction and Commentary* (TNTC, Grand Rapids: Inter-Varsity Press, 1980), p. 44.

<sup>71</sup> P. Borgen, “From Paul to Luke: Observations toward Clarification of the Theology of Luke-Acts”, *CBQ* 31 (1969), pp. 168–182.

<sup>72</sup> R. E. Brown, *An Introduction to the New Testament* (New York: Doubleday, 1996), p. 324, states:

The eucharistic formula in Luke 22:19–20 is very close to that in I Cor 11:23–25. That the first appearance of the risen Lord was to Simon Peter is suggested by Luke 24:34 and I Cor 15:5. The picture of Paul in Acts as one who performs miracles is confirmed by II Cor 12:12; Rom 12:18–19. As for differences, even if in general Acts does not emphasize the theme of justification and prefers forgiveness of sins, 13:38–39 speaks of both and maintains that justification comes by belief in Christ rather than by observance of the Law (see also 15:8–9). The basic Christology of Jesus as God’s Son as phrased in Acts 13:33 is not far from Rom 1:3–4. The natural theology of being able to recognize God from creation is shared by Acts 17:24–30 and Rom 1:19–21; 2:15.

<sup>73</sup> Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles*, p. 50. In this regard, B. Witherington III, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), p. 52, describes the companion as “a sometimes companion of Paul”.



begin again with Paul's voyage back to Palestine and Antioch (20:5).<sup>74</sup> Therefore, it is clear that Luke could not have known all the details of Paul's life.

In conclusion, we should admit that the possibility that Acts was written by Luke is rather strong. That is why I accept that Acts and the Gospel of Luke were written by the same person, namely, Luke.

• ***When was Acts written?*** D. Guthrie<sup>75</sup> mentions three main proposals about the date of Acts: before A.D. 64; A.D. 70–85; a date somewhere in the second century. The reasons why some scholars believe that Acts was written before A.D. 64 are the absence of references to the fall of Jerusalem, the persecution of the Church under the Emperor Nero, and the death of Paul. In particular, P. Parker<sup>76</sup> claims that if a Christian had written Acts after the fall of Jerusalem and the persecution of the Church under the Emperor Nero, he would not have written Acts 28 optimistically or he would have been very obtuse.<sup>77</sup> However, since, in general, most scholars believe that Acts was written after the Gospel of Luke and the Gospel of Luke was probably written after A.D. 70 due to a description of the fall of Jerusalem “being surrounded by armies” in Luke 21:20, Acts must also have been written at least after A.D. 70. Furthermore, if we accept that the Gospel of Luke and Acts had been

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<sup>74</sup> Geldenhuys, *The Gospel of Luke*, p. 16.

<sup>75</sup> D. Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction* (Downers Grove: Inter-Varsity Press, 1971), pp. 340–348.

<sup>76</sup> P. Parker, “The ‘Former Treatise’ and the Date of Acts”, *JBL* 84 (1965), pp. 52–53.

<sup>77</sup> Parker believes that Acts had been written earlier than the Gospel was written, therefore, “my former book” in Acts 1:1 indicates Proto-Luke.

composed after the Gospel of Mark, it should have originated in the 70s or 80s.<sup>78</sup> Therefore, A.D. 70–85 is preferred by the majority of scholars as date of composition.<sup>79</sup> There is a small minority of scholars, such as J. C. O’Neill,<sup>80</sup> which believes that Acts was written during the second century on the basis of the date of Marcion’s Gospel – the *terminus a quo* being about A.D. 115; the *terminus ad quem* is about A.D. 140 – but this view lost support.

In conclusion, it is best to follow the second option, since I believe that the writing of the Gospel of Luke precedes the writing of Acts and because of the fact that there is no awareness in Acts of the persecution of Christians under the Emperor Domitian (81–96). I would like to conclude with J. Fitzmyer’s<sup>81</sup> comment:

Many NT interpreters use the date A.D. 80–85 for the composition of Luke–Acts, and there is no good reason to oppose that date, even if there is not real proof for it. Such an intermediate dating remains the most plausible.

• ***Why was Acts written?*** In fact, the reason why Acts was written is closely linked to the reason why the Gospel of Luke was written. The reason why the Gospel of Luke was written, is indicated in Luke 1:1–4 (“Many have undertaken to draw up an account of the things that have been fulfilled among us, just as they were handed down to us by those

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<sup>78</sup> Kistemaker, *The Acts of the Apostles*, p. 22.

<sup>79</sup> Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, p. 346.

<sup>80</sup> J. C. O’Neill, *The Theology of Acts in Its Historical Setting* (London: SPCK, 1970), p. 21.

<sup>81</sup> Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles*, p. 54.

who from the first were eyewitnesses and servants of the word. Therefore, since I myself have carefully investigated everything from the beginning, it seemed good also to me to write an orderly account for you, most excellent Theophilus, so that you may know the certainty of the things you have been taught.”). In other words, Luke wanted to teach Theophilus the words and deeds of Jesus Christ. However, in the Gospel of Luke there is also a tendency according to which the message of the gospel is limited to the nation Israel. Therefore, it seems as if Luke wanted to tell Theophilus something more.<sup>82</sup> I believe that Luke wanted to show Theophilus the expansion of the gospel (Jews → Gentiles and Holy Land → the entire world) (cf. Acts 1:8).<sup>83</sup> Thus J. Dupont<sup>84</sup> claims that, in Acts, the author of Acts describes how the gospel was preached to the world and how the name of Jesus was proclaimed to all the nations. If the author of Acts had such an intention, he should not be called a historian in the strict sense of the word, but an evangelist. That is why Acts is not carefully composed in chronological and historical terms. However, this does not mean that Acts was written unhistorically; merely that it focused on the spreading of the gospel from Jerusalem to Rome. Guthrie<sup>85</sup> quite correctly states that the author of Acts intended his work to be regarded as historical, but not in the sense of a dry chronicle of events.

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<sup>82</sup> Kistemaker, *The Acts of the Apostles*, p. 34.

<sup>83</sup> J. D. G. Dunn, *The Acts of the Apostles* (EC, Peterborough: Epworth Press, 1996), p. xii.

<sup>84</sup> J. Dupont, *The Salvation of the Gentiles: Essays on the Acts of the Apostles*, trans. J. R. Keating (New York: Paulist, 1979), p. 33.

<sup>85</sup> Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, p. 349.

• ***Is Acts historically reliable?***

Many scholars accept the historical reliability of Acts, but some reject it due to differences between Acts and the Pauline letters.<sup>86</sup> However, as I mentioned above with regard to the purpose of Acts, the author of Acts did not need to write in detail in historical terms. Brown<sup>87</sup> believes that the author of Acts wrote selectively and that the general historicity of Acts should not be rejected because of minor incorrectness in historical terms. In particular, even though the author of Acts provides biographical details that Paul never mentions, one cannot suspect the historicity of Acts on this account. If a biographical detail in Acts does not overlap with the purpose of the Pauline letters, is there any reason why Paul should have mentioned it? Furthermore, I. H. Marshall,<sup>88</sup> admitting that there are points of tension between Luke's statement about Paul and his own writings, contends that the points of tension "are not so substantial as to make us dismiss Acts as unhistorical".

Some scholars also find fallacies in Acts in historical terms. However, when we consider the accuracy of the information of Luke's knowledge of socio-historical issues, we cannot simply say that Act's historicity is unreliable. Some examples: (1) The author of Acts accurately records several changes in administration of parts of the empire during the period covered by his history; (2) The author of Acts shows details of the rights and privileges of Roman citizens; (3) The

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<sup>86</sup> O'Neill, *The Theology of Acts*, p. 26, says that the author of Luke-Acts ignored Paul's letters.

<sup>87</sup> Brown, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, pp. 320-321.

<sup>88</sup> Marshall, *The Acts of the Apostles*, p. 43.

description of the Gentile world which forms the background of Paul's mission agrees with the contemporary lifestyle of the Graeco-Roman world.<sup>89</sup>

Lastly we should keep in mind that, although the purpose of Acts is closely linked to history, the author selected and wrote events to suit his intention.<sup>90</sup> Thus, it is better to call the author of Acts an evangelist, not a historian.

• **Outline of Acts.** In the discussion of the purpose of Acts, I have already indicated that the author wishes to show the expansion and spreading of the gospel (Jews → Gentiles and Holy Land → the entire world). This is also evident in the structure of Acts.<sup>91</sup> In order to show this, the author begins with the last speech of Jesus Christ and then from Chap. 2 to 28 depicts the spreading of the word of God in terms of two pivotal cities, namely Jerusalem and Rome.<sup>92</sup> W. Marxsen<sup>93</sup> divides Acts as follows:

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<sup>89</sup> Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, pp. 354-355.

<sup>90</sup> R. N. Longenecker, *The Ministry and Message of Paul* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1971), p. 14, asserts:

Luke, it is true, varies considerably from the modern historian. In his work there is no citing of authorities, no striving for completeness, and no interaction with competing viewpoints. He presents his material in dramatic vignettes, which serve to present not so much a single picture as a series of glimpses. He is more interested in impressions than in the establishment of cause and effect nexuses. And what he does present often leaves his readers grasping for the unifying theme by which to integrate the whole (as witness the continuing debate on the purpose of Luke in writing).

<sup>91</sup> Kistemaker, *The Acts of the Apostles*, p. 34.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Brown, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, p. 280; Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles*, pp. 119-123

<sup>93</sup> W. Marxsen, *Introduction to the New Testament: An Approach to Its Problems* (Oxford: Blackwell & Philadelphia: Fortress, 1968), p. 167.

**The first section** (Chaps. 1-12): Peter is the main figure – the Ascension, the replacement of Judas, Pentecost, the beginning of the Church, the depiction of the spreading of the Church and its life in Jerusalem, the first persecution of the Church, the martyrdom of Stephen, and the beginning of the Gentile mission in Samaria and Syria.

**The second section** (Chaps. 13-38): Paul is the main figure – Paul’s missionary journeys.

Furthermore, Marxsen’s division also shows the spreading of the gospel from Jerusalem, through the whole of Judea and Samaria to Rome, which signifies the end of the earth; even though in this division there are strange overlaps, e.g., Paul’s conversion (Chap. 9) and Cornelius’ conversion by Peter (Chap. 10), since Peter was an apostle of the Jews and Paul was an apostle of the Gentiles.

What I wish to point out is that the whole structure of Acts is based on Acts 1:8. Therefore, on the basis of the structure of Acts indicated by the scholars mentioned above (e.g., Brown, Marxsen, Marshall, Fitzmyer, and Kistemaker), I wish to outline the structure of Acts as follows:

**Introduction** (1:1-26)

1. Jesus’ last orders and ascension to heaven (1:1-11)
2. Awaiting the Spirit and reconstitution of the Twelve (1:12-26)

**Mission in Jerusalem** (2:1-8:1a)

1. The Pentecost event and Peter’s discourse (2:1-36)
2. Reception of the message and Jerusalem communal life (2:37-45)
3. Peter’s miracle, discourse, and persecution of the Apostles (3:1-5:42)
4. Commission of the seven and Stephen’s discourse and martyrdom (6:1-8:1a)

**Mission in Samaria and Judea** (8:1b-12:25)

1. Dispersal from Jerusalem and Philip and Peter in Samaria (8:1b-25)
2. Philip and the Ethiopian eunuch on the Gaza Road (8:26-40)
3. The call of Saul (9:1-31)
4. Peter’s initial mission to the Gentiles (9:32-11:18)

5. Antioch, Jerusalem, and Herod's persecution (11:19-12:25)

#### **Mission of Barnabas and Saul Converting Gentiles; Approval at Jerusalem (13:1-15:35)**

1. Mission of Barnabas and Saul in Asia Minor (13:1-14:28)
2. Jerusalem conference (15:1-35)

#### **Mission of Paul to the ends of the earth (15:36-28:31)**

1. The separation between Paul and Barnabas and Paul's Second Journey (15:36-18:22)
2. Paul's Third Journey (18:23-20:38)
3. Paul in Jerusalem (21:1-26:32)
4. Journey to Rome as a prisoner and Paul at Rome (27:1-28:31)

### **2.1.2. Outline of Acts 21:37-22:22**

The background of Acts 21:39 and 22:3 is Jerusalem: Paul wants to show his loyalty to Judaism, since some Jews thought that Paul taught "all the Jews who live among the Gentiles to turn away from Moses, telling them not to circumcise their children or live according to our customs". However, Paul's intended plan fails when fanatics start a riot, claiming that he has defiled the holy place by bringing Gentiles into the temple. Paul is saved from the rioters by the intervention of a Roman commander and soldiers. Paul then has an opportunity to defend himself before the people. This account of Paul's defence consists of three parts:

- 1. Paul requested to make a speech (21:37-22:2)**
  - A. By the commander to address the people (21:37-40)
  - B. By the people to listen Paul's speech (22:1-2)
- 2. Paul's speech in his defence (22:3-21)**
  - A. A description of Paul's training as a zealous Jew (22:3-5)
  - B. Paul's experience at Damascus (22:6-11)
  - C. Ananias and his help (22:12-16)
  - D. Paul's vision in the temple (22:17-21)
- 3. The people's response (22:22)**

In particular, Acts 21:39 and 22:3a refer to Paul's birthplace, each for a different reason. In the case of Acts 21:39, Paul mentions his birthplace in order to assure the commander that he was not an Egyptian revolutionary. In the case of Acts 22:3a, Paul mentions his birthplace as part of the opening of his defence.

### 2.1.3. Exegetical remarks on Acts 21:39 and 22:3a

*Ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπος μὲν εἰμι Ἰουδαῖος* (21:39); *Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἀνὴρ Ἰουδαῖος* (22:3). Even though Paul is a Christian missionary, he still identifies himself to the commander by his ethnic background, thereby implying that he is not the *Αἰγύπτιος*.<sup>94</sup> In the instance of Acts 21:39, the word *μὲν* adds weight to the affirmation in Paul's statement.<sup>95</sup> In particular, we have to note that Paul uses the present tense *εἰμι* to describe his relationship to Judaism.<sup>96</sup>

*Ταρσεὺς τῆς Κιλικίας, οὐκ ἀσήμου πόλεως πολίτης* (21:39); *γεγεννημένος ἐν Ταρσῶ τῆς Κιλικίας* (22:3). Describing *Ταρσεὺς* as *οὐκ ἀσήμος πόλις*, Paul refers to his birthplace. Some scholars insist that Luke's statement that Paul was born in Tarsus is not reliable.<sup>97</sup> Although

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<sup>94</sup> E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971), p. 620; Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles*, p. 700.

<sup>95</sup> C. K. Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998), p. 1026.

<sup>96</sup> W. H. Willimon, *Acts* (Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching, Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1988), p. 166.

<sup>97</sup> Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul: His Story*, p. 2, insists that Paul was a Galilean by birth. In particular, he refers to Jerome's assertion in this regard. Jerome is the only author to assert Paul's Galilean origin. According to later tradition in Jerome, Paul came to Tarsus with his parents as prisoners of war from Gischala in Galilee (*Commentaria in Epistolam ad Philemon*, vv. 23-24 and *De viris illustribus* 5). Murphy-O'Connor accepts Jerome's assertion, because, according to him, Jerome derived Paul's Galilean origin



such critical voices have been raised, most scholars accept that Paul was indeed born in Tarsus.<sup>98</sup> Paul's claim to be *οὐκ ἀσήμευ πόλεωσ πολίτησ* is a good description of Tarsus (21:39). It means that Paul was not only a native of Tarsus (which we might have deduced from Acts 9:30 and 11:25), but that he had also been a citizen of a notable metropolis.<sup>99</sup> Bruce,<sup>100</sup> connecting this to Paul's Roman citizenship (Acts 22:28), claims that his Roman citizenship placed him among the elite of the citizens of Tarsus. Kistemaker<sup>101</sup> states that Paul's claim that he is *οὐκ ἀσήμευ πόλεωσ πολίτησ* was not trifling, since Tarsus was the capital of Cilicia (Acts 9:11; 22:3; 23:34) and a university city that ranked with Athens.<sup>102</sup> In addition, since Tarsus had a big fertile plain, it was able to make its citizens prosperous.<sup>103</sup> That Tarsus was a prosperous city in Paul's time, is also confirmed by what Dio Chrysostom writes to the Tarsians:

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from a source whose credibility is strengthened by the fact that its original creation profited no one; W. C. van Unnik, *Tarsus or Jerusalem: The City of Paul's Youth*, trans. G. Ogg (London: Epworth Press, 1962), questions whether Paul really came from Tarsus, but does not deny that Paul was born in Tarsus. His question is how long Paul stayed in Tarsus. His answer is that Paul stayed in Tarsus only briefly.

<sup>98</sup> Kistemaker, *The Acts of the Apostles*, p. 780; Bornkamm, *Paul*, p. 3; Hengel, *The Pre-Christian Paul*, pp. 1-6. E. P. Sanders, *Paul* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 8, accepts that Paul was a Jew from Tarsus, and says that, although the date of his birth is unknown, he was probably born about the same time as Jesus; otherwise, Goodspeed, *Paul*, p. 2, states that Paul was born about A.D. 10-15 in Tarsus; H. Montefiore, *Paul: The Apostle* (London: Fount Paperbacks, 1981), p. 18, states that Paul came from a Hellenistic city, namely, Tarsus.

<sup>99</sup> Dunn, *The Acts of the Apostles*, p. 290.

<sup>100</sup> Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles*, p. 399.

<sup>101</sup> Kistemaker, *The Acts of the Apostles*, p. 775.

<sup>102</sup> Marshall, *The Acts of the Apostles*, p. 352, states that Paul's statement is a reference to his status in a self-governing city to which he was proud to belong.

<sup>103</sup> F. F. Bruce, *Paul: Apostle of the Free Spirit* (Exeter: The Paternoster Press, 1985), p. 35. In the fourth century B.C., Xenophon called Tarsus "a great and prosperous city".

[Y]our home is in a great city and you occupy a fertile land, because you find the needs of life supplied for you in greatest abundance and profusion, because you have this river flowing through the heart of your city, and because, moreover, Tarsus is the capital of all the people of Cilicia (*Discourses* 33.17).

Much evidence about Tarsus from the ancient world supports the statement *οὐκ ἀσήμου πόλεως πολίτης*. We can accept that, if Paul had no proof of his own identity, he would not have made the claim of Tarsian citizenship.<sup>104</sup> Furthermore, since Tarsus was included into the Roman system when Pompey reorganised Asia Minor in B.C. 63, and had a good relationship with Augustus because of its positive attitude to Rome, in the period between Pompey and Augustus, Roman citizenship was conferred to a large number of citizens of the city.<sup>105</sup> Accordingly, Roman citizenship was continually conferred, at least to leading personalities. As the leading families grew, the number of Roman citizens increased proportionally. This is important in that it offers the simplest explanation for Paul's inherited Roman citizenship (Acts 22:27-8).<sup>106</sup> If so, we can argue that, since Paul's family had Roman citizenship, Paul's father must have been a leading personality in Tarsus. If Paul's family had merely emigrated from Judea to Tarsus a couple of years before Paul's birth, neither he nor his father would have been Tarsians, but merely residents.<sup>107</sup> However, as many scholars point out, it should be conceded

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<sup>104</sup> W. M. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1925), p. 31.

<sup>105</sup> Hengel, *The Pre-Christian Paul*, p. 5.

<sup>106</sup> Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul: His Story*, pp. 3-4.

<sup>107</sup> Ramsay, *St. Paul*, pp. 31-32. However, Barrett, *The Acts of the Apostle*, p. 1027,

that it is not really possible to determine exactly how Paul's father acquired Roman citizenship.<sup>108</sup>

#### **2.1.4. Significance of Tarsus as Paul's birthplace**

Many scholars insist that the main background of the pre-Damascus Paul's thought was Hellenistic. The reason for such a view is that Paul was born in Tarsus. Actually, Tarsus was a centre of Greek culture, as well as a prosperous city. Even though Tarsus is insignificant today, in Paul's time its favourable situation for trade and commerce had made it a flourishing Hellenistic city.<sup>109</sup> This raises the question as to which kind of education Paul received, and where. Murphy-O'Connor<sup>110</sup> answers this question by saying that Paul would have received a secular education by going to "the University of Tarsus". This was a fortress of Stoicism. Inevitably, therefore, Paul could hardly have escaped from its influence, even if he did not study it. In the debate between scholars on the key to Paul's thought and life, J. Jeremias,<sup>111</sup> asserting that neither Paul's Hellenistic background nor his Jewish upbringing provide the key to his thought and life, believes that Paul was indeed born in Tarsus in Cilicia, probably in the first years of the Christian era, and that Paul no doubt came to know various cults in that Hellenistic city and cultural

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states that "Paul (Luke) uses πολίτης in a loose sense: resident in, rather than enrolled citizen of, Tarsus".

<sup>108</sup> Hengel, *The Pre-Christian Paul*, p. 11.

<sup>109</sup> Bornkamm, *Paul*, p. 3.

<sup>110</sup> Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul: His Story*, pp. 5-6.

<sup>111</sup> J. Jeremias, "The Key to Pauline Theology", *ExpTim* 76 (1964/65), pp. 27-30. He asserts: "Neither the mystery religions nor the emperor cult nor Stoic philosophy nor lastly an alleged pre-Christian Gnosticism constitute the native soil of the Apostle" (p. 28).

centre, and that he was familiar with emperor worship and probably came in contact with certain philosophical schools there, in particular with the Stoics. Thus we find influences of this background in Paul's letters.<sup>112</sup>

Indeed, how dominant was the influence of the Hellenistic background on Paul? J. M. G. Barclay<sup>113</sup> schematically represents the different ways in which Jewish identity can be described in the first century AD in terms of three categories: assimilation, acculturation and accommodation.

Assimilation	Acculturation	Accommodation	
Abandonment of key Jewish social distinctiveness	Scholarly expertise	Submersion of Jewish cultural uniqueness	↑ Integrative
Gymnasium education	Familiarity with Greek literature, rhetoric, philosophy and theology	Reinterpretation of Judaism	
Attendance at Greek athletics/theatre	Acquaintance with common moral values	Preserving some uniqueness	↓ Oppositional
Social life confined to the Jewish community	No facility in Greek	Antagonism to Graeco-Roman culture.	

According to Barclay,<sup>114</sup> one can measure the various categories and then determine whether someone who came from a Jewish lineage was really Jewish in terms of mentality and psychology. Furthermore, Barclay tries to determine how Paul can be described in terms of these models.

<sup>112</sup> J. W. Drane, *Paul* (Herts: Lion Publishing, 1976), p. 14, states that the general influence of this kind of Hellenistic city is probably enough to explain the two references to Greek literature which we find in Paul's letters and sermons: a reference to the poet Epimenides, and to Aratus (Acts 17:28; Titus 1:12).

<sup>113</sup> J. M. G. Barclay, "Paul among Diaspora Jews: Anomaly or Apostate?", *JSNT* 60 (1995), pp. 92-111.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 105.

The result is that, apart from the parts of assimilation and accommodation, Paul took a lower position than Philo in terms of acculturation. In addition, Barclay insists that in comparison with Apollos, *4 Maccabees*, Philo and even Josephus, Paul's is not a polished rhetoric, and concludes that it does not seem that Paul had more than a rudimentary knowledge of Greek literature or philosophy either. S. K. Stowers<sup>115</sup> also makes claims similar to that of Barclay:

Paul's Greek educational level is roughly equivalent to that of someone who had primary instruction with a *grammaticus* or a 'teacher of letters' and then had studied letter writing and some elementary rhetorical exercises.

On the other hand, Hengel<sup>116</sup> is of the totally different opinion on this matter:

Paul speaks Greek in an idiosyncratic way, but at the same time has such a masterly control of the language that he is hardly likely to have learned it as a second language. His treatment of the text of the Greek Bible is also so sovereign that we may assume that he grew up with it, using later versions revised on the basis of the original Hebrew text in Isaiah, Job, and 1 Kings.

Becker<sup>117</sup> also asserts that, if we consider Paul's extensive quotations from the LXX, we cannot regard Paul's Greek as just on a marginal

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<sup>115</sup> S. K. Stowers, "Romans 7.7-25 as a Speech-in-Character (προσωποποιία)", in *Paul in his Hellenistic Context*, edited by T. Engberg-Pedersen (London/New York: T&T Clark International, 1994), p. 181.

<sup>116</sup> Hengel, *The Pre-Christian Paul*, p. 35.

<sup>117</sup> Becker, *Paulus*, p. 55.

assimilation level. With regard to Paul's rhetoric, D. F. Tolmie<sup>118</sup> asserts that it is best understood if one deduces it from the letters itself, instead of forcing ancient categories on it.

Thus we cannot simply conclude that Paul's Greek was on an elementary level. We have to take into account at the same time that he did not follow an ancient formative rhetoric style; he had his own idiosyncratic style. Furthermore, Bornkamm,<sup>119</sup> referring to the diatribe form, i.e., a lively conversational style in short sentences with direct address taking up the imaginary objections of the opponents, mentions that the diatribe form is present in many sections of Paul's letters. Thus, we can say that Hellenistic influence on Paul was probably extensive.<sup>120</sup>

## 2.2. Judaism

*Are they Hebrews? So am I. Are they Israelites? So am I. Are they Abraham's descendants? So am I (2 Cor. 11:22).*

*...Though I myself have reasons for such confidence. If anyone else thinks he has reasons to put confidence in the flesh, I have more: circumcised on the eighth day, of the people of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew of Hebrews; in regard to the law, a Pharisee; as for zeal, persecuting the church; as for legalistic righteousness, faultless (Phil. 3:4-6).*

*For you have heard of my previous way of life in Judaism, how intensely I persecuted the church of God and tried to destroy it. I was advancing in Judaism beyond many Jews of my own age and was extremely zealous for the traditions of my fathers (Gal. 1:13-14).*

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<sup>118</sup> D. F. Tolmie, *Persuading the Galatians: A Text-Centred Rhetorical Analysis of a Pauline Letter* (WUNT 2.190, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005).

<sup>119</sup> Bornkamm, *Paul*, p. 9.

<sup>120</sup> J. Plevnik, *What Are They Saying about Paul?* (New York/Mahwah: Paulist Press, 1986), p. 7.

I will focus particularly on Phil. 3:4-6, since Gal. 1:13-14 will be dealt with in Chap. 3. 2 Cor. 11:22 is similar to Phil. 3:4-6, but I am convinced that Phil. 3:4-6 is the most promising for understanding the pre-Damascus Paul.

### **2.2.1. Introductory issues of the Letter to the Philippians**

• ***Who wrote the Letter to the Philippians?*** In general, most scholars accept that Paul wrote the Letter to the Philippians. This has been challenged only rarely. G. H. Hawthorne<sup>121</sup> and P. T. O'Brien<sup>122</sup> present good reasons for Pauline authorship: In Phil. 1:18-24 the author discloses his inner feeling; in 1:12-13 he describes his present situation; in 2:19-24 he presents the names of his friends and co-workers; in 3:5-6 he shares autobiographical information; in 4:15, 16 he refers to gifts sent to him from Philippi to Thessalonica and elsewhere (cf. Acts 17:1-9; 2 Cor. 8:1-5). These pictures coincide precisely with what we know of Paul from other sources (e.g., Acts and Galatians). J. B. Lightfoot<sup>123</sup> quite correctly states that, in this letter, Paul's person and teaching appear with a force and a definiteness which carry thorough conviction. H. C. Thiessen<sup>124</sup> points out that the language of the letter "is not only genuinely Pauline, but has a warmth, frankness, and artlessness about it

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<sup>121</sup> G. F. Hawthorne, *Philippians* (WBC 43, Waco: Word Books, 1984), pp. xxvii-xxviii.

<sup>122</sup> P. T. O'Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians* (NIGTC, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), p. 9.

<sup>123</sup> J. B. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul's Epistle to the Philippians* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1878), p. 74.

<sup>124</sup> H. C. Thiessen, *Introduction to the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1943), p. 248.

that could not be imitated”,<sup>125</sup> furthermore, the alleged doctrinal differences between the letter and undisputed Pauline letters are purely imaginary.

However, Hawthorne<sup>126</sup> and O’Brien<sup>127</sup> refer to some scholars who believe that the Letter to Philippians does not belong to the Pauline corpus.<sup>128</sup> By means of a sophisticated computer program, they tried to calculate the frequency of *καί* in each sentence, and then concluded that the Letter to Philippians was not written by Paul. However, their method and view are criticised by H. K. McArthur, who rejects their view for many reasons (e.g., 1. The majority of Greek letters is too brief to investigate the consistency of the frequency of *καί*. 2. One cannot always be sure that Greek letters were actually written by the people whose names are linked to it, since quite a number of the extant Greek letters may be pseudonymous. 3. In the case of Paul, ‘computer criticism’ is invalidated by the possibility that Paul used different secretaries, therefore the frequency of *καί* could not be consistent.).<sup>129</sup>

In conclusion, most scholars believe that the Letter to Philippians was written by Paul.

### • ***Where and when was the Letter to the Philippians written?***

First of all, we need to consider Paul’s situation when he wrote the letter

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<sup>125</sup> Hawthorne, *Philippians*, p. xxviii; O’Brien, *Philippians*, p. 9.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xxviii.

<sup>127</sup> O’Brien, *Philippians*, p. 10

<sup>128</sup> For example, A. Q. Morton and J. McLeman, *Paul, the Man and the Myth: A Study in the Authorship of Greek Prose* (New York; Harper and Row, 1966), found that there is a remarkable consistency in the use of *καί* in certain Greek prose texts.

<sup>129</sup> H. K. McArthur, “*Kai* Frequency in Greek Letters”, *NTS* 15 (1968–69), pp. 341–343.



in order to decide the place and the date. Paul himself provides some information about his own situation when he wrote the letter:

1. His imprisonment (1:7, 13, 17).
2. The reference to members of the palace guard where he was imprisoned (1:13) and to Christians among Caesar's household (4:22).
3. The reference to the possibility that he might die (1:19-21; 2:17).
4. The hope that he also will be saved (1:24-25; 2:25).
5. The reference to Timothy being with him (1:1; 2:19-23).
6. The reference to Christians with different motives in this area; some envious of him who have been emboldened to speak the word of God (1:14-18).
7. Contacts between him and Philippi through messengers:
  - a. The Philippians knew of his imprisonment.
  - b. The Philippians sent Epaphroditus with a gift (4:15); but staying with Paul, he became ill, even to the point of death (2:26, 30).
  - c. The Philippians knew of Epaphroditus' illness.
  - d. Epaphroditus heard that his illness distressed the Philippians.
  - e. Paul had sent or is now sending Epaphroditus back to Philippi (2:25-30).
  - f. Paul hopes to send Timothy (2:19-23) to Philippi, and indeed to come himself (2:24).<sup>130</sup>

There are three theories about the place and the date.

**Caesarea (A.D. 58-60):** All the items could fit Caesarea as place of origin. However, according to item 6, Paul's imprisonment caused many to become courageous to preach the gospel, but this presupposes that there was a church of some size in Caesarea.<sup>131</sup> However, as far as we know, this was not the case. For example, W. Marxsen<sup>132</sup> contends that "there

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<sup>130</sup> Brown, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, pp. 493-494; Hawthorne, *Philippians*, p. xxxvii.

<sup>131</sup> Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, p. 527, believes that there was a church in Rome sufficiently large and of sufficiently diverse composition to split up into factions over Paul and his teaching (see p. 528; Hawthorne, *Philippians*, p. xxxviii.).

<sup>132</sup> Marxsen, *Introduction to the New Testament*, p. 64.

is no evidence of a church in Caesarea". The greatest difficulty for Caesarea as place of origin is item 7. The reason is that the distance (900–1,000 miles) from Caesarea to Philippi is very far. Thus it would not be easy to travel from Caesarea to Philippi.<sup>133</sup>

**Rome (A.D. 61–63):** Almost all items could fit Rome as place of origin. In particular, according to item 2, the reference to members of the palace guard (1:13) is best understood as a reference to the emperor's personal bodyguard set in Rome.<sup>134</sup> However, the distance from Rome to Philippi causes difficulty, as was the case with Caesarea.<sup>135</sup>

**Ephesus (A.D. 54–56):** Ephesus as possible place of origin fits item 7 the best. The distance from Ephesus to Philippi was about 400 miles. For this reason, Brown<sup>136</sup> believes that an Ephesian origin makes the most sense. G. S. Duncan<sup>137</sup> also asserts that an Ephesian origin makes the most sense, since, according to him, Paul had been in prison in Ephesus. Nevertheless, there are difficulties with the theory of an Ephesian origin. Paul mentions that the church is divided into factions, and that someone is pleased with his misfortune (Phil. 1:15–16). This situation does not match the church in Ephesus, where the church had been founded by Paul and was under his control.<sup>138</sup> In addition, there was the collection for the poor saints at Jerusalem, when Paul's ministry in Ephesus was

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<sup>133</sup> Brown, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, p. 494.

<sup>134</sup> O'Brien, *Philippians*, p. 20; Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, p. 527.

<sup>135</sup> Brown, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, p. 495; Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, pp. 528–529.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 496.

<sup>137</sup> G. S. Duncan, "Paul's Ministry in Asia - The Last Phase", *NTS* 5 (1956–57), pp. 211–218.

<sup>138</sup> E. F. Scott, "The Epistle to the Philippians", in *The Interpreter's Bible XI*, edited by G. A. Buttrick (New York: Abingdon Press, 1955), p. 6.

almost closed. If so, why did Paul not mention the collection in the letter, despite the fact that the collection was such a huge concern for him, and was mentioned in every other letter which had been written during this period?<sup>139</sup> Furthermore J. J. Muller,<sup>140</sup> E. F. Scott<sup>141</sup> and O'Brien<sup>142</sup> reject an Ephesian origin because of the absence of decisive and definite evidence of Paul's imprisonment in Ephesus.

In conclusion, a Roman origin is a stronger possibility than a Caesarean one. The fact that the grounds for disputing a Roman origin are far from conclusive and Acts' silence on an imprisonment in Ephesus supports a Roman origin.<sup>143</sup> If we accept that the letter belongs to the period at the end of Paul's life when he was imprisoned in Rome (Acts 28), the letter would have been written in A.D. 61-63.

• ***Was the Letter to the Philippians one, two, or three letters?*** Brown<sup>144</sup> summarises the viewpoints of scholars who believe that the Letter to the Philippians was originally two or three letters:<sup>145</sup>

<i>Two original letters</i>	<i>Three original letters</i>
1. 3:1b-4:20. 2. 1:1-3:1a+4:21-23.	1. 4:10-20. 2. 1:1-3:1a+4:4-7, 21-23. 3. 3:1b-4:3+4:8-9.
G. Bornkamm, E. Goodspeed, J. Gnilka, L. E. Keck	F. W. Beare, J. A. Fitzmyer, R. H. Fuller, H. Koester, E. Lohse, W. Marxen, W. Schmithals.

<sup>139</sup> Hawthorne, *Philippians*, p. xxxix; O'Brien, *Philippians*, p. 23.

<sup>140</sup> J. J. Muller, *The Epistle of Paul to the Philippians and to Philemon* (NICNT, Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1955), p. 25.

<sup>141</sup> Scott, "The Epistle to the Philippians", p. 6.

<sup>142</sup> O'Brien, *Philippians*, p. 22.

<sup>143</sup> Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, p. 535; O'Brien, *Philippians*, p. 26.

<sup>144</sup> Brown, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, p. 497.

<sup>145</sup> See also Hawthorne, *Philippians*, pp. xxx-xxxi; I. H. Marshall, *The Epistle to the Philippians* (EC, London: Epworth Press, 1991), p. xxxi.

There are several reasons why the letter can be regarded as composed of two or three original letters. Firstly, there is an abrupt shift in 3:1 (“Finally, my brothers, rejoice in the Lord! It is no trouble for me to write the same things to you again, and it is a safeguard for you”) with a change in tone. In particular, from 3:2 on wards a quite different tone is found. In addition, the word “Finally” in 3:1 could be an indication that the author is about to finish his letter. Secondly, in 4:10-20 Paul expresses thanks for a gift from the Philippians through Epaphroditus. However, in 2:25-30 he mentions the return of Epaphroditus to the Philippians without referring to this gift. This does not seem logical.

However, the major reason why the unity of the letter should be accepted is that there are rare Pauline vocabularies and a community of ideas shared by the proposed two or three letters. In particular, with regard to the most problematic disjunction between Chap. 2 and 3, D. E. Garland,<sup>146</sup> contending that 1:23-4:3 is a literary unit, believes that there are significant parallels between 2:6-11 and 3:20-21 in terms of

<sup>146</sup> D. E. Garland, “The Composition and Unity of Philippians”, *NovT* 27 (1985), pp. 141-173.

2:6, 7	μορφῇ, μορφήν	3:20	σύμμορφον
2:6	ὑπάρχων	3:20	ὑπάρχει
2:7	σχήματι	3:21	μετασχηματίσει
2:8	ἐταπεινώσεν	3:21	ταπεινώσεως
2:10, 11	ἵνα ... πᾶν γόνυ κάμψη καὶ πάσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσῃται	3:21	τοῦ δύνασθαι αὐτὸν καὶ ὑποτάξαι αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα
2:11	κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός	3:21	κύριοι Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν
2:11	δόξαν	3:21	τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ

vocabulary and concepts. Furthermore, T. E. Pollard<sup>147</sup> asserts that there are thematic connections throughout the letter.

• ***Why was the Letter to the Philippians written?*** There are several reasons why the letter was written:<sup>148</sup>

1. Paul had a deep affection for the Philippians (cf. 4:1).
2. Paul wanted to let the Philippians know about his present situation and the prospects for his future.
3. Paul wanted to let the Philippians know about an erroneous Jewish-based belief and pleaded with them to follow him and his teaching (3:2-21).
4. Even though the Philippians suffered because of their rejection of the message of the Jewish missionaries, Paul wanted to encourage them to stand firm for the faith of the gospel (cf. 1:27-30).
5. Paul wanted to let the Philippians know about Epaphroditus.
6. Paul wanted the Philippians to be unified (1:27; 2:2-4; 4:2).
7. Paul wanted to exhort the Philippians to rejoice regardless of any circumstances (2:18; 3:1; 4:4).
8. Paul wanted to express his thanks for a gift from the Philippians (4:10-20).

• ***Outline of the Letter to the Philippians.*** On the basis of the structure proposed by the scholars mentioned above (e.g., Hawthorne, O'Brien, and R. P. Martin), I want to outline the structure of the Letter to the Philippians as follows:

**Introduction** (1:1-11)

1. Address and salutation (1:1-2)
2. Thanksgiving, confidence and prayer (1:3-11)

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<sup>147</sup> T. E. Pollard, "The Integrity of Philippians", *NTS* 13 (1966-67), pp. 57-66.

<sup>148</sup> Cf. R. P. Martin, *The Epistle of Paul to the Philippians: An Introduction and Commentary* (TNTC, Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1991), pp. 42-45; Hawthorne, *Philippians*, pp. xlvii-xlviii; O'Brien, *Philippians*, pp. 35-38; Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, pp. 524-526.

#### **News and exhortations (1:12-2:30)**

1. News about Paul's own situation and his prospects (1:12-26)
2. Exhortations for the Church concerning unity and humility (1:27-2:18)
3. News about Timothy and Epaphroditus (2:19-30)

#### **Warning and encouragements (3:1-21)**

1. Paul's warning and claim (3:1-3)
2. Paul's autobiography (3:4-14)
3. Paul's call for unity in conviction and conduct (3:15-17)
4. Warning against sectarian teachers (3:18-19)
5. The Christian's true inheritance (3:20-21)

#### **Exhortations to harmony, joy and mental soundness (4:1-9)**

#### **Appreciation of the Philippians' gifts (4:10-20)**

#### **Greetings and benediction (4:21-23)**

### **2.2.2. Outline of Phil. 3:4-14**

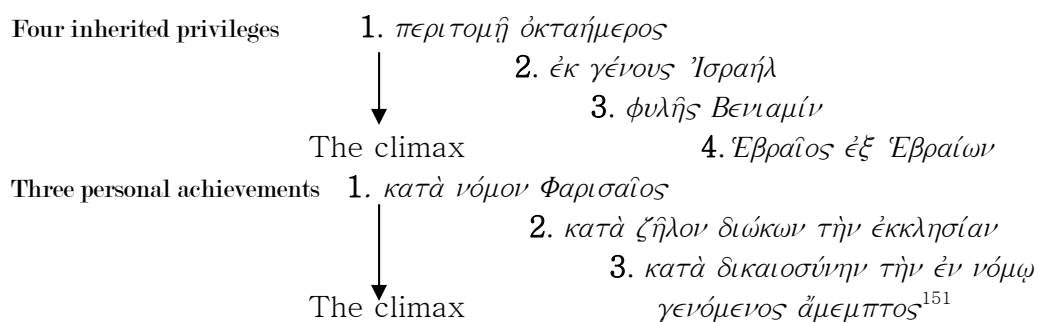
Paul changes his tone from mild to rough in 3:1 to express his anxiety about his opponents. He begins by warning against the false teaching and then refers to his own experience and life as a model which the Philippians have to follow. In 3:1-3 he warns them against boasting in the flesh and circumcision. In 3:4-14 he reinforces his warning against false teaching by means of a reference to his past and present life.

By reference to his past life in 3:4-6, Paul intends to show that he himself is not a frustrated person lashing out in envy because of his own lack of resources or achievements. Nevertheless, he recognises that, in fact, he had nothing, since he did not have Christ.

Having contrasted the Christian's boast in Christ Jesus and confidence based on the flesh, Paul lists elements of his own Jewish identity and personal achievements in relation to the law in 3:4-6. The reason why he presents elements of his own Jewish identity and personal

achievements is that he tries to diminish the status of his opponents by implicitly blaming them for not being his equal.<sup>149</sup>

O'Brien<sup>150</sup> points out that in Phil. 3:5–6 Paul lists seven advantages (four inherited privileges and three personal achievements), and, both in the case of the four inherited privileges and the three personal achievements, there is a movement towards a climax:



[I]n the first, from membership in the nation Israel to the particular tribe of Benjamin and then to the climax of Paul's being brought up in a family that was strictly observant of the Jewish way of life. In the second set the first statement concerns Paul being a Pharisee in relation to the law, and the climax is reached in the assertion about his blamelessness in regard to righteousness under the law. In the first set of statements (together with the opening reference to circumcision), which refers to Paul's background and upbringing, the emphasis is placed upon what God had graciously given to Paul, while in the second set his own personal achievements are in view. (p. 369.)

### 2.2.3. Exegetical remarks on Phil. 3:4-6

*καίπερ ἐγὼ ἔχων πεποίθησιν καὶ ἐν σαρκί:* In v. 4, Paul shifts from the plural subject *ἡμεῖς* in v. 3 to an emphatic *ἐγώ*. In other words, Paul

<sup>149</sup> Hawthorne, *Philippians*, p. 130.

<sup>150</sup> O'Brien, *Philippians*, pp. 368–369.

<sup>151</sup> I modified O'Brien's diagram into a more understandable and detailed one.

wants to say something personally. Furthermore, the plural appears again in v. 15.<sup>152</sup> Actually the key words in v. 4 are *πεποίθησιν καὶ ἐν σαρκί* (confidence in the flesh). Paul mentions *πεποίθησιν καὶ ἐν σαρκί* as his own pedigree and achievements. Lightfoot<sup>153</sup> states that Paul, for the moment, places himself on the same footing as the Judaizers. However, Paul does not only place himself on the same footing as the Judaizers, but also places himself on better footing than the Judaizers. The word *ἔχων* means that Paul *actually* possesses *πεποίθησιν καὶ ἐν σαρκί*.<sup>154</sup>

*εἴ τις δοκεῖ ἄλλος πεποιθέναι ἐν σαρκί ἐγὼ μᾶλλον*: Paul indicates that his grounds for boasting in his own pedigree and achievements are in fact greater than the credentials any Judaizer could produce. Actually he attempts to show that he himself outstrips the Judaizers in terms of “confidence in the flesh” by using the word *μᾶλλον* with the omission of *δοκῶ ἄλλος πεποιθέναι ἐν σαρκί*. Furthermore, by using the expression *τις ... ἄλλος*, whether or not he regards the Judaizing opponents as a comparative target, he makes it clear that no one can equal his qualifications.<sup>155</sup> In other words, not only has Paul the true ground for such confidence in the flesh; compared to ordinary Jews, he has superior grounds for such confidence.<sup>156</sup>

*περιτομῇ ὀκταήμερος*: By this phrase Paul identifies himself as a

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<sup>152</sup> O’Brien, *Philippians*, p. 366.

<sup>153</sup> Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 145.

<sup>154</sup> M. R. Vincent, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Philippians and to Philemon* (ICC, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1979), p. 95; O’Brien, *Philippians*, p. 367; Lightfoot, *St. Paul’s Epistle to the Philippians*, p. 145.

<sup>155</sup> O’Brien, *Philippians*, pp. 367–368.

<sup>156</sup> Vincent, *Philippians and Philemon*, p. 95; Marshall, *Philippians*, p. 83; Hawthorne, *Philippians*, p. 132.



genuine Israelite. He was a real Israelite unlike Ishmael or his descendants – circumcised in his thirteenth year (Gen. 17:25), or a contemporary proselyte – circumcised as an adult.<sup>157</sup> Furthermore, the fact that Paul was circumcised on the eighth day shows that even though his parents lived in a Hellenistic city, they were not assimilated into the Hellenistic culture, but still adhered to the Jewish religion and tradition. Thus we can regard the parents as conservative Jews. Even though they lived in a Hellenistic city, we can assume that they made him grow up in the Jewish tradition in that they made him learn the Jewish language, religion and culture at home and synagogue.<sup>158</sup>

*ἐκ γένους Ἰσραήλ*: By this phrase Paul identifies himself not as a child of proselytes, but as a direct Israelite descendant.<sup>159</sup> It means that Paul possessed all the rights and privileges of God’s chosen people which his opponents possessed.<sup>160</sup> In particular, Lightfoot<sup>161</sup> states that *Ἰσραήλ* indicates the people in terms of the theocratic covenant. While the name “Jew” was used by Gentiles in derogatory terms, the names “Israel” and “Israelite” were used to indicate God’s people who possessed privileges and high religious claims.<sup>162</sup>

*φυλῆς Βενιαμίν*: In addition, Paul also indicates from which tribe

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<sup>157</sup> O’Brien, *Philippians*, pp. 369–370; Martin, *Philippians*, p. 145; Vincent, *Philippians and Philemon*, p. 96; Hawthorne, *Philippians*, p. 132.

<sup>158</sup> Kim, *The Origin of Paul’s Gospel*, p. 35f.

<sup>159</sup> Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 146, states that *ἐκ γένους Ἰσραήλ* means that Paul’s parents were not grafted into the covenant people, but descended from the original stock.

<sup>160</sup> Hawthorne, *Philippians*, p. 132.

<sup>161</sup> Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 146.

<sup>162</sup> O’Brien, *Philippians*, p. 370

he was.<sup>163</sup> Many scholars refer to the fact that Benjamin, the son of Jacob's favourite wife Rachel, was the only son born in the promised land (Gen. 35:16–18), that Israel's first king belonged to the tribe of Benjamin (1 Sam. 4:1, 2), that this tribe was alone faithful to Judah at the separation under Rehoboam (1 King 12:21), and that this tribe remained pure against the inroads of pagan culture.<sup>164</sup> Therefore, it seems as if Paul describes himself very proudly as *φυλῆς Βενιαμίν*.<sup>165</sup>

**Ἑβραῖος ἐξ Ἑβραίων:** The phrase *Ἑβραῖος ἐξ Ἑβραίων* means that Paul was a Hebrew born of Hebrew parents, that there was no pagan blood in his veins, and that he was brought up to speak the Hebrew language.<sup>166</sup> In Acts 6:1 this word probably refers to Jews who normally spoke Aramaic with one another and who probably attended synagogues where the service was conducted in Hebrew in contrast to the Jewish Hellenists who spoke only Greek.<sup>167</sup> However, Marshall<sup>168</sup> cautions that the difference between the Hellenistic Greek-speaking Jews and the Hebrews Aramaic-speaking Jews must not be exaggerated, and that we certainly cannot draw a rigid boundary between the two groups. It is

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<sup>163</sup> Bruce, *Paul: Apostle of the Free Spirit*, p. 41.

<sup>164</sup> Vincent, *Philippians and Philemon*, p. 96; Hawthorne, *Philippians*, pp. 132–133; Marshall, *Philippians*, pp. 83–84; O'Brien, *Philippians*, pp. 370–371.

<sup>165</sup> Bruce, *Paul: Apostle of the Free Spirit*, p. 41, states:

The people of Benjamin naturally tended to lose their tribal identity, but some at least did not allow it to be obliterated, and even after the return from exile there were re-settlements both in Jerusalem and in the adjacent Judaeian territory of people who continued to be known distinctively as “the children of Benjamin” (Nehemiah 11:7–9, 31–36). It was probably from some of these that Paul's family traced its descent.

<sup>166</sup> C. F. D. Moule, “Once More, Who Were the Hellenists?” *ExpTim* 70 (1958–59), pp. 100–102; Martin, *Philippians*, p. 146.

<sup>167</sup> O'Brien, *Philippians*, p. 371; Bruce, *Paul*, pp. 42–43; Hawthorne, *Philippians*, p. 133.

<sup>168</sup> Marshall, *Philippians*, p. 84.

better to accept that the Hebrew Aramaic-speaking Jews tended to be more traditional-Jewish in their ways, since with the language there went a *modus vivendi* and a way of thinking.<sup>169</sup> Bruce<sup>170</sup> claims that in the Pauline letters, as certainly in Luke's works, *Ἑβραῖος* is probably a more specialised term than "Israelite" or "Jew". In addition, Paul may be adding a further dimension by the reference to *Ἑβραῖος ἐξ Ἑβραίων*, namely that his parents, who had brought him up to speak Hebrew and Aramaic, also avoided any assimilation to Gentile customs and culture in their Tarsus environment, and that his parents' upbringing was irreproachable.<sup>171</sup>

*κατὰ νόμον Φαρισαῖος*: Paul starts by enumerating three personal achievements. The first one of three personal achievements is the fact that he is a *Φαρισαῖος*. The word *Φαρισαῖος* appears only in v. 5 outside the Gospels and Acts. Paul refers to his own lifestyle, standard, and criterion through the phrase *κατὰ νόμον Φαρισαῖος*. The phrase means that Paul has lived in, with, and under the law.

If so, to which school of Pharisaism did Paul belong? Drane<sup>172</sup> believes the reason why Paul was soon sent away from Tarsus to the centre of the Jewish world, Jerusalem, was that Paul wanted to become a student of the learned Rabbi (or teacher) Gamaliel, who was the grandson and successor of the great Rabbi Hillel (about B.C. 60–A.D. 20). To my

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<sup>169</sup> Vincent, *Philippians and Philemon*, p. 97, comments that, since in the Apocrypha and the New Testament the word "Hebrew" is used almost exclusively in the Aramaic vernacular, the difference between a Hellenistic Jew and Hebrew was only one of language.

<sup>170</sup> Bruce, *Paul: Apostle of the Free Spirit*, p. 42.

<sup>171</sup> O'Brien, *Philippians*, pp. 371–372; M. Silva, *Philippians* (BECNT, Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1992), p. 177.

<sup>172</sup> Drane, *Paul*, p. 16.

mind, this fact could indeed have attracted Paul since, at that time the Pharisees had much authority. Wright<sup>173</sup> criticises Sanders' view<sup>174</sup> that in the first century the Pharisees were a small religious group, based only in Jerusalem, with little political significance, practising their own limited agendas and not being much interested in the major movements of the day. Wright claims that, at that time, the Pharisees had wider concerns than private or ritual purity, for these concerns often embraced political and revolutionary actions. Therefore the idea of a self-contained Jerusalem-based group with little influence and not much interest in who was doing what elsewhere, is out of the question. That is why we can assume that Pharisaism had enough attraction to draw Paul to Jerusalem. Thus Paul probably became a student of Gamaliel. However, that Paul belonged to the school of Hillel has been called into question. J. Neusner<sup>175</sup> suggests that Gamaliel did not associate with the school of Hillel, but that his thought was more connected to the school of Shammai; therefore the references to the "members of the House of Gamaliel" may indicate his own "House" which he himself conducted. Kim,<sup>176</sup> in

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<sup>173</sup> N. T. Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God* (London: SPCK, 1992), pp. 185–203.

<sup>174</sup> E. P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (London: SCM Press, 1985), esp. pp. 309–318, is of the opinion that the Pharisees did not play the main role in Jesus' death, while the fact that the Pharisees were involved in Jesus' death cannot be excluded. In particular, Hawthorne, *Philippians*, p. 133, states that the Pharisees were a small religious group in Paul's day.

<sup>175</sup> J. Neusner, *The Rabbinic Traditions about the Pharisees before 70* (Leiden: Brill, 1971), pp. 1:341–376.

<sup>176</sup> According to Kim, *The Origin of Paul's Gospel*, pp. 42–43, Paul belonged to the school of Shammai that refused to make any place for the Gentiles in the purposes of God; thus there is no ground to accept that Paul would have been engaged in Gentile mission. However, to my mind, the fact that Paul belonged to the school of Shammai has no bearing on the fact that Paul did not engage in a Gentile mission.

particular, emphasising the word ζήλος (Gal. 1:14; Phil. 3:6), believes that Paul belonged to the school of Shammai. In conclusion, Wright<sup>177</sup> claims that even though some scholars attempt to put Paul in the school of Hillel, Paul reflects the ζηλωτής of the school of Shammai. However, according to Wright, the fact that after Paul's conversion he changed his mind in several notable respects, becoming in some extents apparently closer to Hillel, is scarcely surprising.<sup>178</sup>

Anyway, in v. 5 as his first personal achievement Paul does not refer to κατὰ νόμον Φαρισαίος as something negative, but as a title of honour, a claim to the highest degree of faithfulness and sincerity to the law.<sup>179</sup>

κατὰ ζήλον διώκων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν: Actually, Paul was not satisfied only with the observance of the law. As a second achievement he mentions that he persecuted the church κατὰ ζήλον. In fact, v. 6 does not state explicitly that his persecution of the church was evidence of his zeal for the law and the ancestral traditions. However, in the light of Paul's statement in Gal. 1:13–14, it is certain that Paul persecuted the church as a result of his zeal for the law and the ancestral traditions.<sup>180</sup> To understand Paul's ζήλος in relation to his activities as a persecutor, it

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<sup>177</sup> Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God*, p. 202.

<sup>178</sup> The two schools of Pharisees, namely those of “Hillel and Shammai”, were greatly concerned about Israel's liberation and maintenance of purity. The school of Hillel was “happier to leave the issue to Israel's God”, whereas the school of Shammai was “eager to become the zealous agent of the divine action”. However, both were devout and political; they simply had different ways of putting the two things together (*Ibid.*, p. 201). Therefore, such a way of classification as that “the school of Hillel was liberal; the school of Shammai was conservative”, is not really helpful.

<sup>179</sup> Hawthorne, *Philippians*, p. 134.

<sup>180</sup> O'Brien, *Philippians*, p. 375.

is helpful to turn to *1 Maccabees* chap. 2 that tells of the circumstance of the commencement of the Maccabean Revolt. Officers of Antiochus Epiphanes were sent to Modin to organise an idolatrous sacrifice to compel the people to commit apostasy, and to depart from the law of God. Mattathias proudly declared that he would not obey the king's commands and that God would save his family from surrendering the law and the ordinances (*1 Macc.* 2.20–21). However, not everyone showed the same determination. A Jew approached the altar to make a sacrifice. When Mattathias saw it, he burned with zeal and his heart was stirred. So he ran and killed the Jew upon the altar, and he also killed the king's officer who was compelling them to sacrifice, and tore down the altar. Thus he burned with zeal for the law, as Phinehas did against Zimri the son of Salom. Then Mattathias cried out in the city loudly and fled to the hills (*1 Macc.* 2.24–29). In particular this act of Mattathias as well as that of Phinehas became the prototype for people having zeal for the law. Phinehas was the priest who, at Shittim, with a thrust of a spear killed the Israelite and the Midianite woman who were indulging in sacred prostitution. This outstanding proof of zeal secured for him the promise of a priesthood which could never be lost to him or his descendants (cf. Num. 25:1–18; *Sir.* 45.23; *1 Macc.* 2.26, 54; *4 Macc.* 18.12).<sup>181</sup>

Thus, in this sense, Paul's persecution *κατὰ ζήλον* would have

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<sup>181</sup> W. R. Farmer, *Maccabees, Zealots, and Josephus: An Inquiry into Jewish Nationalism in the Greco-Roman Period* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1973), pp. 177–180, comparing Mattathias' act with Phinehas' act, claims that in Phil. 3, "Paul makes this connection between zeal and active persecution of transgressors of the Law quite explicit when, in describing his former high achievements within Judaism, he writes, 'As to zeal, a persecutor of the church' (*kata zelos diokon ten ekklesian*)" (p. 178 n. 6).

been regarded not as evil, but as something good. In other words, according to the pre-Damascus Paul's thought (esp. Pharisaic thought), his persecution of the church *κατὰ ζήλον* was just, right, and good.

*κατὰ δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐν νόμῳ γενόμενος ἄμεμπτος*: As the third achievement Paul refers to himself as *κατὰ δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐν νόμῳ γενόμενος ἄμεμπτος*. This means that, if *δικαιοσύνη* is understood as referring to obedience to external rules that are considered to be the requirements of God, Paul observed the law's requirement scrupulously.<sup>182</sup> In other words, Paul's conscience did not trouble him.<sup>183</sup> This statement leaves no place for the modern view according to which Rom 7 reflects the pre-Damascus Paul as someone who had an uneasy and dissatisfactory conscience.<sup>184</sup>

#### **2.2.4. The problem of Paul's upbringing in Jerusalem**

Some scholars believe that Phil. 3:5 and Gal. 1:22 contradict Acts 22:3. By referring to the statements according to which Paul was proud of his Jewish heritage and referred with pride to his Jewish identity,<sup>185</sup> W. C. van Unnik<sup>186</sup> argues that Paul was not only educated but also nurtured in

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<sup>182</sup> Hawthorne, *Philippians*, p. 134; O'Brien, *Philippians*, p. 379.

<sup>183</sup> Marshall, *Philippians*, p. 85.

<sup>184</sup> See 4.1 in Chapter 2.

<sup>185</sup> A. Deissmann, *Paul: A Study in Social and Religious History*, trans. W. E. Wilson (Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1972), p. 97, notes that if anyone had denied that Paul was a Jew, the scars left by the hands of the synagogue jurisdiction would have been painful proof of his membership. Deissmann, providing much proof, claims that Paul's thinking is Jewish; J. S. Stewart, *A Man in Christ: The Vital Elements of St. Paul's Religion* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1962), p. 83, claims that no one could rival Paul in enthusiasm for the spiritual heritage of his people (Gal. 1:14).

<sup>186</sup> Van Unnik, *Tarsus or Jerusalem*, p. 301. Bruce, *Paul: Apostle of the Free Spirit*, p. 43, also believes that Acts 22:3 is the most acceptable description of Paul's career.

Jerusalem.<sup>187</sup> He interprets Acts 22:3<sup>188</sup> as that Luke used a biographical structure through the three participles *γεγεννημένος*, *ἀνατεθραμμένος*<sup>189</sup> and *πεπαιδευμένος*. Based on this, Van Unnik accepts that Paul’s parents moved from Tarsus to Jerusalem with Paul when he was still a small child:<sup>190</sup>

This removal took place quite early in Paul’s life, apparently before he could peep round the corner of the door and certainly before he went roaming on the street (p. 301).

However, Bornkamm<sup>191</sup> is of the different opinion. He accepts that Acts 22:3 implies that Paul’s parents moved to Jerusalem while Paul was still a small child, but claims that Luke’s reference to Paul’s move to

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Especially, the last part of Acts 22:3, “under Gamaliel I was thoroughly trained in the law of our fathers and was just as zealous for God as any of you are today”, is in essential agreement with Paul’s more general statement in Gal. 1:14: “I was advancing in Judaism beyond many Jews of my own age and was extremely zealous for the traditions of my fathers.” Accordingly, Bruce assumes that Paul entered the school of Gamaliel at some point in his teenage, but that his parents saw to it that even his earlier boyhood was spent under wholesome influences in Jerusalem. However, J. Knox, *Chapters in a Life of Paul* (New York/Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1950), pp. 34–36, points out that Paul never claims that Gamaliel was his teacher, and that the only convincing proof of Paul’s Jewishness is the one he provided, namely, the zeal with which he observed the commandments: as to righteousness under the law he was “blameless” (Phil. 3:6; cf. Gal. 1:14). To my mind, even though Paul never claims that Gamaliel was his teacher, at least Acts 22:3; 23:6; 26:5 are consistent. In particular, Bruce, *Paul: Apostle of the Free Spirit*, p. 44, maintains that the description “a son of Pharisees” in Acts 23:6 means that his father or even remoter ancestors were associated with the Pharisees; it is just possible, though less probable, that “a son of Pharisees” means “a pupil of Pharisees”.

<sup>187</sup> Longenecker, *The Ministry and Message of Paul*, p. 22.

<sup>188</sup> Ἐγὼ εἶμι ἀνὴρ Ἰουδαῖος, γεγεννημένος ἐν Ταρσῷ. τῆς Κιλικίας, ἀνατεθραμμένος δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ παρὰ τοὺς πόδας Γαμαλιήλ, πεπαιδευμένος κατὰ ἀκρίβειαν τοῦ πατρῴου νόμου, ζηλωτῆς ὑπάρχων τοῦ Θεοῦ, καθὼς πάντες ὑμεῖς ἐστε σήμερον·

<sup>189</sup> Kistemaker, *The Acts of the Apostles*, pp. 780–781, states that *ἀνατεθραμμένος* refers to the mental and physical nurture of a child.

<sup>190</sup> Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, pp. 624–625; Kistemaker, *The Acts of the Apostles*, pp. 780–781; Marshall, *The Acts of the Apostles*, pp. 353–354.

<sup>191</sup> Bornkamm, *Paul*, p. 3



Jerusalem so early reveals Luke's inclination to make Paul a complete Jew and connect him with Jerusalem as closely and early as possible.<sup>192</sup> Furthermore, Bornkamm<sup>193</sup> suggests that if Luke's statement had been real, Paul would certainly have mentioned Jerusalem in his account himself in Phil. 3:5. Bornkamm, therefore, concludes that Luke's statement is less plausible. Furthermore, many scholars agree with Bornkamm's view due to the difference between Acts 22:3 and Paul's statement in Gal. 1:22. Knox<sup>194</sup> argues strongly that, in cases of conflict between Paul's letters and the Acts of the Apostles, priority must be given to the letters against the Acts of the Apostles.

However, despite scholarly questioning of Luke's statement, I cannot find any contradiction between Phil. 3:5 and Acts 22:3, because it is not necessary for Paul to mention Jerusalem in Phil. 3:5. What Paul claims in Phil. 3:5 is that if he had confidence in the flesh before God, as a true and full-blooded Jew, he would have possessed personal advantages greater than any other authentic Jew who considered that he had grounds for boasting in himself.<sup>195</sup> Thus, it was not necessary for Paul to mention Jerusalem. In particular, as I indicated above, in the climactic structure of Phil. 3:5-6 there is no position for Jerusalem, since the structure does not consist of birth and upbringing, but of inherited privileges and personal achievements.<sup>196</sup> Because Bornkamm did not

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<sup>192</sup> Knox, *Chapters in a Life of Paul*, p. 34.

<sup>193</sup> Bornkamm, *Paul*, p. 3.

<sup>194</sup> Knox, *Chapters in a Life of Paul*, p. 32.

<sup>195</sup> Hawthorne, *Philippians*, p. 132.

<sup>196</sup> See p. 54.

consider the purpose and structure of Phil. 3:5–6, I cannot accept his view.

The differences between Acts 22:3 and Gal. 1:22 still remain. However, I think that those who believe that there is a contradiction between Acts 22:3 and Gal. 1:22 are wrong. In Gal. 1:22 Jerusalem is not mentioned, only *Ἰουδαία*. F. F. Bruce<sup>197</sup> and R. N. Longenecker<sup>198</sup> state that in both Gal. 1:22 and 1 Thess. 2:14, *Ἰουδαία* indicates the whole of the Roman province of Judea, which, including Jerusalem, embraced the districts of Judea, Samaria, and Galilee (cf. Acts 9:31). Therefore, to my mind we cannot insist that Luke’s statement in Acts 22:3 contradicts Paul’s statements in Phil. 3:5 and Gal. 1:22. In addition, I want to raise two questions to those who believe that Luke’s statements are not reliable. Firstly, despite the present widespread tendency to question almost everything that Luke says, why do those scholars who question the authenticity of Luke’s statements accept as trustworthy the information that Paul was born in Tarsus? Secondly, if Luke strongly intended to make Paul an out-and-out Jew as those argue who reject Acts 22:3 as unhistorical, believe, why did Luke mention that Paul was born in Tarsus (Acts 21:39)? Rather, if Luke really had intended to make Paul an out-and-out Jew, he would not have mentioned Paul’s birth in Tarsus. Especially, if one keeps in mind that the background of Acts 22:3

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<sup>197</sup> F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Galatians: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), p. 103. He refers to “the churches of Judea” (plural), and interprets it as that Paul indicates “the churches of Judea” in a province or more extensive area.

<sup>198</sup> R. N. Longenecker, *Galatians* (WBC 41, Dallas: Word Books, 1990), p. 41.

is Jerusalem, it is clear that the latter phrase means “in Jerusalem”. There is, therefore, no reason why we should not accept the authenticity of Luke’s statements.

I believe that the most important aspect among Paul’s biographical statements in Philippians is that Paul regarded himself as a Pharisee. A. Oepke<sup>199</sup> comments about the relationship between Jerusalem and Paul, by posing two questions: (1) “Wenn also Paulus allem Anschein nach rabbinische Hochschulbildung besessen hat – wo war solche in dieser frühen Zeit sonst zu finden, als in Jerusalem?”; (2) “Kann man sich einen Pharisäer strenger Observanz (Phil. 3,5) außer Zusammenhang mit dem Mutterlande denken?” While Bornkamm<sup>200</sup> is of the opinion that Palestine Judaism was different from Diaspora Judaism (Hellenistic Judaism),<sup>201</sup>

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<sup>199</sup> A. Oepke, “Probleme der vorchristlichen Zeit des Paulus”, in *Das Paulusbild in der neueren deutschen Forschung*, edited by K. H. Rengstorf with U. Luck (WdF 24, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1982), p. 444. See n. 204.

<sup>200</sup> Bornkamm, *Paul*, pp. 10-11.

<sup>201</sup> H. J. Shoeps, *Paul: The Theology of the Apostle in the Light of Jewish Religious Thought*, trans. H. Knight (London: Lutterworth Press, 1961), pp. 213, 217, thinks that Paul’s Judaism reflects Diaspora Judaism, and that Paul succumbed to a characteristic distortion of classical Judaism because of his Hellenistic environment. C. G. Montefiore, *Judaism and St. Paul: Two Essays* (London: Max Goschen Ltd, 1914), pp. 76, 92-112, who believes that Paul had not known Palestinian Judaism but another kind of Judaism, accepts that the Judaism which Paul knew and opposed was not leading Rabbinic Judaism but a poorer form of Judaism, namely, Hellenistic Judaism. J. Parkes, *Jesus, Paul and the Jews* (London: SCM Press, 1936), pp. 123-124, also believes that Paul attacked not Rabbinic but Diaspora Judaism. J. Munck, *Paul and the Salvation of Mankind* (London: SCM Press, 1959), pp. 264-265, makes a distinction between Palestine Judaism and Hellenistic Judaism in terms of the concern for the Gentiles. However, Davies and Sanders think that Paul’s Judaism was almost the same as Palestinian Judaism. Davies identifies two kinds of scholars. On the one hand, some scholars, such as Holtzmann, Morgan, Bousset and Reitzenstein, insist that Paul had been deeply influenced by the syncretistic religious movements of his period; on the other hand other scholars, such as Schweitzer, insist that Paul has to be interpreted in exclusively Jewish terms (Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, pp. 1-16; Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*). To my mind, Davies and Sanders are right, since in the first century Palestine had been under Hellenistic influence already, and, accordingly, it is

Paul attached himself to the Pharisees, that is to say, to the most strictly orthodox school of thought both in manner of life and in observance of the law (esp. circumcision<sup>202</sup>) (Phil. 3:5-6).

In addition, what we should note is that Paul himself never mentions Greek or pagan influences. Instead he makes many statements about his Jewish background and upbringing.<sup>203</sup> We can accept with Jeremias<sup>204</sup> that Judaism was the “native soil” of Paul, who recalls in Phil. 3:5 that he is a Hebrew born of Hebrews and that he had been a Pharisee

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very difficult to make a distinction between Palestine Judaism and Hellenistic Judaism (cf. M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period*, 2 vols. [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974]). Therefore, Longenecker, *The Ministry and Message of Paul*, p. 25, states correctly:

The old distinction between an orthodox homeland and a liberal Diaspora has not always held true, since the strength of Jewish orthodoxy varied not so much geographically as according to mental climate in a given community or home.

<sup>202</sup> In the first century Jews wanted to keep their own identity. So the importance of circumcision, which played the main role of distinguishing between Jews and Gentiles, was increasing. However, many scholars claim that circumcision could not play the role of distinguishing between Jews and Gentiles, since the practice of circumcision was not found only amongst the Jews. S. J. D. Cohen, *The Beginning of Jewishness: Boundaries, Varieties, Uncertainties* (Berkeley: University of California, 1999), pp. 44-45, maintains that circumcision was practised by ancient people other than the Jews, including Egyptians, Ethiopians, Phoenicians, and Arabs (cf. also A. B. du Toit, “Aspects of Jewish Everyday Religious Life”, in *Guide to the New Testament: The New Testament Milieu*, edited by A. B. du Toit [Johannesburg: Orion, 1997], p. 482). In addition, P. Perkins, *Abraham’s Divided Children: Galatians and the Politics of Faith* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2001), pp. 9-12, states that some Jews even underwent surgery to conceal the marks of circumcision. However, to my mind the significance of circumcision amongst Jews and non-Jews was quite different.

<sup>203</sup> Drane, *Paul*, p. 17.

<sup>204</sup> Jeremias, “The Key to Pauline Theology”, p. 28; Murphy O’Connor, *Paul: His Story*, p. 1, distinguishes “Israelites” from “Hebrews” (2 Cor. 11:22) and claims that “Hebrew” is often used in the New Testament to mean the language spoken by Jews in Palestine; Hengel, *The Pre-Christian Paul*, p. 27 and J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Times of Jesus* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), p. 248f., suggest the following evidence of Paul’s training in Jerusalem. According to them, before 70 Jerusalem was the unique place for the education which is described in Gal. 1:13, and was distinguished by the advance in Jewish teaching – the same kind of teaching in which Paul surpassed his contemporaries among his people and which made him so extremely zealous for the traditions of the fathers, and led him to become a Pharisaic scholar.

and a zealous follower and proponent of the law (cf. 2 Cor. 11:22; Rom. 11:1).

### **2.3. Conclusion**

Finally, both the fact that Paul himself never mentions Greek nor pagan influences and the fact that he makes many statements about his Jewish background and upbringing, indicate that the main background of the pre-Damascus Paul's thought was Judaism. In particular, we have to admit that the sections in which he refers to his Pharisaic background are very forceful. Phil. 3:4-6 and Gal. 1:13-14, reflecting the pre-Damascus Paul's views, clearly indicate Judaism as the main background of the pre-Damascus Paul's thought. In particular, Paul's statements emphasise his Jewish background.

Hawthorne<sup>205</sup> refers to Phil. 3:4-6 and concludes that even though Paul himself was born in Tarsus outside of Palestine, and therefore could rightly be labelled a Hellenist, this label should be rejected, because Paul was not only the son of Pharisees (Acts 23:6), who was educated precisely in the ways of the Jewish law in Jerusalem under a Hebrew teacher (Acts 22:3), but also gladly adopted the Hebrew language as his own language (Acts 21:40; 22:2), and accepted the customs and manner of life of his forefathers (Acts 26:4-5). Paul, therefore, regarded himself as a Hebrew of Hebrews, one who belonged to the elite of his race and traced his ancestry beyond Tarsus to

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<sup>205</sup> Hawthorne, *Philippians*, p. 133.

Palestine, and as a person who was safeguarded against the influences of Hellenisation by the protective walls of Jewish tradition.

Phil. 3:4-6 and Gal. 1:13-14 indicate that Paul was a true Jew, a Jew by birth. He was different from other Jews, for example, Ishmael who was circumcised when he was thirteen years old (Gen. 17:25) and Gentile proselytes to Judaism who were circumcised as adults. Paul was circumcised on the eighth day by parents who were meticulous in fulfilling the prescriptions of the law.

The dominant background of the pre-Damascus Paul's thought was definitely Judaism, but this does not mean that there were no Hellenistic elements in his thought. Many scholars believe that Paul was a Hellenised Jew; however, thereby they do not so much wish to say that Paul followed a Hellenistic thought pattern, but that he used Hellenistic methods (in particular rhetoric and the use of the Greek Bible). If I may use a metaphor to explain the relationship between Hellenism and Judaism in Paul's thinking: There are two computer word programs in Korea. One is "Microsoft Word" which is the most popular program in the world; the other is "Hangul" which is the most popular program in Korea. If I write an assignment, I can use either of the two programs, but whichever I choose, I will still be writing the same content. I may choose one program in order to explain the content better. Even though I choose a particular program, the content is not changed, but is explained in a better way. Accordingly, we may say that the content is more important than a particular program. The same applies to Paul: The content of his

thinking can be described as basically Jewish and the “program” he sometimes uses to convey this is Hellenistic. Thus Judaism should be viewed as the main background for the pre-Damascus Paul, the “main crater” and Hellenism as the “subsidiary crater”.<sup>206</sup> Of course we do not have exact information in this regard on the pre-Damascus Paul, but from the letters of the post Damascus Paul it can be determined that he used Hellenistic methods, not thoughts.

### **3. Jewish universalism regarding the inclusion of the Gentiles**

In this section, I wish to show that first century Judaism developed various patterns of universalism, that is, various ways in which they thought that Gentiles could be included into the sphere of God’s purposes. In particular, I am going to deal with two representative patterns of Jewish universalism. One is the tradition of an eschatological pilgrimage; the other is that of Gentile proselytism. Since many scholars reject the notion that Judaism was a proselytic religion, I will also indicate that there is a large amount of evidence that Judaism was indeed a proselytic religion.

#### **3.1. The tradition of an eschatological pilgrimage**

The tradition of an eschatological pilgrimage is very closely linked to Jewish restoration eschatology.<sup>207</sup> This eschatology follows the following pattern: dispersion among the Gentiles, oppression by nations, and

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<sup>206</sup> See n. 21 in Chapter. 1.

<sup>207</sup> Cf. E. P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism*, pp. 77–119.

unfaithfulness to the covenant within Israel ⇒ restoration of Israel's position. The following illustrations will indicate how this thought manifests in Jewish literature:

1. Israel's enemies will be subverted:<sup>208</sup>

For God Most High will surge forth, the Eternal One alone. In full view will he come to work vengeance on the nations. Yea, all their idols will he destroy (*T. Mos.* 10.7).<sup>209</sup>

*Introduction to the Testament of Moses*

**1. The main character of the book:** The book is the farewell exhortation given by "Moses" to his chosen successor Joshua before his death and Israel's entrance into the promised land. In particular, there is a dialogue between Moses and Joshua.

**2. The contents of the book:** The book refers to the fall of Jerusalem, the reunion of all Israel in the land of their exile, the return from captivity, the rebuilding of Jerusalem, a renewed apostasy, the partial destruction of the temple, and Israel's restoration.

**3. The religious teachings of the book:** The book gives the answer to the question as to what the attitude of a religious Jew ought to be over against persecution. In particular, the book criticises the use of force, in contrast to the Zealots. The book, therefore, is a document proclaiming Jewish quietism.<sup>210</sup>

**4. The date of the book:** There are three opinions: (1) In the first half of the second century A.D.;<sup>211</sup> (2) 168-165 B.C.;<sup>212</sup> (3) In the first century A.D., before the fall of Jerusalem.<sup>213</sup> It seems as if the book was written in A.D. 1-30, since the author of the book, referring to Herod's sons, does not refer to their reign.<sup>214</sup>

<sup>208</sup> This thought appears in Isa. 29:8; 54:3; Joel 3:9-21; *4 Ezra* 12.31-33; 13.37-38; *1 Bar.* 4.25, 31, 35; *2 Bar.* 39.7-40.2; *Ps. Sol.* 17.24; *1 En.* 91:9; *1QM* 12.10-11.

<sup>209</sup> J. Priest, "Testament of Moses: A New Translation and Introduction", in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments*, edited by J. H. Charlesworth (London: Darton, 1983), p. 1:932.

<sup>210</sup> R. F. Surburg, *Introduction to the Intertestamental Period* (London: Concordia Publishing House, 1975), pp. 139-140. R. H. Charles, "The Assumption of Moses", in *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, edited by R. H. Charles (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913), p. 2:411, suggests that the author of the book was a Pharisaic quietist.

<sup>211</sup> S. Zeitlin, "The Assumption of Moses and the Bar Kokhba Revolt", *JQR* 38 (1947/48),



## 2. Jerusalem will be restored and glorified:<sup>215</sup>

And I stood up to see till they folded up that old house; and carried off all the pillars, and all the beams and ornaments of the house were at the same time folded up with it, and they carried it off and laid it in a place in the south of the land. And I saw till the Lord of the sheep brought a new house greater and loftier than that first, and set it up in the place of the first which had been folded up: all its pillars were new, and its ornaments were new and larger than those of the first, the old one which he had taken away, and all the sheep were within it (*1 En.* 90.28-29).<sup>216</sup>

### *Introduction to the First Book of Enoch*

**1. Composite character of the book:** R. H. Charles<sup>217</sup> divides *1 Enoch* into five parts: Chapters 1-36 (the book of the watchers); 37-71 (the book of the similitudes); 72-82 (the book of astronomical writings); 83-90 (the book of dream visions); 91-105 (the epistle of Enoch).

**2. The contents of the book:** Section I refers to God's judgement toward the angels, or watchers who fell in love with the daughters of men; section II, three similitudes, or apocalyptic revelations; section III provides a kind of treatise on astronomy; section IV refers to the problem of sin, the suffering of Israel, and the foundation of the new Jerusalem; section V denounces evil and proclaims woes to sinners and promises blessings to the righteous.<sup>218</sup>

**3. The date of the book:** According to the consensus of critical scholars:<sup>219</sup>

Apocalypse of weeks	91:12-17; 93:1-10	Early pre-Maccabean
Fragments of Enochic visions	12-16	Early pre-Maccabean
Fragments of the Book of Noah	6-11; 106f.	Late pre-Maccabean

pp. 1-45.

<sup>212</sup> J. Licht, "Taxo, or the Apocalyptic Doctrine of Vengeance", *JJS* 12 (1961), pp. 95-103.

<sup>213</sup> Charles, "The Assumption of Moses", p. 411; J. Priest, "Testament of Moses", pp. 1:920-921.

<sup>214</sup> Surburg, *Introduction to the Intertestamental Period*, p. 139.

<sup>215</sup> This thought appears in Isa. 60:1-22; Jer. 31:23; *1 En.* 90:28-29; *1 Bar.* 5:1-4; *2 Bar.* 4:2-4; *Ps. Sol.* 17:30b-31.

<sup>216</sup> R. H. Charles, "The Book of Enoch", in *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, edited by R. H. Charles (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913), p. 2:259. In *1 En.* 90:28-29 the expression "new house" is used to describe the restored Jerusalem. Furthermore the thought that the new Jerusalem would descend from heaven is a familiar idea in Jewish Apocalypses (cf. *4 Ezra* 7:26; 8:36; *2 Bar.* 32:2).

Independent fragment	105	? Pre-Maccabean
Dream visions	83-90	165-161 B.C.
Book of heavenly luminaries	72-82	110 B.C.
Similitudes	37-71	105-64 B.C.
Later additions to dream visions	91:1-11, 18, 19; 92; 94-104	105-104 B.C.
Introductory chapters	1-5	Late pre-Christian

3. The dispersed exiles will be gathered at Zion,<sup>220</sup> where they will enjoy a life of peace and prosperity:<sup>221</sup>

And afterward they will turn to me from among the nations with all their heart and with all their soul and with all their might. And I shall gather them from the midst of all the nations. And they will seek me so that I might be found by them. When they seek me with all their heart and with all their soul, I shall reveal to them an abundance of peace in righteousness. And with all my heart and with all my soul I shall transplant them as a righteous plant. And they will be a blessing and not a curse (*Jub.* 1.15-16).<sup>222</sup>

#### *Introduction to the Book of Jubilees*

**1. The contents of the book:** The author of the book of Jubilees reworked the story of the history of Israel from the creation up to the time of the giving of the law at Mount Sinai. The book thus supplements the Biblical stories found in the canonical Genesis.

**2. The outline of the book:**

<sup>217</sup> R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch* (London: SPCK, 1952), pp. 31, 56, 95, 129.

<sup>218</sup> Surburg, *Introduction to the Intertestamental Period*, pp. 142-143.

<sup>219</sup> R. H. Charles, "The Book of Enoch", pp. 2:170-171. E. Isaac, "1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch: A New Translation and Introduction", in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments*, edited by J. H. Charlesworth (London: Darton, 1983), p. 1:7, is convinced that *1 Enoch* already contained the Similitudes by the end of the first century A.D.

<sup>220</sup> This thought appears in Jer. 31:1-25; Ezek. 20:33-44; 34:13; Zech. 8:7-8; *1 Bar.* 4.36-37; *Ps. Sol.* 11.1-3; *Jub.* 1.15a; *4 Ezra* 13.39-47; *Apoc. Abr.* 31.1

<sup>221</sup> This thought appears in Isa. 61:6; Joel 2:26; Amos 9:13-15; *1 En.* 90.33; *Jub.* 1.15b-16; *Sib. Or.* 3.702-704.

<sup>222</sup> O. S. Wintermute, "Jubilees: A New Translation and Introduction", in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments*, edited by J. H. Charlesworth (London: Darton, 1985), p. 2:53.

- A. Introduction: 1
- B. Creation and Adam stories: 2-4
- C. Noah stories: 5-10
- D. Abraham stories: 11-23.8
- E. Digression on Abraham's death: 23.9-32
- F. Jacob and his family: 24-45
- G. Moses stories: 46-50<sup>223</sup>

**3. The date of the book:** Charles<sup>224</sup> believes that the book was written between 109 and 105 B.C. before John Hyrcanus' death. However, O. S. Wintermute<sup>225</sup> believes that the date must be set between 161-140 B.C., since the latest events in Jubilees are Judas Maccabeus' wars (not Hyrcanus' war) in 161 B.C.; the wicked priest who is referred in Jubilees is Simon (not Jonathan) in 140 B.C..

4. Yahweh and/or his anointed will be enthroned in universal sovereignty.<sup>226</sup>

Then his kingdom will appear throughout his whole creation. Then the devil will have an end. Yea, sorrow will be led away with him (*T. Mos.* 10.1).<sup>227</sup>

From the above it is clear that Jewish restoration eschatology is first and foremost about Israel. However, for our purposes it is important to note that it also affects the other nations.<sup>228</sup> In other words, our

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<sup>223</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2:35.

<sup>224</sup> R. H. Charles, *Religious Development between the Old and New Testaments* (London: Oxford University Press, 1956), p. 230.

<sup>225</sup> Wintermute, "Jubilees", pp. 2:43-44.

<sup>226</sup> This thought appears in Isa. 24:23; Ezek. 20:33, 40; 34:23-31; 43:7; Mic. 4:6-7; 5:2-4; Zech. 14:8-11; *Jub.* 1.28; *Ps. Sol.* 17.32; *2 Bar.* 40.3; 73.1.

<sup>227</sup> J. Priest, "Testament of Moses", p. 1:931.

<sup>228</sup> Cf. Isa. 2:2-4: "In the last days the mountain of the Lord's temple will be established as chief among the mountains; it will be raised above the hills, and all nations will stream to it. Many peoples will come and say, 'Come, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob. He will teach us his ways, so that we may walk in his paths.' The law will go out from Zion, the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. He will judge between the nations and will settle disputes for many peoples. They will beat

purpose is to look at the position of the other nations in Jewish restoration eschatology. This can, in particular, be seen in the Book of *Tobit*.

*Introduction to the Book of Tobit*

1. **The contents of the book:** On the same day Tobit at Nineveh and Sarah, the daughter of Raguel experience extreme difficulties. Both ask God's help. God answers their prayers, and sends the angel Raphael to help both of them.
2. **The purpose of the book:** The book's purpose is to show religious people the sufferings and trials a good man must endure. If he keeps faith, God will bless him with temporal goods. With this there are also combined instructions (e.g., legal observances, the importance of prayer, chastity, and doing works of mercy).
3. **The date of the book:** B. M. Metzger<sup>229</sup> believes that the book was written by a devout Jew about 190–170 B.C.; D. C. Simpson<sup>230</sup> claims that the book was written at the very earliest 350 B.C.; at the latest 170 B.C., probably much nearer the latter than the former date. M. Waxman<sup>231</sup> is of the opinion that the book was written before the temple of Herod was built, which was about 20 B.C. In general, the view that the book was probably written about 250–175 B.C. is accepted.<sup>232</sup>

In *Tob.* 13.7–18a the author refers to the fact that many nations will come from afar to the name of the Lord God, bearing gifts in their hands, gifts for the king of heaven (v. 11). In particular, chap. 14 mentions the restoration of Israel, the building up of the new Jerusalem, the building

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their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks. Nation will not take up sword against nation, nor will they train for war anymore.”

Take note that “nations” are *ἔθνη* (the Gentiles) in Greek.

<sup>229</sup> B. M. Metzger, *An Introduction to the Apocrypha* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1957), p. 31.

<sup>230</sup> D. C. Simpson, “The Book of Tobit”, in *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, edited by R. H. Charles (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913), p. 1:185.

<sup>231</sup> M. Waxman, *A History of Jewish Literature* (New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1930), p. 1:13.

<sup>232</sup> Surburg, *Introduction to the Intertestamental Period*, p. 105.

up of the house of God in Jerusalem, unlike the first,<sup>233</sup> and then refers to the nations. *Tob.* 14.6–7 states:

And all the nations which are in the whole earth, all shall turn and fear God truly, and all shall leave their idols, who err after their false error. And they shall bless the everlasting God in righteousness. All the children of Israel that are delivered in those days, remembering God in truth, shall be gathered together and come to Jerusalem and shall dwell for ever in the land of Abraham with security, and it shall be given over to them; and they that love God in truth shall rejoice, and they that do sin and unrighteousness shall cease from all the earth.<sup>234</sup>

The tradition of an eschatological pilgrimage appears in the literature of Hellenistic Judaism as well. In the *Sibylline Oracles*, one finds ἔθνος 26 times.

#### *Introduction to the Book of the Sibylline Oracles*

**1. The purpose of the Oracles:** For the purpose of converting people to Judaism, its glorification, fortunes and vicissitudes are foretold. The entire *Sibylline Oracles* consisted of 15 books, of which Books 9, 10, and 15 are lost. In particular, Book 3 is the best one for understanding the manner in which Alexandrian Jews utilised the Jewish faith for propaganda purposes. Book 3 also has predictions about the times of the Messiah.

**2. The contents of the book:** Book 1 refers to the history of the human race, Noah's story, and the life of Christ; Book 2 is patterned after the eschatological discourses of Jesus Christ, and there appear to be echoes of them in this book; Book 3 refers to the building of the tower of Babel, the establishment of Solomon's kingdom, the conquest of Egypt by Rome, the siege of Troy, the conquests of Alexander the Great, and a series of oracles predicting judgements of the nations for their sins of idolatry; Book 4 is a historical outline from the time of Assyria to Alexander the Great; Book 5

<sup>233</sup> In Isa. 56:7–8 (LXX), the house is identified with a house of prayer for all nations (πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν).

<sup>234</sup> Simpson, "The Book of Tobit", p. 1:240.

is the story of the successive emperors from Julius Caesar to Antoninus; Book 6 has only 26 lines in which the Cross is praised; Book 7 is fragmentary; Book 8 has an arithmogram and acrostic – IESOUS CHRISTOS THEOU HUIOS SOTER STAUROS;<sup>235</sup> Book 11 is a historical review from the Flood to the death of Cleopatra; Book 12 is the political review of Book 11; Book 13 is the historical sequence of Book 12; Book 14 is concerned with Roman emperors in vv. 1-283, and with Egypt rather than Rome in vv. 284-360.<sup>236</sup>

**3. The date of the book:** The Christian parts are from a later date and extend to the fifth century A.D.; the complete present text was edited in the sixth century A.D. The date of Book 3 is impossible to determine. However, H. C. O. Lanchester<sup>237</sup> believes that there is no proper reason for doubting that vv. 97-819 were either composed or incorporated by a Jew, probably living in Egypt about 140 B.C. except for a few passages (e.g., 350-355; 464-469; and 776). J. J. Collins<sup>238</sup> suggests that it is most probable that Book 3 was written in the period 163-145 B.C., in view of the remarkable confidence which the Sibyl places in the Ptolemaic kings and of the celebrated relations of Philometor with the Jews.<sup>239</sup>

Book 1-2	In the case of the Christian redaction, no later than A.D. 150
Book 4	A.D. 80 <sup>240</sup>
Book 5	No earlier than A.D. 70; no later than A.D. 132 <sup>241</sup>
Book 6	No later than A.D. 300
Book 7	Within the second and third centuries
Book 8	A.D. 195
Book 11	There is no agreement as to the date
Book 12	No later than A.D. 235
Book 13	A.D. 265
Book 14	No earlier than the third century

The Third Sibyl, with 10, has by far the most occurrences of the word

<sup>235</sup> Surburg, *Introduction to the Intertestamental Period*, pp. 146-147.

<sup>236</sup> J. J. Collins, "Sibylline Oracles: A New Translation and Introduction", in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments*, edited by J. H. Charlesworth (London: Darton, 1983), pp. 1:430, 443, 453, 459.

<sup>237</sup> H. C. O. Lanchester, "The Sibylline Oracles", in *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, edited by R. H. Charles (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913), p. 2:372.

<sup>238</sup> Collins, "Sibylline Oracles", p. 1:355.

<sup>239</sup> Josephus claims that Philometor entrusted his whole realm to the Jews in *Apion* 2.49.

<sup>240</sup> Surburg, *Introduction to the Intertestamental Period*, p. 148, suggests that Book 4 comes from about 80 B.C.

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 148, suggests that Book 5 comes from about 130 B.C.

ἔθνος.<sup>242</sup> That the term normally denotes “nation/s”, often in distinction to the Jews,<sup>243</sup> is generally accepted. In particular, this text is concerned with “all nations who dwell on the earth” (3.518).<sup>244</sup> On that day, “the kings of the nations” will together attack the land (3.663–666; cf. Ezek. 38–39), but God will send judgment upon them (vv. 669–701). Then, all the sons of the great God will dwell securely around his temple, and the nations will come confessing their sins and acknowledging him as God (vv. 702–731). When God announces the beginning of his everlasting kingdom, all the nations will bring “frankincense and gifts to the house of the great God” (vv. 767–795). This text also refers to a large number of individual nations.<sup>245</sup>

*The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* provides a picture of Jewish restoration eschatology and an eschatological pilgrimage. This scheme follows the order: Sin – exile – restoration.

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<sup>242</sup> J. M. Scott, *Paul and the Nations: The Old Testament and Jewish Background of Paul's Mission to the Nations with Special Reference to the Destination of Galatians* (WUNT 84, Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1995), p. 75, indicates the number of occurrences of ἔθνος: Book 8 (4 times); Book 11 (3 times); Books 1, 2, 5, and 14 (2 each); and Book 14 (1 time). He points out that the eschatological restoration of Israel affects all other nations, positively or negatively (p. 72); in particular, the positive sense usually follows the pattern of an eschatological pilgrimage (pp. 73–84), even though *Joseph and Aseneth* is a case of Gentile proselytism in a positive sense (pp. 75–76).

<sup>243</sup> Israel is called “the nation/people of the great God” (*Sib. Or.* 3.194), “a true nation/people” (5.149), “the nation of the Hebrews” (8.141), and “the holy nation” (14.360).

<sup>244</sup> Cf. *Sib. Or.* 11.76 (“every nation of men”); 12.106 (“every nation”).

<sup>245</sup> Cf. *Sib. Or.* 3.172 (Macedonia as “another, great diverse race/nation”), 515 (“many tribes/nations of the Pamphyrians and Lydians”), 516 (Cappadocians and Arabians as “nations of barbarous speech”), 598–599 (“Phoenicians, Egyptians, and Romans, spacious Greece and many nations of others, Persians and Galatians and all Asia”); 5.132 (“the race and savage people/nation of the Tauri”); 8:12 (“nations to the west”); 11.64 (“Median nation”).

### *Introduction to the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*

**1. The value of the book:** The book is characterised by an ethical nature rather than by an apocalyptic one, as “Jacob” gives the 12 sons a moral testament and ethical injunctions before his death. Since the book shows uniformity of format, it is probably that one person could have written it.

**2. The pattern of the book:** The general pattern of the book was given by Gen. 49 and possibly Deut. 33. In each of the testaments to the 12 patriarchs there are three distinct elements: (1) each patriarch’s history (e.g., sin and virtue); (2) a warning against the sins of the heroes in the story; on the other hand, encouragement of their virtues; (3) information of future events in the lives of Jacob’s children (e.g., their apostasies, exile, and the destruction of the temple).

**3. The ethical teaching of the book:** The *Testament of Reuben* warns one against in chastity (Gen. 35:22; 49:4); The *Testament of Simeon* warns against jealousy towards Joseph and his anger toward Judah; The *Testament of Levi* warns against undue violence – the case of the city of Shechem (Gen. 34); The *Testament of Judah*, warns against greed, wine, and women; The *Testament of Issachar* is boastful of Issachar’s accomplishments on the field; The *Testament of Zebulun* demands that one should follow Zebulun’s sympathetic and compassionate personality toward his descendants; The *Testament of Dan* emphasises the importance of avoiding the sins of enmity and falsehood (e.g., his conduct towards Joseph); The *Testament of Naphthali* indicates the importance of striving for harmony in one’s tribe; The *Testament of Gad* admonishes one to love one’s brothers and kinsmen and not to follow his conduct of hating Joseph; The *Testament of Asher* advises one to be honest in all dealings and not be guilty of insincerity; The *Testament of Joseph*, recounts his temptation in Egypt and advises one to be chaste; The *Testament of Benjamin* demands pureness in mind, that one should fight against all temptation to do wrong, and live a life above reproach.<sup>246</sup>

**4. The date of the book:** The use of the LXX suggests that the book was written after 250 B.C., the stage when the LXX had been translated almost completely. Furthermore, the book mentions the combination of prophetic, priestly, and kingly roles in *T. Levi* 18:2 as a reference to John Hyrcanus. The book, therefore, may well have been written during his reign (137–107 B.C.).<sup>247</sup> Furthermore, since the book’s messianic

<sup>246</sup> Surburg, *Introduction to the Intertestamental Period*, pp. 128–130.

<sup>247</sup> R. H. Charles, “The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs”, in *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, edited by R. H. Charles (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913), pp. 2:289–290.



outlook is similar to that of Qumran, the book was possibly written during the Maccabean period which began about 150 B.C.<sup>248</sup>

Let us first look at the pattern of sin-exile. According to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, God promises that if Naphtali's children do good, they will be blessed, "and God will be glorified through you among the gentiles"; otherwise, if they do evil, they will be cursed, "and God will be dishonoured among the gentiles because of him" (*T. Naph.* 8.4, 6). However, Naphatali "predicts" that his sons will live in the wickedness of the gentiles and commit the lawlessness of Sodom (4.1). Many of the patriarchs also "predict" that Israel will indeed sin so grievously that God will thrust them into "exile" among the nations, where they will then become a laughingstock. *T. Levi* 14.1 states:

And now, my children, I know from the writings of Enoch that in the end time you will act impiously against the Lord, setting your hands to every evil deed; because of you, your brothers will be humiliated and among all the nations you shall become the occasion for scorn.<sup>249</sup>

The Levites will commit profane marriage with "daughters of the nations"; the union which will be like Sodom and Gomorrah (14.6). For such sins, the Levities will "have no place that is clean, but will be as a curse and a dispersion among the nations" (16.5), so they will be captives throughout "all the nations" (15.1).<sup>250</sup> Furthermore, the

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<sup>248</sup> H. C. Kee, "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A New Translation and Introduction", in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments*, edited by J. H. Charlesworth (London: Darton, 1983), pp. 1:777-778.

<sup>249</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1:793.

<sup>250</sup> *T. Ash.* 7.3a: "You will be scattered to the four corners of the earth; in the

descendants of Judah will be scattered by their enemies like dogs and enslaved by the Gentiles and become men of alien race for their sin (*T. Jud.* 22.2; 23.2–3).<sup>251</sup> The descendants of Issachar will also be scattered among the nations and enslaved by their enemies for they give up agriculture and pursue evil (*T. Iss.* 6.2). The same situation appears in *T. Zeb.* 9.6; *T. Dan* 5.8; *T. Ben.* 9.4.

With regard to the issue of “restoration”: When *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* portray “restoration”, it is described not only in Israel-centred terms, but also in universal terms. For example, it is said, that on that day, the Lord will turn all nations to being zealous for him (*T. Zeb.* 9.8).<sup>252</sup> God will “save the race of Israel and assemble the righteous from among the nations” (*T. Naph.* 8.3).<sup>253</sup> In *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* the following sentence is used as a refrain: God “will save the tribe of Israel and all the gentiles.”<sup>254</sup> *T. Ben.* 9.2 portrays the final scene as follows:

But in your allotted place will be the temple of God, and the latter temple will exceed the former in glory. The twelve tribes shall be gathered there and all the nations, until such time as the Most High shall send forth his salvation through the ministration of the unique prophet/an only-begotten prophet.<sup>255</sup>

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dispersion you shall be regarded as worthless, like useless water, until such time as the Most High visits the earth.”

<sup>251</sup> On Israel’s enslavement among the nations, see *Jer.* 25:11; *2 Macc.* 1.27; *Apion* 2.125.

<sup>252</sup> Cf. *Tob.* 14.6.

<sup>253</sup> Cf. *Tob.* 13.5.

<sup>254</sup> Cf. *T. Sim.* 7.2 (“He will save all the gentiles and the tribe of Israel”); *T. Ash.* 7.3 (“He will save Israel and all the nations”); *T. Ben.* 3.8 (“... the salvation of the gentiles and of Israel”).

<sup>255</sup> Kee, “Testaments of the Twelve Patriachs”, p. 1:827 (the unique prophet); Charles,

In particular, the *Psalms of Solomon* reflect both positive and negative attitudes toward the nations. On the one hand, the nations will be destroyed<sup>256</sup> and will have no place among the re-gathered people of Israel. On the other hand, the nations will be expected to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, bringing the exiles with them,<sup>257</sup> to experience the mercy of the Davidic king.<sup>258</sup>

#### *Introduction to the Psalms of Solomon*

1. **The purpose of the book:** The purpose of the book is the denunciation of the last of the Maccabean princes for despising the law and allying themselves with the Sadducees.
2. **The contents of the book:** The book is a collection of 18 Psalms: Psalm 1 – the declaration of war and the denunciation of hypocrites; Psalm 2 – the siege of Jerusalem and a description of the conqueror’s death on the sands of Egypt; Psalm 3 – a poem of thanksgiving by the God-fearing; Psalm 4 – a denunciation of hypocrites; Psalm 5 – a prayer for mercy to God; Psalm 6 – a description of the blessedness of righteousness; Psalm 7 – a prayer of Israel in a time of distress, asking God not to remove his tabernacle from their midst; Psalm 8 – the siege of Jerusalem and a denunciation of its sins; Psalm 9 – a petition for forgiveness; Psalm 10 – how the man who takes the chastening of the Lord is blessed; Psalm 11 – the return of the

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“The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs”, p. 2:358 (an only-begotten prophet). The expectation of the eschatological prophet is based on Deut. 18:15 and figures importantly at Qumran (*IQS* 9.10-11; *IQS* 2.11-12).

<sup>256</sup> Cf. *Ps. Sol.* 17.24-25: “To shatter all their substance with an iron rod; to destroy the unlawful nations with the word of his mouth; At his warning the nations will flee from his presence; and he will condemn sinners by the thoughts of their hearts.”

*Jub.* 15.26 has an example of a negative attitude towards the nations: “And anyone who is born whose own flesh is not circumcised on the eighth day is not from the sons of the covenant which the Lord made with Abraham since (he is) from the children of destruction. And there is therefore no sign upon him so that he might belong to the Lord because (he is destined) to be destroyed and annihilated from the earth and to be uprooted from the earth because he has broken the covenant of the Lord our God.”

<sup>257</sup> Cf. *Ps. Sol.* 17.31: “The nations to come from the ends of the earth to see his glory, to bring as gifts her children who had been driven out, and to see the glory of the Lord with which God has glorified her.”

<sup>258</sup> Cf. *Ps. Sol.* 17.34: “The Lord himself is his king, the hope of the one who has a strong hope in God. He shall be compassionate to all the nations reverently before him.”

captives; Psalm 12 – a resemblance with a stanza of Psalm 120; Psalm 13 – the blessedness of the righteous; Psalm 14 – a contrast between believers and sinners on the day; Psalm 15 – asking in trouble; Psalm 16 – a prayer for help to God; Psalm 17 – the chief Messianic passages in the post-Biblical literature of Judaism; Psalm 18 – Christology.

**3. The date of the book:** R. B. Wright<sup>259</sup> claims that the widest limits for dating are between 125 B.C. and the early first century A.D., and the narrow limits would be about 70–45 B.C., due to a reference to Pompey’s invasion and death. R. F. Surburg<sup>260</sup> claims that the book was probably written about 63–40 B.C.

To conclude, according to the tradition of an eschatological pilgrimage, there is only one pattern in the restoration of Israel and the nations: Israel’s sin ⇒ Israel’s exile ⇒ Israel’s restoration ⇒ the nations’ restoration (*not* the nations’ restoration ⇒ Israel’s restoration). We do not have to understand the notion of an eschatological pilgrimage as simply that the nations will turn to God in the last days. According to this view, the salvation of the Gentiles is always closely linked to the restoration of Israel: When the Gentiles see God’s vindication of Israel, they will respond to God and share in Israel’s glory.<sup>261</sup>

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<sup>259</sup> R. B. Wright, “Psalms of Solomon: A New Translation and Introduction”, in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments*, edited by J. H. Charlesworth (London: Darton, 1985), pp. 2:640–641.

<sup>260</sup> Surburg, *Introduction to the Intertestamental Period*, p. 146.

<sup>261</sup> Donaldson, “Israelite, Convert, Apostle to the Gentiles”, p. 78.

## 3.2. The tradition of Gentile proselytism

### 3.2.1. Evidence of the notion of Gentile proselytism

N. J. McEleney<sup>262</sup> divides the foreigners in Israel into two types: those who temporarily dwelled among the chosen people (the זָרִים “outsiders”, or נְכָרִים “foreigners”) and those who were in Israel on a more permanent basis, the גֵּרִים “resident aliens”. Schoeps<sup>263</sup> divides the Gentiles into three categories: The first category is the גֵּר תֹּשֶׁב = *πάροικος, ξένος*: the Biblical squatter, “the alien who dwells in the land”. They were expected to keep their foreign peculiarities, though as long as they lived among Jews, they were obliged to observe a certain minimum of ritual laws, namely the seven Noachitic commands. The second category is the שְׂמִימֵ יִרְאִי = *σέβομενοι τὸν θεόν/οὐρανόν*, the mass of the Gentiles won over by the missionaries. They were expected to keep the most important commands: the Decalogue, the Sabbath, abstinence from the worship of gods, and payment of the temple tax. The third category is the גֵּר צְדִק = *προσήλυτος*: full proselytes. They were clearly distinguished from the second group. They undertook to keep the whole of the Torah and were regarded as Jews, because they fulfilled the law.

In particular, one finds reference to the גֵּר who was related to the Jews in the Pentateuch. According to Exod. 22:20; 23:9, as a stranger in the land, the גֵּר put himself under the protection of the people and the God of Israel, and as a client of the people among whom the גֵּר

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<sup>262</sup> N. J. McEleney, “Conversion, Circumcision and the Law”, *NTS* 20 (1973–74), p. 320.

<sup>263</sup> Schoeps, *Paul*, pp. 226–227. I think that Schoeps does not have in mind all Gentiles, but only the Gentiles who were related totally or partially to Judaism.

lived, the גֵר depended upon the people of Israel for security and was protected in part by the law. At the same time, the גֵר was obliged to perform certain religious actions and to abstain from other activities. Therefore, the גֵר was made to keep the Sabbath rest,<sup>264</sup> to fast on the Day of Atonement<sup>265</sup> and to keep the laws of cleanliness.<sup>266</sup> A גֵר could offer sacrifice (Lev. 17:8–13; Num. 15:14–15) and share in the festivals (Deut. 16:14), and he could even celebrate the Passover if he was circumcised (Exod. 12:48–49). McEleney<sup>267</sup> regards the גֵר as the forerunner of the later converts. In particular we need to take note that the word גֵר (in the LXX this word is translated as *προσήλυτος*) took on the meaning of converting to Judaism. Donaldson,<sup>268</sup> following McEleney and Shoeps, claims that the LXX generally translates גֵר by *προσήλυτος* and, similarly, that in rabbinic usage גֵר refers to the proselyte proper; to

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<sup>264</sup> Cf. Exod. 20:10; 23:12; esp. Deut. 5:14: “[B]ut the seventh day is a Sabbath to the Lord your God. On it you shall not do any work, neither you, nor your son or daughter, nor your manservant or maidservant, nor your ox, your donkey or any of your animals, nor the alien within your gates, so that your manservant and maidservant may rest, as you do.”

<sup>265</sup> Cf. Lev. 16:29: “This is to be a lasting ordinance for you: On the tenth day of the seventh month you must deny yourselves and not do any work whether native-born or an alien living among you.”

<sup>266</sup> Cf. Lev. 17:8–13: “And say to them further: Anyone of the house of Israel or of the aliens who reside among them who offers a burnt offering or sacrifice, and does not bring it to the entrance of the tent of meeting, to sacrifice it to the Lord, shall be cut off from the people. If anyone of the house of Israel or of the aliens who reside among them eats any blood, I will set my face against that person who eats blood, and will cut that person off from the people. For the life of the flesh is in the blood; and I have given it to you for making atonement for your lives on the altar; for, as life, it is the blood that makes atonement. Therefore I have said to the people of Israel: No person among you shall eat blood, nor shall any alien who resides among you eat blood. And anyone of the people of Israel, or of the aliens who reside among them, who hunts down an animal or bird that may be eaten shall pour out its blood and cover it with earth.”

<sup>267</sup> McEleney, “Conversion, Circumcision and the Law”, p. 321.

<sup>268</sup> Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles*, p. 55.

designate the resident alien, the modified term גֵּר תִּשְׁבֵּי was adopted.<sup>269</sup>

L. H. Feldman<sup>270</sup> claims that the first instance of actual conversion to Judaism in the Bible is to be found in the Book of Esther 8:17, where we read that in the aftermath of Esther's triumph over Haman many of the peoples of the country became Jews.<sup>271</sup>

Evidence of proselytising to Judaism is also found in part in the miserable death of Antiochus Epiphanes (cf. *2 Maccabees* 9.1–29). The wicked king Antiochus Epiphanes was defeated after many battles. So he determined to avenge himself upon the Jews “for the defeat which he had suffered at the hands of those who had forced him” to escape. Furthermore, he spoke proudly: “When I reach Jerusalem, I will make it a common sepulchre of Jews” (9.4). However, the God of Israel smote him with an incurable and invisible plague: “The words were no sooner out of

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<sup>269</sup> For further details, see K. G. Kuhn, “προσήλυτος”, *TDNT* 6, pp. 727–744. G. F. Moore, *Judaism: In the First Centuries of the Christian Era. The Age of the Tannaim* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), pp. 1:327–328, states:

An examination of all the passages in Philo shows conclusively that *προσήλυτος* and its synonyms designate a man who has not merely embraced the monotheistic theology of Judaism, but has addicted himself to the Jewish ordinances and customs, and in so doing severed himself from his people, friends, and kinsmen; for which reason he is to be treated with peculiar benevolence. He has become a naturalized citizen of a new religious commonwealth in which he is on a full equality of rights and duties with born Jews.

<sup>270</sup> L. H. Feldman, *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World: Attitudes and Interactions from Alexander to Justinian* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 289.

<sup>271</sup> Esther 8:17: “In every province and in every city, wherever the edict of the king went, there was joy and gladness among the Jews, with feasting and celebrating. And many people of other nationalities became Jews because fear of the Jews had seized them.”

It might be that this passage actually refers to conversion to Judaism. However, the verb **מִתְיַהֲדִים** does not mean “became Jews” but rather “pretended to be Jews” or “played the Jew”, because many people of other nationalities did not fear God, but did fear the Jews.

his mouth than he was seized with an incurable pain in the bowels, and his internal organs gave him cruel torture” (9.5). Then he began to arrive at some knowledge of himself by the scourge of God (9.11); confessed that “mortal man should be subject to God and not deem himself God’s equal” (9.12). And then the king promised that he would proclaim Jerusalem free and make all the Jews equal to citizens of Athens (9.14–15). Furthermore, he would become a Jew himself, and go through all the world that was inhabited, and declare the power of God.

Thus, for 2 Maccabees, to become a Jew meant to proclaim the power of the God of the Jews. That is why I interpret this story on Antiochus Epiphanes as a case of proselytism to Judaism.

*Introduction to the Second Book of Maccabees*

**1 The outline of the book:**

- A. Introduction: 1:1–2:18
- B. Author’s preface: 2:19–32
- C. History up to the time of the rising: 3:1–6:11
- D. The two martyrdoms: 6:12–7:42
- E. The story of the rising to the death of Nicanor: 8:1–15:36
- F. The epilogue: 15:37–39<sup>272</sup>

**2. The date of the book:** Surburg<sup>273</sup> claims that the book was probably written in Alexandria about 125 B.C.; J. Moffatt<sup>274</sup> claims that a more precise *terminus a quo* for the book’s composition might be 106 B.C., when the Pharisees broke with the Hasmoneans, and that the book might have been compiled shortly before that date.

In the case of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, Abraham serves a god,

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<sup>272</sup> W. K. L. Clarke, *Concise Bible Commentary* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1953), p. 679.

<sup>273</sup> Surburg, *Introduction to the Intertestamental Period*, p. 123.

<sup>274</sup> J. Moffatt, “The Second Book of Maccabees”, in *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, edited by R. H. Charles (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913), pp. 1:128–129.



Terah (1.1–3a), but Terah makes “five other gods” and gives “them to Abraham” and orders Abraham “to sell them outside on the town road” (2.1). On the way to the town road, an ass on which Abraham had loaded the gods “took fright and ran away and threw off the gods”. Three of the five gods “were crushed and two remained” (2.4). When the Syrians saw that Abraham had the gods, they offered to pay a suitable price. Since at that time Abraham was worried about how he would bring payment to his father, Terah, “The Syrians paid both for the smashed gods and the gods which remained” (2.7b). Although the Syrians paid for all five gods, they only took the gods which remained. Abraham threw the three smashed gods “in the water of the river Gur” (2.9). Then Abraham realised that the gods had been nothing but his father’s works or sculptures (3.1–8). That is the reason why both the three smashed gods and the other two gods could not help themselves. Thus Abraham was sceptical about how they could help Terah or bless himself (4.1–5). Abraham expressed his mind to Terah and Terah became furiously angry with him (4.6). Then Terah ordered Abraham to prepare wood chips for making gods from fir (5.1–3). While preparing wood chips, Abraham found among them a small god which would fit into his left hand; “god Barisat” was written on its forehead (5.5). Abraham put the chips on the fire in order to prepare the food for Terah’s midday meal (5.6). At that time Abraham saw that Barisat turned into ashes, and he was astonished. Accordingly, Abraham began to look for the strongest god. Abraham said to Terah, “I shall seek before you the God who created all the gods supposed by us to exist”

(7.10). The Mighty One (the Creator) then revealed himself to Abraham. God said to Abraham, “Behold, it is I. Fear not, for I am Before-the-World and Mighty, the God who created previously, before the light of the age. I am the protector for you and I am your helper” (9.3). Then Abraham worshiped God. The *Apocalypse of Abraham* shows that God chose Israel, called the nation “my people” (22.5; 31.1), and would give it victory over its enemies (31.1f). Actually, the *Apocalypse of Abraham* implies that Abraham’s abandonment of idolatry led to his designation as the first and prototype proselyte.<sup>275</sup>

*Introduction to the Apocalypse of Abraham*

**1 The outline of the book:** The book consists of 32 chapters. The book can be divided into two parts:

- A. 1–8: A story of Abraham’s youth and his perception of idolatry
- B. 9–32: God’s revelation to Abraham (e.g., with regard to the fall of humankind and judgement)

**2. The date of the book:** R. Rubinkiewicz<sup>276</sup> places the book between A.D. 70 and the middle of the second century (the greater part of the book was written between A.D. 80 and 100.). However, he advises that it is unwise to speculate further regarding the date of the apocalypse.

Another passage that seems to point to the making of proselytes is *Sib. Or.* 3.4–10:

Nay, why did my heart again flutter, and why is my soul lashed with a spur

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<sup>275</sup> For Abraham as model proselyte, see Philo *Virt.* 219; how Abraham destroys his father’s idols and comes to believe in the one God: *Jub.* 12; Abraham’s philosophic recognition of God: *Virt.* 212–18; Josephus *Ant.* 1:154–157.

<sup>276</sup> R. Rubinkiewicz, “Apocalypse of Abraham: A New Translation and Introduction”, in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments*, edited by J. H. Charlesworth (London: Darton, 1983), p. 1:683.

from within, compelled to announce my message to all? So again I will proclaim all that God bids me proclaim unto men. Ye men that bear the form that God did mould in his image, why do ye wander at random and walk not in the straight path, being ever mindful of the eternal Creator?<sup>277</sup>

That the Sibyl will proclaim an oracle to all men whom God moulded in his image means that the Sibyl regards all men (not just Jews alone) as objects that the Sibyl has to proclaim an oracle to.

The book of *Judith* introduces a proselyte as a character.

#### *Introduction to the Book of Judith*

**1. The purpose of the book:** The book was written to encourage the Jews to be faithful to Judaism and the law in the face of heathen attacks. The purpose of the book, therefore, is evident: to enhance nationalism and patriotism in a time of great national calamity.

**2. The outline of the book:** The book can be divided into three parts:

A. The thesis (Chaps. 1-3): Nebuchadnezzar's claim. Based on his power, to be the true God.

B. The alternative (Chaps. 4-7): Is Nebuchadnezzar or Yahweh the true God?

C. The antithesis (Chaps. 8-16): Yahweh alone is God.<sup>278</sup>

**3. The date of the book:** In general, many scholars place the book between 175 and 110 B.C. W. O. E. Oesterley<sup>279</sup> suggests that the book was written at the time of the Maccabean struggle, in particular the time during the years of Jonathan's leadership (160-159 B.C.). S. Zeitlin<sup>280</sup> claims that the book was written somewhere between the victory of Judah Maccabeus over Nicanor in the year 161 B.C. to the time of Agrippa I in A.D. 40 when Judea was invaded many times.

The narrative of the Book of Judith begins during

<sup>277</sup> Lanchester, "The Sibylline Oracles", pp. 2:378-379.

<sup>278</sup> O. Kaiser, *The Old Testament Apocrypha: An Introduction* (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 2004), p. 39.

<sup>279</sup> W. O. E. Oesterley, *An Introduction to the Books of the Apocrypha* (London: SPCK, 1953), pp. 179-180.

<sup>280</sup> S. Zeitlin, "The Books of Esther and Judith: A Parallel", in *The Book of Judith*, edited by S. Zeitlin (Jewish Apocrypha Literature Vol. VII, Leiden: Brill, 1972), p. 28.

Nebuchadnezzar's proclamation of war against Media. Nebuchadnezzar ordered Persia, Syria, and Egypt to join in the expedition, but Syria and Egypt ignored this order (1.11). Accordingly, Nebuchadnezzar determined, after conquering Media (1.13, 15), to avenge himself on Syria and Egypt. This task was entrusted to Holofernes, Nebuchadnezzar's second-in-command (2.4). When Holofernes reached the area south of Esdraelon, the Jews, who had lately returned from the exile (4.3), decided to resist, and Joakim the High Priest at Jerusalem wrote to the people of Bethulia and Betomestham to defend the passages of the hill country (4.7). Holofernes called a council of officers. A new figure then comes onto the stage. It is Achior who appears first as a perceptive outsider, who in response to Holofernes' queries displays a better understanding of the Deuteronomic reading of Israel's history than many of the Jews in the story (5.5-21; cf. 7.23-28). While Achior advised Holofernes to leave them alone, Holofernes rejected Achior's advice, stationed Achior in the Jewish city of Bethulia, so that he could perish along with all those who doubted the power of Nebuchadnezzar, the "lord of the whole earth" (6.4). Holofernes' strategy was to get possession of the water-supply at the foot of the mountain (7.7, 12) on which Bethulia stood, and thus to force the city to surrender, instead of risking a pitched battle. The stores of water within the city were exhausted 14 days later (7.21). The worried people compelled Ozias and the leading men to agree to surrender in 5 days if no help came in the meantime (7.30). After Judith had heard of this decision, she "sent her

maid to call Ozias and Chabris and Charmis, the elders of her city” (8.10). She promised that through the Lord’s visit to Israel they would be saved from their enemies (8.33). She bravely went towards the Assyrian camp (10.11) and said that the people in Bethulia would be saved from the men and from Holofernes (11.15). Holofernes was fascinated by her appearance; so he invited her to his table (12.1), but she refused. On the fourth day she consented to go to Holofernes’ feast (12.10, 14). At that time, Holofernes drank very much. After the guests departed, Judith was left alone with Holofernes. She killed him and put his head in her bag. The servant carried the bag to Bethulia (13.10), and all the people of her city were exceedingly amazed, and worshipped God. Furthermore, Achior, who saw everything, converted to Judaism:

But when Achior saw all the things that the God of Israel had done, he believed in God exceedingly, and circumcised the flesh of his foreskin, and was joined unto the house of Israel, unto this day (14.10).<sup>281</sup>

According to Donaldson,<sup>282</sup> Achior is portrayed as the ideal proselyte whereas Judith is portrayed as the ideal Jew. S. J. D. Cohen<sup>283</sup> argues that conversion to Judaism entails three elements: practice of the Jewish laws (esp. circumcision);<sup>284</sup> exclusive devotion to the God of the Jews;<sup>285</sup>

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<sup>281</sup> A. E. Cowley, “The Book of Judith”, in *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, edited by R. H. Charles (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913), p. 1:264.

<sup>282</sup> Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles*, pp. 55–56.

<sup>283</sup> S. J. D. Cohen, “Crossing the Boundary and Becoming a Jew”, *HTR* 82 (1989), p. 26. Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles*, pp. 57–58.

<sup>284</sup> *m. Ker.* 2.1 states that a proselyte’s atonement must be expressed by circumcision, undergoing immersion, and bringing an offering.

<sup>285</sup> Actually, to believe in God is closely linked to abandoning idolatry. For Philo, converts are people who have abandoned the ignobility of monstrous customs which

and integration into the Jewish community.<sup>286</sup> To my mind *Judith* manifests all three elements of proselytism.

In particular, the second and third roads to proselytism appear in the pseudepigraphic work *Joseph and Aseneth* that glorifies Aseneth as the prototype of the proselyte.<sup>287</sup>

#### *Introduction to Joseph and Aseneth*

**1 The structure of the book:** The book can be divided into two parts:

A. 1–21: Aseneth’s conversion and marriage

B. 22–29: Pharaoh’s son attempts to kidnap Aseneth and rises to power in Egypt

**2. The purpose of the book:** The book has often been called a *Missionsschrift*, meaning that it was written to promote Jewish mission among the Gentiles. However, C. Burchard<sup>288</sup> objects that this is not the primary purpose and believes that the book was composed for Jews, both born and naturalised, including perhaps God-fearers and sympathisers.

**3. The date of the book:** Some scholars place the book as early as the second century B.C. Actually, it is difficult to decide on the date. Burchard<sup>289</sup> is of the opinion that we can say safely that the book was written between 100 B.C. and Hadrian’s edict against circumcision, which was linked to the Second Jewish War of A.D. 132–135.

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assigned divine honours to stocks and stones and soulless things in general (*Virt.* 219). In particular, *Vit. Mos.* 2.44 states:

But, if a fresh start should be made to brighter prospects, how great a change for the better might we expect to see! I believe that each nation would abandon its peculiar ways, and throwing overboard their ancestral customs, turn to honouring our laws alone. For, when the brightness of their shining is accompanied by national prosperity, it will darken the light of the others as the risen sun darkens the stars.

<sup>286</sup> In *2 Baruch* someone who mingles with the seed of the people who have separated themselves, is described as a type of proselyte (42.4).

<sup>287</sup> On Aseneth as a prototypical proselyte, see J. M. Scott, *Adoption as Sons of God: An Exegetical Investigation into the Background of ΥΙΟΘΕΣΙΑ in the Pauline Corpus* (WUNT 2.48, Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1992), pp. 95–96.

<sup>288</sup> C. Burchard, “Joseph and Aseneth: A New Translation and Introduction”, in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments*, edited by J. H. Charlesworth (London: Darton, 1985), pp. 2:194–195.

<sup>289</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2:187.

Aseneth was a beautiful virgin of eighteen years and the daughter of Pentephres, priest of Heliopolis and Pharaoh's chief counsellor. Many princes tried to marry her, but she despised them all and preferred to live in her ornate penthouse above Pentephres' palace, where she worshiped countless idols. One day, Joseph paid a visit to her house, and Pentephres wanted to give her to Joseph, but she refused firmly. Yet the moment she saw Joseph, her mind changed. She confessed:

But I, foolish and daring, have despised him and spoken wicked words about him, and did not know that Joseph is [a] son of God (6.3).  
And where shall I flee and hide, because every hiding place he sees and nothing hidden escapes him, because of the great light that is inside him?  
And now be gracious on me, Lord, God of Joseph, because I have spoken wicked words against him in ignorance. And now, let my father give me to Joseph for a maidservant and slave, and I will serve him for ever [and] ever (6.6-8).<sup>290</sup>

The reason why Joseph loved her as his sister was that she was a virgin hating every man as Joseph despised every strange woman (8.1). So Joseph prayed for her conversion (8.9). "And Aseneth rejoiced exceedingly with great joy over Joseph's blessing" (9.1). In chap. 11:9f, she confessed her sin. When Aseneth renounced her former gods, she became an "orphan" who was disowned by her family and hated by all (12.5-15). In particular *Joseph and Aseneth* stresses that Aseneth received heavenly recognition of the sincerity of her conversion (15.2-5), and made a fervent plea for her full acceptance into the Israelite

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<sup>290</sup> Burchard, "Joseph and Aseneth", pp. 2:209-210.

community. In particular, that “your name was written in the book of the living in heaven” means that Aseneth really became part of the people of God, namely, that her name was registered in the list of people of God.<sup>291</sup> That she was also given a new name from the angel, indicates a shift in her identity.<sup>292</sup> Furthermore it should be noted that Joseph had neither eaten with her family (7.1) nor kissed her in greeting (8.4–5) before her conversion. However, after Aseneth had been numbered among God’s chosen people (8.9) and had been declared in an angelic visitation to be virtually the prototypical proselyte, Joseph ate with her. This meant that Aseneth was accepted as a member of Joseph’s family, namely the Jewish community. This happened through Aseneth’s conversion and marriage to Joseph. Thus the case of Aseneth is an example of the second and third elements of proselytism indicated by Cohen. Since Aseneth was a female, circumcision (the first element) was obviously not demanded. Although *Joseph and Aseneth* does not say anything about her observance of the Jewish laws, that she renounced her former gods, does to some extent indicate the first and second elements.

### **3.2.2. Was Gentile proselytism a reality in Judaism?**

Some scholars, such as J. Jeremias,<sup>293</sup> B. J. Bamberger,<sup>294</sup> W. G.

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<sup>291</sup> Cf. Exod. 32:32f.; Ps. 87:6; *Jub.* 30.22; *IQM* 12.1f.; Luke 10:20; Rev. 20:12, 15.

<sup>292</sup> *Jos. As.* 15.7: “And your name shall no longer be called Aseneth, but your name shall be City of Refuge, because in you many nations will take refuge with the Lord God, the Most High, and under your wings many peoples trusting in the Lord God will be sheltered, and behind your walls will be guarded those who attach themselves to the Most High God in the name of Repentance.”

<sup>293</sup> J. Jeremias, *Jesus’ Promise to the Nations* (SBT 24, London: SCM Press, 1958), pp. 11–19.



Braude,<sup>295</sup> M. Stern,<sup>296</sup> L. H. Feldman,<sup>297</sup> G. F. Moore,<sup>298</sup> and A. D. Nock,<sup>299</sup> believe that Judaism was a proselytic religion. On the other hand, some scholars, such as J. Munck,<sup>300</sup> S. McKnight<sup>301</sup> and M. Goodman<sup>302</sup> oppose this idea.

Scholars who reject the notion that Judaism was a proselytic religion argue that, while there is evidence for the existence of proselytes in Judaism during the second temple period, there is no decisive evidence for the existence of an aggressive proselytic mission to the Gentiles in this era. For example, Kim<sup>303</sup> argues that, in New Testament times, Judaism had no real mission to the Gentiles. Many other scholars agree with him. Generally these scholars argue that, when Gentiles converted to Judaism, it happened as result of what could be described as “centripetal” forces (the motivation for conversion coming from the Gentiles) rather than “centrifugal” forces (the motivation coming from the Jews themselves). Therefore, Christianity, with its emphasis on the centrifugal forces, is to be viewed as different from anything we find

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<sup>294</sup> B. J. Bamberger, *Proselytism in the Talmudic Period* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College, 1939).

<sup>295</sup> W. G. Braude, *Jewish Proselyting in the First Five Centuries of the Common Era: The Age of the Tannaim and Amoraim* (Providence, RI: Brown University Press, 1940).

<sup>296</sup> M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* (3 vols., Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1974–84).

<sup>297</sup> Feldman, *Jews and Gentiles*, pp. 288–290.

<sup>298</sup> Moore, *Judaism*, pp. 1:323–353.

<sup>299</sup> A. D. Nock, *Conversion: The Old and the New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933), pp. 61–63.

<sup>300</sup> Munck, *Paul and the Salvation of Mankind*.

<sup>301</sup> S. McKnight, *A Light among the Gentiles: Jewish Missionary Activity in the Second Temple Period* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991).

<sup>302</sup> M. Goodman, *Mission and Conversion: Proselytizing in the Religious History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

<sup>303</sup> Kim, *Paul and the New Perspective*, p. 37.

in Judaism.<sup>304</sup> Munck<sup>305</sup> presupposes a distinction between Palestinian Judaism and Hellenistic Judaism.<sup>306</sup> Accordingly, he believes that it is true that some Jews in the Diaspora evangelised Gentiles, but that this did not happen in the case of the Jews in Palestine, whose views were not as liberal as those of the Jews in the Diaspora. Nevertheless, he strongly insists that Judaism cannot be described as an evangelising religion, even in New Testament times. Furthermore, while it was possible for Gentiles to be accepted into the Jewish community, in particular due to the growing interest in Oriental religions, and, while there was a growth in the number of Gentiles who attended synagogues, this situation was not the result of mission work. In particular, he rejects the idea that Judaism was much concerned about the Gentiles before the beginning of Christianity:

Judaism neither possessed any missionary theory nor felt any call to receive the Gentiles into the chosen people; and it cannot be proved that the Diaspora Jews felt differently on this point and were more eager for a mission than were the Jews in Palestine. It is with Christianity that a mission to the Gentiles begins, because Christianity has a message that concerns the Gentiles as well as Israel.<sup>307</sup>

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<sup>304</sup> A. B. du Toit, "Jewish Religious Expansion in the Time of the New Testament. Was Judaism a Missionary Religion?", in *Guide to the New Testament: The New Testament Milieu*, edited by A. B. du Toit (Johannesburg: Orion, 1997), p. 497; J. C. Paget, "Jewish Proselytism at the Time of Christian Origins: Chimera or Reality?", *JSNT* 62 (1996), p. 68.

<sup>305</sup> Munck, *Paul and the Salvation of Mankind*, p. 264–265.

<sup>306</sup> Bornkamm, *Paul*, pp. 10–11.

<sup>307</sup> It should be noted that Munck emphasises the particularistic character of Judaism. While he admits the universalistic character of Judaism, he believes that the particularistic character undoubtedly dominated (p. 265).

McKnight<sup>308</sup> makes contradictory statements on this matter. On the one hand, he strongly asserts that “there is no evidence to suggest that Judaism, at any time or at any location, thought of itself in terms of a ‘mission’ with respect to the Gentiles”; on the other hand, he accepts that there appears to be some evidence from Rome in this regard. Goodman<sup>309</sup> who rejects the existence of a Jewish mission even more strongly than Mcknight, asserts that there is no evidence “to suppose that any Jew would have seen value in seeking proselytes in the first century with an enthusiasm like that of the Christian apostles”. He concedes that after A.D. 100 there is some evidence for a Jewish mission, but argues that this phenomenon was principally a response to Christian mission.<sup>310</sup>

To my mind, firstly, in contrast with Munck’s view, there is no distinction between Palestinian Judaism and Hellenistic Judaism in this regard. Secondly, there is abundant evidence of Gentile proselytism in the first century. Since I have already dealt with the former argument,<sup>311</sup> I want to deal with only the latter here. I have already dealt with evidence of Gentile proselytism in the Old Testament and the apocrypha and peudepigrapha of the Old Testament in the previous section. Therefore, I will deal only with other evidence in this section.

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<sup>308</sup> McKnight, *A Light among the Gentiles*, pp. 57, 73–74.

<sup>309</sup> Goodman, *Mission and Conversion*, p. 90

<sup>310</sup> *Ibid.*, esp. pp. 129–153.

<sup>311</sup> See n. 199.

### *Introduction to Flavius Josephus*

1. **Josephus' life:** Josephus was born in Jerusalem (A.D. 37–100). The reason why he was known as Flavius Josephus was the favour that he enjoyed from the Flavian emperors Vespasian, Titus and Domitian. He was captured by Vespasian during the Jewish War, freed and granted Roman citizenship. After the fall of Jerusalem he lived in Rome, and wrote his works.

2. **Josephus' works:**

**A. *The Wars of the Jews* (*Bellum Judaicum*):** The book was completed at the end of the reign of Vespasian, A.D. 75–79.<sup>312</sup> This work comprises of 7 books: I. The period between Antiochus Epiphanes (175 B.C.) and Herod the Great (4 B.C.); II. The period between 4 B.C. and A.D. 66, covering the early events of the war with the Romans; III. The events in Galilee in A.D. 67; IV. The course of the war up to the siege of Jerusalem; V. The period between the coming of Titus to besiege Jerusalem and the great extremity to which the Jews were reduced; VI. The besiegement and fall of Jerusalem; VII. The aftermath of the rebellion.

**B. *The Antiquities of the Jews* (*Antiquitates Judaicae*):** The book appeared 16 years after the publication of *the Wars of the Jews*. Written about A.D. 94, it is the longest (*magnum opus*) of the works of Josephus.<sup>313</sup> The book comprises 20 books. The book is a history of the Jewish nation from the pre-historical times to the outbreak of the war against the Romans in A.D. 66. In particular, the work bears an apologetic character and was written to promote the Jewish religion and history.

**C. *Against Apion* (*Contra Apionem*) and *The Life of Flavius Josephus* (*Vita*):** Josephus wrote *Vita* as well as an *Apologia pro vita sua* against the attack by history of Justus on his conduct in Galilee more than 30 years before. The book *Vita*, as an appendix to *the Antiquities of the Jews*, is not a complete description of his entire career; it mainly deals with the era (A.D. 66/67) when he was the leader of the Jewish army in Galilee. The book *Against Apion* consists of two parts, and is a short and eloquent apologetic for the Jewish faith in contrast with various aspects of Greek thought.

### *Introduction to Philo*

1. **Philo's life:** Some historians accept that Philo was born in Alexandria around 13 B.C.;

<sup>312</sup> W. S. Vorster, "The Jewish Literary Background of the New Testament: A Survey", in *Guide to the New Testament: The New Testament Milieu*, edited by A. B. du Toit (Johannesburg: Orion, 1997), p. 401; Surburg, *Introduction to the Intertestamental Period*, p. 164.

<sup>313</sup> H. St. John Thackeray, *Josephus, the Man and the Historian* (New York: Jewish Institute of Religion Press, 1929), pp. 51–74.

others, around 20 or 30 B.C. His death is believed to have occurred in the closing years of the reign of Claudius, A.D. 41–54. He was educated in Jewish education, grammar, rhetoric, philosophy, geometry, poetry, music, and Gentile learning. He was especially interested in philosophy and the application of Hellenistic concepts to Judaism.

2. **Philo's works:** Most of Philo's works were written before A.D. 38.<sup>314</sup> Philo's works are categorised into four parts: (1) A group of philosophical books (*De Aeternitate Mundi*, *Quod Omnis Probus Liber sit*, *De Providentia*, and *De Alexandra*); (2) Expository writings on the Pentateuch (*De Opificio Mundi*, *De Abrahamo*, *De Josepho*, *De Decalogo*, *De Specialibus Legibus*, *De Virtutibus*, and *De Praemiis et Poenis*); (3) Historical and apologetical works (*In Flaccum*, *De Legatione ad Gaium*, *De Vita Comtemplativa*, *Apologia pro Iudaeis*, and *De Vita Mosis*); (4) An allegorical commentary on Genesis – considered by scholars as Philo's most important work.

In particular we find evidence of the first and second elements of proselytism indicated above by Cohen in Josephus' work, *The Antiquities of the Jews*. In general, the conversion to Judaism of Izates is regarded as a prototypical story of Gentile proselytism. The story can be divided into three major sections: (1) How Helena, the queen of Adiabene, and her son Izates, embraced the Jewish religion; (2) How Artabanus, the king of Parthia, out of fear of the secret contrivances of his subjects against him, went to Izates, and was reinstated by him in his government; also how Bardanis, his son, denounced war against Izates; (3) How Izates was betrayed by his own subjects, and fought against by the Arabians; and how Izates, by the providence of God, was delivered out of their hands.<sup>315</sup> I am only interested in the part on Izates' conversion. The

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<sup>314</sup> Surburg, *Introduction to the Intertestamental Period*, p. 155.

<sup>315</sup> G. Gilbert, "The Making of a Jew: 'God-Fearer' or Convert in the Story of Izates", *USQR* 44 (1990), p. 299, divides the story into two major sections. The first describes the conversion to Judaism of Izates and other members of the royal court of Adiabene.

story of Izates' conversion begins with a confrontation with Ananias, who was a Jewish merchant and taught the women who belonged to the king "to worship God according to the Jewish religion" (20.34). At same time Helena was also instructed by another unnamed Jew (20.35). After Monobazus' death, Izates went back to Adiabene and learned of his mother's conversion and thought that "he could not be thoroughly a Jew unless he were circumcised" and "was ready to have it done" (20.38), but Helena dissuaded Izates from being circumcised. The reason was that the people of Adiabene "would never bear to be ruled over by a Jew" (20.39). At that time, Ananias also supported Helena and instructed Izates that "he might worship God without being circumcised, even though he did resolve to follow the Jewish law entirely; which worship of God was of a superior nature to circumcision" (20.41).

Afterward, Eleazar who was extremely strict about the ancestral law, came and found Izates "reading the law of Moses" (20.44). He persuaded Izates that his neglecting to be circumcised was an act of impiety. As soon as Izates heard what Eleazar's had said, he sent for a surgeon and was circumcised. Helena and Ananias, who heard of Izates' circumcision, feared that the people of Adiabene would hold them responsible and punish them for Izates' adoption of foreign practices. However, Josephus concludes this part of the story by noting that God "preserved both Izates himself and his sons when they fell into many dangers, and procured their deliverance when it seemed to be impossible,

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The second and longer section relates how Izates, with the assistance of God, protected his kingdom from hostile domestic and foreign forces.

and demonstrated thereby, that the fruit of piety does not perish as to those that have regarded to him, and fix their faith upon him only” (20.48). Thus we find both the fact that Izates was circumcised (the first element of proselytism) and the fact that Izates worshiped God according to the Jewish religion (the second element of proselytism) in the story of the conversion of Izates to Judaism.<sup>316</sup>

Furthermore, in *Vit. Mos.* 217–24 and *Apion* 1.162–167, Philo and Josephus respectively boast that Gentiles throughout the world have adopted Jewish practices and display a devotion to Judaism, thus indicating some evidence of the first element of proselytism.

In addition, in phenomenological terms, we also have evidence in the works of Josephus and Philo of the fact that proselytes were welcomed into the community (*Legat.* 211; *Apion* 2.210, 282), as well as evidence of the widespread popularity of Jewish practices (*Apion* 2.279–295), and the fact that Jews attracted people to the synagogue (*Wars* 7.45).

In particular, Feldman<sup>317</sup> proves the existence of Jewish proselytism in terms of demographic evidence.<sup>318</sup> He provides the dramatic increase in the Jewish population during the Hellenistic period

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<sup>316</sup> *Contra* McKnight, *A Light among the Gentiles*, p. 56, who refers as follows to the case of Izates’ conversion:

This text does not teach that there were such things as Jewish missionaries or that these supposed missionaries were zealous; rather, it provides evidence for traveling merchants being involved in explaining Judaism to those who were interested in it.

However, to my mind, McKnight does not consider Eleazar’s case, but Ananias’ case.

<sup>317</sup> Feldman, *Jews and Gentiles*, p. 293.

<sup>318</sup> Schoeps, *Paul*, pp. 221–222.

as proof. According to Feldman, pre-exilic Judea (which contained the major part of the Jewish population at the time of the destruction of the First Temple in 586 B.C.) had no more than 150,000 Jews, but in the first century, the total number of Jews was about 8,000,000 and the Jews were about one-eighth of the population of the Roman Empire. Goodman<sup>319</sup> suggests that there were several causes for this dramatic increase in the Jewish population; the Jews' superior hygiene and their refusal to practice birth control, abortion, or infanticide.<sup>320</sup> However, Feldman believes that only through aggressive proselytism was such a dramatic increase in the Jewish population possible.<sup>321</sup> However, Goodman,<sup>322</sup> strongly disagreeing with the view that aggressive proselytism caused the dramatic increase in the Jewish population, argues that any conclusions about proselytising should not be drawn from the general growth of the Jewish population in the first century. Furthermore, McKnight,<sup>323</sup> asking how anyone can have such confidence regarding studies in population statistics for the ancient Jewish world, argues that the growth of the Jewish population cannot reflect aggressive proselytism. Feldman<sup>324</sup> responds that it is clear from Philo that the Jews

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<sup>319</sup> Goodman, *Mission and Conversion*, p. 84.

<sup>320</sup> Cf. Tacitus (*Historiae* 5.5).

<sup>321</sup> D. Georgi, *The Opponents of Paul in Second Corinthians* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), pp. 83–84, accepts that a dramatic increase of the Jewish population can be explained only if many Gentiles converted to Judaism through active and successful Jewish mission during the middle of the first century. Paget, especially, “Jewish Proselytism?”, p. 83, criticises Goodman’s explanation of an increase of the Jewish population in terms of Jewish ideological opposition to the exposure of children, abortion and infanticide as being unconvincing.

<sup>322</sup> Goodman, *Mission and Conversion*, p. 84.

<sup>323</sup> McKnight, *A Light among the Gentiles*, p. 33.

<sup>324</sup> Feldman, *Jews and Gentiles*, p. 333.



were motivated to seek to convert non-Jews. Philo claims that Gentiles who did not convert, were the “enemies of the Jews and of every person everywhere – enemies of our nation, because they give their compatriots leave to put their trust in the virtues of their ancestors and despise the thought of living a sound and steadfast life” (*Virt.* 26). Therefore, it is unquestionable that, for Philo, the only way for a Gentile to attain a sound life was to become a Jew, namely by conversion to Judaism. Furthermore, there was an incentive for conversion, inasmuch as the Jews regarded the Gentiles as necessarily unclean and consequently excluded from the Temple. In particular, some scholars believe that the cause of Tiberius’ expulsion of the Jews from Rome in A.D. 19 was the missionary activity of the Jews. This is found in Josephus’ work (*Ant.* 18.81–84).<sup>325</sup> In addition, A. F. Segal<sup>326</sup> argues that the Jews were expelled from Rome not only in A.D. 19, but also in 139 B.C., according to the first century B.C. writer Valerius Maximus, because of Jewish attempts to transmit their holy rites to the Romans.

To summarise, the question is not whether or not Jewish proselytism existed, but whether the Jews attempted to convert the Gentiles to Judaism aggressively, seeking to convert them actively, or whether they followed a milder approach, by merely welcoming those

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<sup>325</sup> This is found in other documents (e.g., Tacitus [*Annals* 2.85.5]; Suetonius [*Tiberius* 36.1]; Seneca [*Epistulae* 108.22]). Even though rejecting Gentile proselytism, McKnight, *A Light among the Gentiles*, p. 74, accepts the fact that the Jews in Rome were notably proselytic. To some extent, Goodman, *Mission and Conversion*, pp. 68, 82–83, admits that the Jews were expelled for proselytism. However, he believes that Josephus did not offer missionary activity as an explanation of the expulsion from Rome in A.D. 19.

<sup>326</sup> A. F. Segal, *Paul the Convert: Apostolate and Apostasy of Saul the Pharisee* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990), p. 86.

Gentiles who did convert. To my mind, there is no reason why we cannot accept that the Jews attempted to convert Gentiles to Judaism aggressively:

Firstly, the Old Testament provides the reason why the Jews would try to convert Gentiles.<sup>327</sup> In Isa. 42:6; 49:6, the Jews are portrayed as a light for the nations.<sup>328</sup> Since the Gentiles are blind, the Jews have to lead the nations to Israel's God (*Sib. Or.* 3.195; *1 En.* 105.1).<sup>329</sup> In particular, *Sib. Or.* 3.4-10, 624-634, 732-740<sup>330</sup> seem to provide us with more explicit evidence of a propagandistic text directed at Gentiles.<sup>331</sup> Thus I believe that texts such as these provide us with the

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<sup>327</sup> In particular, Jeremias, *Jesus' Promise to the Nations*, pp. 13-14, refers to many people as proselytes and missionaries in the Old Testament: e.g., as proselytes (the Canaanite woman Shua, Tamar, Asenath, Pharaoh's daughter who rescued Moses, Jethro, Rahab, Ruth, Ithra, the ship's crew in the story of Jonah, even the mixed multitude that accompanied Israel on the wilderness journey), and as missionaries (Isaac, Jacob, Judah, Joseph, Moses, Solomon, Abraham and Boaz).

<sup>328</sup> Isa. 42:6 ("I will keep you and will make you to be a covenant for the people and a light for the Gentiles"); 49:6 ("I will also make you a light for the Gentiles").

<sup>329</sup> *Sib. Or.* 3.195 (The people of the great God "will be guides"); *1 En.* 105.1 ("You are their guides").

<sup>330</sup> See especially, *Sib. Or.* 3.624-634, titled, "Appeal for conversion":

But you, devious mortal, do not tarry in hesitation, but turn back, converted, and propitiate God. Sacrifice to God hundreds of bulls and firstborn lambs and goats at the recurring times. But propitiate him, the immortal God, so that he may have pity, for he alone is God and there is no other. Honor righteousness and oppress no one, for so the Immortal bids wretched mortals. But you, guard against the wrath of the great God, whenever the culmination of pestilence comes upon all mortals and they are subdued and meet with terrible justice.

I mentioned *Sybillie oracle* as an evidence of Gentile proselytism in section 3.2.1 in this chapter.

<sup>331</sup> Paget, "Jewish Proselytism", pp. 83-84. He suggests the existence of a positive explanation for the Diaspora, namely to view the Diaspora as created in order to facilitate proselytising. He then refers to *b. Pes.* 87b, where it is stated that "The Holy One, blessed be he, did not exile Israel among the nations save in order that proselytes might join them", to support the view (p. 85). Furthermore, he mentions *Vit. Mos.* 2.27 as an expression of Philo's contention that the translation of the Torah into Greek had a quasi-missionary purpose:

motive why the Jews converted Gentiles and the fact that the Jews proclaimed Jewish thoughts (esp. to abandon idolatry and to worship Israel's God) to the Gentiles.<sup>332</sup>

Secondly, Mt. 23:15 (*Οὐαὶ ὑμῖν γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισαῖοι ὑποκριταὶ ὅτι περιάγετε τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὴν ξηρὰν ποιῆσαι ἓνα προσήλυτον καὶ ὅταν γένηται ποιεῖτε αὐτὸν υἷὸν γεέννης διπλότερον ὑμῶν*) supports the idea of Jewish proselytism in the second temple period. Goodman<sup>333</sup> argues that the word *προσήλυτος* refers not to a Gentile convert to Judaism but to a born Jew, and that in Mt. 23:15 Jesus (or Matthew) is thus attacking the Pharisees for their eagerness in attempting to persuade other Jews to follow Pharisaic *halakhah*. However, McKnight<sup>334</sup> interprets Mt. 23:15

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But, in course of time, the daily, unbroken regularity of practice exercised by those who observed them brought them to the knowledge of others, and their fame began to spread on every side. For things excellent, even if they are beclouded for a short time through envy, shine out again under the benign operation of nature when their time comes. Then it was that some people, thinking it a shame that the laws should be found in one half only of the human race, the barbarians, and denied altogether to the Greeks, took steps to have them translated (*Vit. Mos.* 2.27).

Note that he adds that this statement, of course, does not explicitly mention a centrifugal mission, but that it does make perfectly clear the hope that the Torah will attract people to Judaism.

<sup>332</sup> Bornkamm, *Paul*, p. 6, explains the contemporary Jewish missionary consciousness of the Gentiles on the basis of Rom. 2:17–20 which reflects Jewish thought toward the Gentiles in Paul's time. Even Goodman, *Mission and Conversion*, p. 60, who rejects Gentile proselytism, regards Jews as religious mentors of the Gentiles (cf. *Wis. Sol.* 18.4).

<sup>333</sup> Goodman, *Mission and Conversion*, pp. 69–74, notes that the word מִצְרַיִם translated as *προσήλυτοι* in Exod. 22:20 (in the case of NIV, 22:21) refers not to Gentiles, but to Israelites in Egypt. Actually the word *προσήλυτοι* appears twice in Exod. 22:20; the second occurrence indicates Israelites. However, the word does not indicate the identity of Israel, but the state of Israel. Furthermore, I think that it is difficult to use only one passage to demonstrate that the word *προσήλυτοι* refers to Israelites. If Goodman wants to maintain his view, he has to explain the many other passages in which the word *προσήλυτοι* indicates Gentiles.

<sup>334</sup> McKnight, *A Light among the Gentiles*, pp. 106–108.

as that it envisages not Gentile converts but conversion of the God-fearers to “total converts” adhering in particular to the Pharisaic understanding of the righteousness of the Torah. On the other hand, Feldman<sup>335</sup> objects that there is no other evidence that Pharisees sought followers for their sect outside the land of Israel. In particular, Davies<sup>336</sup> believes that Mt. 23:15 shows us considerable activity in the gaining of proselytes; the large number of proselytes gained shows that Jewish propaganda was successful. Some scholars argue that in Mt. 23:15 the great journeys “over land and sea to win a single convert” refer to Pharisees or scribes who were permanently settled in the Diaspora, since Schoeps<sup>337</sup> contends that there were Pharisees of the Diaspora. However, Hengel<sup>338</sup> correctly objects that the Pharisees or scribes who were permanently settled in the Diaspora did not need to travel further to come into contact with Gentiles; therefore, the statement represents a Palestinian perspective, and undoubtedly does not indicate a permanent Pharisaic mission in the Diaspora, but a particular mission, which was ordered from the mother country. It should be noted that this text is not about the existence of Jewish proselytism. It presupposes the existence of Jewish proselytism. The text indicates Jesus’ indictment not about the

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<sup>335</sup> Feldman, *Jews and Gentiles*, p. 298.

<sup>336</sup> Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, p. 63. Like Paget (see n. 331), Davies, referring to *b. Pes.* 87b, believes that the reason why God scattered Israel among the nations was that the proselytes should become numerous among the nations. On the success of Jewish propaganda, see W. L. Knox, *St Paul and the Church of Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1939), p. 120.

<sup>337</sup> Schoeps, *Paul*, pp. 24–27, especially, in p. 24 believes that Paul’s father, perhaps grandfather, and great-grandfather belonged to the Pharisaic party in the Diaspora.

<sup>338</sup> Hengel, *The Pre-Christian Paul*, p. 29.

fact that Pharisees and scribes tried to convert Gentiles to Judaism, but about the fact that Pharisees and scribes tried to convert Gentiles to Judaism without the Messiah.<sup>339</sup> Furthermore, J. Jeremias<sup>340</sup> and Schweitzer<sup>341</sup> point out that there was a flourishing, vigorous, and extraordinary Jewish missionary activity among the Gentiles in the light of Jewish universalism. That is why there is no reason why the statement in Mt. 23:15 can be interpreted as a hyperbolic one.<sup>342</sup>

Thirdly, most scholars agree that there was a large increase in the Jewish population in the first century. Bornkamm<sup>343</sup> argues that it would be wrong to claim that the reason for the enormous increase in the number of Jews was merely a biological one, for example, a population explosion among the Jews. Furthermore, even those scholars who reject the idea that the Jews were aggressively busy with converting Gentiles, admit that the Jewish religion attracted Gentiles. However, at this stage we have to ask whether it would have been possible for Gentiles to be attracted to the Jewish religion without at least some attempt from the Jews to propagate it. In particular we have to take into account that proselytes formed a considerable part of the Diaspora communities and even paid the Temple tax. In other words, proselytes were categorised

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<sup>339</sup> W. D. Davies and D. C. Allison, Jr, *The Gospel According to Saint Matthew XIX-XXVIII* (ICC, Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1997), p. 287.

<sup>340</sup> Jeremias, *Jesus' Promise to the Nations*, p. 16.

<sup>341</sup> Schweitzer, *The Mysticism of Paul*, p. 178.

<sup>342</sup> *Contra* D. A. Hagner, *Matthew 14-28* (WBC 33, Dallas: Word Books, 1995), pp. 668-669, who notes that this statement is hyperbolic rhetoric that should not be taken literally.

<sup>343</sup> Bornkamm, *Paul*, p. 6.

as a part of Jewish communities.<sup>344</sup> Thus it is almost sure that Jewish proselytism played a role in the increase of the Jewish population in the first century.<sup>345</sup>

### **3.3. Conclusion**

Many scholars believe that Judaism was a particularistic religion and, accordingly, ignore the universal aspects of Judaism. However, as indicated above, we can certainly find universal aspects in Judaism. According to the bulk of evidence indicated above, we have to accept that many Jews shared notions of Jewish universalism which characterised the inclusion of the Gentiles into God's people in terms of the tradition of an eschatological pilgrimage and of Gentile proselytism. For the pre-Damascus Paul, especially, who was so proud of his Jewish heritage and his being a good Pharisee, Jewish universalism must have been a well-known notion.

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<sup>344</sup> Cf. CD 14:3-6: "...the priest first, the Levites second, the sons of Israel third, and the proselyte(s) fourth. And they shall be inscribed by their names, one after the other, the priest first, the Levities second, the sons of Israel third, and the proselyte(s) fourth. Thus shall they sit and thus shall they inquire about any (matter). And the priest who is appointed to preside over."

Especially, in CD 12.11, slaves in Jewish households were admitted as part of the covenant of Abraham.

Even emphasising the study of the Torah (Levi. 18:5), a proselyte who studies the Torah, is described as one like a High Priest (cf. *Num. Rab.* 13.15-16).

<sup>345</sup> Paget, "Jewish Proselytism", pp. 82-83.

## **4. Paul's attitude to the Gentiles**

### **4.1. Did the pre-Damascus Paul have some frustrations about the exclusion of the Gentiles?**

#### **4.1.1. Yes, he did**

Many scholars believe that the pre-Damascus Paul had some frustrations about the exclusion of the Gentiles.

For example, Stewart<sup>346</sup> presupposes that Judaism was characterised by legalism. According to him, the three main marks of such a form of religion are: (1) It is a religion of redemption by human effort. In other words, human beings have to toil unremittingly in their moral life in the hope of winning acceptance from God at last. However, human beings then usually feel that they are trying to build “a tower of Babel” and realise that it is impossible to reach God in this way. That is why no man can save himself. (2) A second mark of a legalistic spirit is its tendency to import a mercenary spirit into religion, resulting in human beings intentionally bringing their own achievements to God, and trying to bargain with God, but realising that there is not a soul anywhere which could stand before God for one moment. (3) A third mark of a legalistic religion is its fondness for negatives. Since this results in one having a closed and narrow mind, the soul shuts evil spirits out as well as God's good light, air, and sunshine.

Stewart<sup>347</sup> then distinguishes four attitudes towards the law

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<sup>346</sup> Stewart, *A Man in Christ*, pp. 84–88.

<sup>347</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 92–98.

within legalistic Judaism: (1) There were the people who were bluntly irreligious. They had neither the time for nor the inclination to the studying of the law. Many of the Pharisees regarded such people as a menace. (2) There were the “saints” who thought that the law meant everything. They thought that even though historic events, such as the calling of Abraham and the Exodus, had happened before the law appeared, the law, when it came, made grace reach a climax. (3) A third attitude toward the law was compromise. In Gal. 1:14 Paul is obviously implying that many Jews, despairing of the impossible perfection which the law demanded, had put together some kind of working compromise by which a less strenuous line of conduct could be accepted without offending the conscience unduly. The fact that different schools of rabbis, such as those of Hillel and Shammai, existed, indicates that many Jews interpreted one and the same command in quite different ways. (4) There were the people who felt profound disappointment and dissatisfaction about the law. According to Stewart, Paul belonged to the fourth class. Stewart<sup>348</sup> believes that Paul was in confusion about the extent of observance of the law that would be satisfactory, and believes that Paul concluded that “no man can keep” the law; therefore Rom. 7 reflects the pre-Damascus Paul’s disappointment about the law.

A similar view to Stewart’s is that of Goodspeed:<sup>349</sup>

[Judaism’s] weakness lay in its tendency to direct the Pharisee’s attention not to the written Law as a full expression of his will, so that religion

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<sup>348</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 99–108.

<sup>349</sup> Goodspeed, *Paul*, pp. 11–19.



became not a great inward experience but the meticulous performance of a technique. Further, since it assumed that the Law was the full expression of the will of God, it envisaged the possibility that a man might carry it out so completely that God himself could ask no more of him. Since ordinary people could not possibly carry out the ceremonial Law with the fullness the Pharisee thought necessary, they came to be considered by him “sinners” – irreligious people, whose future was hopeless. (p. 12.)

However, in the case of Paul,

What he did and what he afterward wrote about his own spiritual experience in Judaism show us the nobler as well as the harsher and the more trivial elements of Pharisaism, and one man’s heroic, even desperate, effort to carry out its tenets to their fullest expression. But it all ended in unrest and disappointment. Saul felt his heart, his inmost attitudes, unreached by all these minutiae of detail as to ceremonial cleanness and Sabbath observance, and the religious sterility of it all sometimes almost drove him to despair. “Wretched man that I am!” he thought. “Who can save me from this doomed body?” But he stormed on, hoping that perhaps more frantic efforts might bring through to the light. (p. 13.)

In particular, Davies, Sanders and Gaston believe that we have to realise that on the Road to Damascus Paul found some kind of solution to his problem about the exclusion of the Gentiles from God’s people. Davies<sup>350</sup> expresses the problem Paul had as “an uneasy conscience”; Sanders<sup>351</sup> as a “secret dissatisfaction”; Gaston<sup>352</sup> as Paul’s own “quandary”.<sup>353</sup> Donaldson<sup>354</sup> adds another possibility, namely that the

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<sup>350</sup> Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, p. 63.

<sup>351</sup> Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People*, p. 152.

<sup>352</sup> Gaston, “Paul and the Torah”, p. 62.

<sup>353</sup> For a more detailed discussion of how these three scholars view Paul’s state of mind, see section 2.1.1 in Chapter 1.

<sup>354</sup> Donaldson, “Israelite, Convert, Apostle to the Gentiles”, p. 69, does not agree with

pre-Damascus Paul should be located within one of the gloomier and more pessimistic segments of Judaism (as found, for example, in *Jubilees* 15:26<sup>355</sup>).

Thus, according to these scholars, Paul experienced some kind of frustration about the exclusion of the Gentiles from God's people. However, he then experienced some kind of solution to this frustration on the Road to Damascus. In particular, it is accepted that Rom. 7 reflects the pre-Damascus Paul's frustrated mind. According to Stewart,<sup>356</sup> because of the very fact that the name of Christ is not heard until the closing verse, i.e. because Jesus is nowhere in Rom. 7, this chapter indicates that it is the experience of a life still requiring to be born again. Thus Stewart believes that the atmosphere of Chapters 7 and 8 differs totally. Not all scholars agree with Stewart. According to Deissmann,<sup>357</sup> Rom. 7 reflects not merely Paul's Judaistic mind (in particular the soul of the young Paul),<sup>358</sup> but also Paul's mind even as a Christian. Beker<sup>359</sup> views Rom. 7 as at least in part autobiographical and as reflecting a secret dissatisfaction with the law, one hidden perhaps even from the

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this possibility, but just introduces it as one of the possibilities to be considered.

<sup>355</sup> *Jub.* 15.26: "And anyone who is born whose own flesh is not circumcised on the eighth day is not from the sons of the covenant which the Lord made for Abraham since (he is) from the children of destruction. And there is therefore no sign upon him so that he might belong to the Lord because (he is destined) to be destroyed and annihilated from the earth and to be uprooted from the earth because he has broken the covenant of the Lord our God."

<sup>356</sup> Stewart, *A Man in Christ*, p. 99.

<sup>357</sup> Deissmann, *Paul*, p. 93.

<sup>358</sup> In general, up to the age of nine years most children know nothing of sin, but then with the awakening of the evil instinct, sin begins. Therefore, it is possible that Paul could not have had a sunny and cheerful youth in that he had experienced some kind of agony about sin. However, this view is too speculative to accept.

<sup>359</sup> Beker, *Paul the Apostle*, pp. 238-243.

pre-Damascus Paul himself. Ridderbos<sup>360</sup> also accepts that Paul was one of those who experienced frustration under the law:

Although it is surely more than personal, in that the redemptive-historical contrast is the real starting point of the drama sketched out in Romans 7, yet the personal setting is not to be characterized as merely rhetorical. It is especially the moral man shackled by the law with whom Paul can so easily identify because he was once so himself. That man is here described in his struggle and defeat, with the law as ally and sin and the flesh as adversaries, in his high aspirations and his complete failure.

#### **4.1.2. No, he did not**

On the other hand, I believe that the pre-Damascus Paul did not have such frustrations. There are three reasons why I think so:

Firstly, Paul had no reason to be frustrated about the exclusion of the Gentiles from God's people, because various patterns of Jewish universalism already existed, that is, various ways in which Gentiles could be included within the sphere of God's salvation. Above I have already indicated the existence of various patterns of Jewish universalism.<sup>361</sup> In other words, even if Paul had experienced some kind of frustration, Judaism itself provided the means to soothe such an unsettled conscience by the various patterns of Jewish universalism.<sup>362</sup>

Secondly, Paul should be viewed as a man with quite a robust conscience, not one burdened with much introspection.<sup>363</sup> There is a tendency to interpret Paul in a Lutheran way. Luther himself is an

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<sup>360</sup> Ridderbos, *Paul*, p. 130.

<sup>361</sup> See section 3 in Chapter 2.

<sup>362</sup> Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles*, p. 265.

<sup>363</sup> Stendahl, *Paul among Jews and Gentiles*, pp. 14, 40.

example of someone who was much burdened by demands of the law. Actually he experienced deep levels of frustration, with guilt about sin troubling his deepest conscience. He, however, found a hopeful example in Paul. He believed that, when Paul experienced such frustration, God moved Paul into his grace.<sup>364</sup> However, if Paul were alive, he would surely say to Luther, “You misunderstand me”, because it is evident that Paul took much pride in his Jewish heritage (Phil. 3:4-6), and was filled with much zeal for the traditions of his fathers (Gal. 1:14). In fact, we can say that he was characterised by quite a robust conscience.<sup>365</sup> One may argue that Paul possibly felt the qualms of his conscience about becoming a persecutor of the church.<sup>366</sup> Nevertheless, Paul confessed that his conscience was clear (1 Cor. 4:4). Stendahl<sup>367</sup> quite rightly points out that in the three accounts (Chapters 9, 22, and 26) in Acts there is not any note of incrimination or self-incrimination when Paul the persecutor is mentioned.

Thirdly, we cannot accept that Rom. 7 reflects Paul’s frustration about the law – be it the pre- or post-Damascus Paul. Many scholars have investigated the *ἐγώ* in this chapter. It is clear that Rom. 7:7-25 can be divided into two sections: 7:7-13 is characterised by the past tense; 7:14-25 is characterised by the present tense. The theme of the first section is how it can be that the law, which is God’s holy, righteous and

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<sup>364</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>365</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 12-14; Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles*, p. 265.

<sup>366</sup> Wrede, *The Origin of the New Testament*, pp. 13-15, believes that if the pre-Damascus Paul committed sin, the sin would be the rejection of Jesus; nevertheless, Wrede is of the opinion that the pre-Damascus Paul had a good conscience.

<sup>367</sup> Stendahl, *Paul among Jews and Gentiles*, p. 13.

spiritual revelation, functioned to produce sin and death. In this section, Paul then describes the triangular relationship between sin, law and death more personally and substantially. In the second section, Paul explains the position of “I” in the triangular relationship between sin, law and death. Paul defends the idea in 7:14–25 that since sin rather than the law is the cause of death (v. 13), “I” is a slave to sin rather than to the law.<sup>368</sup>

Dunn<sup>369</sup> indicates that there are basically three interpretations of Rom. 7: (1) That it should be interpreted anthropologically (it describes the plight of humanity before and apart from Christ); (2) That it describes Paul’s own experience before he met Christ, but seen from his present perspective; (3) That it describes his continuing autobiographical experience.

W. G. Kümmel<sup>370</sup> believes that 7:7–25 does not describe a real experience, but only the despairing situation of Adamic humanity under the law generally and theoretically. Käsemann<sup>371</sup> is also convinced that

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<sup>368</sup> J. M. Espy, “Paul’s Robust Conscience Re-examined”, *NTS* 31 (1985), p. 167.

<sup>369</sup> J. D. G. Dunn, “Rom. 7:14–25 in the Theology of Paul”, *TZ* 31 (1975), pp. 257–273.

<sup>370</sup> W. G. Kümmel, *Römer 7 und das Bild des Menschen im Neuen Testament: Zwei Studien* (Münich: Chr. Kaiser, 1974), pp. 117–132, observes that ἐγώ is often used in the sense of a rhetorical “*Stilform*” or the indefinite τῷ in Jewish and Greek literature and in Paul (Rom. 3:5, 7; 1 Cor. 6:12, 15; 10:29f.; 11:31f; 13:1–3, 11f.; 14:11, 14, 15; Gal. 2:18).

<sup>371</sup> E. Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), pp. 196–197. J. D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1–8* (WBC 38A, Dallas: Word Books, 1988), p. 378, states:

Most commentators recognize that with the almost surreptitious transition to the first person singular Paul begins to think in typical terms, once again making increasingly explicit use of the Adam narratives of Gen 2 and 3: “I” = typical man (*homo sapiens*), אָדָם = ‘adam = Adam; that is, Adam is the one whose experience of sin typifies and stamps its character on everyone’s experience of sin within the epoch he began.

the subject in 7:9–11 is Adam who includes all humanity in himself and who is portrayed as the prototype of humanity. If so, the problem is how to connect this passage with Adam. In fact, since the law was given at Sinai Mountain, there was no written law in Adamic times. However, Dunn<sup>372</sup> claims that the thought that the law had been present in some sense to Adam was probably already common in Jewish theology at that stage (cf. *Tg. Yer. Gen.* 3.24; *Pal. Hag.* 2.77c; *Gen. Rab.* 8.2<sup>373</sup>). Paul also describes Adam’s disobedience as the prototypical disobedient act in relation to the law (Rom. 5:14). Thus it is possible to connect this passage with Adam.<sup>374</sup> Furthermore, vv. 7–9 is similar to Gen. 3 in three ways: (1) “I would not have known what sin was except through the law” corresponds to “Adam would not have known what sin was except through the tree of the knowledge of good and evil”;<sup>375</sup> (2) “Do not covet” corresponds to “You must not eat”;<sup>376</sup> (3) The personified description of sin corresponds to the deception of the serpent.<sup>377</sup> Thus

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<sup>372</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 379.

<sup>373</sup> *Gen. Rab.* 8.2: “The Torah knows what was before the creation of the world.”

<sup>374</sup> See G. Theissen, *Psychological Aspects of Pauline Theology*, trans. J. P. Galvin (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), pp. 203–204, but D. J. Moo, “Israel and Paul in Romans 7:7–12”, *NTS* 32 (1986), pp. 128–129, believes that the one who possessed the law was neither Adam nor mankind between Adam and Moses, but Paul and Israel. In this regard Moo differs from Kümmel; the reason why Moo believes that ἐγώ in Rom. 7:7–12 includes Paul is that he finds some passages in the Dead Sea Scrolls, in which the first person singular construction almost certainly includes the writer (cf. *1QH<sup>a</sup>* 11.24–26).

<sup>375</sup> In particular the fact that γινώσκω in v. 7 appears in Gen. 2:17 (LXX) is significant. See Espy, “Paul’s Robust Conscience Re-examined”, p. 169.

<sup>376</sup> Laato, *Paul and Judaism*, p. 104.

<sup>377</sup> Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, p. 381, states that the personified sin is expressed by taking the part of the serpent and the “I” the part of Adam. See also C. E. B. Cranfield, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (ICC, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1975), p. 1:350. In particular, we must note that it is not the law that is personified, but sin (cf. Rom. 5:12; 6:12.).

we can accept that “I” indicates Adamic humanity rather than Paul.<sup>378</sup>

On the other hand, T. R. Schreiner<sup>379</sup> and P. Meyer<sup>380</sup> believe that in v. 9 Paul relates his own experience, because it is paradigmatic, showing the fate of all those under the law; thus the “I” does not exclude Paul. However, v. 9 does not deal with the pre-Damascus Paul for two reasons. Firstly, *ἐγὼ δὲ ἔζων χωρὶς νόμου ποτέ* cannot describe the pre-Damascus Paul’s Pharisaic situation. *χωρὶς νόμου* does not describe the pre-Damascus Paul.<sup>381</sup> One may argue that, in Judaism, a Jewish boy, who is thirteen years old, becomes for the first time a “son of commandment” (*bar mitzwah*).<sup>382</sup> However, this does not imply that he is “without the law” before this. We have proof of the fact that good Jewish parents in every city assiduously taught the law to their children from

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<sup>378</sup> B. L. Martin “Some Reflections on the Identity of *ἐγὼ* in Rom. 7:14-25”, *SJT* 34 (1981), p. 43, is of the opinion that Rom. 7:7-13 is parallel to the story of the fall of Adam in Gen. 3:

1. *Οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις* in v. 7 is reminiscent of the tree which was to be desired (Gen. 2:17).
2. *ἡ ἀμαρτία ... ἐξηπάτησέν* is similar to “the serpent deceived me” (Gen. 3:13).
3. *ἀπέκτεινεν* is to be understood in the light of Gen. 2:17; 3:3, 4.
4. *ἡ ἐντολή ἢ εἰς ζωὴν* in v. 10 is comprehensible in view of the tree of life in Gen. 2:9; 3:24.

<sup>379</sup> T. R. Schreiner, *Romans* (BECNT, Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 1998), p. 365.

<sup>380</sup> P. W. Meyer, “The Worm at the Core of the Apple: Exegetical Reflections on Romans 7”, in *The Conversation Continues: Studies in Paul and John, in Honor of J. L. Martyn*, edited by R. T. Fortna & B. R. Gaventa (Nashville: Abingdon, 1990) pp. 64-65, maintains that “Paul is employing rather a rhetorical style in which the self functions in a representative way as a type or paradigm for others”. (p. 64.)

<sup>381</sup> J. Calvin, *The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Romans and to the Thessalonians*, trans. R. MacKenzie, edited by D. W. Torrance & T. F. Torrance (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1960), p. 144, believes that Paul refers to himself as having been without the law because he did not truly understand it.

<sup>382</sup> *m. Abot* 5.21: [Judah ben Tema] would say, “(1) At five to Scripture, (2) ten to Mishnah, (3) thirteen to religious duties, (4) fifteen to Talmud, (5) eighteen to the wedding canopy, (6) twenty to responsibility for providing for a family, (7) thirty to fullness of strength, (8) forty to understanding, (9) fifty to counsel, (10) sixty to old age, (11) seventy to ripe old age, (12) eighty to remarkable strength, (13) ninety to a bowed back, and (14) at a hundred – he is like a corpse who has already passed and gone from this world.”

their earliest years (*Legat.* 210; *Apion* 2.178).<sup>383</sup> Therefore, Jewish men cannot possibly imagine a period without the law in their whole life.<sup>384</sup> Secondly, the expression *ἐλθούσης τῆς ἐντολῆς* cannot be identified with Paul’s Damascus experience, because his experience in Damascus cannot be regarded as the experience that *ὁ ἐντολή ἔρχεται*. That is why it is more likely that Paul must have regarded Adam in the garden as the prototype of humanity under the situation of *χωρὶς νόμου*.<sup>385</sup>

If the “I” of Rom. 7:7–13 indicates Adamic humanity, who is the “I” of Rom. 7:14–25? Many scholars wrestle with the question whether the “I” of Rom. 7:14–25 refers to Paul pre- or post-Damascus.<sup>386</sup>

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<sup>383</sup> Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, p. 382; Longenecker, *The Ministry and Message of Paul*, p. 21.

<sup>384</sup> Kümmel, *Römer* 7, pp. 81–82.

<sup>385</sup> Seifrid, *Justification by Faith*, p. 149, states:

The allusion to Adam’s transgression found in 7:9–11 is essentially an argument that trespass of the Law is equivalent to Adam’s violation of the divine command, i.e., that transgression brings death. Paul represents himself here as a human being confronted with the demand of the Law, just as Adam was with the prohibition in Eden.

<sup>386</sup> According to my investigation, the answers given to this question, can be divided into five groups:

1. Some scholars who interpret this passage as the experience of the pre-Damascus Paul, point out the change to the present tense (from v. 14) as a way to describe an experience of the past in a lively manner. In particular, the Greek fathers generally accepted this view.

2. Some scholars believe that the reason why Paul uses the present tense in this passage is that the struggle of the “I” is not the result of an experience in the past, but the result of a present insight about the situation of all Jews (or non-Christians), including Paul’s pre-conversion situation, through the present perspective of the Christian faith. See Beker, *Paul the Apostle*, pp. 240–242; Martin “Some Reflections on the Identity of *ἐγώ* in Rom. 7:14–25”, p. 47.

3. Some scholars believe that Paul hypothetically describes Christians who experience frustration and failure continuously without the Holy Spirit. See Espy, “Paul’s Robust Conscience Re-examined”, pp. 161–188, esp. 173–177.

4. Some scholars believe that the conflict depicted in this passage has to be interpreted as an inward conflict which happens in the course of the sanctification of regenerated Christians, namely, the converted Paul’s conflict. See C. K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (2nd edition, BNTC, London; A&C Black, 1991), p. 131f; Cranfield, *Romans*, p. 1:341f; J. Murray, *The Epistle to the Romans*



Nevertheless most scholars agree that the “I” of Rom. 7:14–25 indicates Paul partially or totally. However, this issue as such is not important for this thesis.<sup>387</sup> The reason why I deal with Rom. 7:14–25 is that many scholars believe that this passage reflects the pre- or post-Damascus Paul’s frustrated mind. As many scholars have pointed out, the theme of this passage is the contrast between the law and sin.<sup>388</sup> Nevertheless, some commentators do not hesitate to blame the law rather than sin. However, this is not correct. In v. 14 Paul explains that the law is spiritual and then he blames sin in vv. 16–17. Dunn<sup>389</sup> states:

The fault then lies not in the *law*; in this it is wholly blameless and praiseworthy. But neither does the fault lie in the “I,” even in the “I,” who am “sold under sin.” Rather the fault lies once again with *sin*; the sin which dwells in me. (My italics.)

In Rom. 7:14–25 Paul describes sin as a personified power, but not the

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(NICNT, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1959), pp. 1:256–259.

5. Some scholars believe that the tension in this passage is the tension of the already–not yet. The reason why the believer experiences this tension is that the believer lives in the overlap of the ages and belongs to both at the same time. See Dunn, *The Theology of Paul*, pp. 461–498; F. F. Bruce, *The Letter of Paul the Apostle to the Romans: An Introduction and Commentary* (TNTC, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1985), p. 143f.

<sup>387</sup> To my mind, most scholars focus on the question whether Paul was a Christian or not, and therefore, they try to interpret Rom. 7 in a Christian context. In particular, Espy, “Paul’s Robust Conscience Re-examined”, p. 173, points out that such a question puts us on a wrong track. I, therefore, believe that Paul always regarded himself as a Jew; therefore, I believe that it is better to interpret Rom. 7 in a Jewish context, especially the Pharisaic one.

<sup>388</sup> With regard to v. 12, Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, p. 385, points out that “[t]he *ὁ μὲν νόμος* is obviously an anacoluthon, with the contrast clearly implied by the context: the *law* is holy, but *sin* ...” (Dunn’s italics). Cranfield, *Romans*, p. 1:353, interprets the fact that the *μὲν* is not followed by a *δέ* as an implicit contrast between the law and sin. Therefore, the law does not become the object of the blame; the blame is to be laid on sin.

<sup>389</sup> Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, p. 407.

law.<sup>390</sup> In v. 20 Paul indicts sin as the active culprit. Therefore, in this passage, breaking the triangular structure between the law, sin, and death, and separating the law from sin and death, Paul indicates that sin brought death. The problem is sin, not the law. This is why Paul does not ask who will rescue him from the law, but who will rescue him from “this body of death” (Rom. 6:23; 7:20, 24). This is due to the fact that he tries to loosen the law from the triangular structure. If so, how can he, who attempts to rescue the law, have been frustrated about the law? He actually says that he knows that the law is spiritual and holy (Rom. 7:12, 14). Accordingly, Paul does affirm the fact that the law originated from the Divine.<sup>391</sup> In addition, Cranfield<sup>392</sup> and Barrett<sup>393</sup> assert that it is clear that the thought that the law originated from the Divine was a fundamental and axiomatic dogma of Judaism.<sup>394</sup> The most problematic

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<sup>390</sup> Schreiner, *Paul*, p. 128, claims that the grip of sin over those in Adam is conveyed by the under (*ὑπό*) phrases in Pauline literature, indicating that human beings are under the control of sin. In other words, human beings are not under the power of the law, but under the power of sin. Paul continually refers to the law not as a power, but as an instrument or means. Especially in his exegesis of v. 14, Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, p. 387, refers to this function of the law in terms of a duality (the law-sin, and the law-Spirit).

<sup>391</sup> In particular, in *4 Ezra* 3.19-20 (“And thy glory went through the four gates of fire, earthquake, wind, and cold, To give Law to Jacob’s seed and Commandment to the generation of Israel. And yet thou didst not take away from them the evil heart, that thy Law might bring forth fruit in them”) the law is regarded as a special divine gift to Israel. *4 Ezra* 9.31 (“For, behold, I sow my Law in you, and it shall bring forth fruit in you, and ye shall be glorified in it for ever”) expresses this thought more clearly.

<sup>392</sup> Cranfield, *Romans*, p. 1:355.

<sup>393</sup> Barrett, *Romans*, p. 137.

<sup>394</sup> Cranfield and Barrett refer to *m. Sanh.* 10.1 as an example. *m. Sanh.* 10.1 states: All Israelites have a share in the world to come, for it is written, Thy people also shall be all righteous, they shall inherit the land for ever; the branch of my planting, the work of my hands that I may be glorified. And these are they that have no share in the world to come: he that says that there is no resurrection of the dead prescribed in the Law, and [he that says] that the Law is not from Heaven...

verse is v. 15 (“I do not understand what I do. For what I want to do I do not do, but what I hate I do.”). Schreiner<sup>395</sup> claims that this verse describes Paul’s pessimistic view of the human ability. However, we should realise that even rabbis in Judaism recognised that the more one kept the law, the stronger one’s evil impulse became, and that the more one adhered to the law, the easier one was attacked by one’s evil impulse (*b. Suk.* 52a; *b. Ab. Zar.* 17a; *b. Sanh.* 99b).<sup>396</sup> We should also realise that Qumran also had similar views about two mind-sets (cf. *T. Jud.* 20.1-5; *T. Ash.* 1.3-9; *IQH<sup>a</sup>* 5.9-28; 9.21-26; 11.23f; 12.29-40; 15.16-18; 20.24-31; *IQS* 9.26-11).<sup>397</sup> Seifrid<sup>398</sup> is of the opinion that the fact that Paul could speak of himself as blameless with regard to the law, granting that disobedience by triumph of evil impulse does occur, suggests that Paul shared the covenantal interpretation of the law which appears in *IQS* and *Ps. Sol.*<sup>399</sup> In other words, Paul was aware of

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<sup>395</sup> Schreiner, *Romans*, p. 373.

<sup>396</sup> In *Gen. Rab.* 22.6, a saying attributed to Akiba, runs: “At the beginning it [sin] is like a thread of a spider’s web, but in the end it becomes like this ship’s cable”.

<sup>397</sup> *IQS* 4.23b-25: “Until now the spirits of truth and perversity have contended within the human heart. All people walk in both wisdom and foolishness. As is a person’s endowment of truth and righteousness, so shall he have perversity; conversely, in proportion to bequest in the lot of evil, one will act wickedly and abominate truth. God has appointed these spirits as equals until the time of decree and renewal. He foreknows the outworking of their deeds for all the ages [of eternity.]”

*IQS* 11.9-10a: “As for me, to evil humanity and the counsel of perverse flesh do I belong. My transgressions, evils, sins and corrupt heart belong to the counsel of wormy rot and them who walk in darkness.”

<sup>398</sup> Seifrid, *Justification by Faith*, p. 151.

<sup>399</sup> For representative examples, see the following:

*IQS* 11.2-3a: “As for me, my justification lies with God. In His hand are the perfection of my walk and the virtue of my heart. By *His righteousness* is my transgression blotted out.” (My italics.)

*Ps. Sol.* 16.1-5: “When my soul slumbered, (I was far away) from the Lord, wretched for a time; I sank into sleep, far from God. For a moment my soul was poured out to death; (I was) near the gates of Hades with the sinner. Thus my soul was drawn

atonement by the covenantal promises, like the earlier Pharisees. Thus, Paul did not need to feel “*Angst*” with respect to some of the demands of the law, but instead could feel relieved. One thus cannot simply say that Paul had a pessimistic view of human ability, and that the atmosphere of Rom. 7 is melodramatic. Rather, it is highly possible that Paul himself would admit two mind-sets as a normal situation even in pious Pharisees. Furthermore, Paul was focusing strongly against a power which opposes the Spirit. In other words, Paul’s point is that, even though we have two mind-sets, we have to “live in accordance with the Spirit” (Rom. 8:5). Therefore, for me such an interpretation is not opposed to the fact that Paul had a robust conscience when he was still part of Judaism (Phil.

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away from the Lord God of Israel, unless the Lord had come to my aid with his everlasting mercy. He jabbed me as a horse is goaded to keep it awake; my savior and protector at all times saved me. I will give thanks to you, O God, who came to my aid for (my) salvation and who did not count me with the sinners for (my) destruction”.

However, in interpreting these passages, attention is required. I think that Seifrid contributes positively by highlighting the fact that Paul did not experience “*Angst*” with respect to the demands of the law due to the atonement in terms of the covenantal promises. On the other hand, he fails to understand salvation, atonement, and observance of the law in terms of the framework of God’s grace, since he believes that the pre-Damascus Paul (to a certain extent, the post-Damascus Paul also), like *Ps. Sol.* and *IQS*, attached salvific value to observance of the law. Actually he translates *IQS* 11.3a as “And with *my righteous deeds* he will wipe away my transgressions”. (Seifrid’s italics.) In other words, according to my understanding of Seifrid’s view about the observance of the law, he tends to understand it in the sense in which the school of the Old perspective on Paul interpreted it, according to which Judaism in the first century was characterised by legalism (see the section “Further perspectives on the issue investigated in this study”, in Chapter 1). However, I believe that Seifrid should not use *IQS* 11.3 in order to support his own view. According to the translation of *IQS* 11.3 in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader: Texts Concerned with Religious Law*, edited by D. W. Parry & E. Tov (Leiden: Brill, 2004), p. 1:41 and *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations: Rule of the Community and Related Document*, edited by J. H. Charlesworth (Louisville & Tübingen: Westminster John Knox Press & J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1994), p. 1:47, the phrase that Seifrid translates as “with my righteous deeds”, should be translated as “by His/his righteousness”. Furthermore, I think that this translation reflects the atonement in terms of the covenantal promises more accurately.

3:4–6; Gal. 1:14; 1 Cor. 4:4).<sup>400</sup> In conclusion, Rom. 7 does not reflect Paul's frustrated mind about the law. If he had frustrated thoughts about the law, he would have wanted to find a solution from his situation. However, he does not ask who will rescue him from the law, but who will rescue him from death (Rom. 7:14, 24).

## **4.2. Paul shared the tradition of Gentile proselytism**

### **4.2.1. The role of circumcision**

Since there is no reference to circumcision in the tradition of the eschatological pilgrimage as one of patterns of Jewish universalism for the inclusion of Gentiles into God's people identified above, the possibility that Paul shared the tradition of Gentile proselytism concerning circumcision should be investigated thoroughly.

Firstly, I would like to deal with circumcision from a historical perspective to prove that Paul shared the tradition of Gentile proselytism. In fact, for Jews as the covenantal people it was very important to set their own boundary in terms of the wider Gentile world. For this reason it was inevitable for them to have a recognised rite. When a Gentile would cross this boundary, it meant that the Gentile had become a Jew. As a generally recognised ritual, there was nothing more important than

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<sup>400</sup> Kim, *The Origin of Paul's Gospel*, p. 53, believes that it is inconceivable that Paul did not have the human experience of an inner conflict between the will to do good and the actual act of evil, and that he never had any doubt about his ability to keep the law and was never troubled by it. See also Theissen, *Psychological Aspects*, p. 178 and Martin, "Some Reflections on the Identity of *ἐγώ* in Rom. 7:14–25", pp. 39–47. But if the pre-Damascus Paul had such conflict, frustration, and trouble, the cornerstone of his Jewish life and thought would have been shaken. However, such a fluctuation is not found in Paul's statements on his pre-conversion period.

circumcision. Accordingly, non-Jews pointed to circumcision as one the most distinguishing characteristics of Jews. Cohen<sup>401</sup> points out seven instances of conversion to Judaism which included the adoption of the practices and customs of the Jews (esp. circumcision) in Josephus' *The Antiquities of the Jews*: (1) The Gentiles who were circumcised in the time of Mordecai and Ester (*Ant.* 11.285); (2) The citizens of Idumea who were forced by Hyrcanus to be circumcised and to follow the practices of the Jews (*Ant.* 13.257-258); (3) The Ituraeans who were forced by Aristobulus to be circumcised and to live according to the laws of the Jews (*Ant.* 13.318-319); (4) Syllaeus the Nabatean who wished to marry Herod's sister Salome, but refused to be enrolled in the Jewish customs (*Ant.* 16.225); (5) The members of the royal house of Adiabene who changed their manner of life to the customs of the Jews, and who were brought over to their laws, that is, the laws of the Jews through the acceptance of circumcision (*Ant.* 20.17, 35, 38);<sup>402</sup> (6) Azizus king of Emesa, who was circumcised for the sake of marriage with Drusilla (*Ant.* 20.139); (7) Polemo king of Cilicia who was circumcised for the sake of marriage with Bernice (*Ant.* 20.145-146). Furthermore, in the Maccabean period circumcision was regarded as a sign and an essential expression of fidelity to the covenant (*1 Macc.* 1.60f; *2 Macc.* 6.10; *4 Macc.* 4.25).<sup>403</sup>

In addition, statements about the greatness of circumcision appear in

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<sup>401</sup> S. J. D. Cohen, "Respect for Judaism by Gentiles according to Josephus", *HTR* 80 (1987), pp. 419-420.

<sup>402</sup> See section 3.2.2 in Chapter 2.

<sup>403</sup> B. Meyer, "περιτέμνω", *TDNT* 6, p. 77, suggests that the sources begin to speak of circumcision as a sign of the covenant in the age of the Seleucides in the Hellenistic Roman period.

rabbinic literature.<sup>404</sup> In general, in Jewish literature, circumcision was considered to be a foremost sign of the covenantal relationship between God and the people of Israel (cf. Gen. 17), a practice that distinguished Israel from most of her pagan neighbours (*Jub.* 15.11–14, 23–34; 16.14).<sup>405</sup> Cohen<sup>406</sup> emphasises circumcision as the quintessential element of the practices and customs of the Jews:<sup>407</sup>

In the second century BCE circumcision achieved prominence, for Jews and gentiles alike, as *the* Jewish ritual, and in subsequent centuries many Gentile writers (for example, Tacitus and Juvenal) confirmed Josephus’s (and Paul’s!) view that the acceptance of circumcision is the acceptance of Judaism. (Cohen’s italics.)

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<sup>404</sup> McEleney, “Conversion, Circumcision and the Law”, p. 333, discusses the covenant as the main reason for circumcision. In particular, *m. Ned.* 3.11 states:

R. Eleazar b. Azariah says, “The foreskin is disgusting, for evil men are shamed by reference to it, as it is written, *For all the nations are uncircumcised.*” R. Ishmael says, “Great is circumcision, for thirteen covenants are made thereby.” R. Yose says, “Great is circumcision, since it overrides the prohibitions of the Sabbath, which is subject to strict rules.” R. Joshua b. Qorha says, “Great is circumcision, for it was not suspended even for a moment for the sake of Moses, the righteous.” R. Nehemiah says, “Great is circumcision, for it overrides the prohibition [against removing the marks of] *negaim.*” Rabbi says, “Great is circumcision, for, despite all the commandments which Abraham our father carried out, he was called completed and whole only when he had circumcised himself as it is said, *Walk before me and be perfect* (Gen. 17:1). “Another matter: Great is circumcision, for if it were not for that, the Holy One, blessed be He, would not have created his world, since it says, *Thus says the Lord: But for my covenant day and night, I should not have set forth the ordinances of heaven and earth* (Jer. 33:25).”

The importance of shedding blood in the rite – because it is a covenant – is stressed in *m. Shab.* 19.3. In *b. Shab.* 135a, Beth Shammai confers great importance upon shedding blood as a means of entering into the covenant relationship with God, and this gives the rite of circumcision a sacrificial aspect. *b. Shab.* 137b states that to circumcise a proselyte is God’s commandment.

<sup>405</sup> B. W. Longenecker, *The Triumph of Abraham’s God: The Transformation of Identity in Galatians* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998), p. 28.

<sup>406</sup> Cohen, “Crossing the Boundary and Becoming a Jew”, p. 27.

<sup>407</sup> Moore, *Judaism*, p. 2:16, points out that the two fundamental observances of Judaism are circumcision and the Sabbath.

In particular, in the first century the majority of Jews regarded the adoption of the customs of the Jews and circumcision as synonymous expressions and recognised that circumcision was a long established and prominent ritual.<sup>408</sup> Josephus explains the reason why circumcision is significant for Jews: circumcision is taken as a sign of the identification of Abraham's offspring from others (*Ant.* 1.192). Therefore, both Jews and Gentiles recognised the removal of the foreskin, to be performed ritually either on the eighth day after birth or upon converting to Judaism, as a mark indicating membership of the Jewish community. Cohen<sup>409</sup> concludes: "As far as is known no (non-Christian) Jewish community in antiquity accepted male proselytes who were not circumcised." In other words, if Gentiles wanted to be accepted into the Jewish community, they had to be circumcised.

On the other hand, there was a case of conversion to Judaism without circumcision. In *Quaest. Exod.* 2.2 of Philo, we find a reference to the "uncircumcised proselyte". Philo seems to suggest moral or spiritual circumcision in this passage. However, first of all, we must realise Philo's intention. I do not think that Philo was prepared to accept a male proselyte who had not been circumcised as a full member of his synagogue community, because elsewhere Philo himself consistently

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<sup>408</sup> See *Vita* 113, 149; Gilbert, "The Making of a Jew", p. 301. Greco-Roman and Christian literature confirms the importance of circumcision for conversion to Judaism (for a good investigation of the evidence, see J. J. Collins, "A Symbol of Otherness: Circumcision and Salvation in the First Century", in *To See Ourselves as Others See Us: Christians, Jews, "Others" in Late Antiquity*, edited by J. Neusner & E. S. Frerichs [Chico: Scholars Press, 1985], pp. 163-186.)

<sup>409</sup> Cohen, "Crossing the Boundary and Becoming a Jew", p. 27.



upholds the importance of physical circumcision (*Spec. Leg.* 1:1–11; *Quaest. Gen.* 3:47–52). Philo does not reject the meaning of moral or spiritual circumcision,<sup>410</sup> but the intention of the spiritual allegorists' views that neglected physical circumcision. Philo argues that spiritual observance should not replace physical observance, but that the spiritual observance was of necessity tied to the external observance of physical circumcision (*Migr. Abr.* 89–93). Donaldson<sup>411</sup> concludes:

[In *Migr. Abr.* 89–92] Philo denounces those radical allegorizers in his community who, while agreeing with him that specific prescriptions of the law are “symbols of matters belonging to the intellect,” take the next step of treating the literal observance “with easygoing neglect.” One would expect, then, that he would equally object to those who believed that since circumcision was ultimately a matter of excising the “pleasure, passions and other desires of the soul,” the physical symbol could be dispensed with.

An uncircumcised proselyte appears in *Ant.* 20:34–48. Izates really wanted to be circumcised in order to be a Jew in the true sense of the word, but Helena dissuaded him from being circumcised to avoid danger to his throne. Thus Ananias, who was a Jewish merchant, said that Izates “might worship God without being circumcised, even though he did resolve to follow the Jewish law entirely; which worship of God was of a superior nature to circumcision” (20:41). However, Eleazar recommended strongly that Izates had to be circumcised.<sup>412</sup> To prove the

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<sup>410</sup> “Circumcision means the excision of pleasure and all passions, and the putting away of the impious conceit” (*Migr. Abr.* 92).

<sup>411</sup> Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles*, p. 64.

<sup>412</sup> This debate between Ananias and Eleazar is similar to the debate between R. Eliezar

existence of Diaspora Pharisees,<sup>413</sup> some scholars believe that Ananias was a Diaspora Pharisee. However, Hengel<sup>414</sup> objects that there is nothing which hints that Ananias was a Pharisee. Rather, he adds that a second Jewish traveller, Eleazar, who came from Galilee and was regarded as particularly scrupulous in observing the ancestral laws, may perhaps have been a Pharisee. If Paul had stood on the position of Ananias or Eleazar, surely Paul, who “was a Pharisee and was advancing in Judaism beyond many Jews of my own age and was extremely zealous for the traditions of my fathers” (Phil. 3:5; Gal. 1:14), would have agreed with Eleazar.<sup>415</sup> Actually circumcision was the *sine qua non* for becoming a Jew and was a non-negotiable element.

Secondly, I would like to deal with circumcision from an exegetical perspective to prove that Paul shared the tradition of Gentile

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and R. Joshua (*b. Yeb.* 46a). Some scholars believe that R. Joshua admitted an uncircumcised proselyte, but Bamberger, *Proselytism in the Talmudic Period*, pp. 49–51, believes that R. Joshua did not intend to omit circumcision, and that the debate between R. Eliezar and R. Joshua should be interpreted as having to do with the point in the process at which one can be said to be a proselyte. J. Calvin, *Commentaries on the Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Philippians, Colossians, and Thessalonians*, trans. J. Pringle (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1948), p. 90, comments that the case of Jewish circumcision on the eighth day was not the same as that of foreigners, for after they had become proselytes they were circumcised in youth, or when grown up to manhood, and sometimes even in old age. According to *b. Yeb.* 47b, when the conversion ceremony is complete, it is then decided that the proselyte is like an Israelite in all respects.

Actually, uncircumcised proselytes became citizens or members of the Jewish polity only through worshipping God and abandoning their previous customs and gods. However, what we must note is whether or not the Jews (esp. Pharisees) recognised uncircumcised proselytes as Jews in terms of covenant. Apparently not (see Cohen, “Crossing the Boundary and Becoming a Jew”, p. 29.). If so, would Paul have admitted uncircumcised proselytes?

<sup>413</sup> See Schoeps, *Paul*, pp. 24–27.

<sup>414</sup> Hengel, *The Pre-Christian Paul*, p. 30.

<sup>415</sup> Significantly, Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles*, p. 277, argues that Eleazar provides us with a model of the type of role for Paul prior to his Damascus experience.

proselytism, according to Gal. 5:11 (ἐγὼ δέ, ἀδελφοί, εἰ περιτομὴν ἔτι κηρύσσω τί ἔτι διώκομαι).

Since I will deal with introductory issues of the Letter to the Galatians in Chapter 3, here it is better to deal with the outline of Gal. 5:2–12 only.

Some scholars regard Gal. 5:2–12 as Paul's authentic starting point for ethical paraenesis or exhortation.<sup>416</sup> M. Dibelius<sup>417</sup> believes that ethical paraenesis or exhortation which is started in Gal. 5, is something added without any connection to previous theological arguments. Therefore, Dibelius concludes that most of the material in Gal. 5–6 had little connection either with the crisis that prompted Paul to write this letter or with the theological exposition he developed in the central section of the letter. However, in this section we can see that one theme of the “other gospel” was circumcision, which Paul thus far had not addressed directly, but which one has to consider in various places in interpreting the letter.<sup>418</sup> Thus, we must not regard this section as one in which Paul brings in arguments that are totally different from the previous theological arguments.

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<sup>416</sup> Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 221; H. D. Betz, *Galatians: A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches in Galatia* (Hermeneia, Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), p. 253.

<sup>417</sup> M. Dibelius, *From Tradition to Gospel*, trans. B. L. Woolf (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 1971), p. 238–239, states:

The hortatory sections of the Pauline letters are clearly differentiated in material from what Paul otherwise wrote (p. 238).

Thus we see that the hortatory sections of the Pauline epistles have nothing to do with the theoretic foundation of the ethics of the Apostle, and very little with other ideas peculiar to him (p. 239).

<sup>418</sup> D. Lührmann, *Galatians*, trans. O. C. Dean, Jr (CC, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992), pp. 94–95.

With regard to the structure of Gal. 5:2–12, there are two opinions:

The conclusion of 4:21-31 <sup>419</sup>	<i>Gal.</i> <b>5:1</b>	The introduction of 5:2-12 <sup>420</sup>
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J. L. Martyn<sup>421</sup> explains why Gal. 5:1 cannot belong to 5:2–12: (1) 5:1 functions as the conclusion of the previous section rather than as an introduction to this 5:2–12; (2) 5:2 (*Ἴδε, ἐγὼ Παῦλος λέγω ὑμῖν*) signals a new turn in the argument (cf. 3:15); (3) There are no imperative and hortatory verbs in 5:2–12, whereas a number of such verbs punctuate the latter part of 5:13–6:10. Tolmie<sup>422</sup> provides a further argument: the metaphorical contrast between slavery and freedom which becomes the focus in 5:1, continues Paul’s scriptural argument in 4:21ff.; therefore, 5:1 belongs to 4:21ff.

Galatians 5:2–12 can be categorised as follows:

**1. A warning not to be circumcised** (vv. 2–6)

- 1) The first warning (v. 2)
- 2) The second warning (v. 3)
- 3) The third warning (v. 4)
- 4) A positive explanation of the opposite point of view (vv. 5–6)

<sup>419</sup> Bruce, *Galatians*, p. 226; J. L. Martyn, *Galatians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 33A, New York: Doubleday, 1998), pp. 467–468; Tolmie, *Galatians*, pp. 175–177; R. A. Cole, *The Epistle of Paul to the Galatians* (TNTC, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), p. 185; J. B. Lightfoot, *The Epistle of St Paul to the Galatians* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1957), p. 185.

<sup>420</sup> Longenecker, *Galatians*, pp. 223–224; E. D. Burton, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians* (ICC, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1921), p. 270; Betz, *Galatians*, pp. 253–254; F. Mussner, *Der Galaterbrief* (HTKNT, Freiburg: Herder, 1981), p. 342; Lührmann, *Galatians*, pp. 94–95.

<sup>421</sup> Martyn, *Galatians*, p. 468.

<sup>422</sup> Tolmie, *Galatians*, p. 175.

## 2. Vilification of the opponents (vv. 7-12)

Paul mentions circumcision in the second part as a basis for sarcasm against the opponents. Significantly, Paul refers to the fact that he preached circumcision. On the basis of Gal. 5:11, many scholars have concluded that Paul had engaged in Gentile proselytism before his commissioning.<sup>423</sup> However, some scholars believe that even the post-Damascus Paul defended or recommended circumcision in some cases (Acts 16:3). If so, that he would try to instruct Christians in other instances not to be circumcised, could be questioned.<sup>424</sup> G. Howard<sup>425</sup> believes that, since Paul was dependent on the Jerusalem apostles for his gospel, the agitators thought that Paul would agree with them who were Jewish Christian Judaizers from Jerusalem and who preached circumcision, and that Paul would have been their ally with regard to the issue of circumcision. However Gal. 5:11 was Paul's answer which thwarted the Judaizers' expectation.<sup>426</sup> According to Borgen,<sup>427</sup> Paul

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<sup>423</sup> Shoeps, *Paul*, pp. 168, 219; Bornkamm, *Paul*, pp. 10-12; Gaston, "Paul and the Torah", p. 61; Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles*, pp. 277-278; H. A. W. Meyer, *Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the Epistle to the Galatians*, trans. W. P. Dickson & G. H. VENABLES (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1873), p. 298.

<sup>424</sup> Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 206; Burton, *Galatians*, p. 286; Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 232.

<sup>425</sup> G. Howard, *Paul: Crisis in Galatia: A Study in Early Christian Theology* (SNTSMS 35, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 7-11, 44-45.

<sup>426</sup> P. Borgen, "Observations on the Theme 'Paul and Philo': Paul's Preaching of Circumcision in Galatia (Gal. 5:11) and Debates on Circumcision in Philo", in *Die paulinische Literatur und Theologie*, edited by S. PEDERSON (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980), pp. 85-102; Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 232, believes that the Judaizers knew that Paul approved of Jewish believers in Jesus expressing their faith in the traditional forms of Judaism, and that Paul lived a basically Jewish lifestyle continually (cf. 1 Cor. 7:17-20; 9:19-23).

<sup>427</sup> P. Borgen, "Paul Preached Circumcision and Pleas'd Men", in *Paul and Paulinism: Essays in Honor of C. K. Barrett*, edited by M. D. Hooker & S. G. Wilson (London: SPCK,

instructed the Galatians to get rid of fleshly desires, and this implied that Paul preached circumcision in line with Jewish views on moral or spiritual circumcision in the first century. In other words, as Philo pointed out moral or spiritual circumcision, Paul preached the real significance of circumcision, that is to say, circumcision intended the elimination of all pleasures, all passions, and impious pride. However, as I pointed out above (pp. 127–128), although Philo referred to moral or spiritual circumcision, he did not reject physical circumcision. Even if it were true that Philo neglected physical circumcision, this thought would have been a Philonic notion, not a Pauline one.<sup>428</sup>

Now the problem is to determine the stage at which Paul preached circumcision. Dunn<sup>429</sup> summarises six positions in this regard:

- (1) Paul is reacting to accusations that he had preached circumcision during his time in Judaism.
- (2) Paul's circumcision-free gospel was not widely known among more traditionally minded Christian Jews, and many of them believed that he still preached circumcision.
- (3) Paul is referring to the possibility that in the future he may adopt the circumcision of Gentiles as part of his gospel; so he envisages a purely hypothetical case.
- (4) Paul turns here to another group of opponents, the enthusiasts, who accused him of not being free enough in his Jewishness.
- (5) Paul's opponents were referring to Paul's warnings against the desires of the

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1982), pp. 37–41; “The Early Church and the Hellenistic Synagogue”, *STh* 37 (1983), pp. 55–78. I think that it is difficult to prove this, because there is little likelihood that Paul had in mind moral or spiritual circumcision when he instructed the Galatians to get rid of the desires of the flesh.

<sup>428</sup> J. M. G. Barclay, *Obeying the Truth: A Study of Paul's Ethics in Galatians* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988), p. 50.

<sup>429</sup> J. D. G. Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (BNTC, Peabody: Hendrickson, 1993), pp. 278–279.

flesh, understood by them as expressing the moral or spiritual meaning of circumcision.

- (6) Paul was accused by the other missionaries of being inconsistent: to the Gentiles (including the Galatians) he preached a circumcision-free gospel, but to the Jewish Christians he still preached circumcision.

Dunn insists that the last one makes the most sense.<sup>430</sup> Actually (1) refers to the pre-Damascus Paul; (2), (4), (5) and (6) belong to Paul at and post-Damascus; (3) refers to Paul in the future. To my mind, the first one is the most likely interpretation. Here Paul tries to contrast himself with his opponents: his position is that he had preached circumcision in the past, but that he did not do it anymore. The opponents' position is that they still preached circumcision even at the time when Paul did not preach circumcision anymore. In particular, what we have to note is the position of *ἐγώ*. *ἐγώ* is strictly speaking not necessary. Nevertheless, it is emphatically placed in a prominent position at the beginning of the sentence.<sup>431</sup> H. D. Betz<sup>432</sup> points out that, in analysing the sentence, we should recognise that Paul, by placing *ἐγώ* at the beginning of the sentence, makes a statement about himself.

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<sup>430</sup> Some scholars, such as Tolmie, *Galatians*, p. 186; J. Bligh, *Galatians: A Discussion of St Paul's Epistle* (London: St Paul Publications, 1970), p. 431, agree with Dunn. L. Morris, *Galatians: Paul's Charter of Christian Freedom* (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1996), p. 161, believes that both (1) and (6) are likely. However, G. W. Hansen, *Galatians* (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1994), p. 160, states that if the letter to the Galatians were written after Paul circumcised Timothy, as recorded in Acts 16:3, (6) may make the most sense. To my mind it not likely that the Letter to the Galatians was written after Paul had circumcised Timothy. Nevertheless, it is likely that the Letter to the Galatians was written in around A.D. 49 before the Jerusalem Council in Acts 15 (See the section "When and where was the latter to the Galatians written?" in 2.1 in Chapter 3).

<sup>431</sup> Tolmie, *Galatians*, p. 187.

<sup>432</sup> Betz, *Galatians*, p. 268.

Therefore, we cannot say that this passage indicates a hypothetical case.<sup>433</sup> Furthermore, the presence of the adverb ἔτι could reflect his opponents' words, but its repetition by Paul implies his own admittance that there was a time when he actually preached circumcision.<sup>434</sup> If the situation of κηρύσσειν περιτομήν was not hypothetical, but real for Paul, it means that the pre-Damascus Paul had regarded circumcision just as importantly as the post-Damascus Paul regarded Christ. If so, the time when Paul had viewed circumcision as important as Christ, can only be the time prior to Damascus.<sup>435</sup> Bruce<sup>436</sup> comments that if the pre-Damascus Paul had engaged in Gentile proselytism, "he would certainly have preached circumcision, because such a zealot for the traditions would not have regarded circumcision as optional, as something which might be neglected", but as mandatory, as something which had to be practised.

Finally, I would like to conclude by Longenecker's<sup>437</sup> comment:

[Paul's opponents] may have used [ἔτι] in a logical fashion ("despite what he says, Paul *still* advocates circumcision when it suits his purpose") or in a temporal fashion ("he used to advocate circumcision, either before his conversion to Christ or in an earlier phase of his Christian ministry, and he

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<sup>433</sup> H. Ridderbos, *The Epistle of Paul to the Churches of Galatia*, trans. H. Zylstra (NICNT, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1953), pp. 193–194, suggests a hypothetical case, not a real one.

<sup>434</sup> Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 233.

<sup>435</sup> Burton, *Galatians*, p. 286, asserts:

The use of ἔτι with κηρύσσω implies that there was a time when he preached circumcision. The reference is doubtless to his pre-Christian life, since we have no information that he ever advocated circumcision after he became a Christian.

<sup>436</sup> Bruce, *Galatians*, p. 236.

<sup>437</sup> Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 233.



*still* does when he finds it expedient”). But without any contextual indication that it is to be taken in a logical fashion and with no information in any of his letters that he ever advocated circumcision (particularly for Gentile believers) after he became a Christian, we are left with only the temporal interpretation of ἔτι as having reference to his pre-Christian life and activities. Paul’s testimony is: I preached that way once (i.e., before my conversion to Christ), but no more – whatever my opponents say about me. And the practical proof that even his opponents know this, despite what they say about him, is that they treat him not as a friend but as an opponent, and so persecute him and his converts. (Longenecker’s italics.)

#### **4.2.2. The evidence of Rom. 11**

As indicated above, the tradition of an eschatological pilgrimage is characterised by the following scheme: Dispersion among the Gentiles, oppression by the nations, and unfaithfulness to the covenant within Israel ⇒ The restoration of Israel’s present situation on that day ⇒ The gathering of the Gentiles at Zion to take part in salvation. What is important in this tradition is that the restoration of the Gentiles would follow that of Israel. Since it is clear that the post-Damascus Paul accepted the notion that Gentiles are saved through Christ, we can determine to what extent the notion of an eschatological pilgrimage functioned in his mind, by looking at the relationship between the salvation of the Gentiles and that of Israel. In terms of the logic of the notion of the eschatological pilgrimage it is not simply that the Gentiles would go to Mount Zion to worship God in the last days. In other words, the relationship of the Gentiles’ eschatological pilgrimage to Israel’s restoration is a matter not simply of sequence, but of consequence: the second one takes place precisely because the first one has taken place

already.<sup>438</sup> The best place to investigate this matter is Rom. 11.

By investigating Rom. 11, in which Paul explains the relationship between Israel's future and the salvation of the Gentiles, I will attempt to determine whether the tradition of an eschatological pilgrimage formed the base of Paul's concern for the Gentiles.

First of all we need to investigate introductory issues of the Letter to the Romans and the problem of Rom. 9–11. Finally, I will deal with the relationship between Israel's future and the salvation of the Gentiles in Rom. 11.

#### **4.2.2.1. Introductory issues of the Letter to the Romans**

• ***Who wrote the letter to the Romans?*** In general, most scholars accept that Paul wrote the Letter to the Romans. In fact, this claim has rarely been challenged, since the name *Παῦλος* is expressed clearly in Rom. 1:1. Cranfield,<sup>439</sup> referring to those who believe that the Letter to the Romans was not written by Paul, points out that there is nothing convincing in their arguments.<sup>440</sup> In addition, C. H. Dodd<sup>441</sup> and C. K. Barrett<sup>442</sup> assert that the authenticity of the Letter to the Romans is a closed question.

However, there is one question relating to the authorship of the Letter to the Romans as a whole. The question is one of the precise part

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<sup>438</sup> Donaldson, "Israelite, Convert, Apostle to the Gentiles", p. 78.

<sup>439</sup> Cranfield, *Romans*, pp. 1:1–2.

<sup>440</sup> Cranfield refers to E. Evanson, B. Bauer, A. D. Loman and R. Steck as scholars who deny Paul's authorship of Romans.

<sup>441</sup> C. H. Dodd, *The Epistle of Paul to the Romans* (MNTC, London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1932), p. 9.

<sup>442</sup> Barrett, *Romans*, p. 1.

played by Tertius in the production of the letter (Rom. 16:22– “I, Tertius, who wrote down this letter, greet you in the Lord.”). There are three different possibilities that have been suggested:<sup>443</sup>

1. Paul communicated the general themes of the letter to Tertius, who wrote the letter in accordance with Paul’s instructions but acted as a much more independent secretary.
2. Tertius took down Paul’s dictation in shorthand and then subsequently wrote it out in longhand.
3. Paul dictated the letter word for word, and Tertius wrote it out in longhand.

Actually, we cannot decide which the best option is. However, in analysing the three different possibilities, it seems best to accept that the letter represents word for word what Paul dictated. Some scholars argue that Tertius had a much more free hand in composing the letter. However, Cranfield<sup>444</sup> quite correctly asserts that it is more likely that Paul dictated the letter to Tertius, because someone who deals with such highly original, closely articulated and also extremely difficult thoughts as expressed in the Letter to the Romans, would not entrust voluntarily the expression of them to another person; Fitzmyer<sup>445</sup> points out that the ever present *γάρ* (for) which is so abundant in the letter (143 occurrences), suggests a dictated text, since the repetition of it sounds like spoken language; Schreiner<sup>446</sup> argues that the style of the Letter to the Romans is very similar to that of the undisputed Pauline letters, and

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<sup>443</sup> Cranfield, *Romans*, pp. 1:2–3; Schreiner, *Romans*, p. 2.

<sup>444</sup> Cranfield, *Romans*, p. 1:4.

<sup>445</sup> J. A. Fitzmyer, *Romans: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 33, New York: Doubleday, 1993), p. 42.

<sup>446</sup> Schreiner, *Romans*, pp. 2–3.

that there is no evidence that Tertius was involved in the composition of either of those letters (cf. Gal. 6:11).<sup>447</sup> Therefore, the Letter to the Romans should be accepted as the product of Paul's dictation to Tertius.

• ***When and where was the Letter to the Romans written?*** There are various opinions about the date of the letter to the Romans. G. Luedemann<sup>448</sup> believes that the letter was written in 51-52 or 54-55; Barrett<sup>449</sup> and L. Morris,<sup>450</sup> in early 55; Kümmel<sup>451</sup> in the spring of 55 or 56; J. A. T. Robinson,<sup>452</sup> Bruce<sup>453</sup> and Drane<sup>454</sup> in early 57; Cranfield,<sup>455</sup> Dunn,<sup>456</sup> Bornkamm<sup>457</sup> and Stuhlmacher<sup>458</sup> in the winter/spring of 55-56 or 56-57; Moo,<sup>459</sup> in 57; W. Sanday and A. C. Headlam,<sup>460</sup> Guthrie,<sup>461</sup> M. Black,<sup>462</sup> Fitzmyer<sup>463</sup> and Brown<sup>464</sup> in the winter/spring 57-58; Dodd,<sup>465</sup>

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<sup>447</sup> D. J. Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans* (NICNT, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), p. 2.

<sup>448</sup> G. Luedemann, *Paul: Apostle to the Gentiles: Studies in Chronology*, trans. F. S. Jones (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), p. 263.

<sup>449</sup> Barrett, *Romans*, p. 5.

<sup>450</sup> L. Morris, *The Epistle to the Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), pp. 6-7.

<sup>451</sup> W. G. Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, trans. H. C. Kee (Nashville: Abingdon, 1975), p. 311.

<sup>452</sup> J. A. T. Robinson, *Redating the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1976), p. 55.

<sup>453</sup> Bruce, *Paul: Apostle of the Free Spirit*, p. 324.

<sup>454</sup> J. Drane, "Why Did Paul Write Romans?" in *Pauline Studies: Essays Presented to Professor F. F. Bruce on His Seventieth Birthday*, edited by D. A. Hagner and M. J. Harris (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), p. 209.

<sup>455</sup> Cranfield, *Romans*, p. 1:16.

<sup>456</sup> Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, pp. xliii-xliv.

<sup>457</sup> G. Bornkamm, "The Letter to the Romans as Paul's Last Will and Testament", in *The Romans Debate*, edited by K. P. Donfried (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1991), p. 16; *Paul*, p. xii, believes that the letter to the Romans was written in the winter of A.D. 55/56.

<sup>458</sup> P. Stuhlmacher, *Paul's Letter to the Romans: A Commentary*, trans. S. J. Hafemann (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1994), p. 8.

<sup>459</sup> Moo, *Romans*, p. 3.

<sup>460</sup> W. Sanday and A. C. Headlam, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (ICC, Edinburgh; T&T Clark, 1902), p. xiii.

<sup>461</sup> Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, p. 397.

<sup>462</sup> M. Black, *Romans* (NCB, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1973), p. 20.

in 59.

Paul informs us himself of the background of the letter. He is going to Jerusalem in order to deliver the collection which “Macedonia and Achaia were pleased to make a contribution for the poor among the saints in Jerusalem” (Rom. 15:22–29). This situation corresponds well with the one of Acts 20:3–6, according to which, towards the end of the third journey, Paul is going to Jerusalem accompanied by a delegation of the churches which were founded by him. Luke reports that Paul had stayed in Greece for three months. Thus, Paul possibly wrote Romans during the three-month interval in which he was in Greece, especially in Corinth (2 Cor. 13:1, 10).<sup>466</sup> The reasons are that (1) Paul commends Phoebe, who was probably the messenger of the letter and was from Cenchrea which was a port town adjacent to Corinth (Rom. 16:1–2); (2) Gaius is said to be Paul’s host (Rom. 16:23), and it is likely that this is the same Gaius who was baptised by Paul in Corinth (1 Cor. 1:14); (3) Erastus may be the same person who served as a chamberlain in Corinth (cf. 2 Tim. 4:20 – Erastus stayed in Corinth). If so, the writing date may be anytime during Paul’s stay in Corinth. One cannot be more exact than this. I would like to conclude with Dunn’s<sup>467</sup> comment:

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<sup>463</sup> Fitzmyer, *Romans*, p. 87.

<sup>464</sup> Brown, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, p. 560.

<sup>465</sup> Dodd, *Romans*, p. xxvi.

<sup>466</sup> Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, p. xlv; Schreiner, *Romans*, p. 4; Moo, *Romans*, pp. 2–3; Bornkamm, “The Letter to the Romans as Paul’s Last Will and Testament”, p. 16; Black, *Romans*, p. 20; Murray, *Romans*, pp. 1:xv–xvi; R. Scroggs, “Paul as Rhetorician: Two Homilies in Romans 1–11”, in *Jews, Greeks and Christians: Religious Cultures in late Antiquity: Essays in Honor of W. D. Davies*, edited by R. Hamerton-Kelly and R. Scroggs (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976), p. 288.

<sup>467</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xliii.

Suffice it to say that the letter must have been written sometime in the 50s A.D., probably in the middle 50s, and most probably late 55/early 56, or late 56/early 57.

- ***Who were the recipients of the Letter to the Romans?*** Who the recipients of the Letter to the Romans were, is not the main issue. Rather the main issue is what character the Christian community in Rome had, since this influences the interpretation of the letter.

There are three theories concerning the composition of the Christian community in Rome.

**Mainly Jewish Christians:** W. Manson,<sup>468</sup> asserting that Rom. 9–11, which would only be of interest to Jewish Christians, is “the innermost core” of the Letter to the Romans, believes that the whole argument of the letter is more applicable to Jews than to Gentiles.<sup>469</sup> However, to my mind Rom. 9–11 focuses on God’s faithfulness and the salvation of Israel and Gentiles. Therefore, Manson’s claim is unconvincing. However, what we have to accept is the fact that a strong Jewish community had become

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<sup>468</sup> W. Manson, *The Epistle to the Hebrews: An Historical and Theological Reconsideration: The Baird Lecture, 1949* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1951), pp. 179–184.

<sup>469</sup> S. Mason, “‘For I Am Not Ashamed of the Gospel’ (Rom. 1:16): The Gospel and the First Readers of Romans”, in *Gospel in Paul: Studies on Corinthians, Galatians and Romans for Richard N. Longenecher*, edited by L. A. Jervis and P. Richardson (JSNTSup 108, Sheffield, 1994), p. 255; F. Watson, “The Two Roman Congregations: Romans 14:1–15:13”, in *The Romans Debate*, edited by K. P. Donfried (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1991), pp. 212–215. Watson, asserting that there was no single Roman congregation, but two opposing groups on the basis of Rom. 1:7, believes that Paul is primarily addressing Jewish Christians. According to him, the reason why Paul called himself the apostle to the Gentiles is that he wanted to persuade the Roman Jewish Christians that salvation was not for them alone but for everyone who believed – including Gentiles (Rom. 1:8–16). However, to my mind, Watson tends to interpret this passage (esp. Rom. 1:16) only in historical terms. I think that Rom. 1:16 should be interpreted primarily theologically (See my investigation of Rom. 1:16, pp. 151–152). For a detailed criticism of Watson’s view, see Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, p. lvii.

established in Rome, since many Jewish captives returned to Rome under Pompey in B.C. 62. Furthermore, Christianity in Rome had probably begun in the Jewish community.<sup>470</sup> Nevertheless, we cannot say that the Christian community in Rome was composed of mainly Jewish Christians, since the situation at the establishment of the Christian community in Rome was not necessarily the same as the situation when Paul wrote the letter.

**Mainly Gentile Christians:** The following reasons why the Christian community in Rome consisted of mainly Gentile Christians are usually provided: (1) Paul informs the readers that he was called as an apostle to the Gentiles (1:5); (2) In 11:13 Paul refers to this identity of the readers;<sup>471</sup> (3) The Christian community in Rome could not but have consisted of mainly Gentile Christians because of the expulsion of the Jews in 49 by Claudius' decree.<sup>472</sup>

**A mixed community:** Actually, the period of the expulsion of the Jews in 49 by Claudius' decree would not be a long one due to the death of Claudius (A.D. 54). So right after A.D. 54 many Jews returned to Rome. If one follows the majority view about the writing date of the Letter to Romans (A.D. 57), it is highly likely that there would be many Jews in the Christian community in Rome at the time when Paul wrote the letter.

In conclusion, if I have to construct the composition of the

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<sup>470</sup> Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, pp. xlv-xlvi; K. P. Donfried, "A Short Note on Romans 16", in *The Romans Debate*, edited by K. P. Donfried (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1991), p. 47.

<sup>471</sup> Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, p. 395.

<sup>472</sup> Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, pp. 309-311; Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, pp. xxxiii-xxxiv; Barrett, *Romans*, pp. 6-7, 23; Morris, *Romans*, p. 5; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, p. 33.

Christian community in Rome from the beginning of the community to the time when Paul wrote the letter, I would describe it as follows: There were mainly Jewish Christians in the Christian community in Rome, centred in Jewish synagogues, before A.D. 49; after A.D. 49 the Christian community in Rome was increasingly composed of Gentile Christians;<sup>473</sup> because of the fact that many Jewish Christians could return to Rome after A.D. 54, the Christian community in Rome increasingly entered a phase of a mixed community.<sup>474</sup>

• ***Why was the Letter to the Romans written?*** Guthrie<sup>475</sup> identifies the following five purposes that the Letter to the Romans may have had:<sup>476</sup> (1) a polemical purpose, since the main target at which Paul was aiming was Jewish Christianity; (2) a conciliatory purpose, since Paul was attempting to reconcile Jewish and Gentile elements; (3) a doctrinal purpose, since Paul was attempting to explain his doctrinal position rather than the historical situation; (4) the purpose may have been to sum up Paul's present experience, since Paul felt a necessity of arranging the fruits of his past work; (5) the purpose may have been to meet the immediate needs of the readers. Some scholars who regard the Letter to

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<sup>473</sup> W. Wiefel, "The Jewish Community in Ancient Rome and the Origins of Roman Christianity", in *The Romans Debate*, edited by K. P. Donfried (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1991), pp. 92-101; Moo, *Romans*, p. 5.

<sup>474</sup> Schreiner, *Romans*, p. 13, constructs the composition of the Christian community in Rome in a similar way as I do.

<sup>475</sup> Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, pp. 397-400.

<sup>476</sup> L. A. Jervis, *The Purpose of Romans: A Comparative Letter Structure Investigation* (JSNTSup 55, Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), pp. 15-28, suggests three main purposes of the Letter to the Romans: (1) theological; (2) missionary; (3) pastoral. According to his view, the purpose of the Letter to the Romans is related to the letter's content.



the Romans as an exposition and summary of Paul's theology or a synopsis of Paul's theology, agree with purpose (3).<sup>477</sup> On the other hand, many scholars reject this view, since central issues in Pauline teaching are missing (e.g., the Lord's Supper in 1 Cor. 11:17–34; Paul's developed eschatology; the discussion or explanation of the resurrection in 1 Cor. 15 or 1 Thess. 4:13–5:11; a well-articulated Christology; a compact theological exposition such as those in Phil. 2:6–11 or Col. 1:15–20). G. Klein<sup>478</sup> believes that Paul did not regard the Roman church as an authentic church since it lacked an apostolic foundation (on the basis of Rom. 15:20), and thus the word *ἐκκλησία* is absent from Rom. 1–15. Therefore, according to Klein, Paul wanted to establish an authentic church with an apostolic basis by preaching the gospel in Rome. However, to my mind, Paul does not try to degrade the Roman church to a non-authentic church, since he applauds it in Rom. 1:8 and 15:14–15. Furthermore, A. J. M. Wedderburn,<sup>479</sup> who accepts M. Kettunen's view, correctly criticises Klein that the absence of the word *ἐκκλησία* is insignificant and should not be pressed excessively, since Paul addresses the Letter to the Romans to the promised people of God, who are called and beloved of God (Rom. 1:1–7). Furthermore, Dunn<sup>480</sup> explains the reason for Paul's avoidance of the word by pointing out that it should be

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<sup>477</sup> Thus, Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, p. xliii, state that the Letter to the Romans “is the ripened fruit of the thought and struggles of the eventful years by which it had been preceded”.

<sup>478</sup> G. Klein, “Paul's Purpose in Writing the Epistle to the Romans”, in *The Romans Debate*, edited by K. P. Donfried (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1991), pp. 29–43.

<sup>479</sup> A. J. M. Wedderburn, *The Reasons for Romans* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1988), pp. 48–49.

<sup>480</sup> Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, pp. lv–lvi.

noted that “Paul does not refrain from using the even more significant description, ‘one body in Christ’ (12:5), in a first person plural reference which clearly includes the Roman addressees”. Therefore, Klein’s view is unacceptable.

Actually, the purpose which Paul clarifies himself, is that after he has completed his missionary work in the east, he is going to Spain; furthermore, he hopes to visit Rome on his way to Spain and to spend a short time with the church there, and then, recharged by their fellowship, to start his new missionary journey with their blessing, their interest, and their support.<sup>481</sup> Thereby, he would feel that it was necessary to explain his gospel and God’s redemptive plan towards the entire world. Therefore, we can accept that the letter had a missionary and apologetic purpose.

• ***Outline of the Letter to the Romans.*** On the basis of the scholars’ structure of the Letter to the Romans, whom I mentioned above (e.g., Dunn, Cranfield, Schreiner, Moo, and Fitzmyer), I want to construct the structure of the Letter to the Romans as follows:

**Introduction** (1:1-17)

1. Address and salutation (1:1-7)
2. Paul’s prayer (1:8-15)
3. Theme: The gospel of God’s righteousness (1:16-17)

**Humankind under God’s wrath** (1:18-3:20)

1. The Jews under God’s wrath (1:18-32)
2. The Gentiles under God’s wrath (2:1-3:8)

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<sup>481</sup> Cranfield, *Romans*, p. 1:22-23; Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, pp. lv-lvi.

3. All humankind under God's wrath (3:9-20)

**Humankind which needs God's salvation (3:21-4:25)**

1. God's righteousness through faith in Jesus Christ (3:21-31)
2. Abraham as a test case (4:1-25)

**The new perspective of faith under God's grace (5:1-8:39)**

1. The new perspective on the believer (5:1-11)
2. The new perspective on the redemption of humankind (5:12-21)
3. The believer who has experienced the death to sin and the life in God (6:1-23)
4. The role of the law in a triangular structure (Sin, death, and the law) (7:1-25)
5. The believer under the power of the Spirit (8:1-30)
6. The triumph of God - His faithfulness and the assurance (8:31-39)

**God's covenantal faithfulness toward God's people (9:1-11:36)**

1. God's covenantal faithfulness toward Israel (9:1-29)
2. Israel's rejection of God's righteousness (9:30-11:12)
3. The mystery of God's redemptive plan toward Israel and the Gentiles (11:13-32)
4. Concluding doxology (11:33-36)

**The new life of the redefined people of God (12:1-15:13)**

1. Paradigm for exhortations: Total dedication to God (12:1-2)
2. Marks of the believer's life (12:3-13:14)
3. The problem of the communal trouble and the solution (14:1-15:6)
4. Concluding summary: God's mercy and faithfulness (15:7-13)

**Conclusion (15:14-16:27)**

1. Paul's mission and plans (15:14-33)
2. Final greetings (16:1-23)
3. Concluding doxology (16:25-27)

#### **4.2.2.2. Outline of Romans 9-11**

According to the traditional view, Paul deals with justification by faith in Rom. 1-8, and then with predestination in Rom. 9-10. Consequently, it follows that Paul changes the theme from justification by faith to

predestination. However, Dunn<sup>482</sup> criticises this view that Paul reverts to the theme of “righteousness” and “faith” for the last time in Rom. 9:30–10:17, and argues that Paul has not changed the focus of his attention in Rom. 9–11. In other words, Paul still pays attention to justification by faith in Rom. 9–11. Käsemann<sup>483</sup> asserts that the doctrine of justification dominates Rom. 9–11 no less than the rest of the Pauline letters.<sup>484</sup> Furthermore, Cranfield<sup>485</sup> is of the opinion that Paul could not but explain the relationship to Israel in explaining the gospel in the Romans. The reasons that he provides are: (1) Paul identifies the gospel with something about God’s Son who was a descendant of David and calls him Jesus Christ (Rom. 1:1–4). The linking of the expressions “a descendant of David”, “Jesus Christ”, and “the gospel” demands that the gospel cannot be properly understood except in relation to Israel, God’s special people; (2) In particular, Rom. 1:2 implies that the gospel is closely linked to the true interpretation of the Old Testament. Without taking into account the phenomenon of Israel, therefore, we cannot expect a satisfactory interpretation of the Old Testament, and the interpretation of the Old Testament would be meaningless; (3) Rom. 1:16 states that the gospel was preached to Jews first. In particular, Rom. 3:2 explains the position of the Jews in detail. Furthermore, Rom. 3:1ff. deals with the relationship between Israel’s unfaithfulness and God’s faithfulness.

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<sup>482</sup> Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, pp. 500–501.

<sup>483</sup> Käsemann, *Perspectives on Paul*, p. 75.

<sup>484</sup> Bornkamm, *Paul*, p. 149; R. H. Bell, *Provoked to Jealousy* (WUNT 2.63, Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1994), p. 55.

<sup>485</sup> Cranfield, *Romans*, pp. 2:445–446.

Therefore, it is not surprising that Paul would feel that it was necessary to deal with the relationship between Israel's unfaithfulness and God's faithfulness in more detail and at length in Rom. 9-11. Thus Robinson<sup>486</sup> suggests that Rom. 9-11 is a detailed expansion of the issues raised and adumbrated in Rom. 3. Dunn explains the structure of Rom. 1-11 as that of a problem and its solution: Rom. 1-8 gives the problem, and then Rom. 9-11 provides the solution. Thus Rom. 1-8 ends with the problem of how God could be trusted to be so faithful to his own people (8:31-39), if he had not been faithful to Israel (8:31). Rom. 9-11 provides an answer to this. Actually, before Paul begins with the answer, he repeats the problem (Rom. 9:6; 11:1). Thus, without Rom. 1-8, we cannot really determine what Paul wants to answer in Rom. 9-11; without Rom. 9-11, the Letter to the Romans would become a letter with a question but no answer.

Therefore, we must not treat Rom. 9-11 like an excursus or an appendix, but as the climactic point in the letter.<sup>487</sup> Actually, Rom. 9-11

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<sup>486</sup> See J. A. T. Robinson, *Wrestling with Romans* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1979), p. 109.

3:1-2	9:1-5	The privileges of the Jews
3:3-4	9:6-13	The faithlessness of the Jews does not mean God's promise has failed
3:5-6	9:14-18	His judgment of some does not mean that he is unjust
3:7-8	9:19-29	But is it not unfair of him then to find fault? No
3:9-20	9:30-33	What then? Just what Scripture says: as far as legal righteousness is concerned the Jews have failed as hopelessly as the Gentiles
3:21-28	10	But there is a righteousness of God that comes by faith, open to all without distinction
3:29-31	11	God is the God neither of Jew nor of Gentile alone: he will save both and thus vindicate his ways to man

<sup>487</sup> L. Goppelt, *Jesus, Paul and Judaism: An Introduction to New Testament Theology*, trans. E. Schroeder (New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1964), p. 153, states that Rom. 9-11 is "the keystone which closes the arch of Paul's theology and holds it all together".

shows the real climax of Paul's attempt to understand the place of Jew and Gentile in God's redemptive plan.<sup>488</sup> What Paul wants to explain in Rom. 9–11 is how God has applied justification by faith, which is the main theme in Rom. 1–8, to Jews and Gentiles and how God will apply justification by faith to Jews and Gentiles. In this sense, Paul tries to relate the salvation of the Gentiles to Israel's future.

Sanders<sup>489</sup> indicates that Rom. 9–11 begins with two questions: one is about the fate of the Jews; the second is about God's constancy, and they lead to the third question, about the fate of the universe. Dunn<sup>490</sup> believes that Paul, emphasising God's faithfulness,<sup>491</sup> deals with the relationship between Israel and the Gentiles, especially, the matter about the future of Israel in Rom. 9–11.<sup>492</sup>

In dealing with these matters, Paul indicates the double-faced

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See also Stendahl, *Paul among Jews and Gentiles*, p. 4; Beker, *Paul the Apostle*, p. 87; Moo, *Romans*, pp. 547–552. Peculiarly, Scroggs, "Paul as Rhetorician: Two Homilies in Romans 1–11", pp. 271–297, is of the opinion that in Rom. 1–4 and 9–11 Paul reworks an ancient Jewish pattern, using it to reinterpret *Heilsgeschichte*; therefore, Rom. 1–4 and 9–11 are identified with a sermon to the Jews; that in Rom. 5–8, Paul speaks out of a diatribe structure perhaps remoulded by the Hellenistic synagogue. Scroggs, therefore, concludes that Rom. 5–8 was appended to Rom. 1–4 and 9–11 at a later period. On the other hand, T. H. Tobin, who regards Rom. 8:31–11:36 as an integral part of Paul's overall argument in Romans, in *Paul's Rhetoric in its Contexts: The Argument of Romans* (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 2004), p. 299, is of the opinion that "The relationship of 8:31–11:36 to 8:1–30 is analogous to the relationship of 2:1–3:20 to 1:18–32, 3:27–4:25 to 3:21–26, and Romans 6–7 to Romans 5".

<sup>488</sup> Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, p. 501.

<sup>489</sup> E. P. Sanders, *Paul* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 118.

<sup>490</sup> Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, pp. 500–504.

<sup>491</sup> D. E. Holwerda, *Jesus & Israel: One Covenant or Two?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), p. 154, accepts that in Rom. 9–11 Paul's concern is the election of Israel and the problem of how the election of Israel can be maintained in the face of such widespread unbelief of Israel. He, therefore, thinks that Paul focuses on God's faithfulness in the beginning of Rom. 9–11.

<sup>492</sup> Schreiner, *Paul*, pp. 453–484.

nature of God's purpose.

1. Election of mercy ⇔ Purpose of wrath (9:6-23)
2. Gentiles are called too ⇔ Only a remnant of Israel is called (9:24-29)
3. Righteousness from the law ⇔ Righteousness from faith (9:30-10:21)
4. A remnant according to grace ⇔ The hardened rest (11:1-10)
5. Israel's fall has a positive result: salvation for the Gentiles ⇔ Israel's fall as a standing warning to Gentiles lest they make a similar mistake (11:11-24)
6. Israel hardening — Gentile incoming ⇔ Gentile fullness — Israel's salvation (11:25-32)<sup>493</sup>

Points 1 to 6 indicated above show how God's redemptive plan runs to its climax, namely, from God's election to the consummation of God's redemptive plan including all (Israel and Gentiles). Therefore, in these terms Rom. 9-11 corresponds to the reason why Paul wrote the letter to the Romans.<sup>494</sup>

#### **4.2.2.3. The tradition of an eschatological pilgrimage and Rom. 11**

Sanders <sup>495</sup> presupposes that Paul follows the tradition of an eschatological pilgrimage in this chapter, namely that, in the last days, the Gentiles would come to worship the God of Israel and that they would come to Mount Zion bearing gifts, or offerings, and they would come bringing themselves to serve God.<sup>496</sup> Thus Sanders accepts that God

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<sup>493</sup> J. D. G. Dunn, *Romans 9-16* (WBC 38B, Dallas: Word Books, 1988), p. 519.

<sup>494</sup> See the section "Why was the Letter to the Romans written?" in 4.2.2.1.

<sup>495</sup> Sanders, *Paul*, p. 3.

<sup>496</sup> See Shoeps, *Paul*, p. 219; C. H. H. Scobie, "Jesus or Paul? The Origin of the Universal Mission of the Christian Church", in *From Jesus to Paul: Studies in Honor of F. W. Beare*, edited by P. Richardson & J. C. Hurd (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1984), pp. 51-52; F. Hahn, *Mission in the New Testament* (London: SCM Press, 1965), pp. 107-110; M. Barth, *The People of God* (JSNTSup 5, Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983), pp. 42-43. Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People*, p. 171,

would *first* restore Israel, and *then* the Gentiles would come in. According to Sanders' conclusion, Paul saw himself as the agent of the second half of God's redemptive plan. However, Rom. 11 presents the order of God's redemptive plan as follows: Israel's rejection of the gospel ⇒ Gentiles' acceptance of the gospel ⇒ The salvation of all Israel. Sanders<sup>497</sup> expresses this order as "an ingenious revision" of God's redemptive plan.<sup>498</sup> Dunn<sup>499</sup> also accepts the notion that Paul has reversed the more typically Jewish expectation that the salvation of the Gentiles would form the final stage through an eschatological pilgrimage and that the triumph of Israel's faith would be announced. The reason why Sanders is convinced that the order of God's redemptive plan was to save first the Jew and *then* the non-Jew, is Rom. 1:16.<sup>500</sup> Actually, it is clear that the word *πρῶτον* indicates "a certain undeniable priority of the Jew"<sup>501</sup> or "Jewish priority in God's saving purpose".<sup>502</sup> Schreiner<sup>503</sup> suggests that, by means of the word *πρῶτον*, Paul may be referring to his missionary practice of using the synagogue as a starting point for the preaching of the gospel. However, Dunn<sup>504</sup> does not agree. According to

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makes a link between the collection and the structure of the eschatological pilgrimage (See R. D. Aus, "Paul's Travel plans to Spain and the 'Full Number of the Gentiles' of Rom 11:25", *NovT* 21 [1979], p. 242; H. Hübner, *Gottes Ich und Israel: Zum Schriftgebrauch des Paulus in Römer 9-11* [FRLANT 136, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984], pp. 112-113.).

<sup>497</sup> Sanders, *Paul*, p. 123.

<sup>498</sup> W. D. Davies, *Jewish and Pauline Studies* (London: SPCK, 1984), p. 143, maintains that Paul certainly abandoned Jewish eschatological expectations in Rom. 11:25-32.

<sup>499</sup> Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, p. 682.

<sup>500</sup> Sanders, *Paul*, p. 118.

<sup>501</sup> Cranfield, *Romans*, p. 1:91.

<sup>502</sup> Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, p. 40.

<sup>503</sup> Schreiner, *Romans*, p. 62.

<sup>504</sup> Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, p. 40. Take note that Dunn also admits that Paul went to the



him, the sequence *Ἰουδαίῳ τε πρώτον καὶ Ἑλληνι* should not be interpreted as directly indicative of Paul's missionary practice. However, I differ from Dunn, because we should not forget Paul's theological convictions, according to which God elected the Jews in particular, the Messiah was born from Jewish lineage, Abraham was the physical forefather of the Jews, and Abraham's blessing was given to the Jews firstly – all of which were reflected in Paul's missionary practice.<sup>505</sup> We, therefore, do not need to neglect the fact that the Jews were the first to hear the gospel, due to God's election.<sup>506</sup> That is why Rom. 1:16 indicates that the Jews are the first, not in terms of the consummation of God's redemptive plan, but as the starting point of God's redemptive plan.

If so, we can say that Rom. 1:16 is consistent with Rom. 11 in terms of the order of God's redemptive plan. Paul makes clear the existence of a remnant which has been elected already (11:5 – *οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἐν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ λείμμα κατ' ἐκλογὴν χάριτος γέγονεν*). Cranfield<sup>507</sup> says that the existence of a *λείμμα* was a pledge of God's continuing concern for, and care for Israel, and a sign that God was still faithful to his

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synagogue first to preach the gospel; accordingly, his words *Ἰουδαίῳ τε πρώτον καὶ Ἑλληνι* include some reference to Paul's evangelistic practice.

<sup>505</sup> Käsemann, *Romans*, p. 23, states that Paul gives Judaism precedence for the sake of the continuity of God's redemptive plan. J. Ziesler, *Paul's Letter to the Romans* (London: SCM Press & Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1989), p. 70, actually maintains that the phrase *Ἰουδαίῳ τε πρώτον καὶ Ἑλληνι* refers to the fact that the Jew only has a chronological advantage. Davies, *Jewish and Pauline Studies*, p. 146, believes that Paul allows the Jews a historical or chronological priority in God's redemptive plan.

<sup>506</sup> Barrett, *Romans*, p. 29; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, p. 257, states that "The priority of the Jew is acknowledged not only because the gospel was first preached to the Jews, but because God promised his gospel through the prophets of old in the sacred Scriptures of the Jews" (Rom. 1:2).

<sup>507</sup> Cranfield, *Romans*, p. 2:548.

election of Jewish Israel.<sup>508</sup> In addition, in Rom. 11:1 Paul describes himself not as representative of the *λαός θεοῦ*, but as an exemplary member of the *λαός θεοῦ* in Jewish terms in order to assert that God never rejected his own people.<sup>509</sup> In other words, the existence of Paul and the remnant prove that God only rejected his own people partially. The fact that Paul refers to the remnant that God has elected already prior to the Gentiles' salvation, means that the starting point of God's redemptive plan is the Jews, since it is definitely so that in 11:5 *λείμμα* indicates ethnic Israelites. Dunn<sup>510</sup> correctly asserts that within the eschatological tension of Israel<sup>511</sup> "The seven thousand stand for the 'now' already (11:5), over against the not yet of the rest of Israel's apostasy". And then Paul refers to the Gentiles' salvation in 11:11 (*Λέγω οὖν, μὴ ἔπταισαν ἵνα πέσωσιν μὴ γένοιτο ἀλλὰ τῷ αὐτῶν παραπτώματι ἢ σωτηρία τοῖς ἔθνεσιν εἰς τοπαραζήλωσαι αὐτούς*). In v. 11 Paul explains how salvation comes to the Gentiles. His answer is that hardened Israel stumbled but

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<sup>508</sup> Holwerda, *Jesus & Israel*, p. 164.

<sup>509</sup> J. L. de Villiers, "The Salvation of Israel according to Romans 9-11", *Neotest* 15 (1981), p. 209, believes that in Rom. 11:1 Paul regards himself as a living example of God's people, since Paul represents God's people (God has not rejected his people because God has not rejected Paul.); Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles*, pp. 159, 253, accepts two views (In Rom. 11:1 Paul puts himself forward in both a representative and prominent position of the *λαός θεοῦ* and an exemplary member of the *λείμμα*.); N. T. Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant: Christ and the Law in Pauline Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), p. 247, describes Paul as a Jew, part of the remnant that is saved in the present. However, Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, p. 635, criticises this view and maintains that Paul refers to an interpretation of God's working from a Jewish point of view.

<sup>510</sup> Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, p. 521.

<sup>511</sup> Dunn divides Israel in two: One is Israel which has not yet experienced the eschatological grace in Christ; The other is Israel which is already experiencing the eschatological grace in Christ

did not fall.<sup>512</sup> This description of hardened Israel as having stumbled but not having fallen, indicates that Paul believes that Israel's stumbling was not something final and permanent, but only temporal.<sup>513</sup> In addition, Israel's temporary hardening was on behalf of the Gentiles.<sup>514</sup> However, the word *σωτηρία* indicates that Paul is of the opinion, that even though the salvation of the Gentiles has begun, there is still a final climax to be expected.<sup>515</sup> Furthermore, Dunn,<sup>516</sup> explaining the omission of verb in the phrase *ἡ σωτηρία τοῖς ἔθνεσιν* in v. 11, maintains that a more accurate reflection of Paul's thought would mean that one should choose a future-oriented present tense for the unexpressed verb rather than a past tense (cf. 1 Cor. 1:18; 2 Cor. 2:15). Subsequently, Paul claims that the salvation of the Gentiles makes Israel jealous, and then this jealousy causes Israel to be saved.

At this stage, I wish to suggest the reasons why the relationship between the salvation of the Gentiles and that of Israel's must not be understood in chronological terms:

Firstly, if we focus on the salvation of the Gentiles and Israel in chronological terms, we get bogged down in the following problems: When will Israel's temporal stumbling or hardening stop? In other words,

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<sup>512</sup> Holwerda, *Jesus & Israel*, p. 165.

<sup>513</sup> Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles*, p. 253.

<sup>514</sup> M. A. Getty, "Paul and the Salvation of Israel: A Perspective on Romans 9-11", *CBQ* 50 (1988), p. 462.

<sup>515</sup> Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, p. 39, remarks that the word *σωτηρία*, which occurs often in the LXX and is also used in the New Testament, retains the sense of deliverance from peril and restoration to wholeness. Therefore, for Paul the word *σωτηρία* is primarily eschatological, a hope for the future deliverance from final destruction, and the end product of God's good purpose for humankind.

<sup>516</sup> Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, p. 653.

will Israel's temporal stumbling or hardening be stopped at the beginning of the Gentiles' salvation or at the consummation of the Gentiles' salvation? If we interpret the clause *ἄχρις οὗ τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν ἐθνῶν εἰσέλθῃ* as indicating the consummation of the Gentiles' salvation in chronological terms, we have to accept that Israel will experience a hardening until the end, since the consummation of the Gentiles' salvation will only occur at the end.<sup>517</sup> In other words, until the full number of the Gentiles has come in, there is no room for Israel's salvation.

Secondly, the phrase *καὶ οὕτως* indicates manner. Actually *καὶ οὕτως* should be interpreted "thus, in this manner".<sup>518</sup> Sanders,<sup>519</sup> who still cannot give up a reversed order of God's redemptive plan, even though agreeing that *καὶ οὕτως* indicates manner, does not abandon a chronological order (All Israel will be saved, *after* the fullness of the Gentiles enters in). Schreiner,<sup>520</sup> excessively accentuating the fact that all Israel will be saved *in the future*, also believes that *καὶ οὕτως* indicates not only manner, but also a time frame. On the other hand, G. Vos<sup>521</sup> quite correctly asserts that *καὶ οὕτως* does not imply a temporal sequence,

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<sup>517</sup> Actually, Käsemann, *Romans*, pp. 313–314, asserts that the precondition of the *parousia* and the conversion of all Israel is the acceptance of the Gentile world, i.e., that Israel's redemption follows the acceptance of the Gentile world. Therefore, as I understand Käsemann's view, he interprets this section as that the salvation of Israel and the Gentiles should be viewed in chronological terms.

<sup>518</sup> Beker, *Paul the Apostle*, p. 334.

<sup>519</sup> Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People*, pp. 193–194.

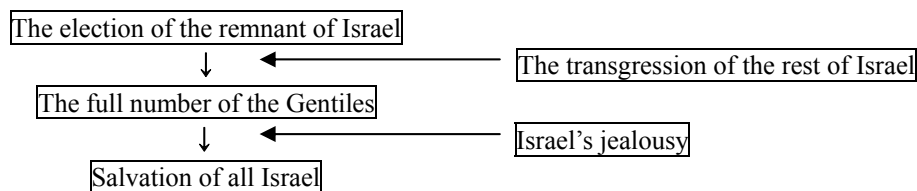
<sup>520</sup> Schreiner, *Romans*, p. 621. See also N. A. Dahl, *Studies in Paul: Theology for the Early Christian Mission* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1977), pp. 152–153; Hübner, *Gottes Ich und Israel*, pp. 109–111; M. N. A. Bockmuehl, *Revelation and Mystery in Ancient Judaism and Pauline Christianity* (WUNT 2.36, Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1990), p. 173; Stuhlmacher, *Romans*, p. 172.

<sup>521</sup> G. Vos, *The Pauline Eschatology* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1979), p. 89 n. 16.

but the manner of Israel's redemption:

As to “οὕτως” in the clause at the beginning of vs. 26, “And οὕτως all Israel shall be saved,” this is sometimes rendered by ‘then’ owing to the (involuntary) injection of *chronological* progression into the passages. When translated “thus,” it cannot signify aught else than “in the working out of the principle stated,” “after this manner.” (Vos’ italics.)

Actually if Paul had intended a temporal sequence, he would have had written not *καὶ οὕτως*, but *καὶ τότε*.<sup>522</sup> That is why I believe that there is no doubt that Paul does not refer to the salvation of the Gentiles and Israel in chronological terms, but way in which the Gentiles and Israel will be saved until the final day.



This tabular form does not indicate a timetable in the process of salvation, but the inter-causal-relationship in the process of salvation. In particular, I want to put the question “Who are the *αὐτός* in v. 31<sup>523</sup> as those who may obtain God’s mercy *now* (*νῦν*)?” to those who still want to interpret the relationship between the salvation of the Gentiles and that of Israel in chronological terms. There can be no doubt that the *αὐτός* in v. 31 indicates the Jews in comparison with *τῷ ὑμετέρῳ* identified with the Gentiles. Therefore, if we would try to understand what is expressed in

<sup>522</sup> Beker, *Paul the Apostle*, p. 334.

<sup>523</sup> *οὕτως καὶ οὗτοι νῦν ἠπειθήσαν, τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἐλέει ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ νῦν ἐλεηθῶσιν.*

tabular form above in chronological terms, we would have no way of explaining v. 31, since Israel will experience a hardening, “until the full number of the Gentiles has come in”. Beker<sup>524</sup> and Ridderbos<sup>525</sup> thus correctly describe the relationship between the salvation of the Gentiles and of Israel as “interdependence”. Such a state of “interdependence” does not appear in the tradition of an eschatological pilgrimage. According to Rom. 11, the consummation of the salvation of all Israel is its future eschatological deliverance.<sup>526</sup> However, according to the tradition of an eschatological pilgrimage, when the salvation of the Gentiles begins, the salvation of Israel has been consummated already. In other words, Israel is in Zion already before the Gentiles come to Zion to become part of the salvation. Such a situation is not envisaged in Rom. 11. Interpreting v. 26 (esp. the phrase *ἔκ Σιῶν ὁ ῥυόμενος*), Dunn<sup>527</sup> correctly says that Paul is actually transforming the expectation of an eschatological pilgrimage of the Gentiles to Zion. In other words, it means that Rom. 11 does not concur with the tradition of an eschatological pilgrimage. According to the expectation of an eschatological pilgrimage of the Gentiles, their destination is Zion and the redeemer comes to Zion to save them. Thus, in terms of the tradition of an eschatological pilgrimage, the phrase *ἔκ Σιῶν* should rather have been *εἰς Σιῶν*. However, the direction of God’s redemptive plan, as Paul understands it, is not only from the Jews to the Gentiles, but also from

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<sup>524</sup> Beker, *Paul the Apostle*, p. 334.

<sup>525</sup> Ridderbos, *Paul*, p. 358.

<sup>526</sup> Donaldson, “Israelite, Convert, Apostle to the Gentiles”, p. 76.

<sup>527</sup> Dunn, *Romans 9–16*, p. 682.

the Holy Land to the entire world (Rom. 1:16; 15:19).<sup>528</sup> Thus ἐκ Σιῶν is the right expression for Paul. Wright,<sup>529</sup> who insists that Paul follows the expectation of an eschatological pilgrimage of the Gentiles to Zion, believes that Paul has combined Isa. 59:20<sup>530</sup> with Isa. 2:3<sup>531</sup> to create a new prediction that the Redeemer will come out from Zion, but it is more likely that Ps. 14:7<sup>532</sup> and 53:6<sup>533</sup> are the sources of Rom. 11:26. Actually, nothing in Rom. 11:26 parallels Isa. 2:2-3, where God's word goes out from Zion to the Gentiles.<sup>534</sup>

Furthermore, E. Best<sup>535</sup> provides the following list of citations from the Old Testament in the Letter to Romans: Hos. 1:10 (at Rom. 9:26); 2:23 (at Rom. 9:25); Isa. 11:10 (at Rom. 15:12); 28:16 (at Rom.

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<sup>528</sup> Actually, Paul rejects not only ethnic particularism which accepts that only Jews can be saved (that is why the Gentiles must become Jews in order to be saved), but also territorial particularism which is characterised by Zionism in striking contrast to the heavenly Jerusalem. In particular, I think that ἔθνη in Gal. 1-2 can be interpreted not only in ethnic terms, but also in geographical terms.

<sup>529</sup> Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant*, p. 250.

<sup>530</sup> "The Redeemer will come to Zion, to those in Jacob who repent of their sins," declares the LORD.

<sup>531</sup> Many peoples will come and say, "Come, let us go up to the mountain of the LORD, to the house of the God of Jacob. He will teach us his ways, so that we may walk in his paths." The law will go out from Zion, the word of the LORD from Jerusalem.

<sup>532</sup> Oh, that salvation for Israel would come out of Zion! When the LORD restores the fortunes of his people, let Jacob rejoice and Israel be glad!

<sup>533</sup> Oh, that salvation for Israel would come out of Zion! When God restores the fortunes of his people, let Jacob rejoice and Israel be glad!

<sup>534</sup> Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles*, p. 329, n. 66. Donaldson asserts that, with the exception of the citation from Isa. 11:10 (καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἡ ῥίζα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ ὁ ἀνιστάμενος ἄρχειν ἐθνῶν, ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔθνη ἐλπιούσιν), in Rom. 15:12 (καὶ πάλιν Ἡσαΐας λέγει Ἔσται ἡ ῥίζα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ ὁ ἀνιστάμενος ἄρχειν ἐθνῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔθνη ἐλπιούσιν), the eschatological pilgrimage passages are completely absent from Paul's scriptural repertoire (*Ibid.*, p. 102.). However, Isa. 11:10 is indicated by its messianic significance rather than by any eschatological pilgrimage associations. See also E. E. Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1957), p. 57, who applies Isa. 59:19f. (Rom. 11:26) and Isa. 11:2 (cf. Rom. 15:12 on Isa. 11:10) to the messianic times on the basis of *b. Sanh.* 98a, 93b.

<sup>535</sup> E. Best, "The Revelation to Evangelize the Gentiles", *JTS* 35 (1984), p. 21.

10:11); 52:7 (= Nahum 1:15 at Rom. 10:15); 52:15 (at Rom. 15:21); 53:1 (at Rom. 10:16); 65:1, 2 (at Rom. 10:21); Joel 2:32 (at Rom. 10:13); Deut. 32:2 (at Rom. 10:19); 32:43 (at Rom. 15:10); 9:4; 30:12-14 (at Rom. 10:6-8); Ps. 19:4 (at Rom. 10:18); 18:49 (at Rom. 15:9); 117:1 (at Rom. 15:11).<sup>536</sup> Actually, these passages originally referred only to the Jews. Even though these passages mention the Gentiles, there is no reference to the Gentiles' coming to Zion in any of them. Thus, we can ask scholars who insist that Paul follows the tradition of an eschatological pilgrimage: "Why does Paul not cite any passages from the Old Testament which refer to the expectation of an eschatological pilgrimage of the Gentiles to Zion (e.g., Isa. 2:2-4; 25:6-10a; 56:6-8; Mic. 4:1-4; Zech. 8:20-23)? Why does Paul not quote any passages from the Book of Isaiah which reflect the expectation of an eschatological pilgrimage of the Gentiles, even though Paul cites many other passages from the Book of Isaiah?"

To sum up, Paul still expected the consummation of the salvation of Israel as well as that of the Gentiles. This is something very different from what was envisaged in the tradition of an eschatological pilgrimage of the Gentiles to Zion. Furthermore, since Paul did not cite any passages elsewhere in Romans which refer to the expectation of an eschatological pilgrimage of the Gentiles to Zion, we may safely assume that Paul did not follow the tradition of an eschatological pilgrimage.

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<sup>536</sup> W. Pannenberg, *Jesus-God and Man*, trans. L. L. Wilkins & D. A. Priebe (London: SCM Press, 1968), p. 72, believes that Paul cites these passages as proof from Scripture to justify the Gentile mission.



## **5. Conclusion**

On the basis of Phil. 3:4–6 and Gal. 1:13–14, we can claim that the pre-Damascus Paul was immersed in Judaism, even though he was born in Tarsus. If so, it is highly likely that Paul was aware of the various patterns of Jewish universalism on the inclusion of the Gentiles into God's people. In this chapter, I presented two representative patterns of Jewish universalism: one is the tradition of Gentile proselytism; the other is the tradition of an eschatological pilgrimage. In the case of the tradition of an eschatological pilgrimage, there is no reference to circumcision. Furthermore, I argued that Gal. 5:11 reflects the situation of the pre-Damascus Paul's life. Accordingly, we may assume that the pre-Damascus Paul was engaged in Gentile proselytism which included circumcision. In addition, my investigation of Rom. 11 shows a picture completely different from the one envisaged in terms of the notion of an eschatological pilgrimage of the Gentiles to Zion, which makes it unlikely that Paul adhered to this tradition. Accordingly, I draw the conclusion that it is highly likely that, of the two traditions of universalism available to him, the pre-Damascus Paul followed the tradition of Gentile proselytism and not the one of an eschatological pilgrimage. Consequently, if the pre-Damascus Paul adhered to the notion of Gentile proselytism, I maintain that we may safely assume that Paul's concern for the Gentiles originated before Damascus.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **THE ORIGIN OF PAUL'S GENTILE MISSION**

#### **1. Introduction**

From recent Pauline studies it is clear that two opposing views on the origin of Paul's Gentile mission exist: According to one, quite some time passed after Damascus before Paul preached the gospel to the Gentiles; according to the other, he preached the gospel to the Gentiles immediately after Damascus. (I remind the reader that "Damascus" is used as a brief way of referring to the experience Paul had on the Damascus Road.) At the centre of this argument there is always the problem of the nature of what happened at Damascus. Some scholars understand the event as a call. They assert that the event did not cause a fundamental and radical change in Paul's thought. Other scholars interpret the event as a conversion and assert that Paul actually converted from one religion to another. If this view is correct, one should ask whether Paul would need a period in order integrate everything in terms of his new religion. On the other hand, if Paul did not actually break with Judaism at Damascus and did not convert to a new religion, it is highly likely that he would have interpreted the Christophany in terms of Jewish thought. In this case, one should then ask how Paul would have interpreted the Christophany. To answer these questions we firstly have to turn our attention to Paul's own statements about what happened at Damascus rather than Luke's statements in Acts. It does not necessarily

mean that Luke's statements are not trustworthy. I simply give first priority to Paul's own statements about what happened, as many Pauline scholars do.<sup>537</sup> Accordingly, I will focus on Paul's statements about what happened at Damascus (esp. in Gal. 1:11-17 and 2 Cor. 4:4-6). In particular, what I want to investigate is in which way Paul himself understood the event. Thus I will use Paul's statements as the main source, and Luke's portrayal as secondary source.

My aim is to prove the following: That, according to Gal. 1:11-17 and 2 Cor, 4:4-6, Paul interpreted the Damascus Road event as a call ⇒ That, since Paul was verbally called at Damascus as apostle to the Gentiles, he went to the Gentiles immediately, i.e. without a period of time passing ⇒ That, finally, Paul's Gentile mission originated at Damascus.

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<sup>537</sup> Knox, *Chapters in a Life of Paul*, p. 32; Plevnik, *What Are They Saying about Paul?*, p. 8; Dietzfelbinger, *Berufung*, p. 5; Longenecker, *The Ministry and Message of Paul*, p. 13, states:

The study of Paul's life and missionary activity is dependent to a great extent upon the narrative of the Acts of the Apostles. If the historicity of that account is rejected, scholarship is left to some process of divination or hypothetical reconstruction to determine the course of early church history. Paul, of course, furnishes additional information regarding events and their significance. And whenever possible, evidence drawn from his letters must be given priority by the historian, for the apostle was a participant in the matters which he relates. But even when available, the historical statements and allusions in the Pauline letters cannot supply an alternative outline to that of Acts. They presuppose a course of events, but they do not record a connected account of those events.

## 2. Gal. 1:11-17

### 2.1. Introductory issues of the Letter to the Galatians

• ***Who wrote the Letter to the Galatians?*** In general, most scholars accept that Paul wrote the Letter to the Galatians, Many scholars highlight the significance of the letter. For example, Longenecker<sup>538</sup> states:

[T]he letter to the Galatians takes programmatic primacy for (1) an understanding of Paul's teaching, (2) the establishing of a Pauline chronology, (3) the tracing out of the course of early apostolic history, and (4) the determination of many NT critical and canonical issues... It is necessary, therefore, to understand Galatians aright if we are to understand Paul and the rest of the NT aright.

From the following sections in the letter it is clear that Paul wrote the letter himself: (1) the autobiographical statement in 1:13-17; (2) the first visit to Jerusalem and the meeting with Peter and James in 1:18-19; (3) the second visit to Jerusalem in 2:1-10; (4) the statement about rebuking Peter in 2:11-16; (5) the statement referring to the fact that Paul first preached the gospel to the Galatians and that they responded in a friendly way towards him in 4:13-16. Betz<sup>539</sup> believes that the Letter to the Galatians shows Paul's style of writing and language when compared with other Pauline letters, and that the theological argument in the Letter to the Galatians shows Pauline character in terms of method and content.

Although a small number of scholars believe that Paul did not

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<sup>538</sup> Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. xli.

<sup>539</sup> Betz, *Galatians*, p. 1.

write the Letter to the Galatians,<sup>540</sup> Kümmel<sup>541</sup> correctly points out that nowadays the issue of authorship and the problem of interpolation in or compilation of the Letter to the Galatians is scarcely discussed, since it is sure that Paul wrote it.<sup>542</sup>

• ***To whom was the Letter to the Galatians written?*** There are two theories about the recipients of the Letter to the Galatians. The core issue in this regard is the identity of the *Γαλάται* referred to in Gal. 1:2 and 3:1. These *Γαλάται* may be identified either in ethnological terms or in provincial and political terms. If Paul referred to the *Γαλάται* in ethnological terms, the North Galatians view would be correct; otherwise if Paul referred to the *Γαλάται* in provincial and political terms, the South Galatians view would be correct.

**The North Galatian hypothesis:**<sup>543</sup> Lightfoot<sup>544</sup> believes that the North Galatian hypothesis is correct, since both Paul and Luke generally use popular, geographical, and ethnographical terms rather than official, provincial, and political designations, when they indicate people and regions. J. Moffatt<sup>545</sup> also accepts the North Galatian hypothesis, since the expressions *τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν* in Acts 16:6 and *τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν* in Acts 18:23 must be understood as two

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<sup>540</sup> For example, B. Bauer, F. R. McGuire, L. G. Rylands, and J. C. O'Neill.

<sup>541</sup> Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, p. 304.

<sup>542</sup> Dunn, *Galatians*, pp. 2–4; Longenecker, *The Ministry and Message of Paul*, p. 16.

<sup>543</sup> Other scholars who believe that the North Galatian hypothesis is correct, are Ridderbos, *Galatia*, pp. 22–31; and E. F. Harrison, *Introduction to the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964), pp. 257–264.

<sup>544</sup> Lightfoot, *Galatians*, pp. 18–35.

<sup>545</sup> J. Moffatt, *An Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1918), p. 93.

regions in terms of geography, and therefore, Phrygia and Galatia respectively indicate a region. Thus, Phrygia cannot be equivalent to Galatia. Brown<sup>546</sup> accepts the North Galatian hypothesis, since in 3:1 *Γαλάται* is more appropriate for people who were ethnically of that descent than for the Hellenised city populace to the south,

**The South Galatian hypothesis:** Guthrie,<sup>547</sup> Betz,<sup>548</sup> Bruce,<sup>549</sup> Bligh,<sup>550</sup> and Ramsay<sup>551</sup> believe that Paul generally uses *Γαλάται* in order to indicate the Hellenised city populace in the Roman province. The fact that Paul's letter contains well-constructed, theological, and polished arguments indicates that Paul had in mind highly educated and Hellenised people rather than poor and savage people. In particular, Burton<sup>552</sup> provides strong evidences for the South Galatian hypothesis: (1) In his letters, unlike Acts, Paul uniformly uses names of cities in terms that were officially recognised by the Roman government (e.g., Antioch, Ephesus, Troas, Thessalonica, Philippi, Athens, Corinth, Jerusalem, and Rome). Thus Paul uses "Galatia" both in 1 Cor. 16:1 and Gal. 1:2 in the sense of a Roman province; (2) "If the churches addressed were those of Derbe, Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch, which he founded on his first missionary journey", the best integrated and common designation would be the term "Galatians"; (3) In the case of the phrase *τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ*

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<sup>546</sup> Brown, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, p. 476.

<sup>547</sup> Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, pp. 452-457.

<sup>548</sup> Betz, *Galatians*, p. 2.

<sup>549</sup> Bruce, *Galatians*, pp. 3-18.

<sup>550</sup> Bligh, *Galatians*, p. 3.

<sup>551</sup> W. M. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire: Before A.D. 170* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1892), pp. 97-111.

<sup>552</sup> Burton, *Galatians*, pp. xxv-xliv.

Γαλατικὴν χώραν in Acts 16:6 and τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν in Acts 18:23, we must interpret *χώρα* as referring to one region, since there is one article before the first word. In other words, if Phrygia had designated a region different from Galatia, it should have read τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ τὴν Γαλατικὴν. Moreover, there is little likelihood that Paul would have journeyed to the cities of Pessinus, Tavium and Ancyra, which were all on the central plateau and were difficult places to be visited at a time of bodily weakness (cf. Gal. 4:14).<sup>553</sup> In particular, there were no Pauline churches in North Galatia.<sup>554</sup>

However, the theological and decisive arguments in the Letter to Galatians do not depend on the question of the destination of the letter. The question, therefore, is not really important for the meaning of the Letter to the Galatians.<sup>555</sup> Nevertheless, I prefer the South Galatian hypothesis, because of the second argument mentioned by Burton above, as well as the fact that we have no evidence of any Pauline churches in North Galatia, as I have indicated already.

• ***When and where was the Letter to the Galatians written?*** The problem of the date and place of the Letter to the Galatians is related to the date of Paul's visit to Jerusalem. Paul's two visits to Jerusalem are referred to in the Letter to the Galatians: a visit three years after his conversion, in

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<sup>553</sup> Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, pp. 453–454. Even though Burton believes that the South Galatian hypothesis is correct, he states that Paul's illness itself “furnishes no ground of decision for either North-Galatian or South-Galatian view” (*Galatians*, pp. xxix–xxx).

<sup>554</sup> Bligh, *Galatians*, p. 3; Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, p. 453.

<sup>555</sup> Longenecker, *Galatians*, pp. lxxviii–lxxix; Brown, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, p. 475.

1:18-20; and a visit fourteen years later, in 2:1-10. Acts mentions five visits to Jerusalem: (1) the conversion visit, in 9:26-30; (2) the famine visit, in 11:27-30; (3) the Jerusalem Council, in 15:1-30; (4) the hasty visit, in 18:22; (5) the collection visit, in 21:15-17.<sup>556</sup>

If so, the question is to which of the visits to Jerusalem in Acts mentioned above, the two visits mentioned in the Letter to the Galatians are identified with. If Paul's two visits to Jerusalem were identified with (3) and (4), the Letter to the Galatians would have been written around A.D. 53;<sup>557</sup> otherwise, if Paul's two visits to Jerusalem were identified with (1) and (2), the Letter to the Galatians would be written around A.D. 49/48 before the Jerusalem Council in A.D. 49/50.

Basically the core of the question is whether Gal. 2:1-10 is to be identified with (2), or (3).

According to the traditional view, Gal. 2:1-10 is identified with (3) because of the similarities between Gal. 2:1-10 and Acts 15:1-30.<sup>558</sup> However, there are some difficulties regarding this view. H. S. Lee<sup>559</sup> suggests five reasons why Gal. 2:1-10 should be identified with (2): Firstly, the meeting in Gal. 2:1-10 seems to be private, and Paul seems to play an active role in Gal. 2:1-10, but the meeting in Acts 15 seems to be a public conference, and Paul seems to play a modest role in Acts 15;

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<sup>556</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. lxxiii-lxxiv.

<sup>557</sup> Betz, *Galatians*, pp. 9-12.

<sup>558</sup> Bligh, *Galatians*, pp. 1-2; E. Haenchen, "The Book of Acts as Source Material for the History of Early Christianity", in *Studies in Luke-Acts*, edited by L. E. Keck and J. L. Martyn (London: SPCK, 1978), p. 271; R. Jewett, *A Chronology of Paul's Life* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), pp. 63-104; Dunn, *Jesus, Paul and the Law*, pp. 108-128.

<sup>559</sup> H. S. Lee, *Galatians* (KBCS, Seoul: Torch Press, 2004), pp. 48-50.



Secondly, Gal. 2 is silent about some decisive matters in Acts 15, which are imposed on the Gentiles (Acts 15:20). Furthermore, Paul states that the apostles in Jerusalem “added nothing to my message” except for their request of continuing to remember the poor (Gal. 2:6, 10); Thirdly, if the minimum conditions for fellowship had been agreed to between the Jewish Christians and the Gentile Christians, how could theological conflict and fissure between Paul and the apostles in Jerusalem have existed in the Antioch incident (Gal. 2.11ff.)?; Fourthly, the word *πάλιν* in Gal. 2:1 indicates Paul’s second visit to Jerusalem, but Acts 15 indicates Paul’s third visit to Jerusalem; Fifthly, the letter of the apostles in Jerusalem was sent “to the Gentile believers in Antioch, Syria and Cilicia” (Acts 15:23), but the letter is not referred to in Paul’s Letter to the Galatians.

What we have to consider is the reasons provided for Paul’s visit to Jerusalem in Gal. 2:1–10 and Acts 15:1–30 respectively. According to Acts 15:1–3, the Antioch church sent Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem, but, according to Gal. 2:2, Paul went to Jerusalem “in response to a revelation”. However, it is possible to link the revelation in Gal. 2:2 to Agabus’ prediction in Acts 11:27–30.<sup>560</sup> With regard to the Antioch incident: After Paul’s famine visit to Jerusalem, narrated in Acts 11:27–30, Acts refers to three visits of Paul to Antioch: Acts 12:25–13:3; 14:26–28; and 15:30–35. If so, which visit is the Antioch incident related to? While we cannot answer this question with certainty,

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<sup>560</sup> Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 57; Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 47; *The Ministry and Message of Paul*, p. 39; Lee, *Galatians*, p. 140.

Longenecker mentions that if the Antioch incident is related to Acts 15:30–35, and happened posterior to the Jerusalem council, “it is difficult to imagine why Peter and Barnabas would have caved in under the pressure of Jewish Christians from Jerusalem”.<sup>561</sup>

To my mind, what is more important is the request of the apostles in Jerusalem in Gal. 2:10. The request fits (2) rather than (3). Some scholars who believe that Gal. 2:1–10 is identical to (3), ask why the matter of circumcision could have been raised again in Acts 15, if, according to Gal. 2:1–10, the matter of circumcision had been already settled before the Jerusalem Council in Acts 15. However, while it is true that the matter of circumcision was settled in (2), many Jewish Christians still caused problems in Gentile Christian churches regardless of the consensus between Paul and the apostles in Jerusalem (cf. Acts 15:24 – We have heard that some went out from us without our authorization and disturbed you, troubling your minds by what they said.). In this regard, it is highly likely that the Jerusalem Council would have been held in order to formulate the agreed particulars between Paul and the apostles in Jerusalem.

Longenecker<sup>562</sup> points out that at least two of the following three assumptions must be presupposed, in order that Gal. 2:1–10 can be identified with (2):

1. That the three years and fourteen years are concurrent, not consecutive – that is, that both are to be measured from Paul’s conversion, and that the fourteen

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<sup>561</sup> Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. lxxxii.

<sup>562</sup> *Ibid.*, p. lxxxiii.

- years of Gal. 2:1 are not to be counted from Paul's first visit;
2. That Paul in Gal. 1:18 and 2:1 is using a method of computation wherein parts of years are counted as full years; and
  3. That Jesus was crucified in A.D. 30, with Paul's conversion two or three years afterwards.

In fact, the three assumptions are not clear to everybody. Nevertheless, they are not impossible.

As to the place of writing, the Letter to the Galatians itself does not give any hint. Many scholars regard the writing place as Ephesus,<sup>563</sup> Macedonia,<sup>564</sup> or Corinth.<sup>565</sup> To my mind, we cannot decide place of writing, since there is little evidence about it.

• ***Why was the Letter to the Galatians written?*** After Paul had preached the gospel to the Gentiles in Galatia, the Judaisers from Jerusalem came and preached another doctrine, namely circumcision and observance of the law. Paul, who was informed of this situation, warned the congregation not to follow their teaching. In particular, they cast suspicion upon Paul's apostleship, gospel (1:1, 6–12), and consistency (5:11). Therefore, Paul argued that his apostleship was not given to him by men, but by God Himself (1:10). The greatest difference between Paul

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<sup>563</sup> Bornkamm, *Paul*, p. 241 and Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, p. 304, believe that it is possible to date the Letter to the Galatians A.D. 54 or 55 in Ephesus or Macedonia.

<sup>564</sup> Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 9, believes that since there is no possibility that Paul wrote the letter from Ephesus, "der Apostel [hat] den Brief an die Galater wahrscheinlich von Mazedonien aus geschrieben".

<sup>565</sup> Burton, *Galatians*, p. xlvii; J. D. G. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul's Letter to the Galatians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 16. Lührmann, *Galatians*, p. 3, believes that the Letter to the Galatians was written from Ephesus or Corinth or somewhere on one of Paul's journeys between these two cities.

and the Judaisers was who were to be considered as Abraham's real offspring: they preached circumcision as the necessary element to be part of Abraham's offspring, but Paul emphasised faith as the necessary element to be part of Abraham's offspring. Therefore, Paul wrote the Letter to the Galatians in order to criticise their false teaching and provide his own answer to the issues raised.<sup>566</sup>

• ***Outline of the Letter to the Galatians.*** There are many opinions about the structure of the Letter to the Galatians. For example, Betz<sup>567</sup> analyses the Letter to the Galatians by means of Greco-Roman rhetoric and epistolography. In general, there are three kinds of ancient rhetoric: forensic, epideictic and deliberative rhetoric. Betz, regarding the Letter to the Galatians as an example of forensic rhetoric, interprets the Letter to the Galatians on the basis of the following structure:<sup>568</sup>

1:1-5: Epistolary prescript

1:6-11: *Exordium* or *Prooemium*

1:12-2:14: *Narratio*

2:15-21: *Propositio*

3:1-4:31: *Probatio* or *Confirmatio*

5:1-6:10: *Exhortatio* or *paraenesis*

6:11-18: Epistolary postscript

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<sup>566</sup> Dunn, *The Theology of Paul's Letter to the Galatians*, pp. 7-8, states that the letter seems to have been written in immediate response to what Paul perceived as an urgent crisis among the Galatian churches (1:6-9).

<sup>567</sup> Betz, *Galatians*, pp. 14-25; "The Literary Composition and Function of Paul's Letter to the Galatians", *NTS* 21/3 (1975), pp. 353-379.

<sup>568</sup> Betz, *Galatians*, pp. 16-23.

R. G. Hall<sup>569</sup> regards the Letter to the Galatians as an example of deliberative rhetoric. Hall outlines the rhetorical structure of the Letter to the Galatians as follows:

1:1-5: Salutation/*Exordium*

1:6-9: *Propositio*

1:10-6:10: Proof

A. 1:10-2:21: Narration

B. 3:1-6:10: Further headings

6:11-18: Epilogue (p. 287)

N. A. Dahl<sup>570</sup> believes that the Letter to the Galatians should be viewed in terms of the epistolary genre. His outline of the Letter to the Galatians is as follows:

1:1-5: *Salutation* (with prelude statements and doxology)

1:6-4:11 *Background section*

A. 1:6-10: *Opening expression of astonishment*: Reason for the ironic rebuke and preliminary comments

B. 1:11-2:21: *Aggravating circumstances I*: Nature and origin of Paul's gospel; his vocation and conduct

C. 3:1-4:7: *Aggravating circumstances II*: The experience of the Galatians and the testimony of Scripture

D. 4:8-11: *Conclusion*: Rebuking questions; statement of fear

4:12-6:10: *Pleading section*

A. 4:12-20: *Introduction*

B. 4:21-5:21: *Apotreptic*: Freedom in Christ should not be surrendered

C. 5:13-6:10: *Protrepitic*: The freedom should be used in the right way

6:11-18: *Autographic conclusion*

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<sup>569</sup> R. G. Hall, "The Rhetorical Outline for Galatians: A Reconsideration", *JBL* 106/2 (1987), pp. 277-287.

<sup>570</sup> N. A. Dahl, "Paul's Letter to the Galatians: Epistolary Genre, Content and Structure", in *The Galatians Debate: Contemporary Issues in Rhetorical and Historical Interpretation*, edited by M. D. Nanos (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 2002), pp. 117-142, esp. 141-142.

Longenecker,<sup>571</sup> who criticises Betz' overemphasis of the rhetorical aspect in his analysis of the Letter to the Galatians, combines an epistolary analysis and a rhetorical analysis. His outline of the Letter to the Galatians is as follows:

- 1:1-5: Salutation
- 1:6-4:11: Rebuke section (Forensic rhetoric prominent)
  - A. 1:6-10: *Exordium*
  - B. 1:11-2:14: *Narratio*
  - C. 2:15-21: *Propositio*
  - D. 3:1-4:11: *Probatio*
- 4:12-6:10: Request section (Deliberative rhetoric prominent)
  - A. 4:12-5:12: *Exhortatio* Part 1
  - B. 5:13-6:10: *Exhortatio* Part 2
- 6:11-18: Subscription

Tolmie,<sup>572</sup> however, suggests a text-centred rhetorical approach to the analysis of the Letter to the Galatians. In other words, he tries to describe Paul's rhetoric from the Letter to the Galatians itself, instead of forcing ancient categories on it. He outlines the rhetorical structure of the letter as follows:

<b>Phase 1</b>	Adapting the salutation in order to emphasise the divine origin of his apostleship: 1:1-5
<b>Phase 2</b>	Expressing disgust at events in the Galatian churches in order to force them to reconsider their position: 1:6-10
<b>Phase 3</b>	Recounting events from his life in order to prove the divine origin of his gospel: 1:11-24
<b>Phase 4</b>	Recounting his second visit to Jerusalem in order to prove the acknowledgement of the content and origin of his gospel by the authorities in Jerusalem: 2:1-10
<b>Phase 5</b>	Recounting his version of the incident at Antioch in order to show how he stood firmly for the 'truth of the gospel': 2:11-21

<sup>571</sup> Longenecker, *Galatians*, pp. ci-cxix.

<sup>572</sup> Tolmie, *Galatians*, pp. 31-232.

<b>Phase 6</b>	A series of accusatory rhetorical questions used to remind the Galatians of events they experienced that support his gospel: 3:1-5
<b>Phase 7</b>	An example and arguments based on the authority of Scripture to counter the Scriptural arguments of the opponents: 3:6-14
<b>Phase 8</b>	An <i>a minori ad maius</i> argument used to dissociate covenant and law: 3:15-18
<b>Phase 9</b>	Explaining the purpose of the law in such a way as to emphasise its inferiority: 3:19-25
<b>Phase 10</b>	Reminding the Galatians of their baptism as proof that they became children of God by faith: 3:26-29
<b>Phase 11</b>	An analogy to guardianship used in order to contrast spiritual slavery and sonship of God: 4:1-7
<b>Phase 12</b>	Rebuking the Galatians for turning to religious slavery again: 4:8-11
<b>Phase 13</b>	A series of emotional arguments: 4:12-20
<b>Phase 14</b>	An allegorical argument, based on the authority of Scripture, used to urge the Galatians not to yield to spiritual slavery: 4:21-5:1
<b>Phase 15</b>	A strict warning against circumcision: 5:2-6
<b>Phase 16</b>	Vilifying the opponents: 5:7-12
<b>Phase 17</b>	Urging the Galatians to have their lives directed by the Spirit: 5:13-6:10
<b>Phase 18</b>	Adapting the letter closing for a final refutation of the opponents: 6:11-18 (pp. vii-viii)

In conclusion, I prefer Tolmie’s text-centred rhetorical analysis of the Letter to the Galatians, since I believe that this analysis provides the best understanding of it.

## **2.2. Outline of Gal. 1:11-17**

I am convinced that this passage gives the best information about Paul at and pre-Damascus.<sup>573</sup> Here Paul defends his own apostleship and gospel. Paul refers to his own life prior to Damascus (vv. 13-14) and to the purpose why God called him at Damascus (vv. 15-16a), in order to explain the origin of his apostleship. In other words, in support of his claim that “I want you to know, brothers, that the gospel I preached is not something that man made up. I did not receive it from any man, nor

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<sup>573</sup> Bornkamm, *Paul*, p. 17.

was I taught it; rather, I received it by revelation from Jesus Christ” (vv. 11–12), Paul presents his life in Judaism, his experience at Damascus, his commission to minister among Gentiles, his visits to Jerusalem, and his contacts with the Jerusalem apostles in 1:13–2:14.<sup>574</sup> Thus he strongly defends the independence and truth of both his gospel and his apostleship in Gal. 1:11ff, by emphasising the divine origin of his gospel, or, its divine authorisation.<sup>575</sup>

### **2.3. Exegetical remarks on Gal. 1:11-17**

#### **2.3.1. Paul’s gospel received by revelation of Jesus Christ (Gal. 1:11-12)**

*I want you to know, brothers, that the gospel I preached is not something that man made up. I did not receive it from any man, nor was I taught it; rather, I received it by revelation from Jesus Christ.*

The gospel that Paul refers to here, is the same as the one which was preached among the Gentiles (cf. v. 16.). In the context of the Letter to Galatians, the gospel is linked in particular to Abraham’s covenant (cf. 3:8). According to 3:8, the gospel was preached to Abraham in advance, the content of the gospel being that all nations would be blessed through Abraham. Some scholars, such as J. H. Schütz<sup>576</sup> and S. Mason,<sup>577</sup> point

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<sup>574</sup> Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 26.

<sup>575</sup> Beker, *Paul the Apostle*, p. 45; Tolmie, *Galatians*, p. 47.

<sup>576</sup> J. H. Schütz, *Paul and the Anatomy of Apostolic Authority* (SNTSMS 26, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), pp. 71–78, 148–150.

<sup>577</sup> Mason, “‘For I Am Not Ashamed of the gospel’ (Rom. 1:16)”, pp. 277–279. Mason points out that Paul used the noun *εὐαγγέλιον* thirty-eight times in the undisputed letters. And considering Romans that uses the word only nine times, he argues that whenever Paul refers to his own gospel, he correlates it with his own mission and the faith of the Gentiles. In this way, Mason emphasises the consistence between Galatians and Romans.



out that the phrase “my gospel” is used by Paul to underline his own, specific involvement in the process of the world mission, and not to refer to a special formulation of the Christian message. G. W. Hansen also points out that Paul uniquely understood his gospel in the light of Gentile mission.<sup>578</sup> Beker,<sup>579</sup> maintaining that the gospel is not a written text about the life, death, and resurrection of Christ, significantly asserts that the gospel refers both to the content of preaching and the act of preaching.

Paul refers to the gospel in several ways: (1) The gospel is the one which has been preached to Galatians already (v. 9); (2) The gospel which has been preached to Galatians already is identified with the one which Paul set before the apostles in Jerusalem (2:2); (3) In the context of the Letter to Galatians the content of the gospel is deeply related to the act of preaching the Son of God, who was revealed to him at Damascus, to the Gentiles (cf. v. 16); (4) The gospel preached by Paul is not *κατὰ ἀνθρώπων*. In other words, Paul strongly rejects the notion that his gospel was given to him by men or others; on the contrary, he asserts that he has received the gospel directly from Jesus Christ in a revelation. In particular, in the phrase *παρὰ ἀνθρώπου* in v. 12, the preposition *παρά* followed by a genitive indicates origin, that is where something comes from.<sup>580</sup> In other words, Paul’s gospel came from no human source (specifically not from the Jerusalem apostles). What is

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<sup>578</sup> Hansen, *Galatians*, p. 42.

<sup>579</sup> Beker, *Paul the Apostle*, pp. 121–122.

<sup>580</sup> K. O. Sandnes, *Paul – One of the Prophets?: A Contribution to the Apostle’s Self-Understanding* (WUNT 2. 43, Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1991), p. 53.

meant in Gal 1:12, therefore, is that the revelation itself contained the gospel which Paul preached to the Galatians (the Gentiles).<sup>581</sup> In v. 11 he excludes the possibility that the initial gospel (when he preached to the Galatians) can be different from the one in the Galatians, by using the aorist passive *τὸ εὐαγγελισθῆν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ*. Furthermore, he uses the present tense *ἔστιν*, in order to indicate the identification between the initial gospel and the gospel in the Galatians.<sup>582</sup> In particular, the mingled use of aorist and present tense appears in 2:2 (*ἀνέβην δὲ κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν καὶ ἀνεθέμην αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ κηρύσσω ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν κατ' ἰδίαν δὲ τοῖς δοκοῦσιν μήπως εἰς κενὸν τρέχω ἢ ἔδραμον*) with similar effect.<sup>583</sup> If I could summarise this as follows: The initial gospel (when Paul preached among the Galatians in his original mission) = Paul's gospel in the Letter to the Galatians = The gospel which Paul set before the apostles in Jerusalem.<sup>584</sup> What is more important is that the origin of the gospel was linked to a revelation from Jesus Christ. It means that the origin of the gospel was linked to the Damascus event where Jesus Christ was revealed by God.

However, J. T. Sanders<sup>585</sup> claims to have found “an absolute

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<sup>581</sup> Bligh, *Galatians*, p. 111.

<sup>582</sup> L. Morris, *Galatians*, p. 49.

<sup>583</sup> Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 23.

<sup>584</sup> According to Kim, *Paul and the New Perspective*, p. 11, n. 46:

[The law-free gospel] may be a version of Paul's gospel which is more refined with more biblical substantiation and theological argumentation in the face of the challenge of the Judaizers. Nevertheless, it must be essentially the same as the gospel which Paul originally preached to the Galatians. Otherwise Paul's whole argument in Galatians would fall down.

<sup>585</sup> J. T. Sanders, “Paul's ‘Autobiographical’ Statements in Galatians 1-2”, *JBL* 85 (1966), pp. 335-343.

contradiction” between what Paul claims in Gal. 1:11–12 and his statement in 1 Cor. 15:3, in which he says that he passed on to the Corinthians the gospel that he too had received. C. K. Barrett<sup>586</sup> rejects Sanders’ view, saying that 1 Cor. 15:1–4 emphasises the content rather than the origin of Paul’s teaching to the Corinthians. A. Eriksson<sup>587</sup> states that Paul declares the gospel as that which is not only revealed (Gal. 1 and 2) but that which is also “both transmitted and received”.<sup>588</sup>

To my mind, these scholars interpret the gospel only superficially. Actually, what Paul was convinced of at Damascus was not simply the Christian conviction that Christ died and was raised from the dead, but also that He had to be preached to the Gentiles. Furthermore, Paul’s concern in Gal. 1:11–12 and 1 Cor. 15:1–4 is different. In the case of the former, Paul’s concern is the origin and essence of his gospel, but, in the case of the latter, Paul’s concern is to remind the Corinthians of particular notions in the gospel which he preached to them, and “to emphasise the resurrection of Christ as being the common preaching of

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<sup>586</sup> C. K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians* (BNTC, London: Adam & Charles Black, 1971), p. 337.

<sup>587</sup> A. Eriksson, *Traditions as Rhetorical Proof: Pauline Argumentation in 1 Corinthians* (ConBNT 29, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1998), p. 241.

<sup>588</sup> P. H. Menoud, “Revelation and Tradition: The Influence of Paul’s Conversion on His Theology”, *Int* 7 (1953), p. 141, rightly claims that “the very greatness of Paul the apostle is due to the fact that he was able to unite both revelation and tradition in his thought and work”. In particular, Longenecker, *The Ministry and Message of Paul*, pp. 88–89, explains this matter by the words “originality” and “dependence”:

[Paul] had been confronted by the exalted Lord, directly commissioned an apostle by Jesus Himself, and given the key to the pattern of redemptive history in the present age. The Jerusalem apostles had the key to many of the prophetic mysteries and were the living canons of the data in the Gospel proclamation, but he had been entrusted with a further aspect of that message which by revelation was uniquely his. Together, they combined to enhance the fullness of the Gospel.

all the apostles” (1 Cor. 15:11).<sup>589</sup> In particular, Dunn<sup>590</sup> suggests the solution of the tension between Gal. 1:11-12 and 1 Cor. 15:1-4 as follows: “Paul’s sense of commission as apostle to the Gentiles was a distinctive feature of Paul’s understanding of the gospel from the first”, namely, for Paul the essence of his gospel was that the gospel should be preached to the Gentiles. Conversely, C. Dietzfelbinger<sup>591</sup> who believes that the core of Paul’s theological revolution at Damascus always aims at the law, calls the distinctive feature of Paul’s gospel into question. However, Longenecker<sup>592</sup> claims that Jesus’ revelation entails not only a law-free gospel but also a Gentile mission as involved in God’s sending of his Son.

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<sup>589</sup> Kim, *The Origin of Paul’s Gospel*, p. 70, proposes the following solution to the “contradiction” between Gal. 1:11-12 and 1 Cor. 15:1-4:

Among the various solutions the best one seems to be the one that starts from making a distinction between the essence and the form (or the formal expression) of the gospel and which sees Paul as referring to the former in Gal 1.12 and to the latter in 1Cor 15.1ff. Basic to the divergent opinions within this approach is the supposition that through the ‘revelation of Jesus Christ’ on the Damascus road Paul came to realize the truth of the Christian proclamation that the crucified Jesus is the risen and exalted Lord and that the tradition of 1Cor 15.3ff. is a formal expression of the essence of the gospel (p. 69).

<sup>590</sup> Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, p. 178.

<sup>591</sup> Dietzfelbinger, *Berufung*, p. 90, states that the reason why we have to begin with the problem of the law:

Da aber das Problem des Gesetzes das paulinische Denken vor der Berufung geprägt hat, da offensichtlich durch die Berufung gerade dieses Zentrum paulinisch-jüdischen Glaubens tangiert worden ist und auch im christlich gewordenen Denken des Paulus eine zentrale Stelle behält, setzen wir an diesem Punkt ein.

<sup>592</sup> Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 24.

### 2.3.2. Paul pre-Damascus (Gal. 1:13-14)

*For you have heard of my previous way of life in Judaism, how intensely I persecuted the church of God and tried to destroy it. I was advancing in Judaism beyond many Jews of my own age and was extremely zealous for the traditions of my fathers.*

The words *ἀναστροφήν ποτε ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ* refers to the Jewish religion and way of life as contrasted to the way of life in Seleucid Hellenism (cf. *2 Macc.* 2.21; 8.1; 14.38; *4 Macc.* 4.26). In particular, the word *Ἰουδαϊσμός* became an honoured title for the Jews. In other words, the distinctive Jewish faith and way of life played a striking role of establishing the boundaries between the Jewish people and the rest of the Hellenistic world.<sup>593</sup> Paul refers to two aspects of his Jewish religion and way of life: (1) his intense persecution of Christians in v. 13; (2) his extreme zeal for the traditions of his fathers in v. 14.

Firstly, if we investigate the former, we should note that he describes the degree of his persecution of Christians by means of the verbs *ἐδίωκον* and *ἐπόρθουν*. Actually, in Hellenistic Greek, these two verbs were usually used by the military, when destroying the enemy and sacking cities and countries.<sup>594</sup> However, some scholars believe that,

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<sup>593</sup> Hansen, *Galatians*, p. 43; Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 27; Räisänen, “Paul’s Conversion”, p. 406, states that the word *Ἰουδαϊσμός* refers to practices that separated Jews from Gentiles.

*2 Macc.* 4.11 shows that the Jewish way of life was in striking contrast to the Greek ways of life:

Setting aside the royal ordinances of special favour to the Jews, obtained by John the father of Eupolemus who had gone as envoy to the Romans to secure their friendship and alliance, and seeking to overthrow the lawful modes of life, he introduced new customs forbidden by the law.

<sup>594</sup> Seifrid, *Justification by Faith*, p. 155, n. 76.

when Paul uses the two verbs, he excludes the aspect of materially carrying out a destruction of the early church. To my mind, this view is incorrect, because of the portrayal of Paul's persecution of the early church, his approval of the persecution of Stephen (Acts 7:58–8:3) and the statement about Paul pre-Damascus in Acts 9:21 (All those who heard him were astonished and asked, "Isn't he the man who raised havoc in Jerusalem among those who call on this name? And hasn't he come here to take them as prisoners to the chief priests?").<sup>595</sup> In particular, Hengel<sup>596</sup> claims that the word *πορθεῖν* means “brute force”.

If so, why did Paul do so? In fact, his persecution of the church was justified by earlier examples in the Jewish religion: (1) Moses' slaying of the immoral Israelites at Baal-Peor (cf. Num. 25:1–5); (2) Phinehas' slaying of the Israelite man and the Midianite woman in the plains of Moab (cf. Num. 25:6–15); and (3) the actions of Mattathias and the Hasidim in rooting out apostasy among the people (cf. *1 Macc.* 2.23–28, 42–48).<sup>597</sup>

Longenecker<sup>598</sup> finds the basis of Paul's act in the Qumran

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<sup>595</sup> Hengel, *The Pre-Christian Paul*, pp. 71–72, refers to the fact that the word *πορθεῖν* is used by Josephus in *Wars* 4.534, where it is used synonymously with *λυμαίνεσθαι* (cf. Acts 8:3 – *Σαῦλος δὲ ἐλυμαίνετο τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*) and denotes the burning of the villages and towns of Idumae by Simon bar Giora.

<sup>596</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72.

<sup>597</sup> See the discussion of “κατὰ ζῆλον διώκων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν” in 2.2.3 in Chapter 2; Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 28.

<sup>598</sup> Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 29. He cites the Qumran Psalm, *1QH<sup>a</sup>* 6.14–15, according to which devotion to God and his law was equivalent to zeal against apostates and perverters of the law (p. 29; See also Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, p. 61.):

As I draw near, I become zealous against all those who practice wickedness and men of deceit. For none who are near You speak against Your command, and none who know You pervert Your words. For You are righteous, and all your chosen ones are truth.

documents: *IQS* 9.22 (A righteous man has unremitting hatred toward all men of ill repute); *IQS* 9.3-4 (Unswerving allegiance to God and his law is a firm foundation for the Holy Spirit, truth, and the arrival of Israel's hope); *IQM* (*IQ33*) 7.5; 10.2-5 (Blameless volunteers in spirit and body have to root out apostasy in the final eschatological days).

Therefore, it is highly likely that Paul would persecute the church on the basis of the precedential instances mentioned above and the views indicated in the Qumran documents mentioned above.

Secondly, Paul indicates the degree of his allegiance to Judaism and his adherence to the traditions of his fathers by the words *προέκοπτον* and *ζηλωτής*. The former word, *προκόπτω*, refers to the process of moral and spiritual development (cf. *Vita* 8; Luke 2:52).<sup>599</sup> Paul expresses his process of moral and spiritual development by comparing it to the *συνηλικιώτας*, which means people of his own age or his contemporaries, namely, other Jews of Paul's age. The latter word, *ζηλωτής*, has been discussed already.<sup>600</sup> In particular, the word *ζηλωτής* describes the degree of the observance of the Torah (cf. Acts 22:3), since the expression *τῶν πατρικῶν μου παραδόσεων* refers to the Jewish tradition of the Torah as a whole.<sup>601</sup>

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<sup>599</sup> For the various meanings and backgrounds of the word *προκοπή*, see G. Stählin, "προκοπή, προκόπτω", *TDNT* 6, pp. 704-719.

<sup>600</sup> See the section "*κατὰ ζῆλον διώκων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*" in 2.2.3 in Chapter 2.

<sup>601</sup> Betz, *Galatians*, p. 68, n. 118. Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 30; and Bruce, *Galatians*, p. 91, claim that the tradition refers to the so-called *halakhah*, the compilation of ethical and other rules which took their starting point from the Torah, and the teachings and practices developed in the Pharisaic schools of Second Temple Judaism. On the other hand, Morris, *Galatians*, p. 53, is of the different opinion, namely that the expression *τῶν πατρικῶν μου παραδόσεων* points to the reverend elders in his personal family.

While vv. 13–14 do not suggest that Paul had a formal education in Jewish faith and thought, Acts 22:3b suggests that Paul had a strict education in the law under Gamaliel. I have mentioned already that such education was found only in Jerusalem.<sup>602</sup> Therefore, what we can gather from the statements in Gal. 1:13–14 and Acts 22:3b is that Paul accomplished extraordinary moral and spiritual development and a high degree of Jewish faith and thought (esp. about the law) through strict education under Gamaliel in Jerusalem. For this reason, Paul was very proud of his Pharisaic and Jewish identity (Phil. 3:5–6). As a Jew, therefore, Paul had no reason to leave Judaism.<sup>603</sup>

### **2.3.3. Paul at and post-Damascus (Gal. 1:15-17)**

*But when God, who set me apart from birth and called me by his grace, was pleased to reveal his Son in me so that I might preach him among the Gentiles, I did not consult any man, nor did I go up to Jerusalem to see those who were apostles before I was, but I went immediately into Arabia and later returned to Damascus.*

Although it is not certain if the subject of the substantival participles *ἀφορίσας* and *κοιλίας* is actually indicated in the Greek Bible, it clearly refers to God.

The expression *ὁ ἀφορίσας με ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου* is borrowed from the description of the calling of certain Old Testament prophets. The following comparison indicates in which way Paul interpreted the confrontation with Jesus Christ:

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<sup>602</sup> See section 2.2.4 in Chapter 2.

<sup>603</sup> Betz, *Galatians*, p. 68.



**Galatians 1:15** – ὁ ἀφορίσας με ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου καὶ καλέσας διὰ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ.

**Isaiah 49:1** (LXX) – ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου ἐκάλεσεν τὸ ὄνομά.

**Jeremiah 1:5** (LXX) – πρὸ τοῦ με πλάσαι σε ἐν κοιλίᾳ ἐπίσταμαί σε καὶ πρὸ τοῦ σε ἐξελεῖν ἐκ μήτρας ἡγίακά σε προφήτην εἰς ἔθνη τέθεικά.

K. O. Sandnes<sup>604</sup> and Bligh,<sup>605</sup> referring to the similarities between Gal. 1:15 and Isa. 49:1, believe that Paul had Isaiah’s call in mind. However, they fail to explain the similarities between Gal. 1:15 and Jer. 1:5, since Sandnes stresses only the similarities between Gal. 1:15 and Isa. 49:1 and Bligh does not refer to the similarities between Gal. 1:15 and Jer. 1:5. To my mind, Paul’s has two intentions: One is that God called him; The other is that he describes his apostolic call as equal to the call of these prophets. Thus, if the main purpose of Gal. 1:11–17 is to legitimise Paul’s gospel and apostleship, these two intentions support the main purpose of Gal. 1:11–17. Longenecker<sup>606</sup> claims that “[W]hat Paul is stressing, without any thought expended as to logical or chronological relationships, is that his apostleship stems from God’s good pleasure, ordination, and call”.

What I want to emphasise in particular is the significance of Paul’s use of the verb ἀφορίζω. Paul refers to his past as a Pharisee in vv. 13–14. In addition, whatever the name “Pharisee” originated from, first century Pharisees regarded themselves as “separated for God”. Therefore, if the verb ἀφορίζω means “separated”, it is highly likely that, by means of the use of the verb, Paul was thinking of his time as a

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<sup>604</sup> Sandnes, *Paul – One of the Prophets?*, p. 62.

<sup>605</sup> Bligh, *Galatians*, pp. 127–128.

<sup>606</sup> Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 30.

Pharisee. Dunn<sup>607</sup> describes Paul's time as a Pharisee as an interlude between the major phases of God's purpose. Therefore, we should not see Paul's time as a Pharisee negatively only.

Now Paul starts expounding the Damascus Road event. In v. 16 he states that God revealed his Son to him. He regards the risen Christ as the Son of God (τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ). W. Kramer<sup>608</sup> investigates Paul's use of the title "Son of God" or "his Son", and concludes that in comparison with the titles "Christ Jesus" or "Lord", the occurrence of the title "Son of God" or "his Son" is "an infinitesimally small figure".<sup>609</sup> Thereby, Longenecker<sup>610</sup> maintains that, since the title "Son of God," "his Son" appears 15 times in Paul's earlier letters, it can be argued that "Son of God" comes from his Jewish Christian heritage.<sup>611</sup> R. Bultmann<sup>612</sup> believes that the title "Son of God" was created by Hellenistic-Jewish Christians, and embedded in their missionary message. However, I believe that "Son of God" derived not from the Jewish Christian heritage, but from the Jewish heritage. The evidence for the messiah as the "Son of God" is found in the Dead Sea Scrolls<sup>613</sup> (*1QSa* [*1Q28a*] 2.11-12;<sup>614</sup>

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<sup>607</sup> Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, p. 63.

<sup>608</sup> W. Kramer, *Christ, Lord, Son of God*, trans. B. Hardy (SBT 50, London: SCM, 1966), p. 183.

<sup>609</sup> Rom. 1:3, 4, 9; 5:10; 8:3, 29, 32; 1 Cor. 1:9; 15:28; 2 Cor. 1:19; Gal. 1:16; 2:20; 4:4, 6; 1 Thess. 1:10.

<sup>610</sup> Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 31.

<sup>611</sup> Martyn, *Galatians*, p. 158; Kramer, *Christ, Lord, Son of God*, pp. 183-189.

<sup>612</sup> R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, trans. K. Grobel (London: SCM Press, 1952), p. 1:128.

<sup>613</sup> For the following, see Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, p. 65; Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 31; Kim, *The Origin of Paul's Gospel*, pp. 109-110, n. 3; J. J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (New York: Doubleday, 1995), pp. 154-169; C. A. Evans, "Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls from Qumran Cave 4", in *Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea*

4Q246 [4QapocrDan];<sup>615</sup> 4Q174 [4QFlor];<sup>616</sup> 4Q369 [4QPrEnosh]<sup>617</sup>) and the Old Testament (2 Sam. 7:14; Ps. 2:7).<sup>618</sup> J. J. Collins<sup>619</sup> states quite correctly that “the notion that the messiah was the Son of God in a special sense was rooted in Judaism, and so there was continuity between Judaism and Christianity in this respect”. That is why Paul interpreted the Son of God in terms of Jewish thought.

If so, in which way did God reveal his Son? In particular the expression ἐν ἐμοὶ is significant. Due to this expression, some scholars regard Damascus as a subjective and mystical experience only in Paul’s inner world.<sup>620</sup> However, this view tends to focus only on psychological aspects. In particular, the verb ὀράω in 1 Cor. 15:8 and 1 Cor. 9:1, where

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*Scrolls*, edited by C. A. Evans and P. W. Flint (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), pp. 91–100

<sup>614</sup> “... when [God] has fathered the Messiah among them.”

<sup>615</sup> 4Q246 2.1: “He will be called the Son of God...”

<sup>616</sup> 4Q174 1-2.1.11: “I shall be to him as a father, and he will be to me as a son...”

<sup>617</sup> 4Q369 1.2.6-7: “You made him a first-bo[rn] son to you like him for a prince and ruler in all earthly land.”

<sup>618</sup> Concerning God’s sonship of the Messiah, N. T. Wright follows a peculiar argument. In *The Climax of the Covenant*, pp. 25, 28, he refers to the role of the Messiah as one who “draws on to himself the hope and destiny of the people itself”:

Israel’s role is taken by her anointed king, and this Messiah has acted out her victory in himself, being raised from the dead in advance of his people.

That which Israel has expected for herself, whether metaphorically or literally, has come true in the person of her representative, the Messiah.

Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God* (London: SPCK, 1996), p. 485 n. 29, refers to the evidence that Israel is the son of God (*Wis.* 9.7; 18.13; *Sib. Or.* 3.702; *4 Ezra* 5.28; *Jub.* 1.25-28; *4QDibHam* 3.4-7; *4Q246* 2.1) and then he explains how the Messiah became the Son of God:

[Son of God] referred to the king as *Israel’s representative*. Israel was the son of YHWH: the king who would come to take her destiny on himself would share this title (p. 486, Wright’s italics).

<sup>619</sup> Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, p. 169.

<sup>620</sup> For the various explanations of the Damascus event (e.g. a psychological crisis, a vision, a mystical experience, a trance, a revelation, a conversion, and a call), see B. Rigaux, *The Letters of St. Paul: Modern Studies*, edited and translated by S. Yonick (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1968), pp. 42-55.

Paul's experience on the Damascus Road is referred to, indicates an external vision rather than an internal experience.<sup>621</sup> Therefore, we can accept that it is highly likely that Paul experienced the Damascus Road event externally and internally.<sup>622</sup>

Paul then explains the reason why God revealed his Son by means of a *ἵνα* clause. Paul mentions only one reason why God revealed his Son: *ἵνα εὐαγγελίζωμαι αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν*. Bruce<sup>623</sup> and Longenecker,<sup>624</sup> presupposing that Paul did not fully understand in a moment everything pertaining to Christology or everything pertaining to preaching of Christ among the Gentiles, are of the opinion that Paul's own letters claim that his understanding of Christ developed gradually throughout his life as a Christian, and that Acts points out that there were steps in his comprehension of what the mission to the Gentiles contained. However, as I have mentioned already, if we perceive (1) that Paul's gospel is always linked with the Gentile mission, namely, the distinctive feature of his gospel; (2) that he recognised the Christophany in terms of Jewish thought; and (3) that he himself proves an equation (the initial gospel [when he preached among the Galatians in his original mission] = his gospel in the letter to the Galatians = the gospel which he set before the apostles in Jerusalem), we cannot simply say that his

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<sup>621</sup> Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 31. Ridderbos, *Galatia*, pp. 63–64.

<sup>622</sup> P. T. O'Brien, *Gospel and Mission in the Writings of Paul: An Exegetical and Theological Analysis* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1993), p. 9.

<sup>623</sup> Bruce, *Galatians*, p. 93.

<sup>624</sup> Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 32.

thought developed gradually. Especially Dunn<sup>625</sup> points out that *προσανατίθημι* means not simply “consult”, but “consult in order to be given a skilled or authoritative interpretation”. Furthermore, the expression *οὐδὲ ἀνήλθον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πρὸς τοὺς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἀποστόλους* means that Paul did not need to depend on the apostles in Jerusalem in order to be given a skilled or authoritative interpretation. Therefore, there is no doubt that Paul had an adequate understanding at Damascus in regard to God’s purpose when he revealed his Son to him, namely only one purpose – *Christ had to be preached to the Gentiles*. If we take into account that the adverb *εὐθέως* is connected to all three actions of Paul: (1) *οὐ προσανεθέμην σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι*; (2) *οὐδὲ ἀνήλθον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πρὸς τοὺς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἀποστόλους*; (3) *ἀλλ’ ἀπήλθον εἰς Ἀραβίαν καὶ πάλιν ὑπέστρεψα εἰς Δαμασκόν*, what he *immediately* did after the Damascus event was to go into Arabia. Betz<sup>626</sup> and Longenecker<sup>627</sup> believe that the adverb *εὐθέως* should go with the negative assertions, namely, (1) and (2);<sup>628</sup> otherwise Burton,<sup>629</sup> Bruce,<sup>630</sup> and Tolmie,<sup>631</sup> with the whole following sentence, namely, (1), (2), and (3).<sup>632</sup> To my mind, the latter view makes

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<sup>625</sup> Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, p. 67.

<sup>626</sup> Betz, *Galatians*, p. 72.

<sup>627</sup> Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 33.

<sup>628</sup> Gal. 1:16b–17 (KJV): [*I*]*mmediately* I conferred not with flesh and blood: Neither went I up to Jerusalem to them which were apostles before me; but I went into Arabia, and returned again unto Damascus.

<sup>629</sup> Burton, *Galatians*, pp. 53–54.

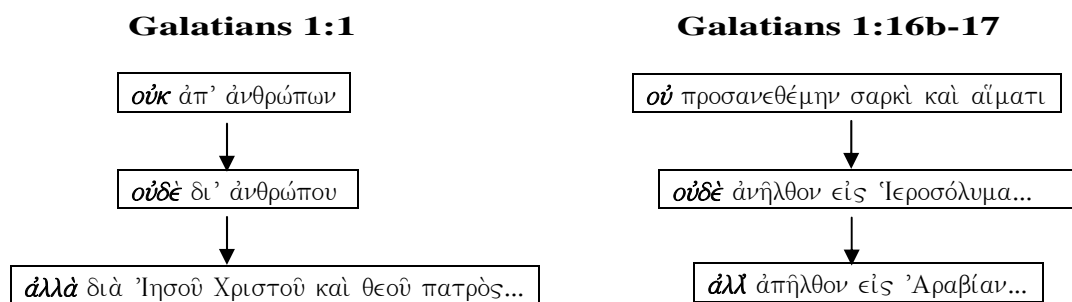
<sup>630</sup> Bruce, *Galatians*, p. 94.

<sup>631</sup> Tolmie, *Galatians*, pp. 60–61.

<sup>632</sup> Gal. 1:16b–17 (NIV): I did not consult any man, nor did I go up to Jerusalem to see those who were apostles before I was, but I went *immediately* into Arabia and later returned to Damascus.

Gal. 1:16b–17 (NRSV): I did not consult any man, any human being, nor did I go up to Jerusalem to those who were already apostles before me, but I went away *at once* into

the most sense. Since the adverb *εὐθέως*, “implying that something takes place immediately”,<sup>633</sup> calls for an affirmation, not simply a statement of non-action, Paul’s emphasis is on the affirmative statement.<sup>634</sup> In particular, if we note that the structures of Gal. 1:1 and Gal. 1:16b-17 are similar, we can clearly see that Paul’s emphasis is on the last statement:



Tolmie<sup>635</sup> concludes quite correctly:

Accordingly, we may speak of a *double focus of attention* in verses 15-17: Paul emphasises two aspects: first, the fact that he did not consult flesh and blood following his Damascus experience, and, secondly, the fact that he immediately went to Arabia. (Tolmie’s italics.)

In particular, this passage’s main focus is the fact that Paul was called in order to preach Christ to the Gentiles. If so, what was the significance of going to Arabia? In other words, how is the fact that Paul went to Arabia related to his commission?

Arabia, and afterwards I returned to Damascus.

<sup>633</sup> Tolmie, *Galatians*, p. 61.

<sup>634</sup> Burton, *Galatians*, pp. 53-54; Tolmie, *Galatians*, p. 61; Bligh, *Galatians*, pp. 133-135; Kim, *Paul and the New Perspective*, p. 103.

<sup>635</sup> Tolmie, *Galatians*, p. 61.

**\* *Why did Paul go into Arabia?***

According to the traditional view, Paul went to Arabia in order to have a time of solitary meditation, in preparation for the Gentile mission. Since Paul denies that he communicated with human beings, it is likely that he would have had spiritual communion with God.<sup>636</sup> However, this view is not accepted by Wright.<sup>637</sup> According to Wright, Paul followed Elijah’s course:

<b><i>Paul</i></b>	<b><i>Elijah</i></b>
Paul belonged to the tradition of zeal of the law before his conversion.	Elijah acted zealously, killing the prophets of Baal who were leading Israel into paganism.
Paul stopped in his tracks at Damascus	Elijah resigned his prophetic commission.
Paul went to Arabia.	Elijah went to Mount Sinai. <sup>638</sup>
Paul returned to Damascus.	In 1 Kgs. 19:15, the Lord ordered Elijah to go to desert of Damascus.
Paul was sent back from Arabia to be the herald of the newly anointed Messiah, Jesus.	In 1 Kgs, 19:15-18, Elijah was sent with a message to anoint kings.

However, to my mind, Wright’s view is rather speculative, since it is doubtful that Paul would have deliberately followed Elijah’s life. Besides, Elijah’s prophetic commission is quite different from Paul’s commission to the Gentiles. Paul, furthermore, does not refer to Elijah anywhere in his letters other than in Rom. 11:2.

Therefore, I accept the view which is that Paul went to Arabia

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<sup>636</sup> Burton, *Galatians*, pp. 55-57; Hansen, *Galatians*, pp. 47-48; G. S. Duncan, *The Epistle of Paul to the Galatians* (MNTC, London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1947), pp. 20-30; T. George, *Galatians* (NAC 30, Nashville: Broadman & Holman Publishers, 1994), pp. 124-125; Ridderbos, *Galatia*, p. 65.

<sup>637</sup> N. T. Wright, “Paul, Arabia, and Elijah (Galatians 1:17)”, *JBL* 115/4 (1996) pp. 683-692.

<sup>638</sup> Arabia was the location of Mount Sinai (cf. Gal. 4:25).

to preach the gospel.<sup>639</sup> If the fact that he went to Arabia is linked to his self-consciousness as an apostle to the Gentiles, its significance is considerable. Hengel<sup>640</sup> claims that Arabia was the nearest neighbouring territory to the Holy Land, and that the “Arabs”, who were regarded as Gentiles, were, close relatives of Israel in terms of genealogy and geography, because they were descendants of Ishmael whose father was Abraham.

Kim,<sup>641</sup> agreeing with Hengel and A. M. Schwemer’s investigation of the reason why Paul went to Arabia, claims that Paul would have followed Isaiah’s course in Isa. 42:11, since סַלְעַ and קָדָר indicate Arabia. In Isa. 60:7 קָדָר is identified with Nebaiot, the oldest son of Ishmael. According to *Ant.* 1.220–221,<sup>642</sup> the name “Nabataean” came from the name of Nebaiot. Furthermore, the LXX translates סַלְעַ as Πέτρα.<sup>643</sup> According to Josephus, Petra was the royal seat of Arabia;<sup>644</sup>

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<sup>639</sup> Bligh, *Galatians*, p. 135; Betz, *Galatians*, pp. 73–74; Bruce, *Galatians*, p. 96; Kim, *Paul and the New Perspective*, pp. 103–104; M. Hengel, “The Attitude of Paul to the Law in the Unknown Years between Damascus and Antioch”, in *Paul and the Mosaic Law* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), pp. 36–38; J. Murphy–O’Connor, “Paul in Arabia”, *CBQ* 55 (1993), pp. 732–737; Bornkamm, *Paul*, p. 27; C. K. Barrett, *Freedom and Obligation: A Study to the Galatians* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1985), p. 8.

<sup>640</sup> Hengel, “The Attitude of Paul to the Law”, p. 37.

<sup>641</sup> Kim, *Paul and the New Perspective*, pp. 103–104

<sup>642</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 103. Kim refers to *Ant.* 1. 220–221: “When the lad was grown up, he married a wife, by birth an Egyptian, from whence the mother was herself derived originally. Of this wife were born to Ismael twelve sons: Nabaioth, Kedar, Abdeel, Mabsam, Idumas, Masmaos, Masoss, Chodad, Theman, Jetur, Naphesus, Cadmas. These inhabited all the country from Euphrates to the Red Sea, and called it Nabatene.”

<sup>643</sup> Isa. 42:11 (LXX) – εὐφράνθητι ἔρημος καὶ αἱ κῶμαι αὐτῆς ἐπαύλεις καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες Κηδαρ εὐφρανθήσονται οἱ κατοικοῦντες Πέτραν ἀπ’ ἄκρων τῶν ὀρέων βοήσουσιν.

<sup>644</sup> Murphy–O’Connor, “Paul in Arabia”, p. 733, points out the following in *Wars*: 1.125 ([Antipater] escaped to the place called Petra, which is the royal seat of the king of Arabia.); 1.159 (Scaurus made an expedition into Arabia, but was stopped by the



hence the name “Arabia Petrea”.<sup>645</sup> Dio Cassius<sup>646</sup> refers to “the part of Arabia around Petra”. Furthermore, Strabo<sup>647</sup> gives a colourful description of Petra as the capital and chief city of the Nabataeans,<sup>648</sup> hence another name, “Arabia of the Nabataeans”.<sup>649</sup> Therefore, considering all aspects, mentioned above, it is likely that Paul would have gone to Arabia of the Nabataean kingdom.<sup>650</sup> According to *Ant.* 18.109–115, around the time of Paul’s Damascus Road experience the king of Arabic Petrea was Aretas IV (B.C. 9–A.D. 40); according to Acts 9:20–22, Paul immediately preached the gospel in the synagogues after Damascus; according to 2 Cor. 11:32–33, the governor under King Aretas guarded the city in order to arrest Paul. The fact that the governor of Nabataea wanted to arrest him, suggests that he must have been doing something to draw attention to himself and to cause the anger of the Nabataean

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difficulty of the place about Petra.); 1.267 ([Herod] made haste himself to Petra of Arabia.); 4.454 ([Somorrhon] is the bounds of Petra in Arabia.).

<sup>645</sup> *Ant.* 18.109 (Aretas [the king of Arabia Petrea]).

<sup>646</sup> *Roman History* 68.14.5.

<sup>647</sup> Murphy–O’Connor, “Paul in Arabia”, p. 733, refers to *Geography* 16.4.21: “The metropolis of the Nabataeans of Petra, as it is called; for it lies on a site which is otherwise smooth and level, but it is fortified all round by a rock, the outside parts of the site being precipitous and sheer, and the inside parts having springs in abundance, both for domestic purposes and for watering gardens. Outside the circuit of the rock most of the territory is desert, in particular that towards Judaea.”

See also 17.1.21: “Aegypt is difficult to enter, I mean from the eastern regions about Phoenicia and Judaea, and from the Arabia of the Nabataeans, which is next to Aegypt; these are the regions which the road to Aegypt traverses. The country between the Nile and the Arabian Gulf is Arabia, and at its extremity is situated Pelusium; but the whole of it is desert, and impassible for an army” (See also 16.4.22).

<sup>648</sup> See on Petra as the capital of the Nabataeans, Pliny (*Natural History* 6.28); Plutarch (*Lives Pompey*.41).

<sup>649</sup> Murphy–O’Connor, “Paul in Arabia”, p. 733.

<sup>650</sup> E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C. – A.D. 135)*, New English version revised and edited by G. Vermes, F. Millar, and M. Goodman (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1986), pp. 1:574–586; Bruce, *Galatians*, pp. 95–96; Betz, *Galatians*, p. 73.

authorities. Therefore, the most probable explanation is that he preached the gospel to make converts.<sup>651</sup> I want to underline the significance of this by quoting Kim's<sup>652</sup> statement:

This immediacy militates against the view that he began to interpret his Damascus experience years later or that Gal. 1:15-17 represents only a later interpretation of it for an apologetic, rhetorical, or paradigmatic purpose at the time of writing Galatians. While confirming the view that Paul went to Arabia indeed to preach the gospel, which is the most natural interpretation of Paul's statement in Gal. 1:15-17, this new discovery of Isa. 42:11 as the basis for Paul's choice of Arabia as his first mission field also makes us bid farewell to both the psychologically comfortable theories that Paul went to Arabia for meditation and that he turned to gentile mission years later only upon failing with his Jewish mission.<sup>653</sup>

### **3. 2 Cor. 4:4-6**

#### **3.1. Introductory issues of the Second Letter to the Corinthians**

• ***Who wrote the Second Letter to the Corinthians?*** In general, most scholars accept that Paul wrote the Second Letter to the Corinthians. For example, F. C. Baur<sup>654</sup> contends that 2 Corinthians belongs to the *Homologoumena* along with 1 Corinthians, Galatians, and Romans.<sup>655</sup>

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<sup>651</sup> Bruce, *Paul: Apostle of the Free Spirit*, pp. 81-82; Betz, *Galatians*, p. 74;

<sup>652</sup> Kim, *Paul and the New Perspective*, p. 104.

<sup>653</sup> Murphy-O'Connor, "Paul in Arabia", pp. 733-734, states:

Since [Paul] understood his conversion as a commission to preach the gospel among pagans (Gal. 1:16), it would have been out of character for him not to have acted upon it as soon as it was feasible.

<sup>654</sup> F. C. Baur, *Paul the Apostle of Jesus Christ: His Life and Work, His Epistles and His Teachings: A Contribution to a Critical History of Primitive Christianity*, trans. E. Zeller (London: Williams and Norgate, 1873-1875), p. 1:256.

<sup>655</sup> Baur divides the Pauline letters into two (with three subdivisions) (*Ibid.*, pp. 1:255-257):

There is also internal and external evidence for Paul’s authorship.

With regard to internal evidence, there are some statements which could only have come from Paul: In 2 Cor. 1:8 (the hardships in the province of Asia and great pressure like death); in 2 Cor. 12:2 (describing himself as a man who “was caught up to the third heaven”); in 2 Cor. 12:7 (the statement that he had a thorn in his flesh).<sup>656</sup> A. Plummer<sup>657</sup> states that the autobiographical items mentioned above, among the most precious detail in the Second Letter to the Corinthians, ring true and do not sound like fiction at all.

With regard to external evidence, Polycarp, writing to the Philippians in the first half of the second century, refers to 2 Corinthians (e.g., Polycarp. *Phil.* 2.2 could reflect 2 Cor. 4:14; *Phil.* 6.2 could reflect 2 Cor. 5:10).<sup>658</sup> M. J. Harris<sup>659</sup> mentions other church fathers who quoted 2 Corinthians (e.g., Irenaeus [A.D. 185], Clement of Alexandria [A.D. 210], and Tertullian [A.D. 210]).

Therefore, 2 Corinthians has rarely been called into question in terms of its authenticity, unlike some other Pauline letters.

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<b><i>Homologoumena</i></b>	First class	Galatians, 1 & 2 Corinthians, and Romans
<b><i>Antilegomena</i></b>	Second class	Ephesians, Colossians, Philippians, Philemon, and 1 & 2 Thessalonians
	Third class	1 & 2 Timothy, and Titus

<sup>656</sup> P. E. Hughes, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians* (NICNT, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), p. xv.

<sup>657</sup> A. Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Second Epistle of St Paul to the Corinthians* (ICC, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1915), p. xii.

<sup>658</sup> M. E. Thrall, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians* (ICC, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994), pp. 1:2-3

<sup>659</sup> M. J. Harris, “2 Corinthians”, in *The Expositor’s Bible Commentary Vol. 10*, edited by F. E. Gaebelin (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1976), p. 306.

• ***How many times did Paul have contact with the Corinthians?*** Brown<sup>660</sup>

believes that Paul had contact with the Corinthians 13 times, including 4 letters and 3 visits.

1. When Paul went to Corinth, Aquila and Priscilla were in Corinth in Acts 18:1-3.
2. After Paul left Corinth, another missionary came and had influence on the Corinthian community; thus Paul felt the need for criticism against it in 1 Corinthians.
3. Paul refers to **Letter A** in 1 Cor. 5:9.
4. Paul received a report about Corinth from Chloe's household (1 Cor. 1:11; 11:18).
5. Paul received a letter of reply which Stephanus, Fortunatus and Achaicus brought (1 Cor. 16:17-18).
6. Paul wrote **Letter B** from Ephesus.
7. After Timothy had come to Corinth, he was informed about the bad situation as the result of false apostles, and then went to Paul in Ephesus in order to report on the situation in Corinth.
8. The previous situation made Paul's visit to Corinth painful (2 Cor. 2:1).
9. Either before or after Paul returned to Ephesus, he sent **Letter C**, with many tears, by Titus (2 Cor. 2:3-4; 7:8-9).
10. Titus brought joyful news to Paul in Macedonia (2 Cor. 7:5-7).
11. In immediate response Paul sent **Letter D** asking for the collection by Titus (2 Cor. 8:6, 16-24).
12. Paul visited Corinth for the third time (2 Cor. 12:14; 13:1-2).
13. According to 2 Tim. 4:20, it is possible that the ship that took Paul from Ephesus to Rome as a prisoner, stopped in Corinth.

Guthrie<sup>661</sup> believes that Paul had contact with the Corinthians 8 times (3, 4+5+6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12), including 4 letters and 3 visits. C. G.

Kruse<sup>662</sup> divides Paul's contacts with the Corinthians into four parts: (1) Paul's first contact with Corinth in the last phase of his second

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<sup>660</sup> Brown, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, pp. 514-515, 541-544.

<sup>661</sup> Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, pp. 424-425.

<sup>662</sup> C. G. Kruse, *The Second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians* (TNTC, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), pp. 18-25.

missionary journey (Acts 18); (2) Paul's contacts with Corinth during the Ephesian ministry (a. Paul's previous letter in 1 Cor. 5:9; b. visitors [i.e., Stephanus, Fortunatus, Achaicus, and Chloe's household] from Corinth; c. the Corinthians' letter to Paul; d. tension between Paul and the Corinthians, which is reflected in a close reading of 1 Corinthians and 2 Cor. 10–13; e. the writing of 1 Corinthians; f. Timothy's visit to Corinth; g. Paul's painful visit; h. Paul's severe letter); (3) Paul's contacts with Corinth while in Macedonia (a. Titus's arrival in Macedonia and Paul's letter of relief; b. Titus returns to Corinth; c. Paul's final letter to Corinth); (4) Paul's third visit to Corinth.<sup>663</sup>

Most scholars<sup>664</sup> identify **Letter B** with the First Letter to the Corinthians; **Letter D** with the Second Letter to the Corinthians. I also accept this view.

• ***Where and when was the Second Letter to the Corinthians written?*** If the reconstruction of Paul's contacts with the Corinthians above is correct, it is probable that the Second Letter to the Corinthians was written in Macedonia, A.D. 57.<sup>665</sup> I also accept this view. With regard to the place of writing, several references in 2 Corinthians support the fact that the letter was written in Macedonia (2:13; 7:5; 8:1; 9:2–4).

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<sup>663</sup> R. P. Martin, *2 Corinthians* (WBC 40, Waco: Word Books, 1986), p. xxxiv, divides Paul's contacts with the Corinthians in terms of Brown's reconstruction (1–12) into 15.

<sup>664</sup> Brown, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, pp. 515, 543; Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, pp. 424–425; Martin, *2 Corinthians*, p. xxxiv; Kruse, *The Second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians*, pp. 21, 23; Harris, "2 Corinthians", pp. 302–303.

<sup>665</sup> Hughes, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, p. xxxv; Brown, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, p. 543.

Furthermore, Harris<sup>666</sup> suggests that the present tense *καυχῶμαι* in 9:2 (I have been boasting about it to the Macedonians) is significant. However, with regard to the date of writing, Harris is of the different opinion, namely that the letter was written in the fall of A.D. 56, since he believes that the First Letter to the Corinthians was written in the spring of A.D. 55, and that there was an interval of eighteen months between the two letters. Of course, it is possible that two letters were written in the same year, A.D. 55 (spring and fall); however the reference to “the winter” in 1 Cor. 16:6 (Perhaps I will stay with you a while, or even spend the winter, so that you can help me on my journey, wherever I go) speaks against the possibility that two letters were written in the same year A.D. 55.<sup>667</sup> M. E. Thrall<sup>668</sup> pinpoints the date of writing of the two letters as follows: The First Letter to the Corinthians was written in April A.D. 55; Chapters 1–8 of the Second Letter to the Corinthians were written in late March A.D. 56; Chapter 9, in June–July 56; Chapters 10–13, in August–September 56.

However, the problem of the writing place and date is not significant. In particular, we cannot be sure about Paul’s chronology, but only make guesses about it, due to the meagre chronological evidence.

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<sup>666</sup> M. J. Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians* (NIGTC, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), pp. 65–67. Kruse’s chronology is as follows (p. 53): the First Letter to the Corinthians was written in Ephesus, A.D. 55; Chapters 1–9 of the Second Letter to the Corinthians were written, shortly afterwards Chapters 10–13, written in A.D. 56.

<sup>667</sup> R. V. G. Tasker, *The Second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians: An Introduction and Commentary* (TNTC, Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1958), p. 15.

<sup>668</sup> Thrall, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, p. 1:77.

• ***Was the Second Letter to the Corinthians one letter, or a compilation of several letters?*** Actually, this question is the main issue in the study of the Second Letter to the Corinthians. Bornkamm<sup>669</sup> believes that the Second Letter to the Corinthians consists of five letters:

<b>Letter C</b>	2:14-7:4 (omitting 6:14-7:1)	= <b>Letter D</b> (mentioned above in 11)
<b>Letter D</b>	10:1-13:10	= <b>Letter C</b> (mentioned above in 9)
<b>Letter E</b>	1:1-2:13+ 7:5-16	A letter of reconciliation
<b>Letter F</b>	8:1-24	A letter of brief recommendation for Titus, and an appendix to <b>Letter E</b>
<b>Letter G</b>	9:1-15	A circular missive to Achaia about the collection

With regard to the integrity of the Second Letter to the Corinthians, the main problems are twofold: One is the problem of 2 Cor. 2:14-7:4 as an independent unit; The other is the problem of a separation between chaps. 1-9 and 10-13.

With regard to the first problem, Bornkamm<sup>670</sup> regards 2 Cor. 2:14-7:4 as an independent unit, since 2 Cor. 2:13 does not match 2:14, but 7:5. The main theme of 2 Cor. 2:14-7:4 is an apology for Paul's apostolic office, Furthermore, the theme is not related to either side, 1:1-2:13 or 7:5-16.

First of all, with regard to the abrupt transition between 2:13 and 2:14, many scholars, such as Thrall,<sup>671</sup> point out the significance of the reference to Macedonia in 2:13, and claim that the reason why the thanksgiving suddenly appears in 2:14 is not simply that Titus met Paul

<sup>669</sup> Bornkamm, *Paul*, pp. 244-246.

<sup>670</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 245.

<sup>671</sup> Thrall, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, pp. 1:22-23.

there,<sup>672</sup> but also that the province was a region of faithful Christians, since the Macedonian churches were active in evangelisation (cf. 1 Thess. 1:6–8; 2:2, 14).

Secondly, with regard to the transition between 7:4 and 7:5–7, R. P. Martin<sup>673</sup> suggests that the verbal correspondences between 7:4 and 7:5–7 are the most convincing evidence that 2:14–7:4 is not an interpolation;<sup>674</sup> Harris<sup>675</sup> says that “[T]he themes of 7:4, especially comfort and joy in the midst of affliction (7:4b), are continued in 7:5–16, which, significantly, is introduced by the explanatory *καὶ γὰρ*, ‘for in fact’ (cf. 3:10)”<sup>676</sup>.

With regard to the latter problem, Plummer<sup>677</sup> is convinced that chaps. 10–13 belong to **Letter C**, for four reasons:

<sup>672</sup> Tasker, *The Second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians*, pp. 28–29. He states: Digressions are very common in Paul’s letters; and in a document such as 2 Corinthians, written at the close of a long period of strain and tension, it is not surprising that this somewhat longer digression should be found (p. 29).

<sup>673</sup> Martin, *2 Corinthians*, p. xliii.

<sup>674</sup> Thrall, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, pp. 1:21, points out the following verbal correspondences and similarities between 7:4 and 7:5–16:

<b>7:4</b>	<b>7:5-16</b>
<i>παρακλήσει</i>	<i>παρακάλεσεν</i> in v. 6 and <i>παρακλήσει</i> in v. 7
<i>χαρᾶ</i>	<i>χαρήναι</i> in v. 7
<i>θλίψει</i>	<i>θλιβόμενοι</i> in v. 5
Paul’s boasting about his readers	Paul’s boasting about his readers in v. 14
<i>ὑπερπερισσεύομαι τῇ χαρᾶ</i>	<i>περισσοτέρως μᾶλλον ἐχάρημεν</i> in v. 13

<sup>675</sup> Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, p. 12.

<sup>676</sup> Thrall, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, pp. 1:21, states:

[T]he *καὶ γὰρ* of 7.5, introducing the contents of 7.5–16, is a perfect logical fit with the last sentence of 7.4, since in vv. 5–6 we are given the reasons for the reference in v. 4 to joy and to affliction.

<sup>677</sup> Plummer, *The Second Epistle of St Paul to the Corinthians*, pp. xxix–xxxiii. For criticism of Plummer’s view, see Hughes, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, pp. xxiii–xxviii.



1. The extraordinary change of tone
2. The apparent inconsistency between chaps. 1-9 and 10-13
3. The fact that there are passages in chaps. 1-9, which seem to refer to passages in chaps. 10-13 indicates that chaps. 10-13 were written and sent to Corinth before chaps. 1-9 were written
4. The fact that 10:16 fits naturally if the writer were in Ephesus, where **Letter C** was written, but not naturally, if the writer were in Macedonia, where chaps. 1-9 were written.

Bornkamm<sup>678</sup> believes that chaps. 10-13 should be identified as the painful letter (or the severe letter), namely, **Letter C**, because of differences not only in tone and mood, but also in the actual situation of the author and the church between chaps. 1-9 and 10-13. Actually, the tone of chaps. 1-9 is optimistic; on the other hand, the tone of chaps. 10-13 is pessimistic.

However, C. K. Barrett<sup>679</sup> believes that chaps. 10-13 do not “correspond to what might be expected of the content of the Severe Letter”, in terms of the reason why he wrote the intermediate epistle provided in 2 Cor. 2:3-5, 9. Furthermore, if chaps. 10-13 had been **Letter C**, Titus’s visit which is mentioned in 12:18 (This verse alludes that Titus had been to Corinth and reported back to Paul), could not have been the occasion on which Titus conveyed the “*Tränenbrief*”.<sup>680</sup> As Munck<sup>681</sup> points out:

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<sup>678</sup> Bornkamm, *Paul*, pp. 244-245.

<sup>679</sup> C. K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians* (BNTC, London: A&C Black, 1973), p. 23.

<sup>680</sup> Martin, *2 Corinthians*, p. xliii; Brown, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, p. 543 n. 4. Brown suggests a further reason why chaps. 10-13 cannot be identified with **Letter C**: **Letter C** was written at a time when Paul had decided not to pay another painful visit (2 Cor. 2:1, 4), but in 2 Cor. 12:14 and 13:1-2 Paul speaks of coming again.

<sup>681</sup> Munck, *Paul and the Salvation of Mankind*, p. 170.

The only thing that we know for certain about the severe letter is that Paul demanded the punishment of one of the church members (2.5-11; 7.11 f.), and in chs. 10-13 there is not a single word about this.

Thus, with regard to the problem of the integrity of the Second Letter to the Corinthians, I would like to conclude with P. E. Hughes' comment:<sup>682</sup>

For the rest, we would only remark that it would be a misfortune for the Church if the profound spiritual riches of this great epistle were overlooked or passed by either because of academic contentions regarding its unity or because of certain places and passages in the course of the text the precise force of which may not be immediately apparent (and which have sometimes been rendered unnecessarily obscure by unsatisfactory translations).

• ***Why was the Second Letter to the Corinthians written?*** Paul had several purposes in writing the Second Letter to the Corinthians. The letter can be divided into three sections, each having a clear purpose:<sup>683</sup>

1. In chaps. 1-7, Paul wants to express his great relief and delight at the Corinthians' positive response to **Letter C** that he sent to the Corinthians by Titus (2 Cor. 2:6, 9, 12-14; 7:5-16), and to explain and to justify his actions in the light of his apostolic ministry.
2. In chaps. 8-9, Paul wants to exhort the Corinthians to complete their promised collection for the saints at Jerusalem before his arrival (2 Cor. 8:6-7, 10-11; 9:3-5).
3. In chaps. 10-13, Paul indicates the proper criteria for distinguishing between rival apostles (10:1-5, 7, 12-18; 11:7-15, 22-30; 12:6, 9-10, 12, 14-15; 13:3-4, 10), and thereby tries to convince the Corinthians of the genuineness of his own apostleship (10:7-8, 14-15; 11:2, 5-6; 12:11-12; 13:6-7, 10); indicates how the

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<sup>682</sup> Hughes, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, pp. xxxiv-xxxv.

<sup>683</sup> Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, pp. 51-52; "2 Corinthians", pp. 307-308; Martin, *2 Corinthians*, pp. lxi-lxiii.

Corinthians should prepare for his forthcoming visit by having them engage in self-examination and self-judgement (12:14; 13:1, 5, 11).

Hughes<sup>684</sup> explains the main purpose of the Second Letter to the Corinthians as follows: The general background situation is that false apostles infiltrated the ranks of the Corinthian church, went out of their way to discredit Paul and to call in question the genuineness of his apostleship. Paul, therefore, would feel a need for defending the genuineness of his apostleship. Furthermore, if the genuineness of his apostleship would be clarified, his exhortation about the completion of the collection to the Corinthians can take authority.

This main purpose underlies the three purposes indicated above.

• ***Outline of the Second Letter to the Corinthians.*** Harris<sup>685</sup> divides analyses of the Second Letter to the Corinthians into three main categories.

1. Analysis by rhetorical form (e.g., B. Witherington III)<sup>686</sup>
2. Analysis by chiasmic structure (e.g., G. Segalla)
3. Analysis by content (and epistolary form) (e.g., V. P. Furnish)

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<sup>684</sup> Hughes, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, pp. xvi-xix.

<sup>685</sup> Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, pp. 105-114.

<sup>686</sup> Another example in this regard is that of F. J. Long, *Ancient Rhetoric and Paul's Apology: The Compositional Unity of 2 Corinthians* (SNTSMS 131, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 116:

*Prooemium*: 1:1-7

*Narratio*: 1:8-16 (distributed at 2:12-13 and 7:2-16)

*Divisio and partitio*: 1:17-24

*Probatio*: 2:1-9:15

*Refutatio*: 10:1-11:15

Self-adulation: 11:16-12:10

*Peroratio*: 12:11-13:10

I prefer the third approach, in line with the three purposes I indicated above. In terms of these three specific purposes, the letter may then be divided into three main sections. Thus, on the basis of the structure proposed by the scholars mentioned above (e.g., Harris, Martin, and R. V. G. Tasker), I want to outline the structure of the Second Letter to the Corinthians as follows:

**Introduction** (1:1-11)

1. Salutation (1:1-2)
2. Thanksgiving (1:3-11)

**Paul's justification of his action in the light of his apostolic ministry** (1:12-7:16)

3. Paul's defence of his action (1:12-2:13)
4. Paul's apostolic ministry (2:14-7:16)

**The collection for the saints at Jerusalem** (8:1-9:15)

**Paul's defence of his apostolic authority** (10:1-13:10)

1. The exercise of apostolic authority (10:1-18)
2. Paul's self-eulogy (11:1-12:18)
3. A third visit promised (12:19-13:10)
4. Conclusion (13:11-13)

### 3.2. Outline of 2 Cor. 4:1-6

Martin<sup>687</sup> points out the following links between 2:14-17 and 4:1-6:

	2:14-17	4:1-6
The opponents' character	<i>ἐν τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις</i> in v. 15	<i>ἐν τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις</i> in v. 3
Paul's character	<i>ἐξ εἰλικρινείας</i> in v. 17	v. 2
	<i>κατενώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ</i> in v. 17	<i>ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ</i> in v. 2
Paul's kerygma	<i>τῆς γνώσεως αὐτοῦ</i> in v. 14	<i>τῆς γνώσεως τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ</i> in v. 6

This diagram indicates that Paul is continuing his polemic against his opponents.

<sup>687</sup> Martin, *2 Corinthians*, p. 75.

Harris,<sup>688</sup> referring to verbal and conceptual links between 2:14-17 and 4:1-6, points out that there is an overlap of terms and concepts between 3:7-18 and 4:1-6:

Verses	3:7-18	Verses	4:1-6
8	ἡ διακονία τοῦ πνεύματος	1	τὴν διακονίαν ταύτην
9	ἡ διακονία τῆς δικαιοσύνης		
13-16	κάλυμμα	3	κεκαλυμμένοι
18	ἀνακεκαλυμμένοι		
14	ἐπωρώθη τὰ νοήματα αὐτῶν	4	ἐτύφλωσεν τὰ νοήματα τῶν ἀπίστων
7	μὴ δύνασθαι ἀτείνσαι	4	τὸ μὴ ἀυγάσαι
13	τὸ μὴ ἀτείνσαι		
18	κατοπτριζόμενοι	6	φωτισμόν
7-11, 18	δόξα	4, 6	τῆς δόξης

This diagram indicates that several key themes of 3:7-18 are continued in 4:1-6.<sup>689</sup>

Actually, all three passages (2:14-17; 3:7-18; and 4:1-6) are closely related to Paul's apostolic ministry, as I mentioned above in the outline of the letter: The passage in 2:14-17 explains the privilege of apostolic service; The passage in 3:7-18 shows the comparison between Paul's ministry and Moses' ministry; Finally, the passage in 4:1-6 is the conclusion of the major section which begins with 2:14.<sup>690</sup> Furthermore, in the conclusion of the major section Paul mentions his experience at Damascus which emerges whenever he defends his own apostleship

<sup>688</sup> Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, pp. 320-321.

<sup>689</sup> C. K. Stockhausen, *Moses' Veil and the Glory of the New Covenant* (Analecta Biblica 116, Roma: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1989), p. 159, believes that there are correspondences in theme and vocabulary between 2 Cor. 3:1-18 and 4:1-6.

<sup>690</sup> Thrall, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, p. 1:298. Stockhausen, *Moses' Veil and the Glory of the New Covenant*, p. 159, regards 2 Cor. 3:1 as a starting point of the major section of which 2 Cor. 4:6 is regarded as the real conclusion.

(such as Gal. 1:15–16; 1 Cor. 9:1–2; 15:8ff.), since the main theme between 2:14–7:16 is his self-understanding of the nature, content, and task of apostleship.<sup>691</sup>

### 3.3 Exegetical remarks on 2 Cor. 4:4-6

*The god of this age has blinded the minds of unbelievers, so that they cannot see the light of the gospel of the glory of Christ, who is the image of God. For we do not preach ourselves, but Jesus Christ as Lord, and ourselves as your servants for Jesus' sake. For God, who said, "Let light shine out of darkness," made his light shine in our hearts to give us the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ.*

The link between vv. 3 and 4 should be noted: In v. 4, Paul says that the gospel is veiled to those who are described as perishing in 4:3, and explains the reason for the *κεκαλυμμένοι* of the gospel in them. The reason is not the gospel itself, nor Paul as its agent, but the activity of *ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου* in making the minds of those unbelievers blind toward the gospel.

<b>v. 3</b>	<b>Reason</b>	<b>v. 4</b>
<i>τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἡμῶν</i>	<i>ὁ θεὸς τοῦ</i>	<i>τὸν φωτισμὸν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τῆς δόξης τοῦ Χριστοῦ</i>
<i>ἔστιν κεκαλυμμένον</i>	<i>αἰῶνος</i>	<i>μὴ ἀγῶσαι</i>
<i>τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις</i>	<i>τούτου</i>	<i>τῶν ἀπίστων</i>

Furthermore, this diagram indicates that the *ἀπολλυμένοι* in v. 3 is identical with those who are designated as *τῶν ἀπίστων* at the end of v. 4.<sup>692</sup>

<sup>691</sup> Dietzfelbinger, *Berufung*, pp. 49–50, believes that 2 Cor. 2:14–7:4 forms a “theologisch[er] und literarisch geschlossene[r] Zusammenhang”.

<sup>692</sup> Thrall, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, pp. 1:305–306; Plummer, *The Second*

If so, who is *ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου* which is a unique expression in the New Testament? Almost all modern commentators regard *ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου* as Satan.<sup>693</sup> R. Bultmann<sup>694</sup> is of the opinion that “Paul ... takes up the Gnostic concepts of the *θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου*”. However, to my mind, Paul takes up the Jewish concept of the two ages. In particular, the evidence that the view of the two ages expressed in v. 4 seems to underlie the Jewish thought, is *1QS* 3.13–4.26 where the idea of contrast between two ages appears: one ruler who dominates this age (*ὁ αἰὼν οὗτος*),<sup>695</sup> strikingly contrasted with another ruler who dominates the age to come (*ὁ αἰὼν ὁ μέλλων/ ἐρχόμενος*).<sup>696</sup> In particular, 3.20–23a states:

The authority of the Prince of Light extends to the governance of all righteous people; therefore, they walk in the paths of light. Correspondingly, the authority of the Angel of Darkness embraces the governance of all wicked people, so they walk in the paths of darkness. The authority of the Angel of Darkness further extends to the corruption of all the righteous. All their sins, iniquities, shameful and rebellious deeds are at his prompting, a situation God in His mysteries allows to continue

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*Epistle of St Paul to the Corinthians*, p. 116; Martin, *2 Corinthians*, p. 79; R. Bultmann, *The Second Letter to the Corinthians*, trans. R. A. Harrisville (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1985), p. 105.

<sup>693</sup> Martin, *2 Corinthians*, p. 78; Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, pp. 327–328; Kruse, *The Second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians*, p. 103; Hughes, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, pp. 126–127; Thrall, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, p. 1:308; Tasker, *The Second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians*, p. 70; Barrett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, pp. 130–131; F. W. Danker, *II Corinthians* (ACNT, Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1989), p. 62.

<sup>694</sup> Bultmann, *The Second Letter to the Corinthians*, p. 104.

<sup>695</sup> “This age” (1 Cor. 1:20; 2:6, 8; 3:18); “the present age” (Eph. 1:21; Tit. 2:12); “the present time” (Rom. 3:26; 11:5).

<sup>696</sup> “The age to come” (Eph. 1:21; Lk. 18:30); “the coming age” (Heb. 6:5); “that age” (Lk. 20:35)

until His era dawns.<sup>697</sup>

ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου is characterised as the god (1) of this age; (2) who rules over this age; (3) of unbelievers of this age. ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου makes the minds of the unbelievers blind. It is significant that the notion that ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου makes the minds of the unbelievers blind toward the gospel, already appears in the Old Testament (cf. Isa. 35:4-5;<sup>698</sup> 44:18<sup>699</sup>). According to *T. Sim.* 2.7, Simeon declares:<sup>700</sup>

I determined inwardly to destroy him, because the Prince of Error blinded my mind so that I did not consider [Joseph] as a brother nor did I spare Jacob, my father.<sup>701</sup>

Furthermore, the expression that one guides a blind man to ὁ φωτισμός, is similar to what has been pointed out with regard to the task of Jews to guide the blind Gentiles to Israel's God as the motive for Gentile proselytism, as I have already indicated.<sup>702</sup> In addition, according to *Jos. As.* 8.10a,<sup>703</sup> Aseneth's conversion is identified with a transition from darkness to light. Therefore, the view that in v. 4 Paul is adopting the language of Gnosticism (e.g., the light-darkness dualism of

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<sup>697</sup> *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader: Calendrical and Sapiential Texts*, edited by D. W. Parry & E. Tov (Leiden: Brill, 2004), p. 4:271.

<sup>698</sup> [S]ay to those with fearful hearts, "Be strong, do not fear; your God will come, he will come with vengeance; with divine retribution he will come to save you." Then will the eyes of the blind be opened and the ears of the deaf unstopped.

<sup>699</sup> They know nothing, they understand nothing; their eyes are plastered over so they cannot see, and their minds closed so they cannot understand.

<sup>700</sup> Danker, *II Corinthians*, p. 63.

<sup>701</sup> Kee, "Testaments of the Twelve Patriachs", p. 1:785.

<sup>702</sup> See n. 327.

<sup>703</sup> Lord God of my father Israel, the Most High, the Powerful One of Jacob, who gave life to all (things) and called (them) from the darkness to the light.



Gnosticism),<sup>704</sup> cannot be accepted.

What *ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου* prevents the minds of the unbelievers from seeing is *ὁ φωτισμὸς τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τῆς δόξης τοῦ Χριστοῦ*. To speak more exactly, that is *ὁ εὐαγγέλιον*, since *ὁ φωτισμὸς* comes from the gospel,<sup>705</sup> and *ὁ φωτισμὸς* is best treated as adjectival.<sup>706</sup> That is why the main object is *ὁ εὐαγγέλιον*, since it is the main issue in this passage. Paul indicates the content of *ὁ εὐαγγέλιον* as *ἡ δόξα τοῦ Χριστοῦ*.<sup>707</sup> In other words, the gospel includes the glory. Martin,<sup>708</sup> going further, maintains that its *δόξα* is none other than Christ himself. However, I want to go to even further. If this passage reflects Paul’s experience at Damascus,<sup>709</sup> the gospel is not only the glory of Christ, but includes the

<sup>704</sup> Barrett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, pp. 131–132.

<sup>705</sup> Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, p. 330; Barrett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, p. 131. They state that *τοῦ εὐαγγελίου* is genitive of source or origin.

<sup>706</sup> Martin, *2 Corinthians*, p. 79.

<sup>707</sup> Thrall, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, p. 1:309; Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, p. 330, maintains that *τῆς δόξης* is more probably a genitive of content (the gospel that contains the glory), or an objective genitive (the gospel that displays the glory).

<sup>708</sup> Martin, *2 Corinthians*, p. 79.

<sup>709</sup> Many scholars, such as Kim, Dunn, Dietzfelbinger, Martin, Sandnes, Plummer, Harris, and Dupont, believe that 2 Cor. 4:4–6 reflects Paul’s experience at Damascus.

For example, Kim, *The Origin of Paul’s Gospel*, p. 7, asserts that the aorist *ἔλαμψεν* designates a definite point in time, namely Paul’s experience at Damascus. In addition, Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, p. 336, suggests that there are many similarities in thought and diction between 2 Cor. 4:6 and the three accounts of Paul’s experience at Damascus in Acts:

2 Cor. 4:6	Acts
ἐλάμψεν	περιήστραψεν (9:3)
	περιαστράψαι (22:6)
	τὴν λαμπρότητα (26:13)
	περιλάμψαι (26:13)
ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις	Hearing (9:4; 22:7, 14-15; 26:14)
	“seeing” (9:17, 27; 22:14-15; 26:13, 16 [twice], 19)
φωτισμὸν	φῶς (9:3; 22:6, 9, 11; 26:13)
τῆς δόξης	τῆς δόξης τοῦ φωτὸς ἐκείνου (22:11)
	ὑπὲρ τὴν λαμπρότητα τοῦ ἡλίου (26:13)
ἐν προσώπῳ Χριστοῦ	ἰδεῖν τὸν δίκαιον (22:14)

fact that the glory of Christ shines on the minds of the unbelievers; thus it was the essence of Paul's gospel that it should be preached to the Gentiles.<sup>710</sup> For Paul the gospel refers both to the content of preaching and the act of preaching,<sup>711</sup> in both instances the glory of Christ shines on their minds.

The relative clause that follows provides the reason why the gospel is the glory of Christ. It is that Christ is the *εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ*.<sup>712</sup> Actually, Christ is the precise representation (*Ebenbild*) of the invisible God (Col. 1:15) as well as a visible expression (*Abbild*) of God.<sup>713</sup>

If so, what might be the origin of the notion of Christ as the *εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ*? Thrall<sup>714</sup> suggests four possibilities:

1. The concept of Christ as the *εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ* already existed in the liturgical tradition of the early church, as can be seen from the Christ-hymn in Col. 1:15–20.
2. The concept of Christ as the *εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ* may have been provided by an *εἰκὼν* in Gnosticism, where the heavenly *ἄνθρωπος* is the *εἰκὼν* because the highest God dwells with him.
3. The concept of Christ as the *εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ* may have been provided by the

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However, care is required. We could possibly regard Paul's experience as a conversion, since Paul says that God made his light shine "in *our* hearts to give *us* the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ" (my italics). However, the nature of God's light in Paul's case at Damascus and this case differs: In the former case God's light had the purpose of calling Paul as the apostle of the Gentiles; in the latter case it was aimed at the proclamation of the gospel toward unbelievers through Paul's apostolic work (on the basis of v. 5.)

<sup>710</sup> Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, p. 178.

<sup>711</sup> Beker, *Paul the Apostle*, pp. 121–122.

<sup>712</sup> Bultmann, *The Second Letter to the Corinthians*, p. 106.

<sup>713</sup> Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, p. 331; Martin, *2 Corinthians*, p. 79. Actually, the *εἰκὼν* indicates a likeness (*Bild*). However, in the case of Paul, the *εἰκὼν* is not a simple likeness, but a complete and essential likeness, on the basis of Phil. 2:6; Col. 1:19; 2:9; and Col. 1:15.

<sup>714</sup> Thrall, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, pp. 1:309–311.

Wisdom-speculation of Hellenistic Judaism.

4. The concept of Christ as the *εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ* may have been provided by the Adam tradition in Gen. 1:26-27.

Thrall believes that Paul had in mind that Christ was the embodiment of the figure of Wisdom and the prototype of the new humanity, since Wisdom and the original Adam shared divine glory (cf. *Wis. Sol.* 7.25-26; Rom. 3:23).

With regard to the first possibility, J. Jervell<sup>715</sup> believes that in 2 Cor. 4:4-6 Paul may have used the concept of baptism of the Hellenistic church, since words such as *κατοπτρίζομαι*, *ἀυγάζω*, *λάμπω*, and *φωτισμός*, appear only in 2 Cor. 3:18 and 4:4-6 among the Pauline letters. Therefore he concludes that, on the basis of Col. 1:15 and Phil. 2:6, the expression *ὅς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ* in 2 Cor. 4:4 is a confessional formula, having its *Sitz im Leben* in the baptismal liturgy of the Hellenistic church. However, Kim<sup>716</sup> objects that we have no evidence that those words were generally used in the Hellenistic church.

Those who opt for the second possibility support it by referring to Philo. However, A. J. M. Wedderburn<sup>717</sup> correctly objects that this puts the cart before the horse, since there is no evidence of the existence of Gnosticism in at least the first and second centuries A.D.<sup>718</sup>

The last two possibilities still remain. Both link the concept of

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<sup>715</sup> J. Jervell, *Imago Dei. Gen 1,26f. im Spätjudentum, in der Gnosis und in den paulinischen Briefen* (FRLANT 76, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960), pp. 196-209.

<sup>716</sup> Kim, *The Origin of Paul's Gospel*, p. 142.

<sup>717</sup> A. J. M. Wedderburn, "Philo's 'Heavenly Man'", *NovT* 15 (1973), p. 324.

<sup>718</sup> I agree with the view that there is no evidence for the existence of Gnosticism in the first century A.D. Therefore, Gnosticism did not exist in Philo's time.

Christ as the *εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ* to Jewish thought. Of these the last possibility is more likely than the third possibility, since the expression ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ὁ εἰπὼν, Ἐκ σκοτῶν φῶς λάμψει strongly reflects Gen. 1:3-4.<sup>719</sup> Therefore many scholars<sup>720</sup> agree with this view. If so, it is more likely that Paul uses Jewish tradition about Adam in Genesis rather than Wisdom-speculation. Furthermore, the view that the concept of Christ as the *εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ* may have come from the Jewish tradition about Adam, is supported by common Jewish ideas: (1) Adam was created by God as *εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ*; (2) When the Messiah comes, the state prior to the fall will be restored; (3) The Messiah will come in human image like Adam, as *εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ*.

With regard to the first item, *Wis. Sol.* 2.23-24 illustrates Jewish tradition about Adam as *εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ* very well.<sup>721</sup>

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<sup>719</sup> Jervell, *Imago Dei*, pp. 173-176, 194-197, believes that 2 Cor. 3:18-4:6 is primarily an interpretation of Gen. 1. However, Stockhausen, *Moses' Veil and the Glory of the New Covenant*, p. 161; J. Murphy-O'Connor, *The Theology of the Second Letter to the Corinthians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 43; Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, p. 334, are of the opinion that the expression Ἐκ σκοτῶν φῶς λάμψει in 2 Cor. 4:6a is not an allusion to Gen. 1:3, but a combination of Job 37:15 (Do you know how *God* controls the clouds and *makes his lightning flash?*), which is a reflection of Genesis, and Isa. 9:2 (according to the Hebrew Bible, 9:1 - The people walking in darkness have seen a great light; on those living in the land of *the shadow of death* a light has dawned), which refers to the inbreaking of the eschaton (my italics).

<sup>720</sup> Thrall, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, p. 1:310; Dunn, *Jesus, Paul, and the Law*, p. 97; R. Scroggs, *The Last Adam: A Study in Pauline Anthropology* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), pp. 68, 96-99; Barrett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, pp. 132-133.

<sup>721</sup> Dunn, *The Theology of Paul*, p. 86, suggests that the vocabulary and thought in *Wis. Sol.* 2.23-24 are reflected in Paul's own theological assertions. If I may add a few passages to Dunn's investigation:

1. The word ἀφθαρσία appears in Rom. 1:23; 1 Cor. 15:42, 50, 53-54; Eph. 6:24; and 1 Tim. 1:10.

2. The word εἰκὼν appears in Rom. 1:23; 8:29; 1 Cor. 11:7; 15:49; 2 Cor. 3:18; 4:4; Col. 1:15; and 3:10.

3. The word ἀίδιος appears in Rom. 1:20.

But God created man for *immortality*,  
and made him an *image* of his own *eternal self*,  
it was the devil's spite that *brought death into the world*,  
and the experience of it is reserved for those who take his side.<sup>722</sup> (My italics.)

### *Introduction to the Wisdom of Solomon*

1. **The outline of the book:** The book consist of three parts:<sup>723</sup>
  1. Wisdom that brings eternal life to the just and faithful man (1-5)
  2. Wisdom's origin, nature, and activity (6-9)
  3. A review of the history of Israel and its relation to other peoples (10-19)
2. **The purpose of the book:** The book was written in order to prevent Jews from worldly Hellenisation, and to encourage them to keep their ancestral faith.<sup>724</sup>
3. **The date of the book:** Most scholars' assumptions of the date of the book range from 150 B.C. to A.D. 40.<sup>725</sup> For example, H. Samuel<sup>726</sup> dates the book between 50 B.C.-A.D. 10, since most scholars admit that Paul and Philo used some passages in this book.

With regard to the second item, if 2 Cor. 4:6 reflects the restoration of Adam's state prior to the fall, this is also portrayed in Jewish literature and the Qumran documents.<sup>727</sup> In addition, according to

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4. The expression "Death entered into the world" appears in Rom. 5:12.

<sup>722</sup> E. G. Clarke, *The Wisdom of Solomon: Commentary* (The Cambridge Bible Commentary, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), p. 25.

<sup>723</sup> Surburg, *Introduction to the Intertestamental Period*, p. 109

<sup>724</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 110

<sup>725</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 110.

<sup>726</sup> Samuel, "The Wisdom of Solomon", p. 1:538.

<sup>727</sup> With regard to the restoration of Adam to the state prior to the fall, Dunn, *The Theology of Paul*, p. 88, refers to *Apoc. Mos.* 28.4b: "[A]t the time of the resurrection [the Lord] will raise [Adam] again, and then there shall be given to [Adam] from the tree of life, and [Adam] shall be immortal forever."

Actually, it is difficult to decide the date of the book. However, since there is no reference to the destruction of Jerusalem, the book may well have been composed before A.D. 70 (Surburg, *Introduction to the Intertestamental Period*, p. 138).

Furthermore, C. C. Torrey, *The Apocryphal Literature* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945), p. 131, believes that the two recensions (*Apocalypse of Moses* and *Vita Adae et Evae*) stem from a Jewish or Semitic archetype. Therefore, there may well have been a version prior to Paul. Thereby, we can guess that our current texts could reflect traditions and speculations about Adam and Eve known to Paul (Dunn, *The*

Rabbinic thought, six things are taken away from Adam, due to the fall.<sup>728</sup> The first is “his lustre”.<sup>729</sup> However, when the Messiah comes, the six things will again return to their perfection. In other words, Adam will receive back the six things which were taken away from him after the fall. This is almost similar to what is portrayed in v. 6 where it is said that God lets “the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ” shine on our minds.<sup>730</sup> What we have to note here is the fact

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*Theology of Paul*, p. 87, n. 32.).

*IQS* 4.22b–23a: “Indeed, God has chosen them for an eternal covenant; all the glory of Adam shall be theirs alone.”

*IQH* 4.15: “...giving them all the glory of man (or Adam) as an inheritance [along with] long life.”

CD 3.20: “Those who hold fast to it are to have eternal life and all the glory of Adam is theirs.”

<sup>728</sup> See Kim, *The Origin of Paul’s Gospel*, pp. 189. For example, *Gen. Rab.* 12.6 and *Num. Rab.* 13.12 name the six things as the lustre; immortality; height; the fruit of the earth; the fruit of trees, and the luminaries.

Items	Posterior to the fall	In the days of the Messiah
Lustre	You change his countenance and send him away (Job 14:20)	O LORD! But may they who love you be like the sun when it rises in its strength (Judg. 5:31)
Immortality	For dust you are and to dust you will return (Gen. 3:19)	For as the days of a tree, so will be the days of my people; my chosen ones will long enjoy the works of their hands (Isa. 65:22)
Height (Stature)	The man and his wife hid themselves (Gen. 3:8)	I broke the bars of your yoke and enabled you to walk with heads held high (Levi. 26:13)
Fruit of the Earth	Cursed is the ground (Gen. 3:17)	The seed will grow well, the vine will yield its fruit, the ground will produce its crops, and the heavens will drop their dew. I will give all these things as an inheritance to the remnant of this people (Zech. 8:12)
Fruit of Trees		
Luminaries	The moon will be abashed, the sun ashamed (Isa. 24:23)	He sunlight will be seven times brighter, like the light of seven full days, when the LORD binds up the bruises of his people and heals the wounds he inflicted (Isa. 30:26)

<sup>729</sup> Cf. *Apoc. Mos.* chaps. 20–21.

<sup>730</sup> Dietzfelbinger, *Berufung*, p. 73, asserts that the idea of “the light of the knowledge of the glory of God” can be understood in terms of “*jüdische Anschauung*”. In particular, according to “*jüdische Anschauung*”, Adam prior to the fall had “*Gottes Glanz*”; Adam posterior to the fall lost “*Gottes δόξα*”; however, in the eschaton humanity will take part in God’s light again. Dietzfelbinger concludes that we can obviously see the similarity between the “*jüdische Anschauung*” of “*Gottes Glanz*” and 2 Cor. 3–4.

that God lets his light shine on us through Christ, according to v. 6. In other words, the point is that the Messiah will play a role, so that God will shine his light on us. *T. Levi* 18.10–11 points out the Messiah’s role in terms of this link with Adam:

And he shall open the gates of paradise; he shall remove the sword that has threatened since Adam, and he will grant to the saints to eat of the tree of life. The spirit of holiness shall be upon them.<sup>731</sup>

To my mind, the third item is problematic. However, the problem is solved when one realises that the word *ἄνθρωπος* was already regarded as a messianic title in Judaism. In *T. Jud.* 24.1, based on Num. 24:17, the Messiah is called a man:<sup>732</sup>

And after this there shall arise for you a Star from Jacob in peace: And a *man* shall arise from my posterity like the Sun of righteousness, walking with the sons of men in gentleness and righteousness, and in him will be found no sin.<sup>733</sup> (My italics.)

And CD 7.18b–21a, based on Num. 24:17, also illustrates this, since the word *מָשִׁיחַ* is rendered into the word *ἄνθρωπος* in Num. 24:17 (LXX–δείξω αὐτῷ καὶ οὐχὶ νῦν μακαρίζω καὶ οὐκ ἐγγίξει ἀνατελεῖ ἄστρον ἐξ Ἰακωβ καὶ ἀναστήσεται ἄνθρωπος ἐξ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ θραύσει τοὺς ἀρχηγούς Μωαβ καὶ προνομεύσει πάντας υἱούς):<sup>734</sup>

And the “star” is the interpreter of the Torah who came to Damascus, as it

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<sup>731</sup> Kee, “Testaments of the Twelve Patriachs”, p. 1:795.

<sup>732</sup> W. Horbury, “Messianic Associations of ‘The Son of Man’”, *JTS* 36 (1985), p. 49.

<sup>733</sup> Kee, “Testaments of the Twelve Patriachs”, p. 1:801. See also *T. Naph.* 4.5.

<sup>734</sup> G. Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism* (Leiden: Brill, 1961), p. 59.

is written: “A star stepped forth out of Jacob and a staff arose out of Israel.” The “*staff*” is the prince of all the congregation, and when he arises, “he will destroy all the sons of Seth.”<sup>735</sup> (My italics.)

The word נָכַר in Isa. 66:7 and the word נִבְרָא in 2 Sam. 23:1 indicate the Messiah. These two words appear in *IQH<sup>a</sup>* 11.7-10 where it recalls the image from Isa. 66:7:<sup>736</sup>

I am in distress, as a woman about to give birth to her first born. For her pangs come over her, and she has excruciating pain in her birth canal, writhing in the womb of the pregnant one. For children come into life through the crashing waves of death, and she who is pregnant with a *male child* (גִּבּוֹר) is afflicted by her birth pains. For through the crashing waves of death she delivers a *male child* (זָכָר), through the pains of Sheol there burst forth from the womb of the pregnant one, a wonderful counsellor with his strength.<sup>737</sup> (My italics.)

B. McNeil<sup>738</sup> argues that the word בֶּן in Ps. 80:15 can be read as בֶּן־מָלְכִים due to its direct relationship to the expression בֶּן־מָלְכִים in Ps. 80:17, and that the Targumist has rendered the word בֶּן in Ps. 80:15 into “King Messiah”,<sup>739</sup> and claims that “we ... have a clear case of the expression בֶּן־מָלְכִים being understood messianically”. It is true that the context of Ps.

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<sup>735</sup> *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations: Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents*, edited by J. H. Charlesworth (Louisville & Tübingen: Westminster John Knox Press & J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1995), p. 2:27.

<sup>736</sup> Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism*, p. 63.

<sup>737</sup> *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader: Poetic and Liturgical Texts*, edited by D. W. Parry & E. Tov (Leiden: Brill, 2004), p. 5:23.

<sup>738</sup> B. McNeil, “The Son of Man and the Messiah: A Footnote”, *NTS* 26 (1980), pp. 421-421.

<sup>739</sup> See D. M. Stec, *The Targum of Psalms: Translated, with a Critical Introduction, Apparatus, and Notes* (The Aramaic Bible 16, Collegeville, Liturgical Press, 2004), p. 157, translates the word בֶּן in Ps. 80:15 as “the anointed king”.



80:15 and 17 as a prayer for national deliverance with recollection of the exodus could evoke the thought of the Messiah.<sup>740</sup>

G. Vermes<sup>741</sup> and W. Horbury<sup>742</sup> also draw attention to the word “man” which has messianic significance in many documents (e.g., Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, LXX, and the Qumran documents), and conclude that there was a Jewish expectation of the Messiah as “man” and as “son of man”.<sup>743</sup>

Consequently, it would not have been strange for Paul that the Messiah would appear in human form.<sup>744</sup> Thus, it is almost sure that at Damascus Paul would realise that the restoration toward the state of Adam prior to the fall had begun by the Messiah’s advent in terms of Jewish eschatological messianic expectation.

In the light of the fact that Paul realised that the restoration had begun with the Messiah’s advent, verse 5 should then be interpreted as referring to what Paul had to preach. This is twofold: 1. Jesus Christ is Lord; 2. Paul is a servant of his converts at Corinth for Jesus’ sake. However, this is actually one issue, since the fact that Jesus Christ is Lord necessarily implied Paul is in slavery to Him, not simply a slave to his converts at Corinth, but their slave *διὰ Ἰησοῦν*. The passages in which Paul describes himself as a slave of Jesus or God indicate his task as a

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<sup>740</sup> Horbury, “Messianic Associations of ‘The Son of Man’”, p. 49.

<sup>741</sup> Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism*, pp. 56-66

<sup>742</sup> Horbury, “Messianic Associations of ‘The Son of Man’”, pp. 40-52.

<sup>743</sup> Kramer, *Christ, Lord, Son of God*, p. 109, states that “it is an essential element in the idea of the Messiah that he will be born as *a man*” (my italics).

<sup>744</sup> According to *T. Zeb.* 9.8, Zebulon declares that his children shall see God in a human form.

slave of Jesus or God.<sup>745</sup> Actually, his task is closely linked to the proclamation of the gospel (Rom. 1:1; 2 Cor. 4:5; Gal. 1:10–12; Phil. 1:1–7; Tit. 1:1–3). Martin<sup>746</sup> maintains that, since in the religious language of Judaism “to be a servant” meant to be one chosen by God, the title *δοῦλος* of Christ is not to be understood as servitude but as privilege, just as the expression עֶבֶד יְהוָה in Isaiah indicates “a character chosen by God to fulfil a mission and counts it a joyous task”. In particular, in Isa. 49:6,<sup>747</sup> associated with Gal. 1:15–16, the reason why Isaiah became God’s servant is clarified, namely Isaiah’s prophetic mission, as a light for the Gentiles to bring God’s salvation to the ends of the earth. In a similar way Paul preached the gospel to the Gentiles as the apostle of the Gentiles. Kim<sup>748</sup> rightly states:

Paul is commissioned to illuminate men with the gospel, the knowledge of the Christ exalted and glorified. There is probably an echo of the call of the עֶבֶד יְהוָה in Isa 42.6f. and 49.6: the Servant is called by Yahweh *εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν* and ‘to open the eyes that are blind’. It seems that in the present passage Paul is describing his apostolic commission in terms of that of the Servant of Yahweh. This is highly probable since elsewhere (Gal 1.15) also he describes his call in terms of that of the Servant.<sup>749</sup>

In v. 6 Paul explains the reason why he preaches Christ. He says that God has dispelled the darkness, since the Messiah’s advent means the

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<sup>745</sup> The word *δοῦλος* appears 28 times in the disputed and undisputed Pauline letters. The word *δοῦλος* is identified with Paul five times.

<sup>746</sup> Martin, *2 Corinthians*, p. 80.

<sup>747</sup> [God] says: “It is too small a thing for [Isaiah] to be my servant to restore the tribes of Jacob and bring back those of Israel I have kept. I will also make you a light for the Gentiles, that you may bring my salvation to the ends of the earth.”

<sup>748</sup> Kim, *The Origin of Paul’s Gospel*, p. 10.

<sup>749</sup> Danker, *II Corinthians*, pp. 64–65.

restoration of God’s light – as Adam had it prior the fall, as I have already explained.<sup>750</sup> If so, why is the restoration of God’s light significant for Paul being the apostle of the Gentiles? The reason is that the restoration of God’s light *to Adam* means that God’s light shines on *all* his people, not categorised in terms of ethnic demarcations, since there was no ethnic demarcation in the time prior to Adam’s fall. The view that all nations (Jew and Gentile) would see God’s light by the Messiah, appears in Jewish thought (esp. the rabbinic one<sup>751</sup>). For example, *T. Levi* 18.3–4 states:

And his star shall rise in heaven like a king; kindling the light of knowledge as day is illuminated by the sun. And he shall be extolled by the whole inhabited world. This one will shine forth like the sun in the earth; he shall take away all darkness from under heaven, and there shall be peace in all the earth.<sup>752</sup>

Martin<sup>753</sup> shows that the view appears in the Qumran documents (*1QH<sup>a</sup>* 12.5–6, 27–29;<sup>754</sup> *1QSB* 4.24–28;<sup>755</sup> *1QS* 2.2–4<sup>756</sup>). In other words, for

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<sup>750</sup> See pp. 212–214.

<sup>751</sup> See n. 725; T. B. Savage, *Power through Weakness: Paul’s Understanding of the Christian Ministry in 2 Corinthians* (SNTSMS 86, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 128, nn. 126, 127, gives examples: *Gen. Rab.* 3.6; 42.3; *Exod. Rab.* 35.1; *Lev. Rab.* 11.7. According to *Gen. Rab.* 3.6 and *Exod. Rab.* 35.1, since God hid the light away from the world, the light in the creation was lost. However, the light is stored up for the righteous in the messianic future.

However, Savage maintains that it is not sure whether Paul was acquainted with the rabbinic speculation in this regard. To my mind, however, it is almost sure that Paul was acquainted with this view due to the Jewish universalism and the Jewish messianic expectation about the restoration of God’s light to the situation of Adam prior to the fall.

<sup>752</sup> Kee, “Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs”, p. 1:794. See also *T. Ben.* 11.2; *Sib. Or.* 3.785–787.

<sup>753</sup> Martin, *2 Corinthians*, p. 81.

<sup>754</sup> Esp. 12.6: “...as [perfe]ct light, You have revealed Yourself to me.”

<sup>755</sup> Esp. 4.27: “May He establish you as hol[y] among His people, as the [*greater*] *light* (Gen 1:16) [to illumine] the world with knowledge, and to shine upon the face of

Paul the restoration of God's light as Adam had it prior the fall has already begun by the Messiah's advent in Jewish eschatological terms. Since, at Damascus, Paul realised that God's glory could shine on all God's people (Jew and Gentile) in Jewish eschatological terms, his Gentile mission would have been legitimised for him as the apostle to the Gentiles. Dunn<sup>757</sup> states quite rightly and significantly:

[I]f indeed the *εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ* in 2 Corinthians 4.4 speaks primarily of Christ as Adam, then the immediate corollary is that in 2 Corinthians 3-4 Paul deliberately transforms the matrix of salvation-history from Israel and Sinai to man and creation.

In conclusion, from all of this it is clear that the gospel could not but have been preached to the Gentiles by Paul.

#### **4. The Damascus Road event and the Gentile mission**

There are two different views on the origin of Paul's Gentile mission. Some scholars believe that his Gentile mission originated at Damascus; other scholars believe that it originated after his experience at Damascus, since he needed a period to realise that he himself had to go to the Gentiles as the apostle to the Gentiles. However, I believe Paul went to the Gentiles *immediately* in order to preach the gospel, without needing a period for developing a self-consciousness with regard to going to the Gentiles. On the other hand, if it were true that Paul had converted from

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many..."

<sup>756</sup> Esp. 2.3: "May He enlighten your mind with wisdom for living..."

<sup>757</sup> Dunn, *Jesus, Paul, and the Law*, p. 97.

one religion to another, and had not been called verbally at Damascus, and first had a failed Jewish mission – which I do not accept – he might have needed a period to realise his commission as the apostle to the Gentiles.

#### **4.1. Conversion vs. call**

If Paul's experience at Damascus is regarded as a conversion, i.e., if Paul converted from one religion to another, from what did Paul convert and to what did he convert? In general, scholars who believe that he converted, accept that Christ was incompatible with Judaism. Their main argument is that Paul converted from Judaism to Christianity. If this is true, it is important to them to prove why Paul had to break with Judaism.

The following discussion will be limited to the Damascus Road event itself when discussing this issue, since the focus of this part of my study is the origin of Paul's Gentile mission. In other words, we need to investigate the nature of Paul's experience at Damascus in terms of his own statements. To my mind, the reason why scholars cannot reach consensus in this regard is that they try to explain too many things by means of Paul's brief statements about his experience at Damascus.

In the following discussion I will return to the views of some scholars already discussed in Chapter 1, because, at this stage, a more detailed explanation is necessary. I will focus on the core of their description of Paul's Damascus Road experience.

**\* Seyoon Kim**

Kim can be regarded as a representative scholar, belonging to the Old Perspective on Paul – one who tries to explain too many things of Paul’s Damascus Road experience. He tries to link Paul’s Christology, soteriology, the starting point of the doctrine of justification by faith, Paul’s calling by revelation, and the Gentile mission to Paul’s experience at Damascus. In his view, the new Christological insights that Paul gained were essential parts of the revelation at Damascus. In this regard he mentions, “the *εἰκὼν*-Christology” – the new Christology Paul received at Damascus.<sup>758</sup> Furthermore, in his book *The Origin of Paul’s Gospel*, he insists that the *εἰκὼν*-Christology received at Damascus later developed into the Adam-Christology and the Wisdom-Christology.<sup>759</sup> With regard to the doctrine of justification by faith, he believes that Paul’s view of the law was changed by the Christophany at Damascus, since Paul realised that Christ was the end of the law for salvation (Rom. 10:4). He states:

Paul began to develop his distinctive soteriological formulation of the gospel in terms of justification through faith in Christ without works of the law. This new soteriology provided a theological basis for his gentile mission to which he was also called at the Damascus Christophany.<sup>760</sup>

Therefore, Kim is of the opinion that the starting point of the doctrine of justification by faith was the Damascus Road event. In his view, the revelation about the gospel of Jesus Christ was closely linked to the

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<sup>758</sup> Kim, *Paul and the New Perspective*, pp. 13–14.

<sup>759</sup> Kim, *The Origin of Paul’s Gospel*, pp. 137–233.

<sup>760</sup> Kim, *Paul and the New Perspective*, p. 22.

apostolic call to the Gentiles. Therefore, these two elements were inseparable.<sup>761</sup> That is why Kim has no doubts that Paul's new views, caused by the Christophany at Damascus, led to what should be called his conversion.

**\* *Terence L. Donaldson***

The reason why I refer to Donaldson, is that, though he belongs to the school of the New Perspective on Paul,<sup>762</sup> he peculiarly regards Paul's experience at Damascus as a conversion. In his view, Paul's persecution of the church was based on his zeal for the law and the tradition of his fathers, so any revision of Paul's estimation of Jesus at Damascus "would necessarily entail a reassessment of the convictions" (Israel, the Torah, messianic salvation, and God). Therefore, he criticises scholars who try to understand Paul's experience at Damascus only as a call:

This way of accounting for Paul's Gentile mission, however, can be disposed of rather quickly. ... it either begs the question or renders Paul's convictional shift arbitrary and inexplicable – or both.<sup>763</sup>

His view of Paul's Gentile mission belongs to a second stage perception. A second stage perception necessarily implies a first stage. According to my understanding of his view, the first stage might then have been a reassessment of the pre-Damascus Paul's convictions; the second stage may be the post-Damascus Paul's Gentile mission as the result of the

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<sup>761</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 81.

<sup>762</sup> Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles*, p. 75, describes the pre-Damascus Paul as a covenantal nomist.

<sup>763</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 250.

reassessment of the pre-Damascus convictions by the Christophany at Damascus. That is why, according to Donaldson, Paul's experience at Damascus should be interpreted as a conversion.

\* ***Krister Stendahl***

Stendahl bases his view on the presupposition that there is “a greater continuity” between the pre-Damascus and the post-Damascus Paul, both in the accounts in Acts and his own statements about his experience at Damascus. According to my understanding of his view, there are three reasons why he regards Paul's experience at Damascus as a call only: (1) Paul still serves the one and the same God even after his experience at Damascus; (2) In Gal. 1:15–16, Paul describes his experience at Damascus in terms of a prophetic call similar to that of Isaiah and Jeremiah; (3) The accounts in Acts and Paul's own statements about his experience at Damascus focus not on the fact that Paul became a Christian, but on the fact that Paul became the apostle to the Gentiles. And then, Stendahl advises:

If one reads Paul as the called – not the converted – Apostle among Jews and Gentiles, not simply concentrating on him as the greatest theologian of the New Testament and the Protestant hero of deep theological thought, one might even be able to read the Bible and come to a more accurate understanding of what he wrote in his own time and to his own situations.<sup>764</sup>

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<sup>764</sup> Stendahl, *Paul among Jews and Gentiles*, pp. 7–23.



**\* James D. G. Dunn**

According to Dunn, Paul's *calling* at Damascus should be characterised as "the *primary* feature" of his experience at Damascus. Its implications for the law and its bearing on the gospel are characterised by Dunn as "the *corollary*".<sup>765</sup> His main assertion is that through the Christophany at Damascus Paul recognised that God had started the restoration to the situation of Adam prior to the fall:

[I]f with Christ now raised from the dead God's purpose for man (and not simply Israel) has been realized, it must follow that the object of his concern is mankind as a whole and not merely the Jews; God's purpose (not least in stopping Paul short in his full flight as a persecutor on behalf of Israel's prerogatives and law) must be to realize through Christ his purpose of creation and not simply of election. The puzzling 'therefore to the Gentiles' thus becomes a more *immediate deduction* from the Damascus road Christophany than even Kim allows. (My italics.)<sup>766</sup>

However, Dunn regards the antithesis between Jesus and the law as a later development, or to indicate it more exactly, an event after the Antioch incident, since he believes that "the antithesis as antithesis was more the corollary of 'therefore to the Gentiles' than vice versa".<sup>767</sup>

To my mind, to some extent the views of all four these scholars are helpful in proving my view which is that Paul's Gentile mission originated at Damascus.

However, in regard to Kim, as I pointed out when I started this

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<sup>765</sup> Dunn, *Jesus, Paul, and the Law*, p. 92. (Dunn's italics.)

<sup>766</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98.

<sup>767</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98.

discussion, he tries to explain too many things by Paul's brief statements about the Christophany at Damascus. Kim himself admits:

I grant that sometimes my unguarded language gave readers an impression that I was claiming Paul obtained *all* these Christological and soteriological doctrines immediately from the Damascus Christophany. (My italics.)

Stendahl makes an important contribution to understanding Paul's own interpretation of the event at Damascus. However, he does not explain the transition of Paul's thought between pre-and post-Damascus by the event at Damascus well, since he understands the post-Damascus Paul's thought in terms of a two-covenant approach, that is, Paul did not think that the Jews had to believe in Jesus as the Messiah in order to be saved, since the Jews would be saved only by the covenant of God's grace formed with Israel; therefore, respectively Jew and Gentile would each be saved by a different covenant.

Regarding Dunn, I think that he contributes to proving an immediate link between Paul's Gentile mission and the event at Damascus. However, he fails to admit a minimum Christological insight, as Kim correctly objects.<sup>768</sup> According to my understanding of his view, he admits a Christological insight to some extent, since he believes that according to 2 Cor. 4:6, Paul interpreted the Christophany at Damascus in terms of Adam Christology,<sup>769</sup> but this still is not enough.

Donaldson's view is the most problematic one. In fact, he does

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<sup>768</sup> Kim, *Paul and the New Perspective*, p. 15.

<sup>769</sup> Dunn, *Jesus, Paul, and the Law*, p. 100.

link Paul's Gentile mission to the Christophany at Damascus. However, according to him, it happened later than Kim and Dunn accept. The reason is that he felt that the reassessment of the pre-Damascus Paul's convictions preceded his Gentile mission. To my mind, he has a problem in understanding the relationship between the reassessment of the pre-Damascus Paul's convictions and his Gentile mission in chronological terms, even though he does not believe that a long period elapsed after Damascus before his Gentile mission. Such a way of thinking, however, is not helpful in proving the immediacy of his Gentile mission after the Christophany at Damascus.

In conclusion, I regard Paul's experience at Damascus as a call and not as conversion. I have already mentioned that it was important to restrict our arguments to the Damascus event itself. In particular, how does Paul himself interpret his Damascus Road experience?

Firstly, Paul interprets his own experience at Damascus as a call similar to a prophetic call (Isa. 49:1-6; Jer. 1:5). Donaldson,<sup>770</sup> who is reluctant to regard the event as a call, is of the opinion that "the passage from Isaiah concerns the call not simply of a prophet, but of the 'servant of the Lord'", and concludes that "prophets were oriented toward Israel much more than to the nations". At least, Donaldson seems not to reject the similarity between Gal. 1:15-16 and Isa. 49:1-6, Jer. 1:5. To my mind, the question is not whether Isaiah's call in Isa. 49:1-6 should be characterised as the call of a prophet or of a servant of the

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<sup>770</sup> Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles*, p. 254.

Lord, but whether what happened to Isaiah and Jeremiah could in any way be described as “conversion”. This is not the case.

Secondly, some scholars believe that Paul had been prepared for a conversion psychologically. This is usually based on Rom. 7. However, this view has lost its significance due to the contributions of Stendahl and Kümmel.<sup>771</sup> Nevertheless, there are still some scholars, such as R. H. Gundry<sup>772</sup> and G. Theissen,<sup>773</sup> who try to revive this view in a modified form.<sup>774</sup> However, even though Paul may have moved from a troubled conscience to peace with God, the reason why it is wrong to explain Paul’s conversion at Damascus primarily in psychological terms is that the pre-Damascus Paul’s acts were not motivated primarily by psychological reasons, but by theological ones. Beker<sup>775</sup> states quite rightly:

Whatever the psychological basis of Paul’s conversion experience may have been, it is essentially unavailable to the historian. Psychological reductionism cannot take the place of historical explanation. What is most striking about Paul’s conversion is its suddenness and Paul’s unpreparedness. Both Paul and Acts agree on this point. Paul himself speaks about it in terms of a sudden “revelation about [of?] Christ” through God’s good pleasure (Gal. 1:15). What needs to be explored about the conversion is not primarily the depths of Paul’s psyche but the

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<sup>771</sup> See section 4.1 in Chapter 2.

<sup>772</sup> R. H. Gundry, “The Moral Frustration of Paul before his Conversion: Sexual Lust in Romans 7:7–25”, in *Pauline Studies: Essays Presented to F. F. Bruce*, edited by D. A. Hagner and M. J. Harris (Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1980), pp. 228–245.

<sup>773</sup> Theissen, *Psychological Aspects*, pp. 228–250, expresses this troubled conscience as “the unconscious conflict with the law”.

<sup>774</sup> Even though Gundry and Theissen have a modified opinion, they still presuppose that the pre-Damascus Paul had a troubled conscience. Therefore, I cannot accept their view.

<sup>775</sup> Beker, *Paul the Apostle*, p. 183.

function of the experience in Paul's life, that is, the radical consequences that Paul drew from the Christophany.<sup>776</sup>

Furthermore, Dunn<sup>777</sup> advises those who try to explain Paul's experience at Damascus in psychological terms:

[S]uch speculation becomes increasingly remote from the text, and if the texts themselves yield a more satisfactory answer to our question they should have higher priority.

Thirdly, while there was a psychological preparation in negative

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<sup>776</sup> Dietzfelbinger, *Berufung*, pp. 82–89, who believes that it is not possible to find the inner preconditions of the event at Damascus, and that Paul himself primarily did not understand the event as a “*Bekehrung*”, but as a “*Berufung*”, states:

Wir haben also darauf zu verzichten, bei Paulus vor seiner Berufung als Vorbereitung auf sie nagende Zweifel oder ein insgeheim bohrendes, aber mit Gewalt betäubtes Gewissen zu suchen und zu finden. Wie ihm das Gesetz nicht ein künstlich zusammengeleimtes Etwas war, sondern die unvergänglich Gabe und Verheißung Gottes an Israel, so war er auch von dem Recht seines Vorgehens gegen die Jesusanhänger überzeugt. Deren lästerliche Verkündigung eines gekreuzigten Messias war indiskutabel, und ihre Kritik am Gesetz, das doch Bauplan des Kosmos . . . Inbegriff jeder Ordnung, das Programm für alles, was geschieht ist, mußte die strafende Antwort des Gesetzes zur Folge haben. Ob in *diesem* Rahmen etwas in Paulus vor sich gegangen ist, das ihn für die Erkenntnis von Damaskus reif gemacht hat, wissen wir nicht, und es ist müßig, darüber zu spekulieren (p. 89, Dietzfelbinger's italics).

Furthermore, Bruce, *Paul: Apostle of the Free Spirit*, pp. 75–76, does not psychologise the statements about Paul's experience at Damascus, nor does he sentimentalise it:

Attempts to account for Paul's experience in physiological or psychological terms are precarious, and inadequate to boot unless they take adequately into consideration the fact that it involved the intelligent and deliberate surrender of his will to the risen Christ who had appeared to him – the risen Christ who, from this time on, displaced the law as the centre of Paul's life and thought.

Even though Menoud, “Revelation and Tradition”, p. 140, believes that Paul experienced a theological conversion at Damascus, he states:

Paul was not converted in order to turn from a worldly man into a religious one, nor from a troubled spirit into a soul in peace with God and his own self.

<sup>777</sup> Dunn, “Paul's Conversion”, p. 344.

terms,<sup>778</sup> there was the preparation through Jewish eschatology which functioned positively. I explained Paul's understanding of his own experience at Damascus in terms of Judaism (esp. the Jewish messianic and eschatological expectation) consistently.<sup>779</sup> The best way that I could describe the transition between the pre- and post-Damascus Paul is to call it the transition *from* a Paul who belonged to the pre-eschaton (or the pre-messianic age) *to* a Paul who belonged to the eschaton (or the messianic age) because of the coming of the Messiah. It implies that Paul's thought remained "Jewish". Therefore, there is no reason to describe what happened to Paul as conversion from one religion to another.<sup>780</sup>

Fourthly, it should be pointed out that in Paul's interpretation of his experience at Damascus, he never uses the terms "born anew" (*γεννηθῆ ἄνωθεν*), "turning" (*ἐπιστροφή*), and "repentance" (*μετάνοια*), which would indicate a conversion. Furthermore, even though he uses

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<sup>778</sup> The reason why I use the expression "negative terms" is that an emphasis on Paul's psychological preparation normally implies that Paul had a troubled and uneasy conscience.

<sup>779</sup> See the sections 2.3 and 3.3 in Chapter 3.

<sup>780</sup> P. Lapide, "The Rabbi from Tarsus", in P. Lapide and P. Stuhlmacher, *Paul Rabbi and Apostle* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1984), p. 48, explains the significance of Paul's experience at Damascus as follows:

For [Paul] the Damascus road experience was the *kairos* of salvation, the great turning point in God's plan of salvation, predestined since Abraham, which was to bring about the reconciliation of Jews and Gentiles. The dawning of the new age was regarded neither as a breakaway from the traditions of Israel nor as an invasion into the Gentile world, and certainly not as the abolition of Torah. Quite the opposite; it was seen as the long-awaited manifestation of the universal basic purpose of God's teaching from Sinai - a worldwide ecumenical fellowship of Jews and believing Gentiles, a "great Israel" incorporating all God-fearing peoples. (Lapide's italics.)

the word *μετάνοια* in Rom. 2:4, 2 Cor. 7:9–10 (twice) and 2 Tim. 2:25, he never uses this word when he refers to what happened at Damascus. This means that he himself does not regard the experience as a conversion.

Fifthly, Dunn<sup>781</sup> correctly points out that “the term ‘Christianity’ did not yet exist! It first appears, in our written records anyway, with Ignatius, some eighty years after Paul’s conversion”, and, therefore, Dunn rightfully concludes that “the description that Paul converted from Judaism to Christianity is properly speaking anachronistic nonsense”.<sup>782</sup>

Finally, I want to close the discussion with Beker’s statement:<sup>783</sup>

Paul’s conversion experience is absorbed by the greater reality of his apostolic calling. He does not celebrate his “conversion experience” to mark his own spiritual grandeur, because he understands it as the commission to proclaim the gospel, that is, to serve Christ among the Gentiles.

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<sup>781</sup> Dunn, “Paul’s Conversion”, p. 342.

<sup>782</sup> Lapide, “The Rabbi from Tarsus”, p. 47. Even B. R. Gaventa, who regards Paul’s experience at Damascus as a conversion (since the term “call” describes one aspect of his change from a persecutor to an apostle) does not really grasp his recognition of Jesus as Messiah or its radical change. She, *From Darkness to Light: Aspects of Conversion in the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), admits on p. 18:

If conversion is to be understood exclusively as a change of religion, then certainly Stendahl is right. Paul did not change religions. What we call “Christianity” was in Paul’s time a sect within Judaism, not a new religion. Paul writes about the revelation of Jesus as God’s Messiah, not about a new religion.

<sup>783</sup> Beker, *Paul the Apostle*, p. 6.

#### 4.2. **Paul was verbally called** vs. **Paul was not verbally called**

Some scholars, such as Donaldson<sup>784</sup> and Dupont,<sup>785</sup> are skeptical about the possibility of Paul's hearing a verbal call to become involved in the Gentile mission at Damascus. In particular, Donaldson,<sup>786</sup> criticising the approach according to which Paul's experience at Damascus must be understood as a call, states:

In one or two examples of this type of approach, we find a defense of an explicit, verbal commissioning such as is narrated in Acts. More typically, however, the experience is described in vaguer terms, the call to carry out an apostolic mission to the Gentiles being understood as Paul's own perception of the import of the experience.

Dupont<sup>787</sup> bases his view on Paul's own statement about the Christophany at Damascus in Gal. 1:16, where Paul refers only to a visual aspect, by means of the word *ἀποκαλύπτω*. However, the question should be raised why he ignores the acoustic aspect indicated by the word *καλέω* in Gal. 1:15. Furthermore, G. Kittel<sup>788</sup> outlines the basic form of divine revelation as follows: (1) A revealer speaks; (2) Man hears. In particular, he shows that, in the Old Testament and Judaism, the aspect of hearing is entailed in the theophany (or epiphany). This is similar to what is reflected in Gal. 1:16 and 2 Cor. 4:4, 6.<sup>789</sup> In addition, Kim,<sup>790</sup> who

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<sup>784</sup> Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles*, pp. 249–250; “Israelite, Convert, Apostle to the Gentiles”, p. 63.

<sup>785</sup> Dupont, “The Conversion of Paul”, pp. 191–194.

<sup>786</sup> Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles*, p. 249.

<sup>787</sup> Dupont, “The Conversion of Paul”, p. 193.

<sup>788</sup> G. Kittel, “ἀκούω”, *TDNT* 1, pp. 216–219.

<sup>789</sup> For a further discussion of the aspect of hearing in divine revelation, see Munck, *Paul and the Salvation of Mankind*, pp. 25–33; G. Lohfink, *The Conversion of St. Paul*:



accepts that the essential qualification for the commissioning of an apostle is the experience of Christ's resurrection, is of the opinion that Paul reckons the Christophany at Damascus to be of the same kind as the resurrection appearances in which the commissioning of the apostles by the risen Lord took place (Mt. 28:16-20; Mk. 16:14-18; Lk. 24:36-43; Jn. 20:19-23; 21:15-19; Acts 1:8).<sup>791</sup> In particular, if Paul regards his own experience at Damascus as his commissioning as the apostle of the Gentiles, the possibility of a verbal commissioning cannot be excluded, as was the case with the other apostles. What I want to highlight is that if Paul interprets his own experience at Damascus as a call similar to a prophetic call, such as that of Isaiah and Jeremiah, he implies some form of verbal commissioning, due to the fact that the aspect of hearing was entailed in both cases: See the expression *וַאֲשַׁמַע אֶת-קוֹל אֲדֹנָי אֹמֵר* (Then I heard the voice of the Lord saying) in Isa. 6:8 and the expression *וַיְהִי-דְבַר-יְהוָה אֵלַי לֵאמֹר* (The word of the LORD came to me, saying) in Jer.

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*Narrative and History in Acts*, trans. B. J. Malina (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1976), pp. 61-77, refers to the aspect of hearing in divine revelation in "The Apparition Dialogue".

<sup>790</sup> Kim, *The Origin of Paul's Gospel*, p. 57.

<sup>791</sup> D. Wenham, *Paul: Follower of Jesus or Founder of Christianity?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), p. 368, n. 90, states:

The mini-history of Jesus (from birth to resurrection) that Paul gives in Rom 1:3, 4 is followed immediately by Paul's comment, "through whom we have received grace and apostleship to bring about the obedience of faith among all the Gentiles for the sake of his name" (v. 5). This makes for an interesting comparison with Matt 28:16-20, where the risen Christ speaks of his authority and then commissions the apostles to "make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything that I have commanded you." Luke 24:44-49 similarly has the risen Jesus commissioning the apostles to go "in his Name to all nations."

1:4.<sup>792</sup> In particular, I have already argued for the historical reliability of Luke's version in section 2.1.1 of Chapter 2. If so, the aspect of hearing at Paul's experience at Damascus, as narrated in Acts 9, 22 and 26, can be used as further substantiation.<sup>793</sup>

If I may summarise all my arguments about Paul's experience at Damascus: (1) Paul regards his own commissioning at Damascus as similar to that of the other apostles' commissioning by the risen Christ; (2) He interprets his own experience at Damascus as a call similar to a prophetic call; (3) The three account of his experience at Damascus in Acts show that Paul heard a voice directly; (4) Gal. 1:15-16 indicates a voice, similarly to Acts 26:17-18;<sup>794</sup> (5) In particular, since Gal. 1:16 claims that Paul "did not consult any man", our conclusion follows

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<sup>792</sup> Bruce, *Paul: Apostle of the Free Spirit*, p. 75; Dietzfelbinger, *Berufung*, p. 51.

In particular, Lohfink, *The Conversion of St. Paul*, pp. 69-73, is of the opinion that the three Lukan accounts of Paul's experience at Damascus show the Old Testament depictions of prophetic vocations:

For the reminiscence of Ezechiel derives from the great *vocation vision* of Ezech 1-2; then passages from *the call* of Jeremiah (Jer 1) are used twice. And while it is true that Isaiah's vocation vision (Is 6) is not cited (it is cited two chapters later in Acts 28:26,27), yet phrases from the *election* of the Servant of God are. In other words, the mission speech of Acts 26:16-18 has been constructed of references to the famous mission and vocation texts of the Old Testament (*sic*) - and this by Luke himself. (p. 71, Lohfink's italics.)

<sup>793</sup> Kim, *The Origin of Paul's Gospel*, p. 57; Bruce, *Paul: Apostle of the Free Spirit*, p. 74; Dietzfelbinger, *Berufung*, p. 51; J. D. G. Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit: A Study of the Religious and Charismatic Experience of Jesus and the First Christians as Reflected in the New Testament* (London: SCM Press, 1975), p. 111. Dunn maintains on p. 388, n. 61:

It is possible that the snatch of dialogue which remains constant in all three Acts accounts of Paul's conversation and which is the heart of these narratives ('Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?' 'Who are you, Lord?' 'I am Jesus . . .') goes back to Paul himself. Cf. the dialogue element in the prophetic vision and commissioning of Isaiah and Jeremiah.

<sup>794</sup> Dunn, *Jesus, Paul, and the Law*, p. 90 and Munck, *Paul and the Salvation of Mankind*, p. 27, believe that the statement about Paul's experience at Damascus in Acts 28:12-18 is nearest to his own statement about it (Gal. 1:15-16).

logically that he was verbally and directly called at Damascus.

#### 4.3. **The immediacy of the Gentile mission vs.**

#### **The Gentile mission as late development**

Some scholars believe that Paul realised that he was called for the Gentile mission from the very beginning, namely, by the Christophany at Damascus; other scholars believe that he engaged in the Gentile mission only after a period of time.

There are several reasons for the latter view. I want to deal with two representative arguments: One is that it was only after Paul's mission to the Gentiles failed that he gradually recognised his commission to the Gentiles; The other is that before he preached the gospel to the Gentiles with a full recognition of his call as the apostle to the Gentiles, he took part in the Hellenistic Jewish Christianity.<sup>795</sup>

A representative of the former case is *Francis Watson*.<sup>796</sup> He

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<sup>795</sup> There are some scholars who believe that Paul realised that he was called to mission among the Gentiles not as the result of a specific reason (e.g., the failure of the mission to the Jews), but as the mere result of a gradual development of his thought. According to Rigaux, *The Letters of St. Paul*, p. 61-62, even though he states that the Christophany at Damascus "contained the germ of a vocation that was to be revealed later", thus admitting that the revelation at Damascus was the root of Paul's gospel, he accepts that Paul only *later* clearly recognised the commission to the Gentiles by the growth of the Antioch Church (Gal. 2:1-10), the first missionary journey, his own mediation (Gal. 1:12-16), and the mounting polemics (1 Cor. 11:23; 15:2-11). He divides scholars into two groups: (1) Those who believe that Paul's vocation coincided with the time of his conversion (e.g., E. Pfaff, J. Munck, L. Cerfaux, E. Stauffer, and H. Schlier); (2) Those who believe that the vision and the vocation were two acts which were chronologically distinct (e.g., E. Fascher, A. Fridrichsen, and P. Gächter) (pp. 58-61).

<sup>796</sup> Scholars who agree with Watson are Goodman, *Mission and Conversion*, pp. 165-166; and M. S. Enslin, *Reapproaching Paul* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1972), pp. 71-76. In particular, Enslin is of the opinion that as soon as Paul changed "from a persecutor to champion", the post-Damascus Paul preached the gospel to the Jews in Damascus, since Acts 9 reflects this historical situation. In his view, Paul preached the gospel in the synagogue. Thereby the Jews' hostility to Paul was aroused. However, if

provides two pieces of evidence in support of his view that Paul first preached to the Jews after his experience at Damascus.<sup>797</sup> Firstly, Paul's reference to the Jews in 2 Cor. 11:24 and 1 Cor. 9:20f reflects the period of mission to the Jews; and Gal. 5:11 alludes to the period before his Gentile mission. Secondly, Rom. 11 reflects a historical and social situation which claims that Paul's mission to the Jews failed. With regard to the first piece of evidence, he argues:

One should *not* assume that [Paul's] understanding of himself as called to preach to the Gentiles was an integral part of his conversion experience, any more than one should assume that his entire theology was *somewhat* already contained in that experience.<sup>798</sup> (My italics.)

And about the second piece of evidence:

It is this historical and social situation alone which can account for the

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we consider his missionary stance after Damascus, he always went to the synagogue first. Even while he was deeply engaged in the Gentile mission, he always went to the synagogue first (Acts 13:5-14; 14:1; 17:10, 17; 18:4, 19, 26; 19:8). And then, wherever he preached the gospel in the synagogue, he usually aroused the anger of the Jews. Kim, *The Origin of Paul's Gospel*, p. 61, quite rightly states:

The description of Acts reflects neither purely the Lucan *heilsgeschichtliche* scheme nor Paul's lack of conviction about his call to the Gentile mission, but simply the historical reality. For that Paul preached to the Jews as well as to the Gentiles during his later world-wide missionary work is suggested not just by Luke but also by Paul himself (1 Cor 9.20ff., 32f.; 2 Cor 11.24; 1 Th 2.15f.).

However, Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People*, pp. 179-190, says that the reason why Paul went to the synagogue was to preach the gospel only to the Gentiles. Then, he significantly states:

I do not wish to argue that Paul would have refused to admit Jews to his churches, only that there are virtually no signs of them. Occasional or opportunistic proclamation to Jews need not be outside the scope of the apostle to the Gentiles. I am persuaded, however, that to make Paul first and foremost an apostle to the Jews in the Diaspora who failed and only then turned to the Gentiles is to distort our picture of him. (p. 190.)

<sup>797</sup> Watson, *Paul, Judaism and the Gentiles*, pp. 28-32.

<sup>798</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

remarkable series of statements in Rom. 11 to the effect that Israel's unbelief has led to the salvation of the Gentiles, for it is hard to imagine how Paul could have come to such a view *except* through reflection on what had actually happened.<sup>799</sup> (My italics.)

A representative of the latter case (that before Paul preached the gospel to the Gentiles with a full recognition of his call as the apostle to the Gentiles, he took part in the Hellenistic Jewish Christian) is *Heikki Räisänen*. He presupposes that there was in Hellenistic Jewish Christianity, “a *somewhat* relaxed attitude to the observance of the ritual law, perhaps even a neglect of circumcision as part of the missionary strategy”, even in Jerusalem before the death of Stephen. And then, he accepts that as the result of the Christophany at Damascus Paul at first simply adopted this liberal pattern of Hellenistic Jewish Christianity, lacking a full and theological understanding of the Gentile mission. However, as a result of the later conflict with the Judaisers (esp. the Antioch Incident), Paul's complex view of the law and the Gentile mission developed into a full theological understanding of these issues.<sup>800</sup> That is why he asserts:

Paul's theological problems were not definitively solved in a flash right at the beginning of his Christian career. On the contrary, he continued to grapple with the perennial and often insoluble dilemma of how to relate new experience to sacred tradition in ever new ways to the very end of his mission.<sup>801</sup>

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<sup>799</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32.

<sup>800</sup> Räisänen, *Paul and the Law*, pp. 251–263; “Paul's Conversion”, pp. 413–416.

<sup>801</sup> Räisänen, “Paul's Conversion”, p. 416.

Firstly, with regard to Watson's view, the two pieces of evidence he provided do not convince me.

With regard to 2 Cor. 11:24-27,<sup>802</sup> Paul refers to several dangers, not in the context of the mission to the Jews, but in the context of the mission to the Gentiles. 2 Cor. 11:24, therefore, does not reflect an earlier mission to the Jews. We can object to Watson's view as follows: "Must we understand all statements about the post-Damascus Paul's life as that of a Jew in the context of Paul's mission to the Jews?"

With regard to 1 Cor. 9:20-23,<sup>803</sup> the aorist *ἐγενόμην* appears in v. 20 and 22. However, it does not appear in v. 21. Nevertheless, we can determine easily that it is omitted in v. 21 because the expression *τοῖς πᾶσιν γέγονα τὰ πάντα* plays the role of a conclusion between v. 19 and v. 22.

19. *πᾶσιν ἑμαυτὸν ἐδοῦλωσα*

20. *ἐγενόμην τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὡς Ἰουδαῖος*

(*ἐγενόμην*) *τοῖς ὑπὸ νόμοι ὡς ὑπὸ νόμοι*

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<sup>802</sup> Five times I received from the Jews the forty lashes minus one. Three times I was beaten with rods, once I was stoned, three times I was shipwrecked, I spent a night and a day in the open sea, I have been constantly on the move. I have been in danger from rivers, in danger from bandits, in danger from my own countrymen, in danger from Gentiles; in danger in the city, in danger in the country, in danger at sea; and in danger from false brothers. I have laboured and toiled and have often gone without sleep; I have known hunger and thirst and have often gone without food; I have been cold and naked.

<sup>803</sup> Though I am free and belong to no man, I make myself a slave to everyone, to win as many as possible. To the Jews I became like a Jew, to win the Jews. To those under the law I became like one under the law (though I myself am not under the law), so as to win those under the law. To those not having the law I became like one not having the law (though I am not free from God's law but am under Christ's law), so as to win those not having the law. To the weak I became weak, to win the weak. I have become all things to all men so that by all possible means I might save some. I do all this for the sake of the gospel, that I may share in its blessings.

21. (ἐγενόμην) τοῖς ἀνόμοις ὡς ἄνομος  
 22. ἐγενόμην τοῖς ἀσθειέσιν ὡς ἀσθειής  
 22. πᾶσιν γέγονα πάντα

In this structure the fact that Paul at first preached the gospel to the Jews is not reflected. In addition, even if v. 20 alludes to Paul's mission to the Jews, this verse does not reflect a failure in Paul's mission to the Jews. In particular, the present verb *ποιέω* in v. 23 means that Paul still refers to the same issues as he does in vv. 19–22.

In the case of Gal. 5:11, as I have already pointed out,<sup>804</sup> the time when Paul preached circumcision refers to the period of the pre-Damascus Paul in Judaism. Gal. 5:11, therefore, does not allude to the period before the Gentile mission referred to in Gal. 1:18ff. Furthermore, in the context of Gal. 5:11, the people to whom Paul preached circumcision would not be the Jews, but the Gentiles. This implies that Watson cannot use Gal. 5:11 to support his view that he preached the gospel to the Jews before his Gentile mission.

With regard to Rom. 11, as I have already pointed out,<sup>805</sup> Rom. 11 does not reflect a historical and social situation in which Paul's mission to the Jews failed, but God's redemptive plan as a whole. In particular, the atmosphere of Rom. 11 is not negative as a result of Paul's own failure and his self-reconsideration of the mission to the Jews, but positive due to God's redemptive plan which includes both the Jews and the Gentiles.

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<sup>804</sup> See section 4.2.1 in Chapter 2.

<sup>805</sup> See section 4.2.2.3 in Chapter 2.

Furthermore, what I wish to point out with regard to Watson's view is that unless Paul realised his mission to the Gentiles immediately at Damascus, why did he join the Hellenistic Jewish Christians who had already engaged in a Gentile mission? If Watson cannot answer this question, he contradicts himself.<sup>806</sup>

Secondly, with regard to Räisänen's view, in my understanding of his view, he does not reject the immediacy of Paul's Gentile mission, but only the full theological realisation of his Gentile mission. To my mind, while it is true that the law is closely linked with Paul's Gentile mission, even if his thought about the law developed, why should the full theological recognition of Paul's Gentile mission be regarded as a *late* development? I am convinced that Räisänen neglects Gal. 1:15-17 in which it is shown that Paul's Gentile mission was an integral part of his own experience at Damascus. I believe that Räisänen has to prove that Gal. 1:15-17 does not reflect his experience at Damascus, in order to

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<sup>806</sup> Segal, *Paul the Convert*, p. 320, n. 64, also contradicts himself. He believes that Paul only later realised the meaning of the Christophany at Damascus. In particular, his presupposition, *Paul the Convert*, p. 8, is that even though Paul understands himself to have been separated from the womb for his commission (Gal. 1:15), "he concludes *more slowly* that he was destined to become the apostle to the gentiles". (My italics.) Segal, accepting that 2 Cor. 11:24-26 is ambiguous as to whether Paul realised his commission immediately, states:

Paul's description of himself as the apostle to the gentiles could easily have been the result of his experience of success among gentiles and his rejection among Jews. Evidently there was a period of time when Paul tried less successfully to convince his Jewish brothers.

However, concerning the fact that Paul only later realised the implication of the Christophany at Damascus, C. C. Newman, *Paul's Glory-Christology Tradition and Rhetoric* (NovTSup 69, Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1992), p. 182, asks Segal how it is possible that "Paul, the confessed persecutor of the church, would have joined a Christian community unless *before* his joining he was convinced that Jesus was the figure of Glory on the throne". (Newman's italics.)



prove his view.<sup>807</sup> Räisänen<sup>808</sup> says that “the practice was the mother of the theory”. For him it means that during Paul’s Christian career with the Hellenistic Jewish Christians, he linked his awareness of the Gentile mission to the Christophany at Damascus. However, to my mind, Paul is not an ex post act thinker, but “an ex post facto thinker”.<sup>809</sup> The Paul that I find was changed by the Christophany at Damascus, and then acted in line with his thought. In other words, an event may precede a thought related to the event; but on the contrary, an act does not precede a thought, rather, reflects it.

In conclusion, the fact that Gal. 1:15–16 reflects Paul’s experience at Damascus, that it includes his commission of being the apostle to the Gentiles as an integral part, that Gal. 1:16–17 states that he did not consult any man (esp. Jerusalem apostles), and that he immediately went to Arabia in order to preach the gospel to the Gentiles,<sup>810</sup> implies that Paul *immediately* realised his mission to the Gentiles at Damascus.

## 5. Conclusion

In this chapter I argued that Paul did not convert from Judaism to another religion. What happened is that, through the Christophany at Damascus, Paul experienced a tremendous transition *from* what I would like to call

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<sup>807</sup> E. P. Blair, “Paul’s Call to the Gentile Mission”, *BR* 10 (1965), p. 23, is of the opinion that the *ὅτι* clause in Gal. 1:16 alludes to Paul’s recognition of the purpose of the Christophany at Damascus at the time of writing the Letter to the Galatians.

<sup>808</sup> Räisänen, *Paul and the Law*, p. 255; “Paul’s Conversion”, p. 416.

<sup>809</sup> I borrow the words “an ex post facto thinker” from Keck, “Paul as Thinker”, p. 29.

<sup>810</sup> See the section “Why did Paul go into Arabia?” in pp. 189–193.

the pre-eschaton Paul *to* Paul at the eschaton, in terms of Jewish eschatology (esp. Jewish messianic expectations). In particular, Paul's recognition of his commission of being the apostle to the Gentiles was an integral part of this tremendous transition. By his own admittance, Paul preached the gospel to the Gentiles *immediately* without a period of time elapsing. From the viewpoint of the Gentile mission, Gal. 1:11-17 mainly indicates the *temporal immediacy* between Paul's Gentile mission and the origin of his gospel, whereas 2 Cor. 4:4-6 mainly indicates the *legitimacy* of Paul's Gentile mission, namely, that he has the right to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles. Therefore, Paul's Gentile mission originated at Damascus.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **CONCLUSION**

While many issues are considered in recent Pauline studies, most studies consider what can be described as Paul at and post-Damascus. Normally the pre-Damascus Paul is beyond the interest of Pauline scholars. When this issue is considered, scholars mostly deal with it in historical terms. It is true that Paul does not refer often to his own life in Judaism. However, it is not impossible to investigate the pre-Damascus Paul's life and thought. Using Paul's own brief statements, we can indeed investigate Paul's life and thought – to some extent. Accordingly, the focus of this study fell on the origin of Paul's concern for the Gentiles and his Gentile mission. The following research hypothesis was formulated: *That the necessity of the Gentile mission was already clear to Paul at the Damascus event and did not originate at a later stage.*

This research hypothesis was divided into the following facets:

Firstly, the pre-Damascus Paul was aware of the different patterns of Jewish universalism that was current in his time.

Secondly, it is highly likely that the universalistic views of the pre-Damascus Paul were that of *Gentile proselytism*, i.e. that Gentiles could only be converted to Judaism if they were circumcised. Thus, Paul's concern for the Gentiles already originated before the Damascus event.

Thirdly, the Damascus event is best regarded as a call.

Fourthly, the Damascus event should be regarded as the origin

of Paul's Gentile mission.

In Chapter 2 I dealt with the origin of Paul's concern for the Gentiles, i.e. facets 1 and 2 outlined above. Some scholars believe that the pre-Damascus Paul was not concerned at all about the exclusion of the Gentiles from God's people; therefore, he only began to be concerned about this at Damascus. Other scholars believe that the pre-Damascus Paul was already concerned about the Gentiles. In the case of the former view, scholars believe that Paul was concerned about the integrity and purity of Israel rather than about the Gentiles, and, accordingly, he was not concerned at all about the exclusion of the Gentiles from God's people. In the case of the latter view, scholars believe that the pre-Damascus Paul had a dissatisfaction, frustration, and personal quandary about the exclusion of the Gentiles from God's people, and thus was already concerned about the Gentiles before he experienced the Christophany at Damascus.

In this study I argued that the pre-Damascus Paul was already concerned about the Gentiles before Damascus. The argument that I used, was that it is highly probable that the pre-Damascus Paul was aware of the various patterns of Jewish universalism, i.e. the issue of the inclusion of the Gentiles into God's people, since on the basis of Phil. 3:4-6, Gal. 1:13-14, and 2 Cor. 11:22, it is clear that the pre-Damascus Paul's main background was not Hellenism, but Judaism. This does not mean that Hellenism did not play a role in Paul's thought at all. Actually, Paul used Hellenistic methods (e.g. rhetoric) as well as the Greek Bible. However,

his thought was influenced primarily not by Hellenism, but by Judaism. One could say that Hellenism was the subsidiary crater, and Judaism the main crater. If so, it is highly likely that he was aware of the various patterns of Jewish universalism – as can be argued from his autobiographical statements in Phil. 3:4–6, Gal. 1:13–14, and 2 Cor. 11:22.

There are two representative patterns of Jewish universalism: One is the tradition of an eschatological pilgrimage; the other that of Gentile proselytism. Furthermore, we can find much evidence of Jewish universalism in the Pseudepigrapha, Apocrypha, Qumran Documents, Philo, and Josephus. In particular, I argued that Paul shared the tradition of Gentile proselytism rather than that of an eschatological pilgrimage. There are three reasons for this choice: Firstly, there is no reference to circumcision in the tradition of an eschatological pilgrimage, but, according to Gal. 5:11, Paul was at one stage engaged in Gentile proselytism which included circumcision; Secondly, while in the case of an eschatological pilgrimage, God would *first* restore Israel, and *then* the Gentiles would come in, Rom. 11 does not reflect this order of salvation; Thirdly, Paul does not quote any passages from the Book of Isaiah which reflect the expectation of an eschatological pilgrimage of the Gentiles, even though he cites many other passages from the Book of Isaiah. It should also be noted that, to prove that the pre-Damascus Paul was concerned about the exclusion of the Gentiles from God's people, I did not have to accept the view that he was dissatisfied or experienced frustration and personal quandary about it. In general, those scholars

who believe that the pre-Damascus Paul had such an uneasy conscience about the exclusion of the Gentiles from God's people, are of the opinion that Rom. 7 reflects the pre-Damascus Paul's frustrated mind. However, there are three reasons why I did not accept such a view: Firstly, Paul had no reason to be frustrated about the exclusion of the Gentiles from God's people, since various patterns of Jewish universalism already existed; Secondly, Paul should be viewed as a man with quite a robust conscience, not one burdened with much introspection; Thirdly, Rom. 7 does not reflect the pre-Damascus Paul's frustration about the exclusion of the Gentiles in relationship to the law.

Therefore, I argued that Paul's concern for the Gentiles had already originated before Damascus, due to the fact that it is clear that he was aware of various patterns of Jewish universalism, especially, that of Gentile proselytism.

In Chapter 3 I dealt with the origin of Paul's Gentile mission, i.e. facets 3 and 4 outlined above. Some scholars believe that Paul's Gentile mission originated at Damascus whereas others believe that Paul started preaching the gospel to the Gentiles only after a period of time; thus his Gentile mission is regarded as a later development.

With regard to this issue I argued as follows: In Gal. 1:11-17, Paul understands his gospel in the light of his Gentile mission (cf. Gal. 3:8), and refers to the origin of his gospel. Furthermore, he explains that the origin of the gospel was linked to a revelation from Jesus Christ. It means that the origin of his gospel was linked to the Damascus event

where Jesus Christ was revealed by God. In particular, Gal. 1:16 indicates that Paul's commissioning was an integral element of the Damascus event. In addition, one can gather that the reason why Paul went to Arabia was closely related to his commissioning at Damascus. I argued that Paul went to Arabia in order to preach the gospel to the Gentiles. There are two reasons for this choice: Firstly, the fact that Arabia is the nearest neighbouring territory to the Holy Land reflects Paul's conviction that he was an apostle to the Gentiles; Secondly, according to 2 Cor. 11:32-33, the governor under King Aretas guarded the city in order to arrest Paul. The fact that the governor of Nabataea wanted to arrest Paul, suggests that Paul must have been doing something to draw attention to himself and to cause the anger of the Nabataean authorities.

Furthermore, 2 Cor. 4:4-6 reflects Paul's understanding of the Christophany at Damascus. In particular, this passage reflects that he realised that the restoration from the state of Adam prior to the fall had begun by the advent of the Messiah. It means that he had to preach the gospel to all people (Jews and Gentiles), since the restoration to the state of Adam prior to the fall implied a return to the state when there was no difference between Jew and Gentile.

Therefore, Gal. 1:11-17 and 2 Cor. 4:4-6 reflect Paul's interpretation of the Christophany at Damascus. In particular two issues were highlighted in this study: (1) Gal. 1:15 indicates that Paul interpreted his call at Damascus as similar to that of the prophets; (2) 2

Cor. 4:4-6 indicates that Paul interpreted the Christophany in terms of Jewish eschatology (esp. the Messianic expectation). These two aspects exclude the possibility that a period of time elapsed before Paul realised that he had to preach the gospel to the Gentiles. Thus, Paul's Gentile mission originated at Damascus.

In conclusion, Paul remained a Jew even after the Damascus event. Furthermore, he did not really break with Judaism. At Damascus he was not called just to be an apostle, but as the apostle to, for, and of the Gentiles. Even though he was called as an apostle to the Gentiles, he still remained within the frames of Judaism. All of this imply a certain kind of relationship between the pre-, at, and post-Damascus Paul in terms of his thought in regard to the Gentiles. Therefore, it is likely that the tradition of Gentile proselytism would play a role in Paul's Gentile mission, despite a different message.



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## **ABSTRACT**

This purpose of this study is to investigate the origin of Paul's concern for the Gentiles and of his Gentile mission.

Chapter 1 serves to show that recent Pauline studies tend to focus only on Paul at and post-Damascus, and then provides the outline for the thesis.

Chapter 2 focuses on the origin of Paul's concern for the Gentiles. I argue that the main background of the pre-Damascus Paul's thought was not Hellenism, but Judaism. Thus, it is highly likely that Paul was aware of patterns of Jewish universalism with regard to the inclusion of Gentiles into God's people. There are two representative patterns of Jewish universalism: One is the tradition of an eschatological pilgrimage; the other is that of Gentile proselytism. On the basis of Gal. 5:11 and Rom. 11, I argue that Paul shared the tradition of Gentile proselytism rather than that of an eschatological pilgrimage. Therefore, Paul's concern for the Gentiles originated before Damascus.

Chapter 3 focuses on the origin of Paul's Gentile mission. In Gal. 1:11-17 and 2 Cor. 4:4-6 Paul explains the origin of his gospel and his mission. In particular he links them to Damascus. Furthermore, we do not have evidence that a period of time elapsed after Damascus before Paul began preaching to the Gentiles. On the contrary, we do have evidence that Paul preached the gospel to the Gentiles immediately after he experienced the Christophany at Damascus. Therefore, Paul's Gentile mission originated at Damascus.

Chapter 4 serves as conclusion of the study. I conclude that Paul's concern for the Gentiles originated before Damascus and that his Gentile mission originated at Damascus, and suggest that this implies that the pre-Damascus Paul's concern for the Gentiles played a definite role in his Gentile mission.

## **OPSOMMING**

Die doel van hierdie studie is om die oorsprong van Paulus se besorgdheid oor die heidene en sy sending na die heidene te ondersoek.

Hoofstuk 1 dien om aan te toon dat onlangse Pauliniese studies die geneigdheid het om Paulus slegs vóór en ná Damaskus te bestudeer. In hierdie hoofstuk word die raamwerk van die studie ook voorsien.

Hoofstuk 2 dien om die oorsprong van Paulus se besorgdheid oor heidene te beredeneer. Ek argumenteer dat die primêre agtergrond vir Paulus se gedagtes vóór die Damaskuservaring nie Hellenisme was nie, maar wel die Judaïsme. Daarom is dit hoogs waarskynlik dat Paulus bewus was van Joodse universalistiese sienings rakende die insluiting van heidene by God se volk. Daar is twee verteenwoordigende patrone van Joodse universalistiese sienings: Een is die tradisie van 'n eskatologiese pelgrimstog; die ander is die van prosilitering van die heidene. In besonder glo ek, gebaseer op Galasiërs 5:11 en Romeine 11, dat Paulus die tradisie van heidense prosilitering aangehang het eerder as die van 'n eskatologiese pelgrimstog. Daarom stel ek dit dat Paulus se besorgdheid oor die heidene sy oorsprong gehad het vóór die Damaskuservaring.

Hoofstuk 3 dien om die oorsprong van Paulus se sending na die heidene te beredeneer. In Galasiërs 1:11-17 en 2 Korintiërs 4:4-6 verduidelik



Paulus die oorsprong van sy evangelieboodskap en van sy sendingroeping deur dit aan sy Damaskuservaring te koppel. Verder het ons geen bewyse dat daar 'n tydperk ná Damaskus verloop het voordat begin het om die evangelie aan die heidene te preek nie. Daarteenoor het ons wel bewyse dat hy die evangelie aan heidene verkondig het dadelik nadat hy die Christusverskyning by Damaskus beleef het. Daarom aanvaar ons dat Paulus se sendingroeping in Damaskus ontstaan het.

Hoofstuk 4 dien as die afsluiting van hierdie studie. Ek konkludeer dat Paulus se besorgdheid oor die heidene sy oorsprong gehad het vóór die Damaskuservaring, en dat sy sendingroeping na die heidene by Damaskus ontstaan het, en suggereer dan dat Paulus se besorgdheid oor die heidene vóór die Damaskuservaring 'n bepalende rol in sy sending aan die heidene gespeel het.

## **KEYWORDS**

Pauline Studies  
Paul at, pre-, and post-Damascus  
Jewish universalism  
Eschatological pilgrimage  
Gentile proselytism  
Damascus experience  
Christophany  
Gentile mission  
Romans 11  
Galatians 1:11-17  
Galatians 5:11  
2 Corinthians 4:4-6

## **TREFWOORDE**

Pauliniese Navorsing  
Paulus vóór, by en ná Damaskus  
Joodse universalisme  
Eskatologiese pelgrimstog  
Heidense proseliete  
Damaskuservaring  
Christofanie  
Heidensending  
Romeine 11  
Galasiërs 1:11-17  
Galasiërs 5:11  
2 Korintiërs 4:4-6