

ROBERT C. OLSON

The Gospel
as the Revelation of
God's Righteousness

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe*

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Mohr Siebeck

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Robert C. Olson

The Gospel as the Revelation of God's Righteousness

Paul's Use of Isaiah in Romans 1:1–3:26

Mohr Siebeck

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In love and devotion to the Servant-King, my Savior, through whose
sacrifice I am made fit to offer back my life in worship, and of which this
book is a part

Preface

This book, in some respects, is “born out of due time.” It is the result of a thesis written as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Nottingham under the supervision of Prof. Richard H. Bell. After my first year in residence at the University, circumstances forced me to return home to the United States where I suspended my studies for an extended period of time. I was eventually able to resume my research part-time, though even subsequent to that point there were several necessary periods of additional suspension. In light of these facts, I would like to extend my sincere appreciation to the University, particularly the staff in both the Humanities Department and the Student Administration, for its continued patience with my changing circumstances and its support of the continuation of my research through its completion.

I would also like to humbly thank Prof. Jörg Frey and Mohr Siebeck for accepting this work for publication in the WUNT II series, as well as the kind and helpful editorial staff for their patient assistance with the reformatting process.

Throughout this endeavor I have been supported in a multitude of ways by many very fine and gracious people, all of whom cannot possibly be mentioned in this short space. There are some, however, whose help warrants explicit mention. Two very good friends, Dave and Lora Gilbert, have consistently and generously given their support to enable me to finish my course of study, and have helped care for my family during my trips to England, to whom I give my heartfelt thanks. My oldest brother, Ralph Olson, generously assisted me with the provision of airfare to and from England, without which I could not have continued my study and for which I am extremely grateful. In these subsequent trips to the University of Nottingham I was consistently shown the love of Christian hospitality by various members of Cornerstone Church in Nottingham. In several of my earliest trips I enjoyed the hospitality and fellowship of Jack and Elisabeth Simpson, as well as Len Miller, to whom I would like to offer many thanks. David and Jenny Artingstall have been a particular blessing; they welcomed me several times with very little notice, shared many lovely meals, and always made me feel like family. I truly miss their fellowship.

Lastly in this regard, but by no means least in gracious patronage, are Peter and Valerie Lewis. During my initial year of residence at the University with

my wife (also named Valerie) and first child (Gabriel), Cornerstone Church – of which Peter Lewis was the pastor – was in many ways our “home away from home.” Peter was not only one of the best expositors of scripture I had ever heard, but he and Valerie lived out the grace of the gospel through their love and hospitality to my family. During my trips back to England they not only helped find places for me to stay, but also on several occasions graciously hosted me themselves, with Valerie going out of her way in preparing delicious meals and making me feel at home.

In both my initial year of residency as well as throughout my part-time research at the University, I was greatly helped by the kind and patient assistance of my supervisor Richard Bell. Prof. Bell not only opened my eyes to various crucial dimensions of NT research, but also on several occasions extended hospitality to me, and allowed me to enjoy family time with him and his two fine sons, Jack and Cameron.

Midway through my research I had the privilege of being introduced to Prof. Roland Deines, who administered several of my annual reviews at the University. Prof. Deines has had an immense influence upon me both academically and personally. Academically, his incisive and insightful candor as expressed in his rigorous and disciplined criticism has greatly molded and sharpened my understanding and employment of legitimate and effective critical/theological methodology. Personally, he sacrificially supplied, on several occasions, the various commentaries and monographs vital for the completion of my project. His encouragement in word and deed helped sustain my progress at a very crucial time, without which “the strength of the burden bearer” may well have faltered.

I would also like to thank Prof. Steve Moyise who served as my external assessor during my thesis defense. Prof. Moyise provided very valuable feedback which helped bring this work into closer and more beneficial dialogue with some of the major views on Paul’s use of scripture.

On a more personal level, immense and heartfelt gratitude demands that mention be made of my mother, whose love and support has been a constant source of encouragement in every way, from her steady stream of cards and letters that have always prodded me on to complete my thesis, to her financial support, to her love that I have always known. But finally, in my immediate family, my deepest debt of love extends to my eight children: Gabriel, Nathaniel, Samuel, Nadia, Felicity, Daniel, Azarel, and Ezekiel – individually and collectively a fountain of heavenly joy, the oasis on my earthly pilgrimage.

Regarding the one I mention last, words fall short. My wife, Valerie, alone, has entered most fully into the hardships and joys of this journey. She has borne more than any other, and in many ways, the various difficulties and burdens of this task, and has provided more than any other the constant encouragement, selfless love, and unending support without which this work

simply could not have been completed. It is her victory equally as well as my own. She is my love, the joy of my life, my piece of heaven on earth. Or for you academics – (humanly speaking) my purest piece of realized eschatology.

October, 2016
Watertown, Wisconsin

Robert C. Olson

Table of Contents

List of Abbreviations	XVI
 Chapter One: Introduction	 1
I. <i>Statement of Theme</i>	2
II. <i>Preliminary Considerations</i>	6
1. Overview of Research on Paul's Use of Scripture	6
2. Recent Research on Paul's Use of Isaiah	10
3. Justification and Scope of Study	14
4. Methodology of the Present Study	16
5. Historical Plausibility – The Inner-Canonical Status of Isaiah and Its Use as a Literary and Theological Unity	22
6. Historical Plausibility – Paul's Renewed Hermeneutic: The Convergence Upon Isaiah as the Source of Paul's Gospel in Romans	27
7. Paul's Recent Interpreters and the Challenge to an Isaianic Background	41
(1) Christopher D. Stanley: <i>Arguing with Scripture</i>	41
(2) Richard B. Hays: <i>The Conversion of the Imagination</i>	48
(3) Frances Watson: Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith	49
(4) A Note on the New Perspective (Via Watson)	57
(5) N. T. Wright: <i>Paul and the Faithfulness of God</i>	59
 Chapter Two: The Isaianic Gospel – Paul's Use of Isaiah in Romans 1:1–17	 67
I. <i>Romans 1:1–15 – The Gospel of the Messianic Servant and the Conquest of Death</i>	67
II. <i>Romans 1:16–17 – An Allusion to the Redemptive Narrative of Isaiah ...</i>	80

1. The Gospel as the Basis of Eschatological Vindication	85
2. The Gospel as the Power of God unto Salvation.....	88
3. The Gospel as Available to All within the Mediatorial Primacy of Israel.....	90
4. The Gospel as the Revelation of God's Righteousness	93
(1) The Righteousness of God: Competing Concepts and Contextual Considerations.....	94
(2) The Righteousness of God: Scriptural Background	98
(3) The Gospel as the Revelation of God's Righteousness: A Uniquely Isaianic Background.....	102
(4) The Isaianic Good News: The Revelation of God's Righteousness in the Sacrifice of the Servant of the Lord.....	106
5. The Gospel and Its Salvation-Historical Continuity.....	115
6. The Gospel and Habakkuk – The Consummation of the Saving Promise and Its Appropriation by Faith.....	120
(1) Introduction: The Relation between Habakkuk and Isaiah in Romans	120
(2) The Citation of Habakkuk 2:4 Textually and Contextually Considered	124
(3) The Role of Habakkuk within the Isaianic Framework	129
<i>III. Summary of Paul's Use of Isaiah in Romans 1:1–17</i>	136
 Chapter Three: Captive and Condemned – Paul's use of Isaiah in Romans 1:18–3:20.....	138
<i>I. Warrant for Viewing a Broad Isaianic Influence on Romans 1:18–3:20</i>	138
<i>II. Isaiah 52:5/Romans 2:24 in the Context of Romans 1:18–3:8.....</i>	139
<i>III. Romans 1:18–32 – The Isaianic Typological Nexus of Adam, Israel, and Humanity: The Plight of Captivity</i>	144
1. The Typological Nexus of Romans 1:23	147
2. Paul's Understanding of Isaiah as Answering the Fall.....	154
3. The Typology of Isaiah as the Source of Paul's Thought.....	159
4. The Witness of Creation within the Trial Motif (Rom 1:19–20)	169
5. Further Echoes of Isaiah's Trial Motif (Rom 1:21–22, 25)	173
6. The Universal Covenant Context of Wrath and Captivity (Rom 1:18, 24, 26, 28, 32).....	178
7. Summary of Paul's Use of Isaiah in Romans 1:18–32	181

<i>IV. Romans 2:1–3:8 – Isaiah’s Depiction of Israel and the World: Captives Condemned before the Divine Tribunal</i>	182
1. Salvation-history – Continuity to Climax	182
2. Isaiah (45): Equality in Judgment under Divine Law and the Gospel’s Fulfillment of the Covenant Call to Repentance (Rom 2:1–16).....	185
(1) Romans 2:1–4 – Humanity before the Pre-Eschatological Tribunal	187
(2) Romans 2:1–4 – The Isaianic Backdrop	197
(a) The trial motif of Isaiah.....	199
(b) The role of Isaiah 45 and its significance in Paul’s thought.....	205
(c) Confirmation of Paul’s use of Isaiah’s trial motif	208
(3) Romans 2:5–6 – The Day of Wrath and the Covenant Refuge	209
(4) Romans 2:6–11 – The Eschatological Verdict and the Mediatorial Role of the Isaianic Typology.....	211
(5) Romans 2:12–16 – The Isaianic Gospel as the Climax of the Eschatological Verdict	215
3. Isaiah 52:5: The Covenant Curse and the Source of Its Promised Restoration (Rom 2:17–29)	222
(1) The Typology of Plight and Promise (Rom 2:17–24)	223
(a) The allusions to the Servant of the Lord in Romans 2:19	225
(b) The allusion to the covenant law of Deuteronomy 5 in Romans 2:21–22	230
(c) The quotation of Isaiah 52:5 in Romans 2:24	232
(2) The Covenant Promise of Restoration and Its Continuity with the Gospel (Rom 2:25–29).....	239
4. The Posture of Renewal: An Unrighteous People before the Righteous God (Rom 3:1–8)	243
5. Summary of Paul’s Use of Isaiah in Romans 2:1–3:8	251
<i>V. Isaiah 59:7–8a/Romans 3:15–17 in the Context of Romans 3:9–20</i>	253
<i>VI. Romans 3:9–20 and the Overarching Isaianic Framework of Captivity and Condemnation</i>	253
1. Romans 3:9 and the Isaianic Derivation of “Under Sin”	254
2. Romans 3:15–17/Isaiah 59:7–8a within the Catena – The Typological Solidarity of Israel with the World	257
3. Romans 3:19 – The Courtroom Motif of Isaiah: Broken Law and Humanity’s Guilt before the Divine Tribunal	269
4. Romans 3:20 – The Courtroom Motif of Isaiah: The Plight of All Flesh and the Futility of Works	274
5. Summary of Paul’s Use of Isaiah in Romans 3:9–20	281

Chapter Four: The Antitypical Nexus – Paul’s use of Isaiah in Romans 3:21–26	283
<i>I. Introduction to the Isaianic Background of Romans 3:21–26</i>	283
<i>II. Exegetical Overview of Romans 3:21–26 in Relation to Its OT Background</i>	286
1. Romans 3:21	286
2. Romans 3:22	288
3. Romans 3:23	289
4. Romans 3:24	292
5. Romans 3:25–26	295
6. Excursus: “The Faith of Jesus Christ”	304
<i>III. Perceived OT Backgrounds to Romans 3:21–26</i>	307
<i>IV. Isaiah 53 as the Background of Paul’s Theology of Atonement</i>	309
<i>V. Isaiah (53) as the Background to Romans 3:21–26</i>	311
1. The Sacrifice of the Servant/Christ as the Fulfillment of the Day of Atonement	317
2. The Sacrifice of the Servant/Christ as the Fulfillment of Redemption (and the Passover Sacrifice)	321
3. The Sacrifice of the Servant/Christ as the Fulfillment of the Guilt Offering	324
4. The Servant/Christ as the Mediator of Eschatological Justification ...	326
<i>VI. Summary of Paul’s Use of Isaiah in Romans 3:21–26</i>	329
Chapter Five: Conclusion	332
Appendix	351
Bibliography	353
<i>I. Primary Sources</i>	353

<i>II. Reference Works and Exegetical Aids</i>	353
<i>III. Secondary Sources.....</i>	354
Index of References.....	371
Index of Authors	393
Index of Subjects.....	398

List of Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
AnBib	Analecta biblica
ANTJ	Arbeiten zum Neuen Testament und Judentum
AOTC	Appollos Old Testament Commentary
AR	Allgemeine Reihe
ArBib	The Aramaic Bible
ASBT	Acadia Studies in Bible and Theology
BDB	<i>The New Brown-Driver-Briggs-Gesenius Hebrew and English Lexicon</i> (see above under “Reference Works and Exegetical Aids”)
BDF	Blass, Debrunner, and Funk (see above under “Reference Works and Exegetical Aids”)
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium
BEvT	Beiträge zur evangelischen Theologie
BHT	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
<i>BJRL</i>	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</i>
BNTC	Black’s New Testament Commentaries
<i>BTB</i>	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
<i>EBC</i>	<i>The Expositor’s Bible Commentary</i>
ECIL	Early Christianity and Its Literature (SBL)
<i>EDNT</i>	<i>Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament</i> (see above under “Reference Works and Exegetical Aids”)
ET	Erlanger Taschenbücher
<i>ET</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
<i>EvQ</i>	<i>Evangelical Quarterly</i>
<i>EvT</i>	<i>Evangelische Theologie</i>
<i>ExpT</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
<i>FS</i>	<i>Festschrift</i>
HDR	Harvard Dissertations in Religion

HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HNTC	Harper's NT Commentaries
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
<i>IB</i>	<i>The Interpreter's Bible</i>
ICC	International Critical Commentary
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JETS</i>	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Romans Periods</i>
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament—Supplement Series
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament—Supplement Series
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>KD</i>	<i>Kerygma und Dogma</i>
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
MeyerK	H. A. W. Meyer, <i>Kritisch-Exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament</i>
MNTC	Moffatt New Testament Commentary
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NCCS	New Covenant Commentary Series
<i>Neot</i>	<i>Neotestamentica</i>
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
<i>NIDOTTE</i>	<i>New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis</i>
NIGTC	The New International Greek Testament Commentary
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	<i>Novum Testamentum</i> , Supplements
NT	New Testament
NTL	New Testament Library
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
OT	Old Testament
OTL	Old Testament Library
<i>RevExp</i>	<i>Review and Expositor</i>
<i>RHR</i>	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLSS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SD	Studies and Documents
<i>SJT</i>	<i>Southwest Journal of Theology</i>
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series

SNTW	Studies of the New Testament and Its World
SPCK	Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge
<i>ST</i>	<i>Studia Theologica</i>
<i>TDNT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i>
<i>TDOT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i>
<i>TLZ</i>	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
TNTC	Tyndale NT Commentary
TOTC	Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries
<i>TP</i>	<i>Theologie und Philosophie</i>
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum
<i>TWOT</i>	<i>Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament</i>
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Supplements to <i>VT</i>
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
<i>WTJ</i>	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>ZTK</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>

Chapter One

Introduction

In 56 A.D. Paul was nearing the end of his third missionary journey,¹ preparing to embark on the lengthy voyage back to Jerusalem with the long-promised financial contribution to the saints there. With a tirelessness and missionary zeal so characteristic of the apostle, he begins to plan his next foray into “uncharted” gospel territory even before he had completed the current mission. With his sights set on Spain and the prospect that “They who had no news of Him shall see, And they who have not heard shall understand,”² the apostle to the Gentiles seeks a base from which to launch his Spanish mission (Rom 15:22–25). And so Paul begins to dictate to his amanuensis Tertius his well-known epistle to the church at Rome, a church which he had neither started nor visited. But with the multi-faceted concerns of an apostle and shepherd to churches scattered across Asia Minor and Greece, Paul sees this as an opportunity for much more (cf. Rom 1:8–17). He desires not only to present the gospel to the church at Rome for their assent and support in his mission to Spain, but through both its written and then personal proclamation to encourage and establish them in their faith, and “to obtain fruit among them” (Rom 1:13).

There was, however, a growing tension in the church at large between the Jewish and Gentile factions,³ reflected no doubt, in the Roman assembly. This tension stemmed from the paradoxical reality in the ongoing mission of the church that the nation of Israel, the people of God, “to whom belongs the adoption as sons and the glory and the covenants and the giving of the Law and the temple service and the promises, whose are the fathers, and from whom is the Christ according to the flesh” (Rom 9:4–5) had by and large rejected their Messiah. This grievous fact was exacerbated by the unbelieving Jews’ view of the law and justification, which provided a further stumbling

¹ The possible dates for Paul’s epistle to the Romans range from 54–59 A.D., but the most likely dates are either late 55 to early 56 A.D., or late 56 to early 57 A.D. See C. E. B. Cranfield, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, Vol. I: Introduction and Commentary on Romans I–VIII*, ICC (London: T&T Clark, 1979), 12–16.

² Rom 15:21, quoting Isa 52:15.

³ Cf. Rom 14:1–15:12, 25–27. The collection Paul administered was in some measure designed to mitigate this tension. On this tension see Richard H. Bell, *Provoked to Jealousy: The Origin and Purpose of the Jealousy Motif in Romans 9–11*, WUNT 2.63 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994), 63ff.

block between them and the gospel. These circumstances, moreover, threatened to drive a wedge between the Jewish and Gentile factions of the messianic community by challenging both the continuity and coherence of the gospel in relation to scripture. So in answer to all these needs and challenges the great apostle takes up his discourse, and pens through the hand of Tertius the least situationally-conditioned, the most systematic and scripturally dense of all his epistles, an exposition and defense of his gospel.⁴

I. Statement of Theme

Paul's letter to the Romans contains by far the highest concentration of explicit scriptural citations of any of his epistles.⁵ It is a scriptural mosaic depicting the gospel. In this epistle the apostle skillfully weaves together in his explicit citations alone the words and themes of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Deuteronomy, Kings, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Isaiah, Hosea, Joel, Habakkuk, and Malachi; yet these diverse scriptural threads blend to create a single picture, the portrait of Paul's gospel.

Yet does this portrait contain a dominant scriptural motif around which the others are built, and around which the diverse elements of his presentation cohere? As one reads Romans one cannot help noticing that certain portions of scripture were particularly important to Paul in setting forth the gospel – Genesis, Deuteronomy, Psalms, and Isaiah.⁶ Of these, however, Isaiah appears to play a unique role in the scriptural exposition of the “good news” which Paul sets forth in this epistle (Rom 10:15–16/Isa 52:7; 53:1). This possibility of a unique indebtedness to Isaiah on the part of the apostle is suggested by a combination of significant factors.

⁴ On the purposes of Paul in the writing of his epistle to the Romans, particularly as an exposition of his theology, see, for e.g., C. K. Barrett, *The Epistle to the Romans*, BNTC (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1991), 6–7. On Romans as a defense of Paul's gospel, see Richard H. Bell, *No One Seeks for God: An Exegetical and Theological Study of Romans 1:18–3:20*, WUNT 106 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 1; *Provoked*, 63–79.

⁵ There are just over 100 explicit scriptural citations in the Pauline epistles. Romans contains 60, 1 and 2 Corinthians has 27, Galatians 10, Ephesians 5, and the Pastoral epistles 2. See Steve Moyise, *The Old Testament in the New*, The Continuum Biblical Studies Series (London: Continuum, 2001), 75.

On the NT citation formulas' background in both the MT and the LXX, and the varying citation styles of the NT authors, see Hans Hübner, *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, Band 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 15ff.

⁶ On the similar distribution in the Qumran writings, see Roland Deines, *Die Gerechtigkeit der Tora im Reich des Messias*, WUNT 177 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 457–64.

First, a heavy dependence upon Isaiah in the composition of Romans is evident both in the sheer preponderance of quotations from,⁷ as well as in the substantial number of allusions to the great Prophet.⁸ Second, in all of Paul's epistles it is in Romans alone that he invokes Isaiah's name as a source of authority, and he does so five times, more than twice as many times as he invokes the authority of either Moses or David.⁹ Paul extends chiefly to Isaiah the role of an authoritative witness to verify the truth of the gospel he was sent to preach (cf. again Rom 10:16),¹⁰ not only in terms of the gospel's con-

⁷ Moisés Silva collates the findings of E. Earl Ellis, Dietrich-Alex Koch, and Otto Michel who each have compiled their own respective lists of Paul's scriptural citations. The lists differ slightly due to differing criteria for identifying scriptural citations. Of the four Old Testament books that Paul cites most frequently in Romans the citational frequency is as follows: Genesis is cited 6 times, Deuteronomy either 6 or 7, Psalms 16 times, and Isaiah 18 times. See Moisés Silva, "Old Testament in Paul," in *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters*, ed. Gerald F. Hawthorne and Ralph P. Martin (Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 1993), 631. Silva draws from E. Earle Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1957; repr. Eugene, Oregon: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2003); Dietrich-Alex Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums: Untersuchungen zur Verwendung und zum Verständnis der Schrift bei Paulus*, BHT 69 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1986); Otto Michel, *Paulus und seine Bibel* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1972 [repr.; orig. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1929]).

This preponderance of citational frequency seems to significantly separate Isaiah from all of Paul's other scriptural sources except the Psalms, which it only slightly surpasses. The uniqueness of Paul's dependence upon Isaiah in relation to the Psalms is hinted at in several of the forthcoming considerations.

⁸ For example, Florian Wilk, in his insightful study on the meaning of Isaiah for Paul detects the following allusions: Rom 4:25/Isa 53:12; Rom 8:32/Isa 53:6; Rom 8:33–34/Isa 50:8–9; Rom 9:6/Isa 40:7–8; Rom 9:20/Isa 29:16/45:9; Rom 9:30/Isa 59:9; Rom 9:30–31/Isa 51:1; Rom 10:19/Isa 1:3; Rom 11:26a/Isa 45:17; Rom 11:34/Isa 40:13; Rom 13:11/Isa 56:1; Rom 14:21/Isa 22:13 (*Die Bedeutung des Jesajabuches für Paulus* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998], 382).

⁹ Moses is mentioned four times (5:14; 9:15; 10:5; 10:19), but in only two of these instances (10:5, 19 [possibly 9:15]) is Paul invoking Moses' authority. David is mentioned three times (1:3; 4:6; 11:9), twice as a scriptural authority (4:6; 11:9). In several of these instances, moreover, it can be argued that these quotations by Moses or David are used to shore up scriptural support for a point drawn principally from Isaiah (the use of Abraham in Romans 4 would likely fit into this category as well). Cf. Acts 28:25–27, in which Luke presents Paul as citing Isaiah in his attempt to defend his gospel and persuade the Jews of Rome that Jesus is the Christ.

¹⁰ By the "truth of the gospel" is meant here not specifically its integrity in relation to Paul's conflicts with the Judaizers (the free gift of justification through faith apart from works of the law) as in Galatians (2:5, 14), but rather its integrity or faithfulness with regard to the OT scriptures from whence it derives (cf. Rom 1:1–2), and, by implication, the faithfulness of God to His covenant promises conveyed and fulfilled through it (cf. Rom 15:8).

On the background of the term ἀλήθεια in both Greek and Hebrew thought and its relation to the gospel in Romans and Galatians see James D. G. Dunn, *The Epistle to the Gala-*

tent, but also, as will be seen, in terms of its audience and mission strategy. Third, Paul employs Isaiah chapters 52 and 59 in Romans 2 and 3 (respectively: Isa 52:5/Rom 2:24; Isa 59:7–8/Rom 3:15–17) to depict Israel and humanity’s plight, and then uses these same chapters of Isaiah in Romans 10 and 11 (respectively: Isa 52:7; [53:1/Rom 10:15–16;] Isa 59:20–21/Rom 11:26–27) to depict the solution to this plight in divine redemption. The fact that Paul quotes these same chapters of Isaiah to portray both plight and solution within the broader theological argument of Romans strongly suggests that he conceived them to be a crucial and coherent redemptive narrative, and employed them as such within his larger argument. Isaiah thus becomes a very plausible theological framework for the epistle as a whole.¹¹

What is perhaps most significant at the outset of the investigation, however, is that Paul, through his quotations in both 10:15–17 (Isa 52:7; 53:1) and 15:20–21 (Isa 52:15), ostensibly makes an explicit identification of his gospel with Isaiah’s proclamation of the good news of redemption; and coupled with this, in Rom 4:25 identifies Jesus Christ as the Isaianic Servant of the Lord (Isa 53:4–6, 11–12; see Appendix). In Paul’s understanding of Isaiah, and as this study seeks to demonstrate, the “good news” is the proclamation of the reign of God evidenced and established by his redemptive act, typified in the Egyptian and Babylonian deliverances but coming to full scriptural expression in the atonement and justification achieved by the sacrifice of the Servant of the Lord. This, according to Paul, is the climactic act of redemption ultimately heralded in Isa 52:7. Of the four major sources of scriptural citations and allusions in Romans (Genesis, Deuteronomy, Psalms, Isaiah), Paul draws from Isaiah not only *the theme* of “gospel,” but *the content* of that gospel as well, in atonement, justification, redemption, and salvation. The very use of the term “gospel” in Romans, then, is likely an allusion to Isaiah.¹²

tians, BNTC (London: A&C Black, 1993), 101. On the significance of the phrase “the truth of the gospel” in the context of the Galatian controversy, see F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans), 33–42, 115.

¹¹ This issue of a theological framework becomes a crucial element of methodology in terms of establishing the relative priority in Paul’s various references to scripture. See in chapter one below, “*Methodology of the Present Study*.” For a description of the framework itself, see esp. under chapter two, “Introduction: The Relation between Habakkuk and Isaiah in Romans.” See also, e.g., in chapter three, “Warrant for Viewing a Broad Isaianic Influence on Romans 1:18–3:20.”

¹² J. Ross Wagner, in his very thorough investigation of Paul’s use of Isaiah in Romans 9–11, describes the apostle’s “consistent representation of Isaiah as a fellow preacher of the good news.” *Heralds of the Good News: Isaiah and Paul in Concert in the Letter to the Romans*, NovTSup 101 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 1.

On Paul’s use of the substantive εὐαγγέλιον as equivalent to the LXX Isaiah’s use of the verb εὐαγγελίζομαι, see Wagner on Rom 10:15–16 (*ibid.*, 174). See further below on Rom 1:1.

What makes this possibility more significant as one examines Paul's use of scripture in Romans is the strong likelihood that "gospel" is the theme of the epistle. This is probable not only because of the clear statement of 1:16–17, but also because of the frequent and significant use of the term εὐαγγέλιον and its cognates in both the introduction and conclusion of the letter – "its epistolary 'frame.'"¹³ This is a significant consideration, for if "gospel" in Romans both alludes to Isaiah's use of the cognate term (εὐαγγελίζομαι) and is at the same time the major theme Paul is developing in the epistle, it provides an additional and substantial warrant for suspecting a high level of dependence upon the Great Prophet.

These four factors, then – the preponderance of explicit Isaianic quotations; the principal use of Isaiah as an authoritative witness for Paul's gospel in Romans; Paul's use of Isaiah as a coherent redemptive narrative and possible theological framework; and the ostensible, dual identification of both Paul's gospel with Isaiah's "proclamation of good news" (Isa 40:9 [2x]; 52:7 [2x]; 60:6; 61:1), and Jesus Christ with the Servant of Isaiah 53 – not only suggest that the apostle is quite heavily dependent upon Isaiah, but that Isaiah plays a central role in his exposition of the gospel, a role much more pervasive than that of individual citations. But what is the nature and extent of Paul's dependence upon Isaiah as he pens his epistle? The thesis of this investigation is that Paul's theological presentation in Rom 1:1–3:26 reflects Isaiah's redemptive narrative as expressed in the prophecy's "proclamation of good news" – a coherent set of themes drawn from Isaiah that the apostle

¹³ Douglas J. Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 29. For his argument for "gospel" as the theme of the epistle, see pp. 27–30, 65. Cf. Rom 1:1, 9, 15, 16; 15:16, 19, 20. See also Jeffrey A. D. Weima, "Preaching the Gospel in Rome: A Study of the Epistolary Framework of Romans," in *Gospel in Paul: Studies on Corinthians, Galatians and Romans for Richard N. Longenecker*, ed. L. A. Jervis and P. Richardson (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994), 366. Weima concludes by stating, "... the evidence provided by the epistolary framework of the letter indicates that Paul's overriding concern is to preach the gospel to the Roman Christians ... All other proposed purposes for the writing of Romans, therefore, must be integrated into Paul's overriding concern 'to preach the gospel also to you who are in Rome' (1:15)."

Other interpreters who view "gospel" as the theme of the epistle include, e.g., Cranfield (apparently, as he places "gospel" as the central element developed in 16b–17), 87–102; Joseph Fitzmyer, *Romans: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 33 (New York: Doubleday, 1993), 253–5; Robert Jewett, *Romans: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007), 107; Peter Stuhlmacher, *Paul's Letter to the Romans: A Commentary*, trans. Scott J. Hafemann (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1994), 10–12. Stuhlmacher, in fact, asserts, "In view of the statistically stylized epistolary introduction in 1:1–7 and the conclusion to the letter in 16:25–27, which once again refers back to this prescript and is no less carefully formulated, the theme of Romans cannot be contested. It concerns the gospel entrusted to Paul, which as the gospel of Christ is the revelation of the salvific righteousness of God for Jews and Gentiles (1:16–17)."

perceives as coming to an eschatological/theological climax in the redemption wrought by the Suffering Servant of the Lord, fulfilled in Jesus Christ.¹⁴ It is this Isaianic redemptive narrative, moreover, that forms the fundamental theological framework for this section of the epistle, its leitmotif around which the other scriptural sources cohere. Though dealing principally with chapters 1–3, the thematic connections with the other major sections of the epistle will strongly suggest a similar overarching framework for the epistle as a whole, particularly in light of Paul’s extensive use of Isaiah in chapters 9–11.

II. Preliminary Considerations

Before the investigation is formally taken up, it will be helpful to set the stage with a consideration of the research bearing particularly upon the theme. Following this research review, the specific areas in which the present investigation hopes to advance the current boundaries of knowledge will be sketched and the methodological framework set forth.

1. Overview of Research on Paul’s Use of Scripture

In the twentieth century the flourishing of interest and activity in the scriptural citations of the NT writers which began at the reformation continued unabated.¹⁵ Rendel Harris (1916), for example, sought to explain the textual nature of the NT’s scriptural citations by postulating the existence of a “testimony book” from which they were drawn, a source compiled by the early

¹⁴ This concept of an Isaianic gospel complex has a strong interpretive precedent in the Jewish literature of the intertestamental period. See the introductory section in chapter one further below, “Historical Plausibility – The Inner-Canonical Status of Isaiah and Its Use as a Literary and Theological Unity.”

¹⁵ For a brief but helpful discussion on the use of the OT in the NT from the Reformation to the mid twentieth century, with particular reference to Paul, see Ellis, *Use*, 2–5.

In addition to Ellis, helpful surveys on Paul’s use of scripture, as well as the use of the OT in the NT, include: Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 5–14; I. Howard Marshall, “An Assessment of Recent Developments,” in *It is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture*, ed. D. A. Carson and H. G. M. Williamson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 1–21; Michel, *Paulus*, 1–7; Shiu-Lun Shum, *Paul’s Use of Isaiah in Romans: A Comparative Study of Paul’s Letter to the Romans and the Sibylline and Qumran Sectarian Texts*, WUNT 2.156 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 1–5; D. Moody Smith, “The Pauline Literature,” in *It is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture*, ed. D. A. Carson and H. G. M. Williamson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 267; Christopher D. Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture: Citation Technique in the Pauline Epistles and Contemporary Literature*, SNTSMS 74 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 4–28; Wagner, *Heralds*, 5–13.

church for use in the anti-Jewish polemic.¹⁶ With respect to Paul, A. von Harnack (1928) concluded that the apostle's use of scripture was peripheral to his theology, while the very influential work of Otto Michel, on the other hand, perceived Paul's various adaptations of scripture as a means whereby the apostle, led by the Spirit ("charismatic exegesis"), unfolds the intended meaning of the text.¹⁷ This general perspective of the central role of the OT in the development of NT theology was given further impetus by L. Goppelt (1939), who in his seminal work demonstrated both the nature and pervasive influence of typology used by the NT writers in their quotations of and allusions to scripture.¹⁸

As the twentieth century continued, J. Bonsirven (1939) renewed research into the comparative exegetical techniques of Paul and the Rabbis, dealing briefly with the subject of adaptations to the wording of the quotations.¹⁹ Midway through the century, the highly influential work of C. H. Dodd (1952) countered the "testimony-book" thesis of Harris and furthered the view of the organic unity between the testaments. Dodd regarded the NT writers' use of scripture as evidencing dependence upon certain *textual fields* of the OT which were of central importance in the exposition of the *kerygma* and which formed the *substructure* of the theological development of the NT. A significant element of his overall thesis is that in quoting or alluding to passages from these *textual fields*, the NT authors were recalling the entire context in which the given passage was found.²⁰ Building on such precedes-

¹⁶ J. Rendel Harris, *Testimonies*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1916¹; 1920²).

¹⁷ Adolf von Harnack, "Das Alte Testament in den Paulinischen Briefen und in den Paulinischen Gemeinden," in *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 124–41 (Berlin: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1928); Michel, *Paulus*.

¹⁸ L. Goppelt, *Typos: The Typological Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New*, trans. Donald H. Madvig (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982; 1939¹).

¹⁹ J. Bonsirven, *Exégèse Rabinique et Exégèse Paulinienne*, Bibliothèque de la Théologie Historique (Paris: Beauchesne, 1939).

²⁰ C. H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures: The Substructure of New Testament Theology* (London: Nisbet, 1952). Though not without dissenters, Dodd's thesis has gained fairly wide support. For example, Dodd's basic conclusions are supported by I. Howard Marshall who defended Dodd's position over against some more recent antagonists. In his critique Marshall affirms that the *kerygma* was developed in light of the Old Testament, that this development primarily but not exclusively centered in certain textual fields which were of particular theological significance, and that in this use of Old Testament fields by the New Testament authors there was respect for the original context and meaning of the passages ("Assessment," 1–21). Richard Bell, in his detailed study of Romans 9–11, likewise defends Dodd, affirming that in Paul certain sections of the Old Testament are of particular importance, and that Paul's quotations do indeed often point to their broader context (*Provoked*, 207–9). In this regard, see also B. Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic: The Doctrinal Significance of the Old Testament Quotations* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1961), 14; Ellis, *Paul's Use*, 112–13.

sors as Goppelt, Bonsirven, and Dodd, E. Earle Ellis (1957) compares Paul's use of the OT with Jewish exegesis and concludes that while similarities of form may exist, such as the use of introductory formulas and combined quotations, there was between them an uncrossable hermeneutical divide. Paul's hermeneutics were christocentric, typological, and eschatological. For Paul, interpretation centered in the person of Jesus Christ and the eschatological realities inaugurated through his death, burial and resurrection. From a textual standpoint, Ellis sees Paul as predominantly following the LXX, but believes many of the problems and uncertainties surrounding his quotations stem from these hermeneutical practices.²¹

More recently, several studies have significantly contributed to the discussion of Paul's use of scripture, particularly in the textual realm. The detailed textual studies of both Dietrich-Alex Koch (1986) and Christopher D. Stanley (1992) have uniformly pointed to Paul's primary use of a Greek *Vorlage*,²² and reveal that Paul often altered his citations to fit the context or argument in which they occur. The conclusions of Koch and Stanley are significant because they reconfirm and refine the textual conclusions of earlier scholars in light of the recent and extensive Qumran textual finds. These conclusions, however, have been challenged by Timothy H. Lim (1997). Lim, while valuing the contributions of Koch and Stanley, holds that their conclusions should be accorded somewhat provisional status. He contends that the fluid state of both the Hebrew and Greek texts of the first century combined with the fact of Paul's linguistic competence necessitates an investigation into all available textual witnesses, particularly the Hebrew variants, as well as the various versions and patristic evidence.²³ Lim gives several examples to support the need for a more thorough investigation, but provides nothing approaching a comprehensive treatment.

For a discussion of the significance of C. H. Dodd as over against that of Rendel Harris in terms Paul's use of the Old Testament, see Bell, *Provoked*, 201–9.

²¹ Ellis, *Paul's Use*, 148–49.

²² Koch, *Schrift*; Stanley, *Paul*. Stanley's investigation treats only citations clearly marked as such, and employs a stricter set of criteria for identifying them, whereas Koch's criteria, being somewhat less restrictive, allows a somewhat broader treatment, yet still leaves untreated Paul's many allusions to scripture. J. Ross Wagner notes regarding these works, "A particular strength of these two studies is that they take into account the growing body of research on the Septuagint, including the critical work on the text of the LXX undertaken by the Göttingen *Septuaginta-Unternehmen*. As a result, Koch's and Stanley's studies completely supersede E. E. Ellis's earlier investigation of Paul's citations (1957), which relies on too narrow a base of evidence for the text of the LXX in Paul's time." Wagner, *Heralds*, 6, note 23.

²³ Timothy H. Lim, *Holy Scripture in the Qumran Commentaries and Pauline Letters* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 140–49. Contrary to the view of A. Du Toit ("A Tale of Two Cities: 'Tarsus or Jerusalem' Revisited," NTS 46 [2000]: 375–402), Lim offers support for his view of Paul's linguistic competence (see 161–68).

Even as Stanley, Koch and Lim concentrate their efforts principally in the textual field, treating both the subjects of Paul's *Vorlage* as well as the hermeneutical axioms that can be ascertained from his citational techniques, Richard B. Hays (1989) focuses on the literary concept of "intertextual echo" in the letters of Paul.²⁴ Hays garnered the technique from the field of modern literary criticism and the work of John Hollander in particular, and fruitfully adapted it to the study of intertextuality in Paul's epistles.²⁵ Describing "intertextual echo," Hays states, "Allusive echo functions to suggest to the reader that text B should be understood in light of a broad interplay with text A, encompassing aspects of A beyond those explicitly echoed." By means of this literary device, the reader is placed "within a field of whispered or unstated correspondences."²⁶

Though the attempt to understand New Testament citations and allusions to scripture with respect to their broader context certainly is not new, Hays' approach appears to be more nuanced, emphasizing the dialectic resonances that occur particularly between the unstated elements of the respective texts. He states, "When a literary echo links the text in which it occurs to an earlier text, the figurative effect of the echo can lie in the unstated or suppressed (transumed) points of resonance between the two texts."²⁷ Hays distinguishes between various types of intertextual reference as follows: "Quotation, allusion, and echo may be seen as points along a spectrum of intertextual reference, moving from the explicit to the subliminal." He adds, "... allusion is used of obvious intertextual references, echo of subtler ones."²⁸ He uses the term "echo" with some flexibility, employing it to refer both to the intertextual, transumptive phenomenon found in all types of intertextual reference, and to the subtle form of allusion in which the phenomenon is often found.²⁹

²⁴ Hays, *Echoes*.

²⁵ See *Echoes*, 18–21. John Hollander, *The Figure of Echo: A Mode of Allusion in Milton and After* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981).

²⁶ Hays, *Echoes*, 20.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 20.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 23, 29, respectively.

²⁹ Hays' highly influential work follows in the tradition of C. H. Dodd, who, in his seminal work (*According to the Scriptures*) perceives a high degree of contextual continuity between the given NT text and the OT text to which it cites or alludes. This thesis of Dodd's, that the New Testament writings are built upon a thoroughly scriptural substructure, finds confirmation for Hays in the work of Michael Fishbane, who asserts that "within Israel as a reading community, 'all significant speech is Scriptural or Scripturally-oriented speech.'" Hays citing Fishbane (*Echoes*, 21). Michael Fishbane, "Inner Biblical Exegesis: Types and Strategies of Interpretation in Ancient Israel," in *Midrash and Literature*, ed. G. H. Hartman and S. Burdick (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 34. For Hays on Dodd, see *Echoes*, 182.

In addition to demonstrating the presence and significance of intertextual echo in Paul's letters, one of the most helpful contributions of Hays' work is his formulation of criteria for establishing the presence of this literary phenomenon. Hays sets forth seven criteria: 1) availability; 2) volume; 3) recurrence; 4) thematic coherence; 5) historical plausibility; 6) history of interpretation; and 7) satisfaction.³⁰

There are several more recent and substantial contributions to Paul's use of scripture that are more directly relevant to the thesis here proposed. These works, and particularly the manner in which they both challenge and support the present thesis, will be discussed in a separate introductory section.³¹

2. Recent Research on Paul's Use of Isaiah

In addition to the literature on Paul's use of scripture in general is the growing body of research on Paul's use of Isaiah. Much attention has been paid in recent years to the relationship between Paul's epistle to the Romans and the great prophetic book of Isaiah,³² and rightly so. These works are considered by most, if not all, scholars to be among the most theologically profound and significant biblical books in their respective testaments,³³ and given the level

³⁰ Hays, *Echoes*, 29–32. Hays has expanded his discussion and description of these criteria (with specific reference to Paul's use of Isaiah, in fact) in a more recent work. See *The Conversion of the Imagination: Paul as Interpreter of Israel's Scriptures* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 34–45. For more on Hays, see below in the introductory section on methodology in which Hays' criteria are discussed in detail.

³¹ See below in this chapter, "Paul's Recent Interpreters and the Challenge to an Isaianic Background."

³² See for example: D. R. Denny, *The Significance of Isaiah in the Writings of Paul* (PhD. diss., New Orleans Theological Seminary, 1985); Paul E. Dinter, "Paul and the Prophet Isaiah," *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 13 (Ap 1983): 48–52; D. A. Oss, *Paul's Use of Isaiah and its Place in His Theology: With Special Reference to Romans 9–11* (Ph.D. diss., Westminster Theological Seminary, 1992); Shum, *Use*; Wagner, *Heralds*; A. L. Yang, *Paul's Prophetic Reapplication of Isaiah in Romans 9–11* (Ph.D. diss., The University of Bristol, 2001); Wilk, *Bedeutung*.

³³ John Oswalt states concerning Isaiah, "Unless the book of Isaiah is a great theological document, it is nothing. Whatever may be its strengths as a piece of literature, they pale by comparison to the breadth and the sweep of the book's theological insights." He goes on to state, "Perhaps in no other biblical book are the wonder and grandeur of the biblical God so ably displayed." John Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah: Chapters 1–39*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986), 31–32. Concerning Romans, Carson/Moo/Morris (see preface, p. 10) state, "Romans is the longest and most theologically significant of the letters of Paul, 'the very purest gospel' (Luther)" (D. A. Carson, Douglas J. Moo, and Leon Morris, *An Introduction to the New Testament* [Leicester: Apollos, 1992], 239). This point need not be labored; examples of those who hold such a high view of the theological significance of these two works in their respective testaments could be multiplied *ad infinitum*.

of dependence upon the great prophet that the apostle exhibits, the study of Isaiah in Romans would seem to promise rich, theological dividends, indeed.

While not focusing exclusively on Romans, the valuable work of Florian Wilk (1998) examines the citations of and allusions to Isaiah in the undisputed letters of Paul, with particular reference to Paul's self-understanding as apostle to the Gentiles. Wilk seeks to trace the development of Paul's reading of Isaiah throughout Paul's letters and organizes Paul's interpretation into four main categories: "Christusbotschaft," "Selbstverständnis," "Israelfrage," and "Parusieerwartung." Wilk argues that not only Paul's theology, but his very self-understanding as an apostle to the Gentiles is significantly formed by major sections of Isaiah.³⁴ As valuable as Wilk's work is in discerning these broad lines of Isaianic influence across the Pauline corpus as a whole, it is this very breadth of treatment that prevents him from examining the situation in Romans as closely as one might desire.

Dealing specifically with the use of Isaiah in Romans, the insightful investigation by Shiu-Lun Shum (2002) seeks to develop a comparative hermeneutical frame of reference for Paul's use of Isaiah in Romans by first examining the interpretation of Isaiah in both the Sibylline Oracles and the Qumran literature.³⁵ Avoiding some of the ahistorical pitfalls of intertextuality in modern literary criticism, Shum, following Hays, employs a modified intertextual approach. He examines both the citations of and allusions to Isaiah in Romans, utilizing several of Hays' criteria for detecting allusions. He concludes that Paul uses Isaiah in Romans, by and large, in keeping with the original Isaianic context. Shum notes, moreover, that while Paul's use of Isaiah reflects his theological convictions and messianic presuppositions, it at the same time exhibits at several points a "transplanting" of Isaiah's theology into his epistle.³⁶ Like Wilk's work, the scope of Shum's study also limits its usefulness to the present investigation. His comparative approach highlights Paul's christocentric hermeneutic and sheds some valuable light on the use of Isaiah in Romans, but it does not achieve a thorough investigation of that

On the Jewish interpretation of Isaiah, see, for example, Claire Mathews McGinnis and Patricia K. Tull, eds., *As Those Who Are Taught: The Interpretation of Isaiah from the LXX to the SBL*, SBL Symposium Series 27 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006).

³⁴ Wilk, *Bedeutung*, 160–206; 340–80. Though Wilk examines all of Paul's undisputed letters, he states regarding Romans, "So stellt dieses Schreiben als Höhepunkt der paulinischen Jesajarezeption zugleich ihre Summe dar," 404.

³⁵ Shum, *Use*.

On the use of Isaiah by Josephus with a brief contrast of its use in the NT, see Christopher Begg, "Isaiah in Josephus," in *Josephus und das Neue Testament*, ed. Christfried Böttrich and Jens Herzer, WUNT 209 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 233–43. In the same volume, and on the [comparative] use of Isaiah in the NT as a whole, see Florian Wilk, "Die Geschichte des Gottesvolkes im Licht jesajanischer Prophetie," 245–64.

³⁶ Shum, *Use*, 267.