Interpretation of Romans, chapters 9-11, in British new testament scholarship, 1930 - 1980

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ABSTRACT

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INTERPRETATION OF ROMANS, CHAPTERS 9 - 11, IN BRITISH NEW TESTAMENT SCHOLARSHIP, 1930 - 1980

The study considers the detailed exegetical judgements contained within the work, both Commentaries and miscellaneous writings of most of the major British New Testament scholars writing on Romans within the period. Amongst those whose work is considered are: Barclay, Barrett, Best, Black, Bowen, Bruce, Cranfield, Davies, Dodd, Ellison, Hanson, Hunter, Kirk, Lee, Manson, O'Neill and Robinson.

In form, the Study selects central themes in Pauline thought and research, (e.g. Paul's Use of The Old Testament, The Law, The Jews, The Gentiles, Christology, Eschatology, God, Man, Election), considering how the individual exegetical judgements made bear upon more general understandings of these areas.

Opening chapters consider the views advanced concerning Paul's Purpose in writing Romans, together with the Apostle's Purpose in including Chapters 9 - 11 within the Letter. There follows discussion of the Integrity of the Letter and of the place of chapters 9 - 11 within it, together with some exploration of what has been said concerning the style and exegetical procedures of Paul, himself.

Concluding chapters describe, in outline, some of the major non-British interpretations, including those of Barth, Bornkamm, Bultmann, Donfried, Käsemann, Munck, Schweitzer and Stendahl, relating these understandings to the work of the British scholars considered. A final Conclusion explores, whether or not, and in what sense, there may be said to be a British 'tradition' of Interpretation.

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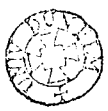

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Declaration

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

In introducing this study of St. Paul's Letter to the Romans, chapters 9 - 11, some word of explanation for the self-imposed limitations of the scope of the whole might be considered necessary.

The choice of these three chapters stems not only from their nature as, in some sense, a definable portion of the whole Epistle, but, more particularly, from a recognition of their abiding power to evoke theological controversy, from the use which has been made of them in all ages as the foundation writing for the development of such doctrines as those of Divine Providence or Predestination, and, not least, from the autobiographical and theological intensity of much of the writing itself, which promises continuing insights into the mind of the Apostle for every generation.

Their character, in all of these respects, has been amply demonstrated throughout the Twentieth Century and within the work of British scholars.

The limitation of the study to such British scholars and to the Fifty Year Period, 1930 - 1980, is in no way meant to suggest that there is little of value in the work of former years or indeed in the work of scholars of other nations. The mention of the seminal British commentary of W. Sanday and A.C. Headlam (first published in the International Critical Commentary series, Edinburgh, 1895) which rightly still commands respect and attention, is sufficient, of itself, to dispel the former possibility. Similarly, the briefest mention of scholars of the stature of Karl Barth, Johannes Munck, Krister Stendahl and Ernst Käsemann is sufficient to dispel the latter.

However, the concentration upon British scholars within a manageable and defined period does allow for a discussion of the

diversity and the similarity in traditions of exegesis within one academic society and can thus be a study of relationships as well as of content.

Concluding chapters attempt to draw out some of these relationships together with some brief attempt to set these British traditions within their wider Continental context.

Behind the study in its present form lay an initial survey of the chapters, verse by verse. To have reproduced this piece of groundwork would have been tedious, but it has governed the choice of material for detailed consideration and it also enabled that identification of central themes to be made, around which otherwise disparate material could be gathered.

Hence the thesis proceeds in chapters considering general themes in Pauline study, but limits its specific exegetical examples to material drawn from the three chapters in question.

Within each thesis chapter some attempt has been made to describe the specific exegetical contribution of each scholar to each area of debate, and to do this, for the most part, in a chronological manner within the Fifty Year period, leaving attempts to trace lines of interpretation to short comments within each chapter and to the separate chapter of Final Reflections.

That the whole study has proved to be immensely stimulating for its author goes without saying, but owes its truth, in no small measure, to the encouragement and guidance at every stage of The Revd. Prof. C.K. Barrett, its overall Supervisor, for whose wisdom and concern I remain deeply grateful.

Chapter 1.

Destination, Audience and Purpose

One preliminary question in any study of Romans 9 - 11 must be - what, if anything, do these verses tell us about the nature and circumstances of those to whom the letter was addressed? Closely connected with this issue, but not necessarily the same question, is the issue of what we can know, or can learn, about the Christian Church in Rome at the period of Paul's writing, recognising that, at least in some sense, Romans is one of our major sources of information for the answering of such an inquiry.

In the Nineteenth Century the German, so-called 'Tübingen School' of Criticism, under the leadership of F.C. Baur, took the view that chapters 9 - 11 were the very heart of the whole letter, and as such, with their clear concern for the question of the Jews, reveal that Paul intended his letter to go to a congregation of Jewish Christians. The Christian community in early first century Rome was, for this group of scholars, precisely such a Jewish Christian society.

This view has often been rejected in British scholarship, if only because it seemed to imply or depend upon an estimation of 9 - 11 as of such central importance. For many British scholars there are other parts of the letter, the material about the Spirit in chapter 8, or the material about the Righteousness of God in chapters 1 - 4, or 5 - 8, or indeed the ethical teachings of chapters 12 - 15, which should, at the least, be judged to be of equal significance.

One exception, however, is one of the most recent commentators on Romans, J.C. O'Neill. Writing in 1975, he accepts both parts of the Baur/Tübingen thesis, and argues that Paul wrote Romans for the Roman church and that this same church was made up of,

"the members of the synagogues in Rome that had come to believe in Jesus Christ, and his purpose was to win their support for his special mission to the Gentiles, by which he hoped to persuade Gentiles in Rome to come together in their own congregations alongside the already existing congregations of mostly Jewish Christians".[1] Within the confines of his relatively modest commentary, O'Neill does not argue for this judgement, but it could be said that he allows it to govern his subsequent exegesis of these chapters. For example, he notes that in the second century there was a re-emergence of the Jewish Question and of the place of Jewish Christians within the Church, and that in these later days, as in Paul's day, Jewish Christian congregations were under attack, not least from Marcion. O'Neill therefore believes that Romans 9 - 11, as we have it, reflects both first and second century debate. It is a conflated piece of writing which does not therefore all come from St. Paul. It is all written for the benefit, encouragement or exhortation of Jewish Christians, but some parts of it, e.g. 9.11 - 23 and 10.6b - 11.32, are directed by a second century theologian to a second century audience. Nevertheless, leaving aside questions of century for a moment, the audience in both cases is Jewish Christian facing opposition from a Gentile Church and standing in need of a word that will defend and support their status and place within the whole church.

There are other scholars, who, at least in part, can accept that Romans was written to a Jewish Christian audience in Rome. One such, F.F. Bruce, begins from the almost universally accepted position which is that Roman Christianity, whatever it became, owed its beginnings to Jewish travellers (possibly those mentioned in Acts 2.10) and sprang from the matrix of the considerable Jewish community in the capital city. "We may be sure that the original group of believers in Rome consisted entirely of Jewish Christians".[2] The Roman Jews suffered a number of persecutions and expulsions, most notably that under the Emperor Claudius,

(possibly in A.D. 50, suggests Bruce), after which they returned to Rome. From this point onwards the groups of Roman Christians included progressively more members of Gentile origin, although for some time and certainly, in Bruce's judgement, in the time of Paul, the base of the Christian community remained Jewish. Bruce makes the interesting suggestion that Roman Jews were far from mainstream, but rather sectarian or non-conformist Jews, which might account for some of the unrest in their relationship with the growing and increasing Gentile Christian church. Chapters 9 - 11 are directed, in part, to this Jewish "base". Part of their unrest is directed towards the growing number of Gentile Christians who might well, as they become the majority, have been beginning to look down their noses at their fellows. Bruce, therefore, sees Romans as also directed to the Gentiles in Rome. It is, in fact, directed towards this mixed community, "the wisdom of showing both sides something of the part played by both Jews and Gentiles in the saving purpose of God".[3]

A more definite supporter of this view that Romans was directed towards a Jewish Christian majority in the Roman church is sometimes said to be William Manson. He is, for example, the only British scholar cited as supporting this view in the much read New Testament Introduction to the Pauline Letters of Donald Guthrie.[4] Manson's position is, in fact, more complex than any such simple identification allows. It is true that he finds considerable evidence within the letter, especially 9 - 11, for the view that Paul's argument clearly assumes that his readers will have some Jewish religious knowledge and training; conversely, he finds no evidence in the letter of the kind of writing which would suggest a Gentile audience. He follows Baur, and more recently Eduard Meyer (1923), in concluding that Romans was indeed written to a predominantly Jewish Christian community. But in his essay, Notes on the Argument of Romans (Chapters 1 - 8),[5] he actually writes and argues for something different. What he says is, "certainly if St. Paul's letter was composed with an eye on

the Roman community, it is difficult to see that any other conclusion than Meyer's is satisfactory,".[6] and later, "All these considerations would, however, lose their force if there was a reason to think that the didactic substance of the Epistle was not originally framed with specific reference to Rome".[7] It is precisely this latter conclusion which we find Manson expressing a page or two later, "The didactic substance of the letter was not originally framed with a view to the Roman Church".[8] Later still he argues that although Romans is an 'open' kind of letter, nevertheless, "the first occasion of its commitment to writing may well have been the Apostle's desire to open communications with the unvisited Church at Rome".[9] There is a sense in which Manson is a witness for both sides.

It is a refreshing change from the "ifs" and "may be's" of Manson's position to turn to the Celtic directness of G.O.Griffith.[10] Griffith joins the continental scholars of the preceding century, and is a direct stepping stone on the way to O'Neill, in asserting that Romans was written to Rome, that the church there was a Jewish Christian one, that the letter has its raison d'être in Judaic controversy, indeed that Romans is something of a Jewish Christian apologia, "another Epistle to the Hebrews".[11] He can conclude, "What is certain is that we must not think of the congregation at Rome as a purely Gentile church, nor yet as being at this time even predominantly Gentile".[12] Griffith contends that almost all first century Christian churches were predominantly Jewish Christian and that the presence of a known and large Jewish colony in Rome "must have helped to stamp the congregation with their own distinctive type of faith".[13] Evidence for this comes throughout the letter and is especially to be found in Paul's constant use of Old Testament Scripture. It reaches a climax with chapters 9 - 11. Griffith too, however, like Bruce, sees the letter as having a corrective quality, a reconciling aim, warning the Jews not to be too Judaic in their

interpretation of the gospel and defending the Jews against the beginning of Gentile criticism.

To this first group of scholars we may add H.L. Ellison.[14] He argues that the Roman church was, at the time of 'Romans', no single church, but rather a collection of disparate Christian groups, with "only tenuous contacts",[15] and that this accounts amongst other things for Paul's use at 1.7 of the phrase 'all God's beloved'. These groups we are to imagine as "predominantly Jewish",[16] with some connection with the early church in Jerusalem, in the sense that their understanding of the faith and of Jew-Gentile relationships was of an immature kind. As such, Romans is a genuine letter which arises naturally at a time in Paul's life which was dominated by his impending visit to the Jerusalem church, with what, for Ellison, is Paul's deliberate peace-offering of the Collection, before a Jewish Gentile Christian split becomes impossible to mend.

This relatively small group of scholars, whatever the merits of their own interpretation, does raise a central issue that all must face and answer. If St. Paul's audience was not predominantly Jewish, but rather predominantly Gentile, then some explanation must be given for the presence in the letter of these three chapters, 9 - 11, some features of which seem to presuppose, prima facie, a Jewish audience.

The majority of commentators, however, do argue that at the time of Paul's writing of Romans, the Roman Christian Community was predominantly Gentile.[17] Most are agreed that, although it began in close association with the Jewish colony and the synagogues, it did not recover from the scattering effect of the Claudian expulsion and thereafter became a Gentile church with a Roman Christian character of its own, although with a Jewish Christian nucleus, core or indeed remnant. Such is the view of Barrett, Best, Black, Bowen, Campbell, Kirk, Scott, Taylor. A further

small group of commentators reserve judgement, being content to assert that the Roman church was 'mixed'. We might particularly here include the earliest and latest of the commentators, Dodd and Cranfield.

So it is that Dodd argues, "All that we can legitimately infer is that, like most churches outside Palestine, it was of mixed Jewish and Gentile membership and that Jewish influence was probably stronger than it would have been in a church planted by Paul himself".[18] Dodd does not relate the inclusion of chapters 9 - 11 to this 'stronger influence' arguing later that we can infer no real evidence for conditions in the Roman church from any given section of the Letter.[19] In such judgements Dodd is followed by John A.T. Robinson,[20] who in following Dodd's influential view that 9 - 11 are something of an excursus, (for a fuller discussion of this see below), argues that the purpose of the letter is not to speak to a particular local situation or audience. He does, however, want, like Dodd, to speak of the strong Old Testament character of parts of the letter, not least chapters 9 - 11, which leads Robinson to conclude that "many of his Gentile readers ... would have had a double background".[21]

Already, we are in danger of confusing the two questions with which we began. There is the question about the constitution of the christian church in Rome and there is the question of the 'audience' for whom Paul intended his letter. These questions only become one and the same on the presupposition that the letter was to Rome and that it was based upon a knowledge, on Paul's part, of the nature and situation of the Roman Christian church; that, in other words Romans is an 'occasional' letter, written to answer or contribute to a specific historical circumstance. Some take this view as we have seen above, but by no means all. For others, Romans is not particularly directed towards a Roman 'audience' even if it was first sent there: for yet others, the true 'audience' is really none other than Paul himself, in that Romans

is to be seen as a piece of sustained personal theological self-expression. It is not that Paul intended no one to read it, but that the reading of it by others is secondary to its nature as a record of Paul's own reflections. As we continue, however, with this review the question which assumes more importance is; how does the inclusion of chapters 9 - 11 relate to the purpose and occasion for which we believe the letter was first written?

E.F. Scott[22] reminds us that we may never have the accuracy or extent of knowledge about the Roman church situation which would allow us to make judgements. For him, Romans is a real letter (rather than a treatise in epistolary form) written to a real and specific audience and situation in Rome. The letter itself is the best evidence we have for the Roman situation. Thus we can conclude on the basis of some of the material in 9 - 11 that there were elements of anti-semitism in the Roman church and that Paul knew of them, but all in all, "If we knew more of the circumstances of the Roman church we should probably find that this enquiry into the place of Israel, which to our minds appears quite irrelevant, had a very different purpose".[23]

Paul's knowledge of a Jewish/Gentile, actual or potential, schism in the Roman church is a very common reason adduced for the presence of chapters 9 - 11. We have already heard it expressed within the writing of Bruce and Griffith. It is there also in the work of Best and also of Bowen. It is part of the view of Romans and these chapters held by W.D. Davies.

Bowen,[24] is particularly anxious to argue that it was the return of the Jews after their expulsion which raised the difficulties that occasioned Paul's letter; that the Letter as a whole takes as its major theme, the Theme of Reconciliation, and that within this general theme chapters 9 - 11 with their appeal for a better understanding of the equality of place for

both Jew and Gentile within the mercy of God have a clear contribution to make.

In turning to W.S. Campbell,[25] we turn to one who has addressed himself specifically to our present enquiry. The letter was indeed directed to the specific Roman situation which was one of a mixed but divided community, divided along the lines suggested by Paul himself in chapters 14 and 15, where he talks of the strong and the weak. Campbell does not accept any view which divides the letter into sections suggesting that parts of it might have been intended for one audience and parts of it for another. His own account takes the following shape.

"A division had apparently arisen because the liberal minded Gentile Christian majority (the strong in faith) were unwilling to have fellowship with the conservative Jewish Christian minority (the weak in faith)".[26] Therefore, we should see the letter as primarily addressed to the Gentile majority, for whom the apostle stresses God's gifts to the Jews (9.4-5), arguing that the religious priority which the Jews indeed have does not preclude God's absolute freedom to choose for his own people both Jew and Gentile, (9.6-11, 9.22f.). Paul sets out to correct "the Gentile Christ-an's misunderstanding of Heilsgeschichte and their resulting presumptuous pride, (11.18)."[27] He further stresses the inter-dependence of both Jew and Gentile (11.28-32) and the theme that God's election includes both Jew and Gentile, just as does Paul's own mission (11.13). The temporary and partial hardening of Israel (11.25f.) rules out any high-mindedness on the part of the Gentiles (11.25, 12.3f.), but should in fact foster the aim of mutual acceptance (15.7). Such a view, Campbell maintains, is an account which enables us to see how it is that Paul discusses the Jews in 9 - 11, in a letter which is addressed to a predominantly Gentile audience. He takes very seriously the responsibility of giving an account of 9 - 11 in any total interpretation of the

letter. Campbell's solution is one which requires him to write of a paradox; paradoxically that section of the letter which is most Jewish in 'content' is most directed towards a Gentile 'audience'.

In the course of his discussion, Campbell touches upon a different solution rejected by him, but adopted by a small group of British scholars. Can we account for the Jewish nature of 9 - 11 by suggesting that Paul really intended his letter not so much for the Roman church as for the Jerusalem church, where he was soon to go with his collection from the Gentile churches? The suggestion can be held in strong and weak forms varying from the 'strong' possibility that Romans is a work, the true destination of which is a Pauline secret, to the 'weak' recognition that at the time that the apostle was writing to the Romans he was, in fact, dominated in his thinking by the concerns of his impending journey to Jerusalem. In its 'strong' form the suggestion has been popular on the Continent in the work of such scholars as Fuchs, Marxsen and Bornkamm, but it is in its 'weak' form that it has become part of the view of a number of British writers.

Matthew Black,[28] makes it clear that for him there was no certainty in the apostle's mind that he would ever reach Rome, and equally, that at the time of writing Romans it was Jerusalem that was uppermost in his thoughts and his fears..."all reports underline the danger in which he stood, from the hatred of world Jewry and the tension and dissension in the Jerusalem Christian community (Rom.15.31; Ac.20.3)".[29] For Black, the Jerusalem and the Roman churches in all probability shared the same reactionary nature, and quoting the Norwegian scholar, J. Jervell, who argues for an indirect Jerusalem connection, Black can conclude, "Paul's apologia pro doctrina sua in Romans, especially vis à vis the Law, would stand him in good stead in Jerusalem".[30]

In one of the most recent essays on Romans similar thoughts have re-occured. A.J.M. Wedderburn,[31] takes up Campbell's earlier contentions in the light of a recently published monograph from W. Schmithals. Wedderburn offers two conclusions, one of which underlines this 'Jerusalem connection'. He begins by asking why Paul wrote Romans on the eve of his Jerusalem visit. Was Paul indirectly suggesting that the Roman church should be associated with the other Gentile churches in this Collection enterprise? Did Paul ascribe to the Collection and to the visit of a Gentile delegation to Jerusalem an eschatological value? Was the visit to Jerusalem living proof of the success of the mission amongst the Gentiles and the beginning of that process of provoking Israel of which Paul speaks in Romans 11.14? Wedderburn accepts that there are few overt evidences of these theses in Romans, but this may be because Paul did not want to run the risk of appearing autocratic or over-authoritative, and partly, also, because it was practically too late for the Roman Christians to be physically involved in either the collection or its presentation. But he does want them to know, he does want their prayers; he does, as we might say, want their moral support. It is at this point that Wedderburn speaks of the constitution of the Roman church. Far from the church being either Jewish Christian or Gentile Christian we should consider it to cover a very considerable spectrum of people. There were Jews who had become Christian, but who were now divided in the attitude which they took to their Jewish inheritance; there were Gentiles, again divided, in that some leant towards Judaism and others towards an entirely law-free gospel. Both groups, and both sub-groups, would have their respective reasons for opposing the Collection. It would seem either like a capitulation to Jerusalem Christianity or it would represent equally unacceptable claims on the part of Paul and his Gentile associates for the Gentile Mission. All of this, suggests Wedderburn, accounts for much of Romans which thus becomes a defence of the right of the

Gentile mission and a defence of the Collection, but equally a definite attempt to secure at least tacit support for both from a disparate and divided but extremely influential Christian congregation.

Although Wedderburn was writing in 1979 it is interesting to note that in almost every detail his conclusions had been anticipated and offered by E.K. Lee.[32] Lee stressed there the diverse constitution of the Roman church and its breadth of thought. He argues that there are Palestinian Jews, Dispersion Jews, possibly Jews under the influence of non-conformist Judaism, (especially in its ascetic forms as followed by the Essenes or the Therapeutae) proselytes and Gentile Christians. Part of Paul's purpose was therefore to abate tensions within this community and to offer, not least in 9 - 11, a conciliatory treatment of the Jew/Gentile question.

Lee follows those who believe that a Jewish minority were at the time of Paul's writing of Romans, "in danger of being crushed by the Gentile majority".[33] But even this does not provide the major motive. For this, we should look to "the historical circumstances in which the epistle was written".[34] Two were of paramount importance. The first was Paul's desire to secure a base of operations in Rome for his further missionary endeavours; but the second was his desire to win the sympathy and understanding of the Roman Christians in his forthcoming fight with the Judaizing adversaries in Jerusalem. Both pragmatically and theologically Romans is a vindication against this specific attack.

Lee does not, of course, deny the theological nature of the letter. "The Epistle to the Romans is a mature account of the faith by which he lived and for which he suffered so much",[35] but the governing factor in Paul's writing was not the apostle's

no doubt natural desire for theological self-expression, but rather the historical circumstances.

In all that we have examined so far we have been looking at the work of scholars who, although they are clearly divided in many of their individual judgements, are united in that they want to say something reasonably firmly about the nature and constitution of the Roman church and who seek to account for the presence of chapters 9 - 11 in relation to that conclusion about Paul's audience. Even if, as in the case of these last mentioned scholars, the audience is as much Jerusalem as Rome then, nevertheless, the historical context governs the content.

We move now to a considerable group of commentators for whom the supremely governing factor is not so much a matter of historical context or indeed of audience in the normally accepted sense in which an audience can govern the language and style of an author, as it is a matter of Paul's theology. Theology and not context governs content. Paul is, in a manner of speaking which contains truth, his own audience. There may be practical, specific purposes for the letter, but these are in terms of how it achieved its present form and content (especially in respect of chapters 9 - 11) secondary considerations.

Two scholars stand a little on the borderline between these two groups, Vincent Taylor,[36] and T.W. Manson.[37]

Both of these scholars subscribe to the view that Romans is a piece of 'retrospective theology'. In Romans, Paul is re-stating his own position, arrived at over a number of years and forged in the crucible of all of his experiences.

Vincent Taylor can talk about Paul setting down the leading principles of his gospel, "in the light of his experience".[38]

Manson can go further in arguing that the letter is "an attempt to set down Paul's mature and considered convictions about a number of theological and moral issues that had been burning questions for a considerable time before it was written".[39] One of these burning questions was, of course, the tension that existed wherever Christians of Jewish background and Christians of Gentile background found themselves within the same congregation. This alone, suggests Manson, would account for such material as 14.1 - 15.12 and chapters 9 - 11. T.W. Manson is well known for taking this thesis one stage further in his suggestion that what we have in Romans, if not actually a 'circular letter', is certainly a letter which in a number of recensions was sent to other churches as well as Rome.[40] The others, he suggests, include at least the Christians at Ephesus, where Paul was going to be unable to make a visit before his Jerusalem visit. Manson sees in chapter 16 some material directed to the church at Ephesus.

Taylor shares the view that the letter may well have been intended for a wider circle and this recognition is the clue to why, in any given case, e.g. the Roman church situation, we may find in Romans material which does not appear totally applicable. One of the strengths of Manson's case is that it enables him to give some account of the different recensions of the letter which may well have existed in earliest times. Roger Bowen, whom we included earlier in discussion of those who see the letter as specific to the Roman situation nevertheless can be mentioned again here, for he too would want to see in Romans, a careful, ordered and universal statement of Paul's doctrinal understanding.

Manson's view of Romans as "retrospective theology" (a term which none of these commentators use, but which seems to sum up their basic position) was not begun by him. Rather is it one of the earliest views within our period.

It was Dodd who first described Romans as "the ripe fruits of many years of thought and work" and as "a comprehensive and reasoned statement of the fundamentals of Christianity".[41] That Romans was the result of such a retrospective process of thought led him to his view that it therefore drew upon earlier treatments of its themes in earlier parts of the Pauline correspondence and in materials now known to us only through their reappearance in Romans. He suggests that this is especially true of all those parts of the letter that deal with the Jews, and most especially is it true of chapters 9 - 11. To this we shall return when considering 9 - 11 and the integrity of the whole letter. Nevertheless, for Dodd, as for the others in this final group of scholars, the present position of these chapters is governed by a theological motive. They stand at the close of chapters 1 - 8 in order, primarily, to pick up and deal with, at a more satisfactory length, the themes first introduced earlier in the letter,e.g.3.1-9. As Dodd puts it, they are here to deal with "certain theological difficulties left over from the foregoing discussion".[42] Dodd also stresses what we may call in Twentieth Century terminology the personal, psychological motivation of the apostle, not least in relation to 9 - 11, which derives from an intensely personal concern on the part of Paul.

We turn now to the work of K.E. Kirk.[43] Kirk follows Dodd and prefigures Taylor and Manson in also assessing Romans as a theologically retrospective work, for in Romans, Paul's views, "arise out of S. Paul's past experience, not out of his correspondents' present perplexities".[44] Although he conceives the whole letter to be a logical and well thought out series of general topics, some sections are more central to Paul's thought than others. This is possibly true of chapters 9 - 11, for they can find their place as "just another of the general topics on which the epistle gives S. Paul's considered view".[45] The chapters are, for Kirk, one of the letter's 'digressions', a digression on the theme of Predestination understood from two

different standpoints, the one metaphysical and the other psychological. Moreover, the chapters themselves, contain two further digressions of their own, 9.30 - 10.13 and 10.14 - 10.21, which represent earlier material put here "to prevent any Jewish reader making capital out of the occasional phrases which suggests that Israel's apostasy was after all predestined".[46] There is within our chapters one other digression, 11.13 - 24, which is there as a warning to the Gentiles not to be too high-minded. This last digression, he suggests may indeed owe its presence to some knowledge which Paul had of the conditions within the Roman church. Kirk's whole notion of the composition of Romans stresses its dynamic, not to say, haphazard quality, yet he does not want to deny its nature as a literary and theological whole.

A.M. Hunter[47] also stands within this 'theological' tradition for he can argue that the letter is 'orbi' - to the world, as well as 'urbi' - to the city. The physical occasion of Paul's planned visit to Rome and his further planned missionary work in Spain is secondary to Paul's intention in this letter to provide, "a full and careful exposition of his gospel and an apologia for the principles and methods of the Gentile mission".[48] Romans is the least occasional, polemical, pastoral and exhortatory of all the Pauline letters, for again, it is "a deliberate exposition of the deepest principles of Christianity as he knew them".[49]

In spite of Hunter's stress on the full and careful and deliberate nature of Paul's exposition in Romans when it comes to chapters 9 - 11 it appears that the reason why they are here is not especially visible. Hunter can be unique in the stress he gives to their 'detached' quality and he does not give any real explanation as to why Paul thought to include them.

Within this tradition of seeing Romans as a theological work stands C.K. Barrett,[50] for the letter is "the apostle's greatest

piece of sustained theological writing".[51] It is, moreover, "Paul's exposition of 'his' Gospel to the Gentile churches which had come into existence independently of his own efforts".[52] We are presented in Romans with Paul thinking and stating the theology of his Gentile mission and rethinking a great many of his own presuppositions, especially those concerning eschatology and the law which he inherited from his own Jewish background. Chapters 9 - 11 find their place in the letter for theological rather than occasional or psychological reasons, for they are deeply concerned with "the character and deeds of God",[53] and as such they are of a piece with other parts of the letter which also speak to this central theme. In so far as they have an historical cause or occasion then the cause is not so much in the present situation of the Roman church as the, by now, universal historical fact of Israel's rejection of the Gospel in Christ and in the apostolic preaching.

Earlier we spoke of Matthew Black's support for those who would see part of the occasion for Paul writing in his impending visit to Jerusalem, but so great is the danger and fear that Black suggests Paul may be experiencing at this point in his ministry that what we really have in Romans is his 'last will and testament'- (The description of the letter in these terms was perhaps first found in the work of G. Bornkamm.)[54] Black contends that Romans is "his final literary and theological testimony to the world, the supreme apologia pro vita et doctrina sua, the classic exposition of the 'Gentile Gospel', the 'Gospel according to St. Paul', his liberal faith for the Gentile world".[55] Black argues that these chapters (which possibly existed in a form before their inclusion in the complete letter - so also Dodd), are part of Romans for theological reasons; they are "a natural, logical and necessary extension of the main argument".[56]

Many of the foregoing views are rehearsed by our final commentator within the period under review, C.E.B. Cranfield,[57]

who devotes a special additional essay to Paul's Purpose or Purposes in writing Romans.[58] He immediately eschews any singleness of purpose on Paul's part preferring to see "a complex of purposes and hopes".[59] Some of these relate specifically to the Roman Church, to Paul's proposed visit to Rome, to his desire to seek their support in his present and proposed situations. Paul intended Romans as a specific letter to a specific congregation, yet it is also self-introductory, and explanatory of his own apostleship to the Gentiles. Behind the letter we can indeed see a retrospective process of thought in which Paul, at relative leisure, is drawing upon 20 years of experience. His proposed visit to Jerusalem before his going to Rome is also there in his thinking, for Cranfield accepts, like those others who spoke of Jerusalem above, and to some extent following Käsemann, that there are "probable connections between the Jewish Christian part of the Roman Christian community and the church in Jerusalem".[60]

Similarly the situation of the Roman church itself, as a large, influential cosmopolitan company also influences the nature of Paul's writing. Each of these specifics can be detected exercising some influence over particular aspects of the letter's content. Yet over all of this, Cranfield urges us to see in Romans a Pauline summary of the gospel which allowed "the inner logic of the gospel as he understood it, itself to determine, at any rate for the most part, the structure and contents of what was now going to be the main body of his letter".[61] It would be wrong to speak only or solely of this logic of the gospel as the determining factor, but for Cranfield it is the "absolutely indispensable" key towards any comprehensive or objective understanding.

It is, however, to this logic of the gospel and not to "Paul's personal emotional strains and stresses" that we owe the inclusion of 9 - 11. He rejects the powerful and recent Continental voices

(e.g. Stendahl, see below ch. 10), who have again suggested that 9 - 11 are the heart of the letter, just as he rejects those who lay the whole of their understanding upon the uncovering of the specific situation in Rome. A final example of Cranfield's judgement occurs in the way that he comments on Käsemann's[62] suggestion that Paul's motivation in Romans is an attempt to win Jewish Christian support for both his visits to Jerusalem and to Rome. The evidence which Käsemann offers represents for Cranfield a body of material that does not, of itself, constitute a motivation but rather are the evidences to be "explained as arising directly and necessarily from Paul's understanding of the gospel itself".[63] It is clear that Cranfield's stress on the 'logic of the gospel' as the real reason for the inclusion of chapters 9 - 11, also prevents him from assigning to them a special status. If we are looking for neat overall patterns, then we might talk in Hegelian terms of Cranfield offering at this point the synthesis of the two, - thesis/antithesis -, views that we have discovered. Theology is rarely as simple as that. Arguments involving questions of occasion and purpose are, however, likely to be circular. The letter is its own evidence for its occasion and purpose. Yet, it is possible to bring to the letter some knowledge, however scant, of the historical circumstances of its author and its likely readers. The one group might see the letter primarily as a theological work, unrelated to any specific situation. The other group might see the letter as 'occasional', specific and wholly to be understood in an historical setting.

The strength of the first group is that they begin with the text and proceed by careful exegesis; the strength of the second group is that they do not pretend that there can be true exegesis without a proper 'pre-understanding'. The weakness of the one group is that the adjective 'theological' carries a certain arbitrary quality, and it might appear far less theological were

we to have more knowledge, as Scott suggested. The weakness of the other group is that our evidence outside Romans is not great and that much reconstruction is called for, much guesswork.

Does historical context always govern theology? Is all theology rightly seen as occasional? Or does theology have a logic and a momentum of its own which makes it stand apart from and above all history able to speak to all situations alike? These questions sound a little like the questions that govern the whole of theological debate within the Twentieth Century as Barth meets Bultmann, Mascall meets Nineham. Or is there a middle way?

It is perhaps appropriate that we should conclude this survey with some reference to the latest discussion of this problem offered in an essay by John Drane.[64] We might first notice that Drane manages to answer this question with little or no reference to the material of chapters 9 - 11 (save in his reference to the Baur thesis). As is appropriate in an essay presented to Bruce, Drane underlines Bruce's work about the constitution of the Roman church. He accepts that it began as wholly Jewish, became (following the expulsion of the Jews) wholly Gentile, and finished mixed and troubled as the Jews returned. He also accepts the thesis recurrent in post - 1960 writing of our period that the Jewish community in Rome and the Christian community at the time of Paul were both very mixed and disparate; Roman Christians were in all probability "a very strange collection of congregations".[65]

Drane, in general, believes that "the burden of proof lies squarely with those who would argue that Romans is concerned with specific circumstances in the Roman church".[66] For him, the letter is basically a piece of theological reflection which is both retrospective and forward looking; here is a middle way. It looks back and reflects upon, not only Paul's Galatian experience, but more especially his Corinthian one; it is a reformulation of that teaching (Galatians) as Paul now saw it through the spectacles of

his experience at Corinth. "What we have in this, his magnum opus, is therefore a conscious effort to convince himself, as well as his opponents, that it is possible to articulate a theology which is at once anti-legalistic without also being intrinsically anti-nomian".[67] He thus belongs to that group of scholars, who might now be said to be dominant, who find the 'Sitz im leben' for Romans in Paul's own apostolic consciousness and circumstances. Romans also looks forward to his visit to Jerusalem and represents Paul's defence of his gospel to this audience. The letter is thus occasional up to a point, the occasion being found only secondarily in Paul's knowledge of or intending visit to Rome.

Earlier in his essay, Drane had written after his first look at the opposing possibilities, "It is not at all easy to choose between the various alternatives that have been put forward, and perhaps at this point in time it is not possible to reach a definitive answer to the question raised".[68] This reads a little like a counsel of despair, which unfortunately Drane's essay, because of its lack of an exegetical base, does little to dispel. His own conclusions give us some idea of the consensus view at the end of our period and do indeed represent a somewhat British 'middle way'.

Perhaps the answer might lie in the suggestion that some parts of Romans have one Sitz im leben and are directed towards one audience whilst other parts come from a different background and have a different destination; to the question of the integrity of the letter we must now turn.

Chapter 2.

Literary and Theological Integrity

There is an a priori argument that suggests that any who take Romans to have the character of a theological apologia are also bound to speak of its integrity as a literary and intellectual whole and thus to judge that chapters 9 - 11 will have a secure place within the structure and the argument of the letter.

The situation turns out to be more complex, although it is true that Barrett and Cranfield, for example, do reveal this consistency, arguing that although chapter 9 may begin a new theme within the letter there are close links between it and chapters 1 - 8, and between it and chapters 10, 11 and 12. For Barrett, there is an observable theological link in that "chs. i-viii are not so much concerned with an 'experience of salvation' as with the character and deeds of God who is the source of salvation".[69] It is precisely the character and deeds of this same God now active in Election, to which Paul turns in chapters 9 - 11. Similarly, there is a close link between the section as a whole and the chapters which follow. It is true that chapter 12 begins a section of ethical teaching rather than dogmatic exposition, but, for Paul, dogmatics must always issue in ethical action and all the best ethical teaching rests upon a secure dogmatic foundation. Moreover, the actual words of 12.1 with their inclusion of the particle, οὖν , and their references to the 'mercies of God' demonstrate how close 9 - 11, and ch. 12f. are in the mind of Paul, "For 'the mercies of God' form a not inadequate summary of what is contained in chs. i-xi, and especially in chs. ix-xi".[70] Moreover, the whole section 9 - 11 clearly flows from chapters 1 - 8 in that a section which speaks of the invincible love of God given to sinful man of necessity raises the question, Does this invincible love extend

to the Jews who have apparently rejected the Gospel? Between chapters 1 - 8 and chapters 9 - 11 there is an unexpressed link, the historic fact of Israel's rejection of the Gospel, but the link is real and necessary. Barrett can sum up his position thus, "It is an error to isolate chapters 9 - 11 from the Epistle as a whole...it is an integral part of the Epistle as we have it, and part, though a relatively independent part, of the argument of the whole".[71]

Very similar views are held by Cranfield, who on this last matter can write, "there are very many features of chapters 1 - 8 which are not understood in full depth until they are seen in the light of chapters 9 - 11".[72] There are observable links in subject matter, and it is clear that the teaching of the earlier chapters demands a treatment of the case of the Jews. He makes the point that chapter 12 does not so naturally follow upon chapter 8 as some commentators suppose, and that chapters 1 - 11 form a much better theological expression of Paul's gospel than chapters 1 - 8 alone. Although writing in a much smaller compass, Barclay reiterates these judgements.

But the view that Romans is a 'seamless whole' is not confined to that group of scholars, who, in terms of our previous division take the letter to be theological rather than occasional. Best, for example, can very strongly stress that Romans is not to be taken as a pure theological expression of Paul's, or anybody else's, Christianity,[73] and yet conclude that too much credence should not be given to those who notice a dislocation at the beginning of chapter 9. Indeed chapter 8 has prepared a position which could lead to chapter 12, but there are still things to be said, building upon earlier material in 1.17 and 4.3 (the Old Testament and its use by Christians) and earlier sections such as 3.3-4 which demand a more thorough treatment. Taken together, these considerations should make us realise that,

whatever it may seem like, chapters 9 - 11 are not taking us into entirely new territory and that certainly there are no theological incompatibilities to be discerned.

E.F. Scott was another commentator who stressed the nature of Romans as a personal letter, rather than a theological treatise in epistolary form. Yet for him too, the Epistle is one with itself from beginning to end. The basic emphasis of the whole letter is an emphasis on the universality of the gospel and this is to be found stressed inside and outside chapters 9 - 11.

Roger Bowen also finds the theological centre of gravity of the letter in Paul's exposition of and plea for Unity and Reconciliation, with consequent argument as to why disunities and rivalries are ruled out by the Gospel. The recognition of this accounts for the inclusion by Paul of two long passages (9 - 11 and 14.1-15.13) which some modern scholars have found both difficult and irrelevant. Like others, he sees that the theme of Jewish disobedience to the gospel threatens the whole argument of chapters 1 - 8 and therefore needs to be raised at this point. Similarly, he points to the way in which the chapters take up earlier issues. The true climax of the letter is to be found at 11.36, and again he notes the theme word, 'mercy' which connects 9 - 11 with chapters 12f.

Campbell, T.W. Manson, Bruce, O'Neill, Griffith all take this first view and see these chapters as intrinsically connected theologically with what precedes and succeeds, the whole of 1 - 11 making what T.W. Manson calls "a calm vindication of the adequacy of Paul's gospel".[74] It is interesting to see that this group who argue for the integrity of the letter is drawn from scholars who, at other points, would take very different judgements from one another.

It was, however, C.H. Dodd who, in 1932, began what has developed into an alternative view of the relationship between chapters 9 - 11 and the rest of the letter. What Dodd wrote was first of all that, in his opinion, the letter could be read through leaving out chapters 9 - 11, "without any sense of a gap in the sequence of thought".[75] For Dodd, the chapters were a previously existing tract or sermon, much used by Paul, and much reused in his debates with Jewish Christians and no doubt with Jews also. Dodd's position can, however, be overstated. It is one thing to suggest that certain chapters are not necessary for the proper development of an argument or train of thought, it is quite another to suggest that they do not in fact contribute to the argument when once in place, or worse that in some way they contradict it. Dodd does not make this latter jump, indeed like those in our first group he could speak of definite links with earlier material. Paul, suggests Dodd, would have made much more of 3.1-9, had he not known of the availability of the substance of chapters 9 - 11. Similar Pauline methods of Scriptural exegesis to those found in 9 - 11 are found in chapter 4, and it was Dodd, who first in our period, spoke of the 'mercy' link between chapters 9 - 11 and chapter 12. It is true that Dodd argues that any results gained in the argument of chapters 9 - 11 are not taken up in what follows, but perhaps the best way of encapsulating his view is that he sees 9 - 11 as a kind of cleaning-up operation, so that when Paul reaches chapter 12 he can rest content that "Outstanding theological problems have now been disposed of and Paul can proceed to the subject to which he was leading up in chapters v-viii".[76] It would be inappropriate to leave Dodd without a fuller quotation of his conclusion which has been much repeated and used as evidence. Dodd wrote, "In other words, chaps. ix-xi do not constitute a mere interpolation; though, on the other hand, they were very likely not written currente calamo with the rest of the epistle, but represent a somewhat earlier piece of work, incorporated here wholesale to save a busy man's time and trouble in writing on the subject afresh".[77]

Dodd's conclusion is repeated much later by John Robinson. But it was to reappear first in the commentary of Kirk. There is a sense in which Kirk's work is a reductio ad absurdum of Dodd's own position; for Kirk argues that the whole of Romans has behind it a series of essays, sermons, addresses and that more than one is incorporated by Paul into the finished whole.

This is of a piece with Kirk's view of the letter (reflected in the style and shape of his own commentary) as a series of general topics, drawn from Paul's past experience and put together in a single creative act which was nevertheless punctuated at several points by fresh additions and afterthoughts. "Romans as a theological scrap-book" might be too much of a caricature of Kirk's position but it captures something of his view which can clearly be seen to be an extension of Dodd's own comments on chapters 9 - 11. Like Dodd, he can speak of 'preparations' for 9 - 11 in earlier chapters, particularly in 8.28-30, for here Kirk detects, "the emphatic use of Predestinationist language"... which heralds..."the approach of the full length discussion of the problem in chapters 9 - 11".[78] Chapters 9 - 11 are not themselves wholes but include their own digressions or afterthoughts, e.g. (9.30-10.13 and 10.14-10.21), which leads to Kirk's own conclusion on the whole of 9 - 11, "St. Paul decided to append it, as a very necessary completion to his account of the operations of God's grace; and that in doing so he inserted (rather at haphazard) the warning to the Gentiles, for local reasons of which we know nothing, and the indictment of the Jews, to prevent any Jewish reader making capital out of the occasional phrases which suggest that Israel's apostacy was after all predestined".[79] Perhaps the important phrase in all of this is, "as a very necessary completion", for Kirk undoubtedly believes that Paul would not have dropped Predestinationist hints earlier in his letter were he not willing, even by the use of old material, to offer a more detailed account.

So we have seen that Dodd's own views are, in a sense, 'open-ended' in that they can inspire a view which threatens to make chapters 9 - 11 redundant, but equally a view which sees them as performing a necessary completion and enlargement operation.

The commentator who possibly comes closest to rendering chapters 9 - 11 redundant is A.M. Hunter. Perhaps that was not his intention, but the evidence of his commentary, albeit a slight one, could be so taken. In his critical analysis of the Letter given on p.16 he omits chapters 9 - 11 from the analysis. He divides the letter into Five Sections, Section III is given as 3.21-8.39, Section IV as 12.1-15.3. Chapters 9 - 11 are simply not there. The omission is partially remedied by his later almost verbatim repetition of Dodd's conclusions about the independent and homiletic nature of the material, but again when on pp.19-22 we are offered an introductory résumé of the thought of the letter, there is again omission of all reference to the thought of 9 - 11. He later repeats his view that the chapters have the character of an 'insert', which structurally stands apart. "Chapters 9 - 11...stand apart and make a unity in themselves. They can be read and understood independently".[80]

In the preceding discussion of questions of 'destination, audience and purpose', we saw that in a sense, Cranfield was the synthesis between two otherwise distinct groups of scholars. In our present discussion the same function falls to Matthew Black, for he both reinforces Dodd's views and yet makes powerful claims for the epistle's theological integrity. That he stands, in this respect, in 'the Dodd tradition', is revealed by his comment that there is a consensus that "Chapters 9 - 11 are regarded as a kind of appendix, dealing with the problem of the final destiny of the ethnic Israel, so obdurately resistant to the appeal of the gospel".[81] He reinforces Dodd's own view that

the section is compact, "possibly an incorporated diatribe or missionary sermon, distinctive in style as in content from 1-8".[82] But he can add to this judgement the additional comment "It is, however, a natural, logical and necessary extension of the main argument".[83] He notes links with material at 1.16, 2.9 and particularly 3.1f., and argues that, theologically, there are major thematic links between the material of 9 - 11 and that of 5 - 8; both, for example, exhibit a similar concern for "the societary aspect of 'salvation'".[84] It was Dodd who had first suggested that in style 9 - 11 resembled a Stoic Diatribe; this recognition allowed Dodd to go someway as we have seen towards detaching the chapters from their setting. Black maintains the judgement about differences of style, but reverses all sense that the chapters are a theological interpolation.

Now, at the end of this 50 year period, we might want to reverse Black's judgement that 9 - 11 are, by consensus, a kind of appendix. It is doubtful if it was true, even in 1973 when it was first made. In fact, the period 1930 - 1980 divides into two almost exactly equal halves in this discussion of the letter's integrity. We might call 1930 - 1957, The Age of Dodd, whose judgements on this, as on so many things, carried the day, and reached their crispest definition in the work of Hunter. But at the centre of the period came the Commentary of Barrett, which began a Post-Dodd Age, to which all subsequent commentators including Black belong. On this issue of the theological integrity of the Letter, the consensus now runs against Dodd's initial judgement. Yet it is to Dodd that we return as now in the third area of enquiry we examine his contention that chapters 9 - 11 exhibit a different literary and theological style from the rest of the letter, that they are akin to an incorporated Stoic Diatribe.

Chapter 3.

Literary and Theological Style; Paul's Use of the Old Testament

The very concept of 'style' has about it a vagueness which can induce in a commentator the all too common habit of making unsupported generalisations; it will therefore be prudent to begin with the following appendix of statistical facts which particularly demonstrate Paul's use of the Old Testament in our chapters. Statistics too, can, of course induce generalisations and therefore the following information is presented with little comment at this stage. The material is readily available and has been drawn in this instance from the text, apparatus and indices of The Greek New Testament, UBS Third Edition, 1975, ed. Aland & Black et al.

Chapter Nine (Direct quotations from the Old Testament number some 12 out of 33 verses (36.3%) and are as follows:

9.7	Gen. 21.12
9.9	Gen. 18.10.14
9.12-13	Gen. 25.23, Mal. 1.2-3
9.15	Ex. 33.19
9.17	Ex. 9.16
9.25	Hos. 2.23
9.26	Hos. 1.10
9.27	Isa. 10.22-23
9.28	Hos. 1.10
9.29	Isa. 1.9
9.33	Isa. 28.16

To these quotations we can add those verses and quotations which seem to offer literary or verbal allusions; e.g.

9.3	Ex. 32.32
9.4	Ex. 4.22, Dt. 7.6, Dt. 14.1-2
9.5	Ps. 41.13
9.6	Nu. 23.19

9.10 Gen. 25.21

9.14 Dt. 32.4

9.18 Ex. 4.21, Ex. 7.3, Ex. 9.12, Ex.14.14, Ex. 14.17

9.20 Isa. 29.16, Isa. 45.9, Wis. 12.12

9.21 Jer. 18.6, Wis. 15.7

9.22 Jer. 50.25

9.31 Wis. 2.11

9.32 Isa. 8.14

If all these allusions and quotations are upheld then we can say that of the total number of verses in chapter 9, (i.e. 33), only 9 do not contain either a direct or an indirect reference to the Old Testament. 72.8% of the verses do contain such a reference.

Chapter 10 (Direct quotations from the Old Testament number some 12 out of 22 verses (54.5%) and are as follows:

10.5 Lev. 18.5

10.6-8 Dt. 9.4, Dt. 30.12-14

10.11 Isa. 28.16

10.13 Joel 2.32

10.15 Isa. 52.7

10.16 Isa. 53.1

10.18 Ps. 19.4

10.19 Dt. 32.21

10.20 Isa. 65.1

10.21 Isa. 65.2 LXX

There are no verses listed which offer a verbal or literary allusion and the total is therefore as above, i.e. 12 verses out of 22, 54.5%

Chapter 11 (Direct quotations from the Old Testament number some 9 verses out of the total of 36 (25%) and are as follows:

11.3 1Kgs. 19.10.14

11.4 1Kgs. 19.18

11.8 Dt. 29.4, Isa. 29.10

11.9-10 Ps. 69.22-23

11.26-7 Isa. 59.20-21

11.34 Isa. 40.13 LXX

11.35 Job 41.11

To these direct quotations we can add the following list of possible allusions:

11.1-2 1Sam. 12.22, Ps. 94.14

11.11 Dt. 32.21

11.16 Nu. 15.17-21, Neh. 10.37, Ezek. 44.30

11.27 Isa. 27.9, Jer. 31.33-34

11.33 Isa. 44.15, Isa. 55.8

11.34 Isa. 40.13, Job 15.8, Jer. 23.18

This offers us a total of some 14 verses out of the possible 36 which have a direct or indirect Old Testament reference, 39%. The evidence suggests therefore that something over half of all the verses which make up Romans chs. 9 - 11 contain an Old Testament Reference, (conservatively, 50 verses out of 90, i.e. 55.5%). If we go on to ask from which Old Testament Books most of the references come, then the following information can be assembled.

Direct References are taken from, Genesis (3), Exodus (2), Leviticus (1), Deuteronomy (4), 1Kings (2), Hosea (3), Joel (1), Isaiah - all parts, I/II/and III (10), Malachi (1), Psalms (2), Job (1). Indirect References are taken from Genesis (1), Exodus (8), Deuteronomy (4), Numbers (2), 1Samuel (1), Isaiah (7), Jeremiah (4), Nehemiah (1), Ezekiel (1), Job (1), Psalms (2) and Wisdom (3).

It is possible that these figures could be taken immediately to suggest that chs. 9 - 11 are distinct from the rest of the epistle in their Old Testament character. One additional piece of information which might be useful is a comparison of these three chapters with three other chapters in the Letter. I have

chosen chapters 2,3, and 4, for such a comparison, because of their potentially similar subject matter and discover that in general terms and concentrating on direct quotation in sentences, chapter 2 contains only 3.4% Old Testament quotation, (1 verse out of the total of 29); chapter 3 contains 32.2% of Old Testament quotation, (10 verses out of a total of 31); and chapter 4 contains a percentage total of 29.1%, (some 7 verses from the total number of 24). 33 verses of Romans 9 - 11 contain direct quotation as against 18 from the total of 84 in chapters 2-4. There is no question then that chapters 9 - 11 are, in some sense remarkable for the use they make of Old Testament quotation. The exact significance of this is the problem to which we must now turn. One further factual observation about the statistics for 9 - 11 is perhaps demanded. It is clear that taking the direct quotations Paul has a preference for material drawn from the Pentateuch and from the prophet Isaiah, with other miscellaneous prophetic material making up the bulk of the remainder. A similar pattern is shown by the indirect quotation material with the addition of some allusions drawn from the Wisdom strand of Old Testament writing. Whether or not this tells us something about Paul's own relationship to the Old Testament literature, or whether it is simply to be accounted for by reference to the substance and content of the argument in 9 - 11 is a question we should expect the commentator to consider.

Dodd observes that chs. 9 - 11 reveal a detailed exposition of particular passages of Scripture, which is only to be paralleled in Romans in chapter 4, and in the letter to the Galatians. In this exposition it is Dodd's contention that Paul is following characteristically Jewish and rabbinic methods of argument from Scripture. Dodd does not provide a great deal of evidence for this conjecture, although he does suggest that the section 10.5-21 reveals a rabbinic and talmudic usage and that 11.17f. represents Paul offering "an argument from Scripture

quite in the Rabbinic manner".[85] So we have a first question. How does Paul's use of Scripture relate to the contemporary Jewish usage?

Dodd, however, offers two other lines of understanding. One of the most influential is his suggestion that the style of these chapters owes something to the contemporary style of the Stoic diatribe, as evidenced by the work of Epictetus. Such a style reveals itself in the "conversational note" of the writing; it is "distinguished by a familiar and lively interchange of question and answer, ironical apostrophe and personal appeal".[86] Dodd offers various pieces of evidence to support his contention, seeing, for example, the opening sentences of each chapter, 9.1-5, 10.1-2 and 11.1f. as evidence of that "personal appeal". Questions from hidden objectors can be sensed behind the writing that begins at 9.6 and at 10.5. Evidence of the "conversational note" and the corresponding looseness of argument that goes with conversation, as opposed to tighter theological writing, is sensed by Dodd in the whole of Paul's argument with begins at 9.17. This, for Dodd, is ad hominem argument and he can characterise it as poor thinking. In all of this one can see what Dodd is getting at, but the parallels which he draws between the chapters and extant written Stoic diatribe, such as that of Epictetus, are surely too general and too few to substantiate any real designation of these chapters as belonging to this particular genre. It may be that Dodd was hampered here by the scope of the Moffatt commentaries, but, in fact, it is doubtful if Dodd himself really meant to convey this impression, for as we shall see he has far more to say about the originality of Paul and of his writing, than he has about its dependence upon any known literary form. So, for example, in that same passage, 10.5f. which begins with a hidden Jewish question, Dodd sees Paul developing a scriptural argument which enables him to distinguish

different strata within the Old Testament material, specifically making the distinction between legalistic material such as that presented in the Levitical Code and the more inward and spiritual demands of Deuteronomy.[87] Later, Dodd extends this to a comment on Paul's general selection of his Old Testament material, in which he claims that the apostle basically selects pre-exilic and especially II-Isaianic material because he believes himself to be "fighting the battle of prophetic idealism afresh".[88] In these intriguing comments, Dodd has, however, raised two further questions for us; Is Paul dependent in his style upon previously existing hellenistic or Jewish models? How original is the apostle in his selection and use of Old Testament material in these chapters?

At other points, Dodd seems to be suggesting that Paul is standing not so much in a rabbinic tradition, nor yet in a Stoic or hellenistic tradition, as in a developing Christian tradition. Like other Christian thinkers and writers of his period, Paul believes that the Old Testament contains Christian doctrine in veiled form, which, therefore, enables him to interpret Old Testament texts christologically and, as at 10.12, to apply to Christ as kurios passages which first spoke of God as Lord. Dodd further outlines what remains a much debated theory, namely that at certain points in his writing, Paul uses combinations of Old Testament passages "probably made before Paul wrote",[89] possibly part of collections of Old Testament proof texts originally compiled by Christians in their conversations with Jews. In doing this, Paul was "appealing, not to the authority of Scripture in a general way, but to a particular application of Scripture which was already traditional in the Church, and would be recognised by Jewish Christians".[90] The suggestion, which receives its strongest support from the combination of texts found at 9.32-33, in which Christ is thought of as The Stone, is perhaps more important than the limited issue of whether or not there ever were such written collections, Testimony Books, as Rendell Harris

had previously suggested.[91] The more important issue, is whether or not there was a distinctively Christian tradition of the application of Scripture established by the time of Paul upon which he could draw. These many suggestions of Dodd are tentative but no less stimulating for that. Each of them, however, needs a more detailed and careful examination than any of them are able to receive within the scope of the Romans commentary. Fortunately, this latter question about a develping Christian tradition of scriptural interpretation is one question to which Dodd himself returned in his, According to the Scriptures, 1952.

On the question of Testimony Books, in this later work, it is clear that Dodd no longer wishes, if indeed he ever had so wished, to assert that there were such written collections of single proof texts. Rather does he now want to talk about assumed uses by Christians of certain parts of scripture. There are, by the time of Paul, existing traditions of the application of certain parts of the Old Testament Scripture to certain parts of the Christ event, certain aspects of the basic Christian kerygma. Such an assumed usage is to be sensed behind Paul's application of the Isaiah Remnant passage at 9.27; another is Paul's use of the Joel 2.32a LXX quotation at 10.13, in the middle of a whole section of Midrash. Here Paul is "working largely with passages from the Old Testament already current as testimonia".[92] This is again clearly seen at 9.33, where Dodd notes that the combination of passages from Isaiah 8 and 28, also found similarly combined at 1 Peter 2.6,8, is evidence not for borrowing but rather for the simpler and more probable hypothesis "that both Paul and the author of 1 Peter made use of a twofold testimonium, already current in the pre-canonical tradition in a version differing somewhat from the LXX".[93] He can go on to develop this hypothesis with the suggestion that in place of collections of proof texts we should imagine the early and general recognition by the christian community that

there were parts of the Old Testament particularly appropriate as sources from which testimonia could be drawn. Such a part would be Isaiah chs. 6-9, for example. Indeed by the time of Paul, he envisages an Isaiah cycle which included isolated pericopae as well as whole chapter sections, from which testimonia were drawn. Other pieces of Isaiah material were the pericopae, Isa. 10.22-23, accordingly used by Paul at Romans 9.27-29; yet another would be Isa. 29.9-14 again used by Paul this time at 11.8, for "There is some reason to infer that this pericope was in the early church brought together with other prophecies of the contumacy of Israel, which were employed especially in relation to the argument about the extension of the Gospel from the Jews to the Gentiles".[94] For all this apparent dependence of the apostle on a Christian Tradition, Dodd can nevertheless continue to point to examples of the Apostle's originality in interpretation. The general tradition of applying certain parts of the Old Testament scriptures to corresponding events in the Christian kerygma seems to be established, but within this, the apostle has his contribution to make, as, for example, his application of material drawn from Deuteronomy 30.12-13 at Romans 10.6-10. At other points, Dodd suggests that Paul's contribution was to use Scripture not merely for example or illustration but rather as integral parts of his argument. There is the suggestion that where Paul's writing is loose and ad hominem, then the reason is that, here, he is relying on the common inherited, but as yet somewhat loose, tradition of scriptural use and exegesis, common to him and his Jewish Christian opponents. Paul thus both inherits but also takes forward a distinctively Christian tradition of interpretation.

Dodd is sure that in all of this Romans 9 - 11 is a crucial example of these processes at work, for here we have detailed examples of the general exegetical method. "The method is to take certain passages of Scripture, to examine them in relation

to a broad context, and to determine their meaning and application to the existing situation by comparison with other passages from Scripture".[95] Presupposed behind this is thorough biblical research, which once begun proceeds with a logic of its own and the total aim is to open up "a genuinely historical understanding of the Gospel facts in relation to their antecedents in the history of Israel".[96] This pre-Pauline tradition proceeds, suggests Dodd, on the understanding that the Church was the new 'Israel of God'; the early Christian community had an eschatological self-understanding which made it the successor to the Jewish Community of old. In all of this the use of the Old Testament played an enormous part, but it was used as <u>whole</u> units, even if, on occasion, isolated texts could be quoted to conjure up known wholes. So, for example, the whole of Isa. chs. 6-9 could be brought to mind by the quotation of Isa. 10.22-23. The early Christians, Paul amongst them, were not using the Old Testament as a quarry for proof texts which were to find their historical fulfilment in the Christian age, but rather were they using it as a series of whole contexts which revealed permanent elements in God's revelation. The original contexts, although in one sense important, were not held to be normative, and part of Paul's originality was to use his reason and imagination in developing their possible interpretation. But behind it all was the unmovable faith that the testimonies of the Old Testament and the events of the Kerygma were specifically related and the whole of Paul's and the early church's use of the Old Testament was an attempt to make clear this relationship.

As ever with Dodd, this is immensely stimulating material, but it raises important and unanswered questions. Even given Dodd's account of this developing Christian tradition of exegesis, at what point in the story does St. Paul really enter and how original was his contribution to or use of this inherited way? It is a case of the Chicken and the Egg; which really came first,

the Apostle or the Tradition of Exegesis? At a number of points there is a disturbing potential circularity about Dodd's thinking. The linking of the two Isaiah quotations at 9.33 is an ambiguous piece of evidence. It may be taken as evidence of pre-Pauline Christian exegesis; on the other hand there would be no need to suppose anything other than that this is the work of the apostle unless we were working with a presupposition that behind Paul there is an early Christian tradition of biblical usage. The circularity extends to the larger elements in Dodd's thesis. Between Romans (1932) and According to the Scriptures (1952) stands The Apostolic Preaching and its Development.[97] Dodd's whole understanding of what it was that early Christian exegetes and Paul were attempting is related to his understanding of the development and use made of an early Christian kerygmatic outline. This is not the place to examine this hypothesis, but simply to note that in a sense Dodd's work offers a structure of inter-connecting hypotheses, each one of which depends to a lesser or greater extent upon one of the other elements for its own defence. Perhaps this is inevitable in dealing with a period (before Paul) for which we have no written evidence, but it does sometimes appear to lead to extensive hypotheses being constructed on slender and ambiguous evidence. The evidence which Dodd offers and then to an extent withdraws, about the hellenistic diatribe nature of chs. 9 - 11, is itself an example. Much of the argument is general, referring to 'conversational' tone or to 'question and answer' form. No doubt such stylistic features were part of Stoic diatribe, but they are perhaps all far too common features of much general conversation to bear the characterisation that Dodd offers.

Throughout the period under review, we find echoes of Dodd's conclusions presented as almost assured fact. D.E.H. Whiteley in his much used, The Theology of St. Paul,[98] can conclude that Paul's use of the Old Testament is not greatly to be distinguished

from that made by other Christian interpreters of his day; he too talks of " a common Christian tradition of O.T. quotation and exegesis which St. Paul shared with the other N.T. writers".[99] Similarly F.F. Bruce in his commentary comment on 9.33 describes the combination of texts which we find there as "a commonplace of early Christian apologetic, and is in fact pre-Pauline".[100]

Equally, Dodd's contentions about the diatribe style of 9 - 11 particularly, together with his conclusion that therefore this material is 'borrowed' from former conversations and encounters between the apostle and Jewish opponents are to reappear throughout our period, often as unquestioned or unsupported accepted positions. One further example would be an introductory paragraph of E.K. Lee's, A Study in Romans, 1962, where Dodd's position is again simply repeated.[101]

The only major work on Romans between Dodd's own 1932 commentary and his According to the Scriptures, 1952, is the 1937 commentary of Kirk. There is little evidence in Kirk's commentary of the direct influence of Dodd's work; indeed on three out of the four occasions on which Kirk refers to Dodd he refers to Dodd's earlier work, The Bible and the Greeks.[102] Kirk does accept that in his use of the Old Testament, Paul was following a common Christian pattern, but the pattern he was following was the crude and basic one of ransacking the Old Testament for texts to illustrate and clinch his arguments. In this respect, Kirk can talk of Paul's use of the Pharaoh material at Roms. 9.7-18 as "singularly effective", and of the use of Psalm 19.4 at Roms. 10.18 as "wholly legitimate". Kirk is not always able to approve of the Apostle's usage, however, for the use which Paul makes of the Hosea quotations at 9.25,26 is "wholly illegitimate" and he can chastise the apostle for often ignoring the original context of the material which he is using. It is "just possible" that occasionally an Old Testament paragraph may have behind it a principle which the apostle sees

as relevant to a later situation, but clearly Paul can overstep the mark as he does, for Kirk, in the allusive quality of his quotations at Roms. 10.6-8. Clearly most, if not all, of the issues which Dodd raises do not find their solution in Kirk, for whom Paul's use of the Old Testament is a relatively peripheral aspect of his literary style. Kirk, with a magisterial, not to say episcopal, finality can conclude, "On the whole his use of the Old Testament is singularly reasonable and restrained, and often highly effective in its suggestiveness".[103] Unfortunately, the restraint of Kirk's own thinking about our present topic takes us little further.

Things are quite other when we come to the work of Barrett, who, in both his Commentary and later essay, The Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New,[104] much more thoroughly takes up the agenda which Dodd has bequeathed. What, for instance, does Barrett say about Dodd's suggestions concerning the Stoic style of these chapters?

There are two areas in which Stoic writing and thought might have influenced the apostle; the one is the question of overall style and the other the issue of specific borrowings of language or thought. Barrett accepts that there are, in Romans, examples of Paul apparently borrowing Stoic terminology. He points to the phrase, τὰ μὴ καθήκοντα (RSV, improper conduct, Barrett, unseemly things) at 1.28; or again at 9.17 the apostle uses a Stoic metaphor, that of running a race, for the pursuing of the moral life. Or again there are Stoic echoes in the use of the phrase, τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν to be found at 12.1. Perhaps the most extensive example, and one which falls within 9 - 11, comes at the end in the concluding doxology, at 11.36; here Paul uses the formula phrase, ὅτι ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν Barrett concludes in all of this that we should not suppose that Paul is borrowing directly from the Stoics, still less influenced by Stoic thought, but rather that he was at all times offering

Biblical thought, well paralleled in the Old Testament, but borrowing an appropriate Stoic phrase which Paul had met with in and through its original usage in the Hellenistic synagogues.

What of Dodd's contention that in Romans 9 - 11 we have something couched in the style of the Stoic diatribe? Barrett also, consistently, talks of the "diatribe" style of parts of the letter, discovering it in the direct and vocative address to the reader, the ὦ ἄνθρωπε of 2.1, and again in the style of the paragraphs beginning at 3.1f., 4.1f., 6.1f., 7.7f., 8.31f., and within chapters 9 - 11 at 9.14f., and 11.19f. These sections of the letter reveal a general question and answer style, and often have beneath them the assumption of an opponent or an interjector. Barrett suggests that what we have in these relatively extensive instances is not so much an example of a literary form, as an unconscious recollection on the part of Paul of his many past debates in market place or hellenistic synagogue.[105] The thought and the use to which it is put is always Paul's, but, from time to time, the vocabulary is borrowed.

One very noticeable conclusion from this, if Barrett's examples are to be upheld, is the fact that Dodd was wrong to suggest, at least in respect of Stoic diatribe style, that Romans 9 - 11 is characteristically distinct from the rest of the letter. The style or vocabulary borrowings would seem to appear at many points throughout the letter and are by no means, exclusively, indeed not even mainly, to be found in chapters 9 - 11.

Within the text of the commentary, Barrett offers examples of the many and varied ways in which he believes Paul used Old Testament Scripture. There are simple uses, as for example, when Paul allows his own writing to be influenced by a Biblical quotation already in his mind. Thus the use of the Joel 2.32 quotation at 10.13 with its phrase, ὃς ἂν ἐπικαλέσηται τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου has its own echo in Paul's own ἐπικαλουμένους αὐτόν in the preceding verse. Barrett suggests that earlier,

at 10.6-7, we have an example of Paul using Scripture, here Deuteronomy 30, not "as a rigid proof of what he asserts, but as a rhetorical form".[106] It is rarely only rhetorical, however, for so often as in the case of 10.14f., a biblical quotation becomes for Paul the basis of a piece of subsequent reflection. It can begin an argument, be a vital step within one, (so at 10.15, quoting Isa. 52.7), or indeed function as a concluding summary, so the use of Isa. 65.1f., at the close of the same paragraph at 10.21.

In his use of Scripture, Paul can reflect rabbinic forms of speech as he does at 9.3, where although there is no direct quotation there is a strong echo of the Moses material, Exodus 32. He can use it as analogy, possibly reflecting that Pesher method, which recently we have seen was practised at Qumran. Paul's use of the Pharaoh story at 9.17f., might be in this manner. In doing this, Paul is allowing himself to interpret Scripture through the pattern of the Jesus event; a further example would be 9.25-29, where Paul draws parallels between the attitude of God in Hosea, the proclamation of a remnant in Isaiah, and the reduction of God's people to one in the seed which is Christ in his own time. It can work the other way, in a kind of typology, where Paul uses Scripture for the express purpose of delineating the character or pattern of God's activity (so 9.6 or 9.16,17), such that God and Scripture are one, the written word being personified. This leads Barrett to translate the λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφὴ of 9.17 by the phrase, For God in Scripture. He acknowledges, that the literal sense is simply Scripture but sees here this close identification.[107] There are examples too of Paul using Scripture for its predictive quality, such an instance is the section 9.30-33 which ends with the Stone passages.

What of Dodd's contentions about Testimonia? The two instances offered in support of the view that Paul was drawing

upon previously combined quotation material are the use made of the Isa. passages at 9.33 and the Isaiah combination at 11.26-27. Barrett's balance of judgement in the commentary seems to fall on the side of the suggestion that we have here original work of Paul. He accepts the possibility of a Testimony Book hypothesis but on balance can hint that, "Paul was not unfamiliar with the Old Testament, and it must be supposed that he knew what he was doing when he used the composite quotation... [108]...It may be (cf.ix.33) that Paul drew it from a Testimony Book, or that he himself, subconsciously perhaps, combined the two passages".[109] In his later essay, however, he tends a little the other way, writing, "it is at least a reasonable hypothesis (though it can hardly be more than this) that Paul and Peter independently drew upon a ready made collection of messianic texts, in which one subdivision was 'Christ the Stone".[110]

To a degree the comments in the commentary are hidden within the broader sweep of Barrett's exegesis; it is therefore helpful to have the later essay which from the beginning makes it clear that in talking of Paul's use of the Old Testament there are both questions of technique and perhaps more importantly questions of purpose. How it was that the apostle came to use the Old Testament in the way that he did is one issue, but <u>why</u> it was that he did so is another. Barrett accepts that in the time of Paul there are parallels to be drawn between the known rabbinic methods and styles of exegesis and those of the hellenistic rhetoricians, but we should not jump to the conclusion that here we have any slavish imitation. As in the case of Paul's use of Stoic vocabulary and style, the apostle's own freedom and originality are in no way prejudiced by the occasional echo. Barrett lays some stress on the new confidence and freedom with which he believes Paul and other early Christian commentators used their Old Testament material, suggesting that Qumran has revealed to us a Jewish exegetical tradition which predates the written rabbinic material

and which offers some parallel to Paul's usage. It was at Qumran that there appears to have developed a habit of writing down the present history of the believing community in the context of biblical interpretation; thus there was some belief that biblical prophecies were presently being fulfilled, but equally the Old Testament was interpreted from the present situation. This was primary; indeed it was so because of the eschatological belief that their own time was the End Time, when all things were as it were beginning to make sense. At Qumran we find the Pesher, - interpretation which freely takes the writers own situation as primary and can impose a present meaning on an historical text, with some disregard for its original context, and some free use of variant readings and the method of interpreting one passage of Scripture by another. Barrett suggests that we have an example of Paul employing this technique at Romans 10.6 which is loosely based upon Deut. 30.12. At other points too, Paul is revealed to stand in a rabbinic tradition; so we should see his use of introductory formulae for quotations or his habit of referring to Old Testament authors as both writing and speaking, (Romans 10.11, 9.27 and 10.20 - 'Isaiah cried out', 'Isaiah is so bold to say'). Paul like other Jews could use the (gezerah šawah) technique of quoting sentences together on the basis of a common verbal link.

In all of this, Paul is shown to be writing from his own Jewish Rabbinic background, but to be doing so with a new and growing freedom, already demonstrated in some parts of Judaism, such as Qumran.

There is, however, for Barrett, another reason why Paul transcended any tradition of interpretation which he inherited. Paul, like the rabbis, could draw moral regulations from Scripture (halakot), but for Paul, the authority of Scripture now no longer rested in itself, but rather rested in Christ. For Christ was the fulfilment and the completion of the Old Age and the old way

of regarding scripture (Romans 10.4). There was for Paul, as for other early Christian interpreters, this new and constant christological emphasis. To this must be added the historical context in which Paul found himself, a historical context which itself (cf. Qumran) carried a priority and gave an interpretative perspective.

Most of all was Paul concerned with the debate on the admission of Gentiles into the church; this context demanded that the Old Testament be used to provide a solid foundation, but it also led to Paul's feeling free to alter original meanings. Paul can use material from the prophet Hosea which did not originally apply to the Gentile mission or anything like it and make it do so. He could do so not because he was careless of misapplying Scripture but because he was able to see within the original scripture a principle that illuminated the present. In this instance, Paul could see the principle that God's people exist as they do, only by God's own mercy. This is the very same ground upon which, in Paul's view, Gentiles and Jews stand together in his own day. This combination of eschatological, historical and christological pressure led to this new and developing type of biblical exegesis. It led to the use of typology which for Barrett (following Nakagawa) meant looking for the recurrences of patterns, particularly patterns of divine activity. To an extent the christian authors, Paul amongst them, held to a view of inspiration which meant that they could see themselves as prophets, inspired enough to make these new understandings. (They were following the one who said, "You have heard it said of old, but I say to you"). They were not doing this, however, in an arrogant or modernist way, as if all the authority and value of the old Scriptures had vanished overnight.

For Barrett, Paul's use of Scripture reveals this paradox. The apostle clearly reverenced the Old Testament as authoritative,

indeed divine, but it had received its fulfilment and completion in Christ. Barrett comments, "This paradox lies at the heart of Christianity, and Paul is content to leave it with his readers". He can conclude, "Out of this complicated but creative attitude to the Old Testament scriptures a new scripture was born".[111]

In many ways this presentation is a reworking of Dodd's original hints, but it more carefully shows the Jewish, rather than the hellenistic, background out of which Paul's own practice was growing, and it more firmly stresses the discontinuity and originality which Paul shows within this basic background. The strength of Barrett's presentation is that it does not concentrate on the technique of Paul's use of Scripture to the neglect of his purpose in doing so. Barrett's view of Paul's use of Scripture is of a piece with his view of Pauline theology as a whole, namely that it is 'mobile' and dynamic, indeed dialectical. (Cf. the conclusion of Barrett's study of Pauline theology, From First Adam to Last, "The Pauline conception is delicately balanced, and impossible to express in simple and rigid terms. Its delicacy stands out most clearly when it is compared with the heavy-handed attempts of later Christian generations to hammer Paul's theology into dogmatics. At every point one can detect a hardening, a solidifying, of the mobile and dynamic thought...".)[112] Again and again, and most importantly for our purposes at the beginning of the Romans commentary,[113] Barrett stresses that Paul's faith involved a reversal of his opinions, a change in the presuppositions of his thought, a revolution in his convictions; "Many of the decisive steps in this development are represented in the Epistle to the Romans".[114]

Matthew Black is justly known as a scholar of the Judaic background to N.T. studies and we should therefore expect that in his treatment of this theme in Romans 9 - 11, he would stress the rabbinic and Jewish context of Paul's exegetical practice.

This is what he does. Oddly, however, he accepts almost as a conclusion, before beginning, Dodd's contentions about the distinctive style and content of chapters 9 - 11, in comparison with 1 - 8.[115] This is odd because in discussing the 'diatribe' character of the whole he uses evidence (as did Barrett) drawn from paragraphs outside of these chapters, e.g. 1.28-32. Black stresses that the diatribe style of these chapters is not so much that of the current rhetorical practices of the Stoics as that of "a Jewish style rhetorical discourse". It is at the least a Stoic diatribe, "especially as adapted by Jewish controversialists".[116] Much of the evidence of diatribe features which we have noted already is repeated; the question and answer form, with the corresponding formulae, Τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν and μὴ γένοιτο (9.14, 9.30, 11.7, 11.1, 11.11). Elements of word play and of emphatic word repetition, together with passages of balanced rhetorical composition, (11.28, 11.33-6), all reinforce the conclusion. But the greater influence is throughout Jewish and rabbinic. In using composite quotations, scriptural argument by analogy, free adaptation of scripture (after the style of the Qumran pesher),[117] rabbinic formulae (e.g. the ban formula at 9.3), catenae of O.T. quotations to provide "a solemnly authoritative climax and Scriptural coping-stone to the argument",[118] in all of this, Paul is proving his rabbinic background. Much else besides could be said to be in the same style; whole arguments, such as that of 9.6-13, "conducted in characteristic rabbinical form", the use of Hebrew parallelism in the writing together with a certain compression of thought, (e.g. 11.12f. esp. v.15), the use of an allegory such as that of the Olive where, following Dodd, Black concludes the apostle is "building on earlier traditional figures of speech about Israel and its Gentile converts".[119] Particularly significant for Black is Paul's characteristic combination of Pentateuchal and Prophetic quotations, e.g. 9.10-13, or 11.8-10 where there is an added quotation from the Writings. Such a pattern Black believes governs the shape of

certain sections of the writing as well as the choice of quotation material, so that the section 9.14-29 reveals, for example, a kind of Hegelian, Torah/Prophets/Pauline synthesis, pattern. Verses 14-18 are Torah verses, verses 19-21 from the prophets and verses 22f. Paul's own theological deductions.

Concerning 9.33 and the Testimonia question, Black follows Dodd in the same way, seeing in 9.27-29 "two further testimonia" and concluding after 9.32-33 that here we have "familiar testimonia, employed by the early preachers and missionaries, especially in their controversy with Jews".[120]

There are a number of places where Paul's contribution has been to add the parallelism of Hebrew structure to the rhetorical style of the Greek schools, e.g. 11.28; there is an example at the close of chapter 11, 11.33-36, of Paul's offering original composition in a balanced rhetorical style.

In total, however, Black stresses almost remorselessly the Rabbinic background and patterns of Paul's thought and so, in a sense, falls into one arm of the tempting way out of Barrett's paradox. It is possible to stress the continuity of the apostle's thought and practice, it is possible to stress the apostle's originality; it is possible, as in the case of Barrett to speak of Paul's originality consisting in the paradox and dialectic of his position. Black makes Paul a Rabbi of the Rabbis. At many points he seems to confirm the positions first established by Dodd.

We have no <u>commentary</u> on Romans from the pen of A.T. Hanson, but we do have a specialist study of Romans and Galatians which is directly relevant to our present consideration of Paul's use of the Old Testament. In 1974, Hanson published his, Studies in Paul's Technique and Theology, and the title in itself is important in that like Barrett before him, we can conclude from the outset that Hanson is concerned to explore not merely the data

of Paul's exegetical habits, but the relationship of his exegesis to his theology as a whole.[121]

Hanson, like Black, can stress that Paul stands in a strict rabbinic tradition, but against Black, he denies that there are any satisfactory examples of Paul attempting to use two and threefold scriptural citation, from Law, Prophets and Writings. Instead, Paul looked upon the whole Old Testament as 'scripture' and as such essentially better than the Torah itself, if only because it recorded vital pre-Torah history. It is possible to see Paul using certain parts of scripture preferentially, especially the Psalms, Isaiah, Genesis and the rest of the Pentateuch. In making such selections as he does, we are to see Paul operating entirely pragmatically, governed by three considerations, - the usefulness of their content for the making of topical parallels, their ability to lend themselves to a christological or typological method of exegesis and in the case of the Psalms the lack of specificity in their original historical context, thus allowing Paul to use them more flexibly. As an example of this latter use, Hanson can refer to Paul's use of Psalm 69.22-23 at Romans 11.9, a notoriously difficult verse because of its reference to ἡ τράπεζα αὐτῶν ; for Hanson it is possible that Paul is here referring to 'the Lord's Supper'. This is not to be taken to suggest that Paul was uninterested in the original historical context; he was, although we must beware of ascribing to him a modern rigour in this regard. No, throughout, Paul was a Scriptural theologian, whose use of scripture and whose tradition of midrash and interpretation was based on much medit ation and often followed translations or targums or traditions of interpretation which were not Paul's own invention. Commenting on Paul's apparently cavalier treatment of O.T. quotations, Hanson prefers to suggest that far from these coming from the pen of Paul himself, they are there because Paul was using translations of the Hebrew which were not those of our standard LXX text.

Paul's quotations at 9.27, 9.33, 10.7 and 11.35, for example, are all translations to be found in contemporary Targum or Greek source. Similarly when Paul follows the midrash-pesher kind of free interpretation, he does so not in complete originality, for, "When we do find him following this or that tradition or interpretation it usually proves to be an accepted tradition, not Paul's own invention".[122] There are occasional exceptions which we can put down to Paul's habit of sometimes quoting from memory. But the point that Hanson is anxious to make is that, in a real sense, Paul sees his Old Testament citations as 'proofs' and therefore it would have been unacceptable for him to tamper with them on his own behalf, "Proof texts that have been arbitrarily tampered with are ineffective as proofs".[123] Nor should we see any great originality or significance in the apostle's use of introductory formulae at the start of quotations; when Paul, for example, writes, Μωϋσῆς λέγει at 9.15, 10.5, 10.19, he is not intending to demote the status of what follows, as if it were a legalist reference; the authority Paul gives to Scripture is constant and not so changed.

Most of Paul's use of scripture is for a theological (i.e. a proof) purpose. He does not use scripture illustratively, or predictively, nor simply proleptically. Although Paul can consider that Scripture provides evidence of foreknowledge,"All the citations in Romans 10 are quoted in order to prove that the events of Jesus' day had been known long beforehand to certain privileged people".[124] Neither in a hellenistic, nor a rabbinic, nor a Qumran form, was Paul interested in allegory.

He does not suppose that Old Testament material had a double meaning as for example that the Hosea references (2.23, 1.10) cited by Paul at Romans 9.25-26 might have been thought by him to apply to Gentile Christians entering the church in the mind of Hosea. No, this is an example of Paul using a quotation because the situation is similar in both ages.

How then, does Paul use the Old Testament? The answer for Hanson is, in a word, christocentrically. All Paul's use of the Old Testament is governed by three classes of exegesis, - Real Presence, Typology, and Imperfect Types, and all material which is not so dealt with can be seen as either "prophetic information about Christ" (so, e.g. 11.34-5) or "prophetic utterance by Christ" (for which Hanson gives the example of Romans 15.9).

Paul, says Hanson, really believed that the Old Testament contains a direct witness to Christ. Paul sees in the activity recorded in the Old Testament the activity of the pre-existent Christ, so Romans 9.15, 11.4 and 11.34-5, where, "there can be little doubt that Paul finds a reference to the Son as the Father's counsellor and mediator of creation".[125] The God of the Old Testament is seen by Paul at all times to be the God-in-Christ, not simply proleptically but directly. "But when we note how often Paul finds Christ speaking in Scripture, when we concede (as we must) that on certain historic occasions in Israel's past Paul believed the Son to have been present, we must confess that merely to trace a predictable pattern in Scripture is not enough. The Son was there, could have been apprehended, and was believed in by some".[126]

Hanson, at the same point at which he makes these claims, recognises that Barrett, for one, denies them and identifies the point of issue between them. Barrett denies that for Paul there was any such 'real presence' until the Incarnation; he does this partly because of the significance he gives to the Incarnation as the dividing point of the ages. For Barrett, Paul lived across the divide between the two ages. But, for Hanson, we must stress not this eschatological discontinuity but rather the opposite. The revolution in Paul's thinking came about not with the coming of a new age but with his recognition of the Christ in the Old.

The second of Paul's techniques is Typology. This means that Paul paid strong attention to the Old Testament record and the events which it portrays as accurate history, which offers a clear record of a pattern of God's activity. It is this pattern or 'type' which is discerned and which becomes useful for Paul as a comparison with the same pattern of God's activity in and through Christ. Thus the events spoken of in the quotations of Romans 9.27-9 or 11.1-4 were for the apostle real events in history which manifested that pattern which Paul now sees repeated in his own day.

Barrett agrees with this conception of typology, but unlike Hanson he wants to add to typology the phenomenon of prophecy, writing, "but it is probably true that the most characteristic New Testament estimate of the Old sees in it a combination of typology and prophecy".[127] It is, of course, the "and prophecy" which Hanson denies, for prophecy is not required when you can immediately discern the presence of God-in-Christ in the O.T. narrative.

The third and final of Hanson's Pauline techniques is what he calls, Imperfect Types. An imperfect type is an Old Testament figure who stands in a relationship to Christ, marked by dissimilarity as well as by resemblance. Such a figure would be Moses, who in Romans 10.6, (where Hanson sees Paul drawing upon a traditional Targum interpretation), lies behind Paul's references. At 10.7, with its reference to descending into the abyss, Hanson sees a hidden imperfect type, in this case the figure of Jonah. As a whole, Hanson describes chapters 9 - 11 as "replete with typology".[128]

In these ways Paul makes his christocentric exegesis. For the apostle the original setting is wherever possible of great importance. It is important, for example, that the background to the Exodus 33.19 quotation used at 9.15 is that of the Mosaic

theophany, and the clear historical parallels of the Elijah material used at 11.3 make this all the more valuable.

Naturally enough, Hanson considers the question of the Testimony Books, and helpfully distinguishes what we might call the weak and the strong forms of the thesis.[129] In its weak form the thesis is that Paul inherited from those who were Christians before him an interest in certain parts of Scripture, and even probably certain conflations of scriptural texts first used by Christian apologists. Hanson argues that this would be accepted by all and certainly we have found no scholar who seriously denies something like this, which is demonstration indeed of the durable quality of Dodd's 1952 revised thesis.[130] In its strong form, the thesis involves the positing of certain much used systematic and in some sense normative collections. Hanson reviews those places in Romans where the question of conflated texts is important, 3.10-18 (composed by Paul says Hanson); 9.33 ("it is very likely that Paul was not the author of this conflation; he received it from his (Christian) tradition";[131] 11.8 is similarly to be thought of as grounded in pre-Pauline Christian tradition; 11.26-27, where Hanson concludes it is Paul who has made the conflation and 11.34-5 where it is impossible to tell, although the passages may have been previously conflated. Hanson is, however, clear that whether or not Paul did his own conflation he always made the texts his own and that there is no evidence that he relied to any great extent on previously prepared material; "In the great majority of instances we may be sure that Paul did his own Bible-study and found his Scripture proofs by reading Scripture for himself".[132]

What can be said about Hanson's contribution? Perhaps simply that there is a weak and a strong form of talking about Paul's christocentric exegesis and that in choosing the strong form, Hanson has, at many points, to strain the evidence. Hanson

constantly stresses the continuity of Paul with both the Old Testament itself and with the particular traditions of interpretation which he received. Indeed he can write, "The New Testament writers rarely explicitly or consciously repudiate the religious tradition in which they were brought up".[133] Hanson's conclusion may, however, be an underestimate of the break with past traditions occasioned by the new eschatology of early Christian thinkers. Hanson is very convincing when he suggests that it was Paul's aim to find in the Old Testament a revelation of the character of God which remaining constant can enlighten the situation in which the apostle found himself; so when Paul looks back to the choice of Jacob rather than Esau, (Rom. 9.14), he is uncovering the unchanging character of God, merciful in election.

In turning to the most recent treatment of our present subject in the period under review, namely that of Cranfield, both in his commentary and in the special essay,[134] there is little jolt from the world of Hanson in which we have been living. Like Hanson, he stresses the centrality of Paul's christocentricity. Cranfield's language is different, but his conclusions are the same. He particularly singles out the section 9.30-10.13 as of importance in our understanding of Paul's view that the Old Testament is only properly understood when it is understood as a witness to Christ and that Christ is only properly understood when illuminated by the Old Testament, "Because he kept his eyes so steadily fixed on Jesus, the author of Romans was able to hear and to comprehend the message proclaimed by the O.T.; and, because...he never ceased to be seriously engaged with the O.T. scriptures, he perceived with amazing clarity of vision vast and splendid reaches of the truth of Christ which lie beyond the ken of all Marcionites and semi-, crypto-, and unwitting Marcionites".[135]

Like Hanson, Cranfield denies all allegorical interpretation, stressing typological usage and reliance on existing rabbinic devices. Like Hanson, Cranfield stresses Paul's continuity with

Jewish biblical exegesis, although for Cranfield this is much more in the tradition of the Qumran texts. He recognises that there are passages where Paul's freedom can apparently surprise, but seeks on the whole to underplay these (e.g. 9.25f. or 10.18), suggesting that they arise because here Paul is quoting from memory or expressing his own thoughts in O.T. language. For Cranfield, a major characteristic of Paul's use of the O.T. is the stress which the apostle gives both to the context and to the words of the original. And he maintains that we should always recall that no matter how small a quotation Paul offers he has in mind the whole O.T. context. So, for example, when Paul quotes Genesis 21.12 at 9.7 then we are to remember, as Paul did, that "the Genesis narrative indicates explicitly God's care for Ishmael".[136] The section 10.6-8 is important for it reveals a number of things. The use of the phrase τοῦτ' ἔστιν is "a special use, and reflects the exegetical terminology of Judaism".[137] Here too, we have an example of the Qumran pesher-interpretation and an example of typology which is in no sense arbitrary, as for Paul Christ is the true meaning of the law and the O.T. 10.4. Without much discussion, Cranfield is prepared to ally himself with the Dodd revised Testimony thesis.

There is no suggestion in Cranfield's comments, (and here he stands with Barrett and Hanson over against Dodd, Black and Robinson), that there is anything unusual about Paul's exegesis in chs. 9 - 11, that does not equally apply to the rest of the letter. It is perhaps on this point above all others that Dodd has not had his own way; nor does Cranfield pay any undue attention, beyond a few potential background references, to the suggestion that 9 - 11 is a hellenistic diatribe. The fact that Dodd's influential view on this point has lost ground is supported by John Drane's comments, "the idea that Paul used the literary

devices, either of the Stoic-Cynic traditions or of the Socratic tradition is far from proven, and has not been the subject of any independent investigation since the publication of Bultmann's seminal work in 1910".[138] Drane further adds that classical scholars are not able to offer firm evidence of the existence let alone the influence of such diatribe forms in Paul's time. Cranfield does accept that at times the epistle reads like such a diatribe,[139] but where this is so, it is the content of the writing that is the governing factor and, like Barrett, he would see this style throughout the letter rather than concentrated in these three chapters. So it is that at least in this instance, the fifty years from 1930 - 1980 have seen a reversal of judgement.

In the period there has been a swing from seeing the background of Paul's thought as hellenistic or hellenistic-christian to seeing it as Judaic; there has also been a swing towards the stressing of the continuity of Paul's methods and interpretations with those that went before him. That Paul was influenced by exegetical methods used by other contemporaries, especially the Qumran tradition, is now accepted. Dodd's treatment of the allegory in Romans 11.17-24, with its suggestions that Paul was decidedly confused, has been replaced by the belief that here the apostle is being much more subtle in his exegesis; in general, it is typology and rarely allegory that dominates his method.

Chapter 4.

The Law

No reader of Romans can fail to realise the significance in Paul's thought of the topic of Law, νόμος . Moulton and Geden (Concordance To The Greek Testament, Edinburgh, 1897, 1963-4), record over 50 occurrences of νόμος in the letter, most of which are to be found in chapters 2,3 and 7.

Chapters 9 - 11 contain only three direct uses of the word, at 9.31, 10.4 and 10.5, to which we should add the use of the cognate νομοθεσία at 9.4. The primary problem concerned with Paul's use and understanding of this term must be the identification of its referent, for its use in the New Testament in general and possibly in Romans itself reveals that this is not always to be taken as constant. There are, in fact, many possible meanings for νόμος to some extent related to those occasions on which it appears as the Greek translation of the Hebrew תּוֹרָה and to some extent related to its use as an independent Greek word. The commonest meanings to be offered for its meaning as found in Paul would include at least the following list.

The Mosaic law/commandments as delivered to the prophet on Sinai (Exodus 20-23/Ex.34).

By extension from 1. The Pentateuch as those books in which the law is to be found.

By a further extension, the Law and the Prophets, i.e. the whole O.T. corpus.

The basic LXX understanding of νόμος as the translation of תּוֹרָה which is to say any moral or religious legislative code.

The whole content of God's revelation of his nature and purpose. Also included within some definitions of תּוֹרָה .

The 'Word of God', understood as that revelation which is offered to men within, but not synonymous with, the written forms.

An underlying principle of Life or action.

A synonym for legalism or a legalist conception of religion.

A synonym for the Jewish Religion and that self-understanding current in Jewry at the time of Paul.

νόμος as a word given a new synthetic meaning by early Christians and by Paul, which whilst it may contain elements of 1-9 deserves to be understood independently.

In writing of Paul's use of the Law, commentators have sometimes made clear their own preferred identification. To take three examples before looking at the comparative exegesis of Romans passages, we might see from comments made in his preface,[140] that Dodd takes Paul to have in mind, 'the legalist conception of religion'; that Barrett,[141] can speak of 'not simply the written record of God's revelation of Himself to man, but the whole system of religious thought and practice based upon this revelation - in a word, the religion of Judaism'; and that Whitehouse[142] can speak of, "the efficacious Word of God...the command of God", which, according to Whitehouse, Paul locates in the heart, witnessed to by reasonable conscience (Roms. cf.2.15), in the Law of Moses, to which the Gentile must make reference in order to evaluate his own more natural experience, and supremely in the person of Jesus. "In more than a mere historical sense, the experience of Israel under the Law creates in unique fashion the situation where men must believe or disbelieve the Word which confronts them. When Jesus confronts men, in this crisis of faith or unbelief, they are identified with 'the Jews' of the Fourth Gospel, and their response will be that of men determined by life under the Law, whether or not they have been practising Jews. The purpose for which the Law was given to Israel becomes clear at that point, and we can speak of

the Law as fulfilled (Matt. 5.17)"[143]

Paul's first concern in chapter 9 of Romans is to consider how it is and why it is that his own people, the Jews, have failed to respond in faith to Christ. Their lack of response is, for Paul, a matter of great personal grief (9.1-3), a grief which carried for the apostle a measure of incomprehension, for did not God give to the Jewish people gifts and privileges which should have led them to Christian faith? It is within his list of these privileges, which culminate in the gift of Christ himself, that Paul first mentions the Law, using the Greek word νομοθεσία The word is not, of course the direct equivalent of the more normal νόμος and it is perhaps first of all important to notice which commentators seek to draw out a distinction here. Translations are perhaps the best guide. The R.S.V. offers 'the giving of the Law', and so concentrates on the action of giving rather than the content of that given. It is this distinction which νομοθεσία bears, if any, from νόμος . 'The giving of the law' is found in the A.V., it is the implied translation of Barclay who offers the same and of Barrett who translates 'to them he gave the law'. So too the JB offers, 'the Law and the ritual were drawn up for them'. The NEB, however, makes no reference to the action of giving, translating simply, 'the law'; in this it follows Moffatt who offers, 'the divine legislation', and is itself followed by Cranfield who translates 'the legislation'. It is clear that those who prefer the word to carry its sense of action, clearly see here a Pauline reference to the giving of the Law by God to Moses on Sinai, a view which is equally open to and taken by some who prefer the more nominal interpretation. To make νομοθεσία and νόμος equivalent is, however, to allow for, though not necessarily to choose, a wider referent or series of meanings.

Almost all commentators, whatever their translation, imply that the apostle is here thinking of the Mosaic Law. To some extent the issue is related to the understanding held of the preceding privilege, that of the covenants or covenant (both readings are possible and well attested). If 'covenant', then clearly the reference would be to the Sinai Covenant and the succeeding νομοθεσία would refer to the giving of the law to Moses which accompanied it. If 'covenants', then again it is possible to envisage Paul having in mind those with Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Moses,[144] again culminating in the Sinai law-giving. Do those who take the covenants to be a reference to Israelite history after Sinai and include such later covenants as that with Joshua (Josh. 8.30) or indeed with Jeremiah (Jeremiah 31.31) then need to break the historical sequence which, at least prima facie, seems to be the form in which the list of privileges is cast? Is it not the case that Paul is here listing Israelite privileges according to some historical sequence as well as any possible theological one and that therefore the covenants (if not the single covenant at Sinai) are those with Adam, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses? The law-giving, for surely there is no real reason to deny νομοθεσία the nuance of meaning which it clearly bears, then becomes a clear reference to God giving the law to Moses on Sinai, (Ex. 20.1-17).

Cranfield concludes his discussion of the word with the sentence, "The fact that ἡ νομοθεσία is mentioned among the excellent privileges of Israel is clearly of the greatest significance for our understanding of Paul's view of the law".[145] The significance for Cranfield appears to be that it tells us of the apostle's understanding of the law as itself pointing to faith, indeed to faith in Christ.[146] This becomes part of Cranfield's contention that Romans 10.4 is to be interpreted as meaning in no sense that the coming of Christ abrogates the law, but rather that the law has for its goal the same Christ. In this view the fault of the Jewish people which led to their

rejection of Christ did not rest in the nature of the law itself, which was always, and remained, holy and good, but rather in the Jews' own inability to see the christological dimension of the law, preferring their own legalistic interpretation.[147] The contention that the law was seen by Paul as pointing to faith, rather than to works of obedience, as a means of coming to stand in a right relationship with God, is one generally accepted, whether in a general sense,[148] or in the particular sense, offered by Dodd and here followed by Robinson, that the Law contained within it at least one strand, the Deuteronomic, (as opposed to the Levitical), which enjoined faith as the right relationship between man and God. On this view, Paul sees the law as pointing to the way of faith, but as also pointing to the corresponding inadequacy of the way of works as a means of standing in that right relationship with God.[149] Barrett and Cranfield would be in agreement that in Barrett's word, "the law rightly understood calls for a response in terms not of such ἔργα but of πίστις, by which alone man can truly achieve the law".[150] Both would agree that the law was capable of arousing a faith response and a works (legalist) response. Both would agree that the fault of the Jews was, in Paul's view, that they responded to the law legalistically. Indeed Cranfield has a section in which he explains that the law, in Paul's understanding, could be said to make men sin more by itself establishing the possibility of legalism.[151] It is, however, Barrett alone who draws the conclusion from this that the law therefore has within itself a fatal weakness, a weakness which arises from the ambiguity of response (faith or works) which it allows. The law indeed points to the same righteousness which was to be incarnate in Christ; indeed it equally urges the way of faith as the way to receive such righteousness. But the form of the law (cast in commandments as well as any promises or exhortations) left open the possibility for the creation of

legalism and the attitude that righteousness could be self-generated without faith. This being so, the coming of Christ is God's provision of the same righteousness commended by the law, but as a person rather than a written commandment, He was an offer not open to the false works response, possible and, in fact, adopted by the Jews towards the Mosaic law. There is thus a real sense in which the coming of Christ replaces the law, realizing all that it sought to contain but offering an effective and unambiguous means by which men could receive righteousness.

These possible views must be tested in the exegesis of the section 9.30 - 10.4 which contains at 9.31 and 10.4, the other three direct uses of νόμος . 9.30 begins a section in which Paul seeks to answer the question, Why have the Jews not responded to Christ? He gives his answer in terms of their prior involvement with and understanding of the Law. Verse 31 contains its own difficulties of translation. Possible translations of the Greek include, [Ἰσραὴλ δὲ διώκων νόμον δικαιοσύνης εἰς νόμον οὐκ ἔφθασεν]

"Whereas Israel who did aim at the law of righteousness have failed to reach that law (Moffatt)".

"Made great efforts after a law of righteousness, but never attained to it".(NEB).

"Israel, which was pursuing the law of righteousness, has not attained to that law".(CEBC).

"who pursued the righteousness which was based on law".(RSV).

"whose aim is a law purporting to give righteousness".(CKB).

The problem centres on Paul's phrase, νόμον δικαιοσύνης and the question it raises. What are the Jews seeking?

Is it that they seek righteousness on the basis of law?

Is it that they are seeking a law which will after a due process of obedience yield righteousness?

Those scholars who give νόμον its full weight suggest in effect that the Jews had subordinated their search for righteousness into a search for a law which they believed might offer it. The fault of the Jews is that they did not realise that there is no such law; nor did they recognise that the law they sought and followed, although it might bear witness to God's righteousness, declared itself unable to provide it. Thus can Paul call the law holy and righteous and good (7.12), but nevertheless continue to deny its ability to impart righteousness. Here we should give full weight to Paul writing to the Galatians, where he clearly appears to be denying the function and the ability of the law to make righteous, e.g. 2.21, 3.18 and esp. 3.21, "if a law had been given which could make alive, then righteousness would indeed be by the law". None of this denies that Paul conceived of the Law as having specific and valuable functions, (one of which is clearly outlined in Galatians in terms of the law as παιδαγωγός 3.23f.), but it is to take the view that for Paul the Jewish error was to fail to pursue righteousness directly by the route of faith, but rather to pursue instead law, following a route of legal obedience. The Law thus may witness to but cannot provide in itself a means to righteousness. It may even witness to the correct means, namely faith, but that too lies outside the path of obedience which is what it engenders. Along with this understanding often goes an additional comment, namely that the Jews also ran the risk, in pursuing righteousness on the basis of law, of misunderstanding not merely that of which the law was capable, but of misunderstanding also the nature of righteousness. To pursue law as a means of attaining righteousness is to run the risk of identifying righteousness in wholly moral categories, whereas in fact Paul's view of righteousness is that it is "status (being in the right, rather than doing right)". (Dodd)[152] This is why righteousness is to be recognised by faith rather than worked for by obedience. Thus, whilst the Jews' primary mistake was to pursue a right end by a wrong means, the adoption of the wrong means also tended to

develop a degenerate understanding of the final end. All this because they chose to pursue νόμον δικαιοσύνης .

This latter view of the true and false Pauline understanding of righteousness is strongly contested by J.C. O'Neill, for whom righteousness is that which men discover, live out and become through their own trusting and believing; it is not primarily given by God or imparted.[153] This involves O'Neill in conjecturing the hand of a glossator at most of those points in the text of Romans where talk of God-given righteousness appears. In the course of this he suggests for 9.31 the emendation 'But Israel in seeking the Law did not reach the Law'. This effectively removes all the ambiguities of the phrase νόμον δικαιοσύνης on the basis of no textual evidence other than that of the 14th century Cambridge minuscule, 489. It is a step which, perhaps, shows too great a readiness (in Cranfield's phrase) "to rewrite Paul's sentence for him".

A much more substantial alternative view of 9.30f. is offered by Cranfield himself. Here the 'fault' of the Jews is not their false understanding of the nature and ability of the Law as that capable of imparting righteousness, nor yet their misunderstanding of the nature of righteousness itself, but rather Israel "is guilty because it has failed to obey its own law...It was to faith in Christ that the law was all along leading".[154] Righteousness is indeed 'status' rather than moral worth, but 9.31 is really to carry the translation, "the law which promises righteousness". Thus the Law is God's intended way of leading the Jews to righteousness, and it bears its own witness to the way of faith which is the right means to that end. The Jews failed altogether to grasp its real meaning and to render it true obedience. The true obedience is the obedience of faith and had Israel pursued the law ἐκ πίστεως then all would have been well. Thus, for Cranfield, the coming of Christ can in no sense abrogate the Law, rather the presence of him to whom the law gives witness can only serve to make that

witness the clearer. This view does, of course, have to contend with the exegesis of a good many Pauline passages which, as Cranfield admits, encourage readers of St. Paul to assume that he believed that the Law is done away by Christ; chief amongst these is Galatians 3.15f. Concerning Galatians, Cranfield accepts the presence of depreciatory elements, but accounts for them by reference to the polemical nature of the Galatian material, and by the suggestion that in Galatians Paul is only dealing with one aspect of the Law's function.

The acknowledged priority of the Galatian document over Romans should, paradoxically, give a priority in our understanding of Paul to the later and more developed view, but most of all what we have in Galatians is a Pauline attack not on the Law in all its splendour, but rather upon a narrow, limited understanding of the law, the law-apart-from-Christ. It is this narrow conception of law which Paul judges to be temporary. So Cranfield concludes that Paul is referring not to the law itself, but to the legalistic misunderstanding and misuse of it. We are left asking, however, why, if this is what the apostle meant, this is not what he wrote. Is Cranfield here 'rewriting Paul's epistle for him'? He could surely have provided an appropriate adjectival qualification for the law to which he was referring in Galatians - narrow, weak, bare, false, - which would have prevented the misunderstanding. However, even allowing for the polemical nature of Galatians, does there not remain at its heart the proclamation that this Christ himself failed to keep the Law, (3.13), and thus in his death set men free from its curse, and that Galatians as it stands provides no evidence for the adoption of this narrower understanding?

The argument of 9.30 following reaches its conclusion in the proclamation of 10.4, that τέλος γὰρ νόμου Χριστὸς εἰς δικαιοσύνην παντὶ τῷ πιστεύοντι . Most readers and the majority of commentators take the apostle to be reiterating

here his view that with the coming of Christ the whole Jewish attempt to pursue righteousness based on obedience to the Law was ended, finished, rendered obsolete. Now it can be clearly seen that righteousness can only come in Christ as God's gift, received by men in faith. Such a view finds crisp expression in A.M. Hunter's comment, "End (telos) means terminus. With Christ in the field, law as a way of salvation is finished".[155] Such a view is substantially that of Best,[156] Robinson,[157] Dodd,[158] Barclay,[159] and Bruce.[160] For Barclay it is Law, carrying its sense of legalism, that is ended. All this represents the older view, having been there in Garvie (Century Bible) and Sanday and Headlam (ICC[1]). It is also the implied view of the NEB mg. which reads, "Christ is the end of the law as a way of righteousness for everyone who has faith" and the JB, "But now the Law has come to an end with Christ, and everyone who has faith may be justified". The accepted text of the NEB reads, "For Christ ends the law and brings righteousness for everyone who has faith". Harvey[161] argues that this reading preserves the ambiguity of τέλος but really it is hard to see that it does so, for the English word 'end', in its verbal form at least, carries little meaning except termination. Of the commentators cited above, Bruce allows for the presence in the verse of some sense of fulfilment and thus reminds us that τέλος does indeed carry possible meanings which include fulfilment, consummation, perfection, goal, purpose. But Matthew Black makes the point that seems indisputable, which is simply that all other meanings apart from termination nevertheless in some sense imply "the cessation of the validity of the 'Old Law'".[162] Hence any sense of 10.4 must include termination, even if it chooses to lay greater stress on some other meaning. In this way Barrett offers in his translation of the verse a combination of realisation and termination. "For Christ, by realising righteousness for every believer, proves to be the end of the law,[163] or again, in the text of the commentary, "He puts an end to the Law not by destroying all that the law stood for but by realising it".

In this comment we see the possibility of distinguishing within the wide concept of Law those elements which might indeed have been fulfilled and those which might have been ended. For Barrett, the works element in law is ended, but the elements of Law which pointed to the need for man's obedience before God, or which bore witness to God's righteousness, are fulfilled, realised better spoken in the word of Christ. To say, however, that there always were elements in the Law which witnessed to true righteousness is not to say, as Barrett does not, that the Law ever was an effective means of attaining righteousness.

Some commentators stress one element so far not considered. When Paul talks of the Law, does he not do so in a christological and more especially an eschatological context? Barrett, Bruce and Best seem alone in striking this note. " 'Christ' means God's act in history, by which he introduced the Age to Come, and brought to an end the old order of relations between God and Man, since it is in Christ that men are henceforth related to God. Hence Christ is 'the end of the Law' ".[164] There must always be some element of termination present in Paul's thought, if, as he himself relates, there is always a new creation, a new world for anyone in Christ (2Co. 5.16f.). The New Age has begun with Christ, and the Old Order, of which the Law was so important a part, must have been superseded.

Once again, however, Cranfield presents an alternative view. He accepts that 10.4 is "clearly one of the fundamental theses of Pauline theology as a whole".[165] but contends that no Pauline word rightly understood speaks of the abrogation of the Law. For him τέλος means goal, that which the Law has always pointed, that goal which is to be identified with Christ. He further contends that those passages which we assume to have been directed against the Law, per se, might in fact be better understood as directed, "not against the Law itself, but against that misunderstanding and misuse of it, for which we now have a convenient

terminology",[166] in other words legalism. Clearly Cranfield, unlike many colleagues, does not see such a criticism in 10.4. The possibility that here Paul is speaking of the termination of that understanding of Law, as that which gives righteousness, is relegated to a footnote,[167] and the view which sees the whole of this material as bearing witness to Paul's struggle to express his own new understanding of Law, as over against all other previous ones current in Old Testament or New Testament times, is not considered. Yet, if Paul is anything, he is a creative theologian offering new wine in place of old. Barrett is surely right in offering the possibility that "What Paul had said in 9.30 - 10.4 amounts to a complete reversal of the way in which Israel in general had understood its Torah".[168] It is difficult to suppose that 10.4 does not include the truth that the coming of Christ at least ends the false but widely held view, that the Law was a valid means by which man might gain righteousness in the sight of God.

The issue is really whether in making this limited criticism Paul also held serious reservations about the nature and form of the Law itself. Did he believe that the Law had a fatal flaw, perhaps its legalistic form, which could not fail to encourage the false hopes that it was a way to righteousness? Galatians 3.10f. and Romans 9.33, if the stumbling block is taken to refer to the Torah, suggest so. Is it Paul's view, as Barrett suggests, that the Law was always of its very nature open to a false response, the works-response which led to self-righteousness and attempts at self-justification? This is not to deny that in other aspects of its nature it might well have witnessed to God and to a righteousness to be sought by faith; but the Law, unlike Christ, was ambiguous and its very ambiguity meant that it could not speak God's final word. Whatever its functions they could not be salvific. In Paul's view, it cannot offer men that righteous status of renewed sonship that comes in the person of Christ.

Chapter 5.

The Jews

A possible title for Romans, chapters 9 - 11, is 'The Problem of the Jews', (in fact adopted by Barclay), or indeed 'The Jewish Question', (which Dodd suggests must often have been the theme of Paul's sermons).[169] Clearly the chapters say much about the Jewish People, about their place in the economy of God's plan for salvation, about their rejection of Jesus as the Christ, and about their present and future place in the whole company of God's Redeemed People. But why does the Apostle take three chapters to speak of his own people? Are they in fact the central subject of 9 - 11 or are they there as an example for a different major concern? The answers to these questions divide commentators and prove to be difficult to assess.

In many ways the questions are posed in concentrated form by the opening five verses of chapter 9. For the chapter opens with the apostle expressing his grief and pain, which, in some as yet to be defined way, are closely related to the Jewish people as a whole. His expression of personal anguish soon gives way to a list of the historic privileges which come from the Jewish national heritage, concluding with the Christ, who, for Paul, is their most treasured inheritance. This short paragraph is clearly deeply felt and emotionally charged. But, immediately, we must ask what is the source or occasion of the apostle's feelings? The simplest answer might be that in beginning to speak of the Jews, the apostle, a Jew himself, is overcome with feelings of national or racial pride; so, Dodd can speak of Paul's "interest in national hopes which his estrangement from his nation had not destroyed".[170] But others would see none of this; Barrett comments "chs. ix-xi are not at all concerned with Paul's patriotic sentiments".[171] The commentators are agreed, however, that the opening words contain 'heartbreak' (Barclay), or 'mournful pride' (Hunter), or 'the depth of love which can only have been

awakened in Paul by realisation that God loves him' (Best). They are equally agreed that, whether or not Paul is here moved by nationalist feelings, he is nevertheless moved, and moved by very deep personal feelings. Robinson speaks for all when he writes, "the Jewish question is not for him a mere theologoumenon",[172] and Barrett puts it even more firmly, "one must not underestimate the passionate emotional reaction he experienced to the fact that his own people appeared to be rejecting the Gospel...theological considerations apart...there is something burning in his bones that must come out...it must be remembered that the response of Israel is a deeply felt and highly personal issue for Paul".[173] In this last remark Barrett also hints at the cause of Paul's emotional state, namely the historical fact that in spite of his work as an apostle the Jewish people have failed to respond in faith. Barrett and Black go further and agree that behind Paul's thinking here there may be actual instances of Jewish or Gentile accusations levelled against Paul, substantially accusing him of indifference to the fate of his own people. Cranfield doubts that this is so, but nevertheless believes that here we have a conscious recognition by Paul that if it ever were thought he was indifferent to the Jews, then his whole apostleship to the Gentiles would be called into question. Indeed, Cranfield goes one step further in seeing in this expression of personal anguish a positive apostolic witness to that true Christian grief which here the Apostle, by example, is suggesting is the only proper response in the face of the Jews' continuing unbelief.

Yet, even if all that has been said about Paul's personal involvement be true, it has also been suggested that in these opening verses we have a conscious dramatic device, by means of which Paul hopes to underline both the starting point and the conclusion of his whole argument. Here, in this recital of Jewish privilege, we find the apostle asserting from the beginning

that, whatever it looks like in historical terms, the Jewish people have always been and continue to be 'elect of God', assured of a privileged place in God's plan of salvation. This possibility is worked out in its entirety and in a uniquely forceful way in the commentary of Cranfield, as we shall see, but others have noted that in beginning in this way, Paul is stating his conclusion in his basic premise. Barclay can write, "The special place of the Jews in God's economy of salvation Paul accepts as an axiom, and as the starting point of the whole problem".[174] This view comes, of course, from concentration upon the list of privileges; if we were to concentrate upon the grief then we could affirm almost the opposite, namely that from the beginning Paul is saying with drama and irony that his people's failure is great and inexcusable. Barrett points to Paul's use of the qualifying phrase, κατὰ σάρκα in verse 3, echoed in the ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα of verse 5 as evidence which allows us to conclude that Paul's grief springs directly from his knowledge of the Jewish fault in rejecting Christ and the gospel which proclaimed him; indeed, Barrett goes further in suggesting that Paul's use of these words points out the nature of the Jewish fault; it was that they approached all things, not least their search for salvation, κατὰ σάρκα - "they were content to evaluate their privileges on a purely human level".[175] On the same verses, Cranfield denies that these words can or do bear any sense of disparagement.

Here then, in the text and in commentary upon it, we experience an intense paradox; in a crude way we could ask, is Paul for or against his people, is he going to defend their elect status or to lay stress on their forfeit of it? There is no doubt that the paradox lay deep within Paul as a man - Paul the Jew, who nevertheless had experienced rejection and persecution by his own people, (e.g. Acts 13.44f.); Paul the Christian who, though chosen and set apart for the service of the gospel,

nevertheless lived with Luther's truth that the Christian is 'iustus et peccator'. Towards the end of his immensely powerful essay into this problem, W.D. Davies writes, "Paul was, in fact, a transitional figure, a man of torn consciousness".[176] Yet, all this is to arrive at conclusions before examining the very many complexities and differences of view which the commentators uncover. Because the view of any individual on this topic is arrived at by cumulative exegesis, we shall look at the major contributions independently, before asking the many questions that their work raises. But first, what of the basic presuppositions which govern individual commentators' work? Barrett takes the view, (shared by Davies), that "The basic fact which... lies behind every verse...is that, notwithstanding her privileges, and his apostolic labours, Israel has rejected the Gospel Paul preached".[177] Black also accepts this historical reality, but adds that 9 - 11 spring from Paul's already expressed arguments in the earlier chapters of Romans, that the gospel was for the Jews and that God was a God of loyalty and unbreakable love, citing especially 1.16, 2.9, 3.1-20, 8.38. Chapters 9 - 11 thus arise from the tension between these theological assertions and the historical experience.

Cranfield equally accepts that in 9 - 11 Paul was taking up and developing theological themes raised earlier in the letter, esp. 3.1f., but adds two further presuppositions which he believes govern the apostle's thought. The issue of the Jews and their obedience/disobedience relates directly to Paul's use of and constant reference to the O.T. and its tradition, where amongst other things the chosen status of Israel is an axiom. And in addition to this, Cranfield considers it probable that Romans 9 - 11 is directed towards a specific circumstance which the apostle knew to be true of the Roman church which he describes as "an incipient Christian anti-semitism". Two other scholars are in support of this intention on the part of the apostle. One is Davies who considers that "these chapters reveal a Paul conscious

of an emerging anti-Judaism among Gentile Christians that could draw on the endemic hostilities of the Graeco-Roman pagan world to help it. He is determined to combat this".[178] The other is Bruce who agrees that Paul knows this to be a difficulty in the Roman situation, but that, equally, on the part of the Jewish Christians in Rome, there are fears of the developing Gentile nature of their church and a corresponding return on their part to questions concerning their relationship with their synagogue heritage. Both Bruce and Davies see in these chapters a conscious attempt by the apostle to relate his gospel to the whole O.T. literary and living tradition from which, in Davies' view, it would be always false to separate early, pre-A.D.70, Christianity. The fact that the church was, not least through Paul's own efforts, becoming gradually Gentile-dominated was itself the great crisis for Paul, for whom the faith is not as distinct from its Jewish and O.T. cradle as many suppose. Best also sees Paul as defending his essentially Old Testament arguments. Dodd and Barclay point to different presuppositions; we have already seen Dodd's references to Paul's nationalism at this point, but additionally he and Barclay are one in seeing Paul responding to tensions felt supremely by his Jewish Christian opponents, (and by Paul himself as above), tensions which spring from holding together the O.T. theological assertions about the place of the Jews and the fact of the Jewish rejection of Jesus and the fact of the current or developing nature of the church as predominantly Gentile. There is then this considerable body of commentary which tends to see behind these chapters a crisis in Jewish Christian self-identity, felt by Paul himself, brought to his attention by his opponents and caused by the juxtaposition of the early Christian theological dependence on the O.T. Scriptures and the developing facts of church history. If this be true, then it would make all attempts to cut through the tension created by this theology/history juxtaposition false, as, for example, when Robinson argues "Paul is here seeing the problem not primarily in terms of theology, but of history".[179]

And so to a closer look at some of the complete views presented by recent commentators, beginning with one which is unique in its drastic attempt to resolve any tensions inherent in the material by recourse to a theory of heavy literary redaction. J.C. O'Neill accepts that 9 - 11 have behind them the double historical facts of the failure of the mission to the Jews and the corresponding success of Paul's own Gentile Mission. O'Neill, however, gives to these chapters a specific context, believing that they were written to "members of the synagogues in Rome that had come to believe in Jesus Christ".[180] Paul is wanting to pursue his Gentile mission in Rome but wants and needs the support of these original Christians in order the better to do it. O'Neill, going back to F.C. Baur, wants to see these chapters as the very centre of Romans, for they deal with the heart of Paul's practical purpose in writing to the church in the first place, and upon their theological success depends the ultimate success of his plans for future mission. The making specific of these chapters enables O'Neill to point to a parallel period in the second century when he suggests the surviving Jewish Christian congregations were seeking to withstand a Marcionite attack; thus, there is to be found in Romans material which comes from this second century period, most especially 10.16-11.32. He also sees an editorial hand at work in the sections 9.11-23 and 10.6b-15. This, of course, leaves very little of the chapters remaining. There are literary evidences adduced for this massive amendment of the text, but his basic reason for it is that he cannot allow the existence in the mind of Paul of what he believes to be two contradictory theological viewpoints, the one which is authentic and reveals the apostle stressing for his Jewish audience that "unbelieving Jews still have an open choice before them",[181] and the other, in O'Neill's opinion, the inauthentic view, which reveals a deterministic view of the world. So at the very beginning where we read of the

apostle's grief in 9.1-3, O'Neill can comment, "Paul can hardly be in great pain and sorrow over those of his fellow Jews who have not believed if their fate is already sealed, nor can he draw attention to the conditions upon which a Jew can be truly a Jew if those conditions were impossible to fulfil".[182] Further to this, O'Neill admits that if all the material were to stand, then we would have Paul revealing logical inconsistencies in his thought, a possibility which he is not happy to accept. We are left with the apostle proclaiming a most optimistic message about the Jews to his Jewish Christian friends, telling them that their brethren's fate is in no way sealed (that is the fate of their Jewish non-believing compatriots). He offers a consistent "theology of promise", revealing that he himself sees it as part of his own mission to bring back more and more Jews to the right way. The present historical fact that most Jews have rejected Christ is not final or irrevocable. Similarly, they would be wrong to see in his own mission to the Gentiles, past or projected, any evidence of his personal indifference to the fate of his fellows, or indeed theological preference for the Gentiles. The gospel of man's response in faith to the gospel is for all and all can be saved. It is a lesson of human history that not all men do so respond in faith to live lives of trust in God, and therefore if there are such failures they are to be expected and seen as failures on the part of men. What are we to say of this view? O'Neill's opposition to any view which reveals determinism seem to be something of an a priori philosophical, and potentially twentieth-century, stance, which may not be honest to the first century Jewish thought world in which determinism has been said to be a common ingredient. An equally possible ingredient of the biblical and first century Jewish view was, what Barrett has called, "an interplay of predestination and human responsibility characteristic of the Bible, and not to be disposed of in the interests of simplicity on the one side or the other".[183] To demand logical consistency with the rigour

shown by O'Neill is again to make an a priori assumption which cannot then be used as an exegetical tool. No, the strength of O'Neill's position must stand or fall with his literary and stylistic analysis of the verses themselves, a matter for technical judgement, which judgement seems unlikely to be given in O'Neill's favour.

Returning to the first commentary of our period, we find that Dodd takes a different view of 9 - 11, which for him represents a Pauline sermon on the Jewish Question, The Rejection of Israel. But there is contact with O'Neill and others in his insistence that behind the thought of these chapters we must see the view of Paul's fellow Jewish Christians, who, over the years, had presented the apostle with the contradiction between their common starting point, (indeed Dodd suggests the common starting point of all Christians at that time), namely the O.T. Revelation with its proclamation of Israel's special part in the divine plan of salvation, and what they took to be his teaching - that now there was no special place or privilege for Israel in God's plan of salvation. This teaching was supported by the current fact that the majority of Jews were not within the church. It is because Paul knew that he had this sermon available that his preliminary look at this question in 3.1-9 could end so abruptly. For Dodd, however, the voice of the Jewish Christian opponents can be heard at many points throughout the chapters contributing to the diatribe character of the whole. He cites 9.6, behind which verse he asks us to hear the Jewish Christian voice arguing from the Jewish tradition and scripture that God is bound by his promises to save the whole corporate nation. A similar voice asking questions about the justice of God's action in Paul's account is to be heard at 9.14. Similarly at 10.4 he hears a voice asking, 'How can the Jews be held responsible?'.

To the questioner who claims that God is bound by his former promises, Paul replies, not so, God is sovereign to make an Israel

of his own and in any case the Jews have forfeited their inheritance. (9.6-13) To the Jewish objector who raises questions about the justice of a God who acts in so apparently arbitrary a fashion, Paul, suggests Dodd, takes the whole argument out of the area of justice into the area of God's grace. For Man is not to impose human conceptions of justice upon the Almighty but simply to know that whatever God does comes within the action of his grace. (9.14-16). Dodd takes Paul's language about God's hardening of his people to be an unnecessary sophistication within Paul's argument, springing from that common Jewish predilection for Determinism which we discovered O'Neill denying. Dodd can comment in one of his typically crisp remarks, "Here his thought declines from its highest level".[184] Paul accepts the dilemma posed by the inclusion of Gentiles within the church and by the apparent exclusion of the majority of Jews, but reveals by further explanation of his principle of justification by faith, how it is that the majority of Jews have disobeyed. They sought righteousness through works; they rejected Christ; moreover they failed to properly understand the witness to the true gospel that was already inherent within at least the Deuteronomic strand of the O.T. Tradition, and so came equally to reject the preaching of the apostles in their own time. Here, and at all the points where Paul makes extensive use of the O.T., we see Paul, so Dodd argues, seeking to demonstrate how, properly understood, the history of Israel is all of a piece. Moreover, we see Paul fighting a battle for a truer understanding of Jewish nationalism. This truer understanding Dodd believes Paul to have inherited from the Deutero-Isaianic material in the O.T.. Paul is deliberately fighting a battle against the Post-Exilic resurgence of a Jewish exclusivist nationalism, that denied the more important stream of prophetic idealism. "Paul saw rightly that in his struggle with Jewish nationalism within the Church he was fighting the battle of prophetic idealism afresh".[185] Properly understood, their own prophetic, II-Isaiah tradition, gave them a mission to the Gentiles and similarly the Gentiles a place within God's People.

In Dodd's view 11.1-2 join with 9.1f. and 10.1f. as protestations of loyalty to his own people and the whole of chapter 11 sees Paul examining "the history of the past, the facts of the present and the prospects of the future".[186] The past reveals that at no point did God reject his whole people; always there was a Remnant who responded. The behaviour of the majority in rejecting what God offers is so inexplicable as to invite the possibility that it has its part in the divine purpose. This can be seen in the present when the fact that a minority have responded is visible, as too is the general failure of the mission to the Jews, which led in its turn to the Gentile mission. Paul, again and again, seeking to help his fellow Jews, sees the oneness of their history and puts together for them the prophecies which speak of remnant, of Gentiles coming to be part of God's people with their present historical experience, concluding that the disobedience of the Jews in the present situation is part of the divine purpose. However, there is more, for the prophecies also tell of the Jews becoming jealous of Gentile inclusion within their inheritance, a jealousy which will lead to their own repentance and eventual inclusion too. Verses 13 and 14 become something of an aside to his Gentile readers showing how his ministry to them is part of a larger preparation for the eventual inclusion of the Jews which alone will lead to the full and final rewards of the eschaton. 11.16 represents for Dodd an assertion by Paul of something like a principle of tribal solidarity in which "Israel is thought of, not as a series of individuals each with his own personal responsibility to God, but as a solid whole".[187] The action of the minority, the remnant, will thus eventually leaven the whole, just as later Paul's reference to 'beloved for the sake of their forefather' is to be taken as part of the truth that God's gracious dealings with the patriarchs ensures his gracious dealing with all his people. For Dodd, this is a resurgence on the part of Paul of a modified, i.e. non-exclusive, national pride and corresponding belief in the importance of national character.

In 11.18, through the parable of the olive tree and its grafts, Paul thinks of the false pride which can also afflict the Gentile, leading to forms of anti-semitism; in fact their pride should be in the whole Jewish Old Testament tradition which is truly the stem which supports their branches. The eventual inclusion of the Jews is, for Paul, a mystery, that is something essentially divined from attention to the tradition and not to be deduced from logical argument or asserted in human pride. Dodd considers that really Paul is here far from logical, wanting it both ways; "We can well understand that his emotional interest in his own people, rather than strict logic, has determined his forecast".[188] Paul concludes with what, for Dodd, can scarcely be less than a cosmic universalism.

All in all, this essentially independent section of the whole, represents a massive apology and explication on the part of Paul to his fellow Jewish Christians of his own loyalty to the tradition which they and the whole church share; it is a treatise which argues for the oneness of the Jewish and growing Christian traditions; it is an attempt to reveal to his fellow Jews, and in a lesser way to the Gentiles, what form of true pride and nationalism is consistent with the faith. Like many a sermon, however, it reveals inconsistencies and infelicities of thought and expression which give it both force and character. Dodd's work remains extremely influential, if not determinative of many later treatments; there are strong echoes of its judgements in the work of Bruce and Hunter, Robinson and Black. However, in the middle and at the end of our period stand the much more extensive and independent treatments of Barrett (1957 & 1977) and Cranfield (1979). These scholars also, of course, use the work of Dodd, but they take a very different view, seeing in both cases that these chapters are much more theological, much less historically specific and much less psychologically motivated, than Dodd suggested. Before turning to their treatments, it might help to clarify some of the major issues and to do it by

looking to a work which could be judged to be a definitive uncovering of the questions. The essay in question is that of W.D. Davies, "Paul and the People of Israel".[189]

Davies believes that Romans, following as it does upon the heels of Galatians, is a much more conciliatory work; indeed, deliberately so, because of the failure of that Galatian epistle to pacify Paul's Jewish critics. In Romans, "condemnation and contrasts do not occupy Paul so much as the need for reconciliation".[190] Three things, he believes, occupied the apostle's mind, - the continuing opposition of Jewish Christians; the failure of the Jewish mission; and the encroachment of the Parousia. Paul was aware that the failure of his own people to accept the gospel called its very validity into question; indeed this same failure threatened all that Paul wanted to say about the faithfulness and reliability of God. We might see 9 - 11 as, "Paul's justification of God", but the chapters also, for Davies, spring from a specific historical situation, faced by the apostle as he lives on the threshold of his impending visit to Jerusalem and his proposed visit to Rome. They are concerned with "the nature of the discontinuity and continuity between the Jewish people and those 'in Christ'".[191] Paul is setting out (as Dodd hints) to understand and interpret his own Jewish tradition in the light of the gospel. Davies goes on to stress the eschatological context of Paul's thinking in these chapters, which accounts for his later stress on the <u>interim</u> nature of the current Jewish rejection of the gospel. It is therefore possible to say, "Thus Paul holds that within God's purpose the Jewish people always remain the chosen people".[192]

Davies recognises that it is possible to see in these chapters of Romans either anti-semitism, (a term he rightly considers to be anachronistic, because 19th century, - better anti-Jewish), or indeed an opposite pro-Jewish 'exaltation' kind of theology. Which is it? He accepts that there are

elements of Paul's thought which emphasise the split between the Old and the New Orders, that there is his oft-repeated questioning of the Law, but he goes on to suggest that too much weight should not be given to these elements. We should rather remember that the Christian Communities to which Paul was writing had abiding links with the synagogues from which they sprang. Indeed we can ask of the Christian Church in these apostolic times, "was it not a movement within Judaism in competition with other 'Jewish' movements variously interpreting a common tradition?".[193]

For Paul, the gospel and Jesus were both 'according to the scriptures', not alien to Judaism, but a development, if not the highest expression of it. Only in a judgement on incipient legalism, and that part of Judaism which exalted the law, is apostolic christianity to be seen as discontinuous. So can he also say "Paul's letters were composed in the context of a dialogue within Judaism";[194] they are part of a family dispute. It was a later generation of post - A.D. 70 Gentile Christians, who had no personal experience of Judaism, who read into Paul the more rigid criticisms and antitheses. Nor should we suggest that Paul saw the ethnic demise of his people from verses such as 11.25f., nor properly speak in terms of the end of Judaism. Indeed, Davies suggests that Paul came to see his people as having something like their own separate salvation history; they were not to be converted to Christ, so much as given an independent salvation through the direct act of God. "For Paul, Israel is to retain not only its ethnic identity but its religious peculiarities right up to the end of history, when there would be what has been referred to as a divine coup d'état to save Israel".[195] In this sense Paul came to see the future of the Church in a Gentile Mission, leaving the failure of the Jewish Mission and its aftermath firmly in the hands of God. He looked to the day when the Jews would rediscover the true form of their own faith. Because their ultimate salvation is to be directly the work of

God, as it were independent of any missionary endeavours of men, so is it rightly designated a mystery.

Romans then is in no sense anti-Jewish. Is it pro-Jewish? It is certainly possible to see in chapter 11 and the Olive metaphor, combined with Paul's other references in these chapters to the privileges of the Jews, an element of the exaltation of his own people. Davies, however, unlike Dodd, prefers to see this exaltation as not being nationalistic or indeed ethnic in kind. Rather, Paul is emphasising the pressing historical reality; historically, he knows the Jews to have a priority and a role. Davies writes, "Paul's quandary was precisely this; how to do justice to the historical role of his own people, without thereby ipso facto, elevating their ethnic character to a position of special privilege. This problem drives him into a paradox, where historical priority debates with Paul's theological assertions; he resolves it eschatologically, in the proclamation of "an overarching monotheism of grace".[196]

This essay offers a deal of excitement and stimulus, but it also enables us to see the issues at stake. They might be offered in the form of such questions as,

- is Romans 9 - 11 a conciliatory piece of writing?
- Can we accept opposition from Jewish Christians, the failure of the Jewish mission, and the encroachment of the Parousia as the threefold driving forces behind Paul's thinking?
- Are these chapters really 'Paul's justification of God'?
- If they are this latter then do they not stand utterly central to the whole epistle, indeed if not as its crown and zenith, (so Baur, O'Neill, and most recently the continental scholar Krister Stendahl)?
- even if we do not see them as the crown of the whole can we see them as really concerned with one of the central Pauline themes, i.e. Justification by Faith or the Righteousness of God, rather than with strictly ethnic concerns?

(This is very much part of the Continental view represented by the work of such scholars as Bornkamm and Käsemann, and is found in Barrett.)
- what credence, if any, can we give to a view, (like that of Stendahl's), that Paul is in a sense concerned to make Gentile Christians honorary Jews?
- what can we say of the issue as to whether or not in these chapters the apostle is thinking primarily in terms of individuals and their salvation, or rather in group 'totality' terms?
- how much influence can we ascribe in these chapters to specific historical circumstances, or are they almost 'pure theology'?
- are they concerned with problems of continuity and discontinuity and what answers to this question, if any, do they offer?
- Is Paul here setting out to interpret or to supersede the Jewish tradition in which he was raised?
- can we say of these chapters that they are governed wholly or in part by Paul's eschatological concern?
- what do we make of Davies' intriguing suggestion that Paul has, in a sense, abandoned his people to their own salvation history?
- is the paradox which these chapters present, if indeed they do so present a paradox, one of theology against history or something else?
- Do the chapters, in Davies' splendid phrase, present "an overarching monotheism of grace"?

These, then, are the questions that the chapters raise and which are all so admirably uncovered in this essay. We have already seen Dodd's answers to them. We must turn to the only other commentaries of our period, those of Barrett and Cranfield, which raise such issues, and offer them several answers.

Between Barrett and Davies, there are points of considerable agreement, but perhaps even more disagreement. At the beginning of his commentary, as part of what we might call the historical

introduction, Barrett accepts that the Roman Church may well have begun as a synagogue grouping analogous to other such groupings in Rome; however, he argues that by the time of Paul's writing the Roman Church contained strong Gentile elements and that the letter is best seen as Paul's expression of his gospel to the Gentile churches.[197] We are thus not dealing in Romans, or in these chapters, with something that is primarily an apologia for Jewish Christianity, an exploration of the common Jewish/Christian tradition, but rather with something that must be seen as a distinct attempt at a Pauline Christian theological exposition. In contrast to any who might stress the continuity of the apostle's thought with the Jewish tradition itself, Barrett stresses the discontinuity; he can write, "he (Paul) ceased to be a Rabbi in the presuppositions of his thinking".[198] We should see that Paul's conversion was in a true sense a revolution for him, and in a footnote Barrett can directly confront Davies, arguing, "the discontinuity in Paul's thought is perhaps greater than Davies suggests".[199] The central and never to be forgotten element of Paul's experience is, for Barrett, his acceptance of the Messiahship and Lordship of Christ, which acceptance leads inevitably to an intense problem of readjustment. Throughout his exegesis, Barrett stresses Paul's insistence upon the culpability of the Jews, (on 2.12, on 2.16, where the connection of Gospel and judgement is underlined, on 2.17-29, which has as its heading in the Commentary "Judgement and the Jew", on 2.27 where again there is some stress on Paul's distinction from Rabbinic Judaism, "Words like 'Jew' and 'circumcision' retain great significance, but they require new definitions".[200] Part of this leads to a strong stress on Paul's lack of national or patriotic sentiment, which at this point stands as a persistent correction of the direction in which Dodd's comments proceed.

Barrett's corrective comments, denying national sentiment are found in notes on 3.2, on 9.1-5 and especially perhaps in an

earlier comment on Romans 3.9, where we read the important sentence, "The Jew has an advantage and he has not an advantage. It is a serious injustice to Paul if we suppose him to have known that theological consistency could allow only the denial of all advantage to the Jew, but to have permitted a sentimental patriotism to lead him from time to time into nationalist parrot cries which he knew in his heart and mind to be false. The advantage of the Jew is real, but it is an advantage which is...at the same time a disadvantage. It consists in knowing (out of Scripture) that before God all talk of 'advantages' is folly and sin".[201] In the section of commentary which ends at 3.20 there is a summary comment which argues that Paul, in Barrett's view, now believes that for the Jew, a death warrant was written into their birth certificate. Behind this is the suggestion that, in a real sense, Paul considered himself to have ceased to be a Jew, that Judaism was no longer of his very being. This is guessed by Barrett in a comment on 1Co.9.20 "I became as a Jew in order that I might win Jews".[202]

The basic fact which motivates 9 - 11 is therefore the Jew's great fault, supremely their rejection of the gospel. In these chapters we are to see that Paul's greatest stress lies on God and God's offer of mercy and justification received in faith. Paul's concern for his fellow Jews is real, but is personal rather than patriotic and does not remove the discontinuity which he feels now to exist, now that he "has now been born into a new family".[203] The list of privileges which begins chapter 9 cannot but stand in an intensely sad but ironic judgement of the Jew's misunderstanding and rejection of the gospel, as they had it as part of their tradition, and as it was presented to them in Christ himself, the final and most important 'privilege'.

Does Paul continue to think of Israel collectively? Not really, for now Paul sees all things in a christological context.

The collectivity of Israel as a name and as a people has been replaced by the inclusiveness of Christ, Christ the Seed. (So especially on 9.29 .) Part of the proclamation of God's Freedom in Grace which is Paul's central concern in these opening sentences is a recognition by both Jew and Gentile that they both have, as it were, to start again. Paul, suggests Barrett, dates election not so much from the days of his people's history, but rather from the event of Christ. "It is important to recall here that the seed of Abraham contracted until it became ultimately Christ...(election) takes place always and only in Christ".[204] Thus, we must see a kind of double subordination in the thought of Paul, all is subject to his gospel of that fuller revelation of God's mercy and righteousness, but in its turn that gospel is subordinated to the historical gospel which is the life and ministry of Jesus. The Jews rejected him and were responsible for his death, which for Israel meant that she disavowed her own place in God's plan; a new Israel was elected to take the place of the old. These were the events of the last age, which reflected the mind and character of God. In replacement of Davies' trinity of Jewish Christian opposition, the failure of the Jewish mission, the approaching Parousia as directing presuppositions in the mind of Paul, we have here another trio of which only the eschatology remains, the failure of the Jewish mission is more positively stressed as the Jewish rejection of the Christ, and the Jewish Christian opposition, by the equally positive desire of the apostle to pursue his theology of a gracious God. Christology, eschatology, theology proper are Paul's governing concerns.

Israel's failure is real, it lies in her seeking righteousness by works, it lies in her failure to see the 'gospel' in her own Scriptures, it lies in her rejection of the Christ and the apostolic testimony.

Barrett has offered a more recent treatment of the central section of 9 - 11.[205] This later treatment does not, at any

substantial point, contradict the views expressed in the earlier commentary, but it does offer them a renewed defence. Chapters 9 - 11 are presented as an integral, if relatively independent, part of the whole letter, and again are shown to paint a 'black' picture for the Jews. The opening of chapter 9 stresses the tragedy of their historical situation, and when we reach 9.30 and the following section, it is clear that it is not likely to bring relief, for "Paul must still, as in chapter 9, supplicate for the salvation of his people, which, if not excluded, is evidently anything but secure".[206] As this section proceeds, the emphasis falls especially heavily on the theme of the Jewish disobedience, which no amount of objection on their part can absolve. Indeed, we might see that a good part of the purpose of 9.30f. is to establish the nature of the Jewish disobedience; it centres upon their misunderstanding of the law. They approach it with a works-response, seeking to use the law to establish their own righteousness; thus verses 9.30-10.4 are best understood as Paul offering, "a complete reversal of the way in which Israel in general has understood its Torah". God's response is to diminish the number of blood Israelites within his People; election as the Jews understood it has become for them provisional and indeed, by their own reactions, failed. The coming of Christ is the decisive point; their former notions of national election are hereby terminated, "the historical figure of Jesus is the seed of Abraham, and thus includes in himself the process of election and the law, for he precedes and concludes both".[207]

Chapter 11 is, of course, more optimistic for the Jews, but only so in a truly eschatological context. Indeed, such optimism on the part of the apostle is related to his adoption of what might be called meta-historical language. Chapter 11.12 finds Paul looking to this eschatological bliss that the final return will bring. Paul is not thinking in terms of the salvation of all individual Jews; if there are occasional historical personal conversions then these can only be seen as a prefigurement of the

final eschatological salvation. "The full conversion of Israel therefore stands on the boundary of history".[208] Even at 11.25 we find Paul comparing the fault of the Jews with that of the Gentiles; it is their self-elevation, their boastfulness and self-confidence.

When Paul talks of all Israel finding salvation, he is not talking about each individual Israelite or indeed, in any general sense, of the whole of Israel, without exception or remainder; rather the phrase is to be taken representationally. In the face of the eschatological event, which is really what he is seeking to encompass at this point, numbers are rendered impossible. The proof that he is thinking eschatologically is the inclusion of the "Now" at 11.31. Paul may well have still been expecting the immanent eschaton, "but it seems in the highest degree unlikely that he actually contemplated a successful operation of rapid missionary work culminating in the very near future, in the conversion of every single Jew. He is, rather, speaking of the End, of that which is beyond history and beyond all human understanding of God all in all, the merciful God".[209]

For Barrett, as for Davies, it is indeed a monotheism of grace that is celebrated in these chapters and it is, in a sense, by painting the darkness of the Jewish unbelief that the great glory of God's mercy, which can work even through that, is to be proclaimed.

It is clear that Barrett finds in these chapters the work of a truly giant christian apostolic mind, striving for theological integrity, and not given to the illogicalities denied by O'Neill and tolerated by Dodd. The view is, some may say, a polarised one presenting as it does a sharp Mercy/Sin, God/Disobedient Man distinction - a truly Reformed view, which clearly continues to have many supporters, particularly on the Continent. It certainly does not hesitate to draw attention to

the severity which is the opposite side of God's goodness, nor to the moral and divine logic of God's universe in which disobedience does bring its consequences. It is perhaps strange that, so strong a case for the theological value of this section having been made, Barrett should not make greater claims than he does for the chapters as the climax in Pauline theology.

Davies suggested that 9 - 11 are to be seen as conciliatory, conciliatory that is as between Paul and his Jewish Christian opponents. Cranfield's comments seek to demonstrate how Paul aims to be conciliatory in a deeper and more permanently relevant way. He seeks to show how Paul's thought reconciles Jew and Gentile, but more especially Christian and Jew. When, as a student, I attended Cranfield's lectures on Romans and came to that point where he summed up the significance of these chapters, I noted this - "The Jews are a good argument for the existence of God. We cannot have Christ as Lord and Saviour unless we are prepared to live with his people". Cranfield is not the first in the period of our study to stress the reconciling note of these chapters. Kirk includes such a note, writing, "But his (Paul's) conviction that this, the greatest wound from which organized humanity could suffer, could be healed by the power of Christ, is the climax of his doctrine of justification".[210]

The chapters have, suggests Cranfield, a primary theological purpose. They are not merely a personal expression arising out of some inner psychological need of Paul to deal with this matter. They are partly there to bring to a proper conclusion themes begun earlier in the letter, especially those touched upon at 3.1f.; they are similarly concerned with Paul's explanation of his understanding of the Old Testament. Above all, they exist to bear a theological witness to the all-embracing mercy of God, a more present theme in these chapters, argues Cranfield, than anywhere else in Paul. They also, however, arise from a more historically specific knowledge on the part of Paul of circumstances in the Roman church, circumstances which lead Paul to

write to counter an incipient Christian anti-semitism.

From the very beginning, and against Barrett, he argues that the stress on mercy in these chapters should lead us to see that the apostle nowhere questions the past, present or future inclusion of the whole Jewish nation within the People of God. It is ugly and unscriptural to suggest the apostle teaches that God has in any way cast off his people, or that the Church has taken over from Israel as the people of God. Rather, we should follow Barth's view,[211] which speaks of the one community of God, which includes the Church (Jews and Gentiles) but also the whole people of Israel (believing and unbelieving).

The grief which Paul expresses at the beginning of Chapter 9 cannot therefore be because his people have been rejected by God. Instead, the apostle's expression of grief, in a witnessing sense, demonstrates to all his readers the only true response of a Christian to the unbelief of the larger part of Israel; it is also a defence of the integrity of his whole apostleship, witnessing to the Gentiles to the depths of his concern for any in unbelief. Drawing attention to 9.3 and the expression, τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου, we are to see in this, Paul accepting his people, even in their unbelief as part of the people of God; unbelieving Israel is within the elect community. A similar witness is offered by 9.4, and 9.6f., which are not to be taken as Paul seeking to disinherit his fellow Jews, for such would be to write a charter of anti-semitism. In fact, we should see Paul operating with a view that encompasses a "church hidden in Israel". All Jews are God's people, but some are elect within the elect and offer a positive witness to God whilst others offer a negative witness, but a witness nevertheless. In 9.15, following, we are to see not the stressing of God's freedom so much as the stressing of his mercy; not so much a stress on the sovereignty of God as upon the sovereignty of God's mercy. There is a sense

in which God's will is not free. He cannot deny himself, he is bound always to be merciful. The hardening which is spoken of in 10.18, is the assignment by God of this "negative role in relation to his purpose, for an unconscious, involuntary service".[212] Again and again, Paul is not thinking in Romans of individuals but of the whole community of God's people. It is true that in 9.30 - 10.21, Paul does not fail to make the nature of the Jewish disobedience clear; it is threefold; they refuse God's gift of righteousness, preferring their own righteousness for which they have worked; they refuse to see in Christ the substance and fulfilment of the Law; they pursue the law which is for Paul a good thing, by the wrong method, ἐξ ἔργων and not ἐκ πίστεως . The Jews have had opportunity to respond in the law and through the apostolic preaching, (10.14); not that the preaching has been total, but it has been general and so adequately heard. On 10.19, Cranfield points to the fact that in these chapters Paul uses the term Ἰσραήλ and not the possible Ἰουδαῖος, that he does so eleven times, and that the use of this term is further evidence that he constantly thinks of them "as the object of God's election".

Further evidence of Paul defending the Jewish tradition is given in his use of Old Testament quotations; these are not used in diatribal argument against his own people, but rather "It is a true insight which sees a connection between the fact - so full of evangelical significance - of Paul's establishment of Israel's guilt in such a way as not to call into question but to confirm its election, and the constancy of his attention to the OT throughout this chapter".[213] Throughout this chapter, Cranfield follows Barth, against Barrett, in suggesting that the Pauline emphasis is never on Israel's disobedience, but rather on God's mercy and patience. Chapter 11, especially 11.2a, offers the key theme when it reads " οὐκ ἀπώσατο ὁ θεὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ὃν προέγνω . Verse 11.1,

Paul's witness to his own Jewishness, is not to be taken as the apostle saying, 'Not all are cast off, for I at least am a Jewish Christian', nor yet is it an attempt to say 'If God had cast off all the Jews then I, with my personal history would certainly have been amongst them'; it is rather a reference to himself as a Jew and an apostle, proving that "the missionary vocation of Israel is at last being fulfilled and Israel is actively associated with the work of the Risen Christ".[214] The words of 11.2 carry no exclusive sense. God rejects none, for all were part of his foreordained community. Similarly, all references to a remnant are "open"; they stress that because of the remnant there is continuing hope for all the people. The reference to ἐπωρώθησαν in 11.7 is softened, and again said to point forward to God's eventual inclusion of all Jews, a fact which is explicitly confirmed by 11.11-24. These latter verses are directed towards Gentiles in Rome, directly warning them of the dangers of their adopting an attitude of superiority. Cranfield accepts that Paul looks to a time at the end, when the whole nation of Israel, though not necessarily every individual member will be received.

Although the individuality of this interpretation is evident, it would be wrong to suppose that in his general judgements Cranfield is breaking entirely new ground. His contention that the chapters are a defence against anti-semitism was, as we noted, first voiced by Kirk; it is part of the argument of Bruce and central to the understanding of Davies, Scott, Bowen and Rhymer.[215] The notion that in these chapters we have something of a defence of the Old Testament and its tradition is a widely held view. It is the first contention offered by Best,[216] and very much part of Black's understanding (as well, of course, as having had a long history from Luther to Barth).

However, Black wants to make these chapters much more a corrective than a defence, for he sees the apostle not simply

undergirding the Old Testament and its tradition as correcting that part of it presented by Pharisaic Judaism. Romans, for Black, is an attempt to put the Roman Jewish Christian church members straight about the proper understanding of their tradition. Like Davies, Black accepts that there should not be too great a distinction drawn between Judaism proper and early Christianity, the Roman church as "an imperfect and immature Church, still probably little more than a sect within Judaism".[217]

Cranfield reflects Black, and ultimately Dodd, when he sees Paul eschewing an individualist emphasis in favour of a total, societary view of his people. But we must ask, is Cranfield sensitive to the many divisions within Judaism of this early period and does he not approach the whole question of Paul's attitude as if there were only orthodox Jews of whom Paul was one? It is surely likely that if Paul is defending the Jews and their tradition he is doing so in a discriminatory way, a way that would not necessarily encompass, let us say, Pharisaic Judaism, which he had good reason to know but also possibly to reject. Bruce, Black and Manson want to make distinctions within Judaism and also possibly within the Roman church, arguing that Paul was, at least in part, debating with the conservative, old-fashioned, traditionalist, reactionary element of Judaism which he regretted was equally found amongst those Jews who had come to be part of the church. It may be too much to say, with Griffith, that Romans is "another epistle to the Hebrews",[218] but it is more balanced and more likely that at the same time as Paul was speaking of the need to beware of anti-semitism he was also speaking of the dangers of Jewish conservatism. Paul was nothing if not critical of those with whom he disagreed. Cranfield, unlike many others, does not lay emphasis in his comments upon the true force or extent of the criticism which Paul was here making of his own people.

In considering the comments of Barrett, we had occasion to see how he stresses the eschatological framework of the apostle's

thought, an eschatology which leads Paul into an essential discontinuity as between his position in the New Age in Christ, and that of his own people who belong to the Old Age. Cranfield, although he accepts the eschatological context of that final salvation which is to be offered to the Jews as to all people, does not lay such weight upon this strain in the apostle's thinking. The other emphasis within Barrett's comments was the christological, culminating in his contention, "election takes place always and only in Christ". In his introductory section, and following Barth, Cranfield argues strongly that the doctrine of God's election must always be seen in a strictly christological context. Yet the question which has to be faced is how are human beings related to Christ? For Barth and for Cranfield, the relationship depends not on any human response; indeed Barth can suggest that we must not think of election as either individual or indeed an independent element of human experience. The whole community is elect, because the whole community has by God's good pleasure been counted to be in Christ. The election of the individual and the election of the community are both swallowed up in the election of Christ. Christ is here considered far less as an historical figure to whom specific human response is, or is not, made than as some kind of theological symbol who embodies in himself a series of universal theological truths. Election in Christ seems, for Barth and Cranfield, to be something which supremely happens in the mind of God and there alone; for Barrett, election in Christ is indeed part of the grace of God's action, but it immediately implies an historical response on the part of men. "The remnant and the seed alike were reduced to one - Jesus Christ; henceforth the elect people of God were elect in him. This fact reminds us that behind Paul's discussion there lies the historical background formed by the ministry of Jesus; his rejection and crucifixion by Israel, which thereby disavowed its own place in God's plan; and the election of a new Israel in Christ to take the place of the old".[219] In all, however, Cranfield stands very much in the tradition of those who claim

that 9 - 11 is a completely natural progression within the thought of the letter as a whole. In a convincing section of his introduction,[220] he relates the thought of these chapters not only to earlier parts of the letter such as those dealing with the Jews in chapter 3, but also directly with chapter 8 and its theology of hope.

The discussion of God's dealing with the Jews in 9 - 11 is thus wholly integral to Paul's total presentation of his thought; this very discussion is that which "makes possible a fuller and profounder understanding of the gospel Paul has already set forth".[221]

Chapter 6.

The Gentiles, Paul's Apostolic Vocation

The fact that in chapters 9 - 11 of the Letter to the Romans Paul is deeply concerned with his own people, The Jews, and with their rejection of the Christian Gospel, together with their eventual fate in the purposes of God, is a proposition needing no defence save that of reading the text; but the same text reveals that Paul is equally concerned to speak both to and about the Gentiles, within the same purposes of God. Whether or not we accept the proposition that the Roman church was mainly Gentile in constitution, Paul does openly address himself to Gentiles, in a long passage, 11.13-32, which could be described as the climax of the whole of the three chapters. There is no wonder, then, that at least one scholar,[222] has seen these chapters as a major Pauline defence of the whole status of the Gentile Christian community. We cannot neglect the fact that Paul, within these same chapters, stresses that he is an apostle to the Gentiles, (11.13).

In discussing Paul's treatment of the Gentiles and the question of his own understanding of his apostolic vocation, so far as these chapters shed light upon our knowledge of it, it is with a Continental scholar, Johannes Munck, that we must begin. Munck is, of course, not a British scholar within the period 1930-80, but he did write within that period and his work has exercised its influence on British exegesis; no serious treatment of Romans 9 - 11 can proceed without reference to Munck's treatment of its problems in his two works, Paulus und die Heilsgeschichte, 1954, and Christus und Israel, eine Auslegung von Röm. 9-11, 1956.[223]

Munck built upon the work of Fridrichsen, The Apostle and His Message 1947, and began with an assertion that all of the

churches with which Paul had dealings, and certainly Rome, were virtually "pure Gentile" in composition. He takes 11.13, within these chapters together with Rom. 15.15 as certain evidence that this is so. The heart of Munck's thesis is his contention that Paul sees his own apostolic task as that of "a prophetic herald", and, moreover, a herald of the final Age, the arrival of which is closely bound up with his own work. Chapters 9 - 11 of Romans are especially relevant material because within them, "the acute crisis in the history of salvation is being worked out in relation to the two categories, Israel and the Gentiles".[224] In these chapters, Paul is primarily concerned not with individual Jews or Gentiles, but with nations. Paul believes that the whole process which he describes, the Jewish rejection of the gospel, the consequent taking of the gospel to the Gentiles in the Gentile Mission, the consequent ζῆλος , jealousy, in the heart of Israel and the eventual salvation of all 'Israel' (Jew and Gentile) is far advanced and rapidly reaching its conclusion. Paul's own work is instrumental in motivating the process, indeed his work is more important than any figure in, for example, Old Testament Redemptive History, because he has been appointed by God to fulfil a key position within this last great drama of salvation. It is this clue which accounts for Paul's repeated attempts, throughout his life and correspondence, to defend his own apostleship; Romans offers another example (to put next to e.g. 1Co. 9.1). In such texts as Romans 11.17 and 11.19 we see Paul openly correcting the Gentiles' false view that the present rejection of the gospel by the Jews is final and that salvation is therefore only available to Gentiles. One of the key moments in the process is, however, that point at which we can say, 11.25, τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν ἐθνῶν εἰσέλθῃ ; this difficult phrase has less to do with the saving of a given number of people than with the completion of a process, during which the whole Gentile world would have heard the gospel, albeit in a representative way. Paul

looks to this 'fulness of the Gentiles' as "the decisive turning point in redemptive history", which will lead then to the salvation of Israel and hence to the Parousia and the End. Romans 15.16-19 is, for Munck, additional evidence that Paul is thinking of his own apostolic preaching in representative terms and in national terms. We must not, insists Munck, divorce Pauline theology from Pauline activity; his theology is reflection upon his life and work and embodies his own understanding of his missionary and apostolic task. We should not continue what Munck interestingly refers to as a hundred year period, during which scholars have sought to demythologise and secularise Paul.[225]

Munck's work finds no echo in the commentaries of Hunter and Barclay, both originally written in 1955, a year after the book's original publication; nor yet is its influence felt in Best's 1967 Cambridge commentary - perhaps, because as a commentary intended for schools, the complexities of Munck's thesis were considered inappropriate. It could not, of course, influence the earlier commentaries of Dodd and Kirk, but the work of some subsequent commentators does reveal its influence, or contain parallel emphasis. Whiteley can, for example, in his section on Paul's treatment of the Gentiles content himself with a not very full résumé of Munck's work, to which he adds the comment, "it gives a convincing explanation for St. Paul's attitudes to Jews and Gentiles as expounded in the Epistle to the Romans".[226] Munck's thesis also influences some parts of the work of Black and Bruce but is specifically rejected by O'Neill and Cranfield. Barrett had himself arrived at similar conclusions based on Fridrichsen as early as 1953, concluding in one essay, that for Paul, "The primary meaning of Apostleship is eschatological; the apostle is a unique link between the end of the old world and the beginning of the new".[227]

As a contrast to Munck's work we might look at the work of Kirk, who, in 1937, was writing in a way that no doubt Munck

would characterise as part of that attempt to demythologise or secularise the apostle; it would be more fair to use the term 'historicise', for Kirk suggests that Paul's whole argument springs from his process of historical retrospection. Looking back, Paul could see that the Jews had been the first to have the gospel preached to them; that they had rejected it; that this had led to the Gentile mission and to the Gentile's more positive response. Romans 11.8f. represents Paul reflecting upon these facts of recent history and not failing to see the hand of God in what had happened. Kirk accepts that within this section there is also material which represents Paul looking forward, but clearly this is little better than speculation on Paul's part; Paul's attempt to look forward to the fulness of the Gentiles and to the consequent provocation to jealousy of the Jews is an example of Paul's argument skating on very thin ice, as is evidenced by his feeble and solitary attempt to support his vision by the proof text quotations at 11.26 and 27. Kirk comments, "Against them he was bound to set the facts of his own day, which gave no support to the suggestion and the consideration that, judged by all human standards, such a method of healing the breach between Jew and Gentile must seem unutterably ridiculous".[228] This is not so far from Dodd's now famous comment on 11.13-14 and the notion of the success of the Gentile mission making the Jews jealous, "He certainly did make them jealous, but if he really thought that it would have any such desirable result, he was a great optimist!".[229] For Dodd, as for Kirk, this is an example of Paul's thinking getting the better of him. Kirk goes further in suggesting that the weakness and vagueness of Paul's 'hope' at this point is evidenced by the concluding doxology, which is notable for the way in which it stresses man's ignorance and the unsearchable nature of God's ways, 11.33-34.

Chapter 11.13-24, the Olive Tree allegory, which for Kirk is something of a parenthesis in Paul's argument, is there

because the apostle wanted to counteract Gentile arrogance; the Gentiles within the Roman church were in fact glorying over the Jews amongst them, and hence Paul's comment that he glories in his ministry to the Gentiles; but it is a ministry which will have the effect of leading the Jews to salvation.

Throughout this material Kirk believes that Paul is goverened by his intense personal desire to see reconciliation in essentially historical, this-worldly terms between the Jews and Gentiles, even though in expressing this hope Paul finds himself employing apocalyptic imagery, as, for example, in his use of the phrase, 'life from the dead' at 11.15.

In suggesting this way of looking at the material, Kirk is substantially following Dodd's work of a few years earlier; Dodd only differs to the extent that he speaks about the material as directed against a greater anti-semitism, in addition to self-conceit on the part of the Gentiles.[230] It is clear that both Dodd and Kirk are content to stress the historical and moral dimensions of Paul's words, rather than to explore at any length their eschatological or mythological resonances; these two scholars are good examples of that tendency which Munck wrote to counteract.

Nevertheless, the historical dimension of Paul's comments on his apostleship and on the respective places of Jew and Gentile largely governs the comments of W.D. Davies, who in his essay, Paul and the People of Israel, make it clear that he rejects the thesis of Stendahl and Käsemann, which is that Paul at 11.25-27 reaches the conclusion that henceforth Christianity was to be a Gentile movement and that the salvation of the Jews could only now be achieved at the end of history by an act of God.[231] Davies prefers to see the material about the Gentiles in chapter 11 as directed towards an anti-Judaism tendency within the Gentile Christian community. This is not the same as an anti-

semitic tendency, which in any case, he stresses, is an anachronistic thought and use of language. Paul is concerned especially in the Olive Tree allegory to give a high estimate of the Jews and a correspondingly lower one of the Gentiles. Paul is deliberately defending his Jewish inheritance and culture against the Graeco-Roman alternatives and is demonstrating that the advantages, which he ascribed to the Jew at 9.4f., are indeed real advantages, not in terms of salvation per se, but in terms of the secure and prior place they give to the Jews in the historical scheme of salvation.

Dodd had asserted that in 9 - 11 Paul is arguing in national terms or at least "terms of great corporations",[232] but for Davies, it is wrong to suggest that Paul is here reasserting any nationalism; rather is he talking about the observable "historical and chronological priority", which the Jews enjoy in the scheme of salvation and which the Gentiles must recognise. Davies can write, "The symbols of the cultivated and the wild olive are used by Paul, then, in his efforts to acknowledge the place of the Jewish people in the Christian dispensation".[233] Within that dispensation as Paul had already made clear in the πρῶτον of 1.16, Ἰουδαίῳ τε πρῶτον καὶ Ἕλληνι, the Jews have a historical priority. The Gentiles to whom Paul was writing needed to learn this lesson, indeed this mystery, and to recognise that freedom from ethnic categories in the understanding of salvation, (the conclusion of the Apostolic decree of Acts 15?), did not dispense with this truth of historical priority. Paul was demonstrating to the Gentiles that he, and therefore they, must take the Old Testament and Judaism seriously; he was, suggests Davies, challenging Marcion, before Marcion. This comment prompts the brief reflection that this is the view of O'Neill also, save that he sees all of this material in chapter 11 as second century material written not so much before, as at the time of Marcion, by a commentator of that age.

Davies has made an interesting comment upon the Gentile fault which the apostle is here seeking to combat; it is not that they are simply or generally anti-semitic; it is that they are running the risk of throwing away the baby (the historical priority of Judaism and the Old Testament tradition) with the bathwater (salvation understood as a function of racial and ethnic descent). This characteristically sensitive understanding on the part of Davies makes a good deal more sense than the view of those who believe that Paul is here interrupting an important theological argument to tell the Gentiles off for their growing sense of moral superiority. Davies may have historicised, but he has not, in Munck's terminology, demythologised or secularised Paul's thought.

Our discussion thus far has concentrated on general issues with regard to Paul's treatment of the Gentiles and his apostleship; the considerable extent to which these chapters do contain some material on these themes only becomes apparent when looking in greater detail at the verses concerned.

One exegete, Ellison, can suggest that in a sense the whole argument of these chapters begins with words of a Gentile opponent, for he sees such 'hidden' Gentile comment presupposed between 9.5 and 9.6 and therefore occasioning the whole of Paul's subsequent argument.[234] We do not, however, have to wait too long in these chapters for a specific mention of Gentiles, for Paul specifically writes at 9.24 of those whom God has called as οὐ μόνον ἐξ Ἰουδαίων ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ ἐθνῶν. The position and grammar of the ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ ἐθνῶν is said especially[to] emphasise the Gentile's place in God's merciful preparations. Similarly, Paul's addition of two quotations, vv.25 and 26 from Hosea, 2.23 and 1.10, which originally applied to the ten Northern tribes of Israel but which here are offered as a type of the restored Gentiles. Cranfield takes this view,[235]

but Barrett believes that Paul continues, in these quotations, to have in mind the Jews.[236]

At 9.30 we have another specific reference to the Gentiles and to the fact that they attained righteousness, whilst not apparently pursuing it. Many scholars are agreed that the absence of the article before ἔθνη in the Greek text forbids the translation offered e.g. in the RV, "the Gentiles", and therefore makes the reference one to those Gentiles who have believed and become part of the church, (so Barrett, Ellison, Cranfield). The phrase, who were not pursuing righteousness, τὰ μὴ διώκοντα δικαιοσύνην, has about it, in English as in Greek, an element of ambiguity, raising the question as to whether or not Paul is here referring, as he had done earlier in the letter, (so 1.18-32), to Gentile immorality; Best, for example, suggests that the earlier section is relevant here and that Paul has in mind the Gentile disregard for moral living;[237] but most are agreed that Paul's first and second mention of righteousness correspond. His sentence is to a degree tautological; they did not seek for righteousness, (Barrett, "the harmonious relation with God from which alone life and salvation can spring"), but this is what they received. Cranfield is anxious to suggest that, far from Paul here recalling his judgements of chapter 1, he is, in fact, not denying in these words "that in their former pagan life the Gentile Christians had sought after moral righteousness".[238]

At verses 10.19 and 20 Paul offers two quotations, from Deuteronomy 32.21 and from Isa. 65.1; both of these refer indirectly in Paul's thinking to the Gentiles, for the first, contains the phrases, οὐκ ἔθνει .... ἔθνει ἀσυνέτῳ and the second explicitly says that God was found by men who were not seeking him, i.e. Gentiles, cf. 9.30. These quotations seem to be of especial significance in that they foreshadow the fuller treatment of the theme of Israel's jealousy to come in chapter 11,

(so Barrett,[239] and Cranfield,[240]). They may be even more specific in that the second quotation could be taken to suggest that the Gentiles were not merely passive receivers of God's self-revelation, but in "finding" him, Εὑρέθην, the Gentiles were showing positive response.[241]

F.F. Bruce has further seen a very special place within the development of Paul's thought for the quotation from Deuteronomy 32; it is from this quotation, he suggests, that Paul derives his hope that the success of the Gentile mission will lead to the positive jealousy of the Jews, the very theme which he is to speak of at length in 11.13-27 and again at 16.26.[242]

So it is that at 11.11 Paul begins his exploration of how it was that the original rejection of the gospel by the Jews led to the Gentile mission and to its success, and this in turn to the 'jealousy' of the Jews and to their eventual salvation. Here in these verses Paul clearly relates the Gentile Mission and the salvation of at least some Jews. It may be that, as Barrett suggests, Paul first arrived at this sequence from his looking back upon and reflection about the historical facts, the way in which Israel's original rejection of the Gospel did lead to the Gentile Mission; but Ellison is surely right to remind us that for Paul the sequence is much more than a temporal or indeed historical affair. Barrett again suggests that some Gentile Christians may have drawn from the fact of the Jewish 'stumble' the conclusion that henceforth salvation was to belong to the Gentiles only, but he does not suggest that Paul specifically knew this to be part of the attitude of Roman Gentile Christians.

From 11.13 following, until v.32, Paul is directly addressing Gentile Christians, offering a warning. But what about? Many commentators at this point assume that within the Roman Christian community there was a developing attitude of anti-

semitism (so Cranfield and Best, and Davies, who prefers the term "anti-Judaism"). Bruce takes a similar line, suggesting that this attitude of patronising superiority was especially taken by Gentiles towards those Jews who had returned to Rome after their expulsion under Claudius. Indeed he can develop this thought to include the suggestion, originally made by W.L. Knox,[243] that one of the Jewish synagogues in Rome went by the name of the Synagogue of the Olive,- hence Paul's adoption of this Olive Tree metaphor, rather than, for example, the more common Jewish metaphor of the Vine. Most British scholars oppose the view of Munck and others that Paul's direct address to the Gentiles in v.13 is any evidence for a Gentile majority in the Roman Church, (especially Cranfield and Ellison).

But again we have to ask what is the Gentile attitude against which St. Paul is anxious to warn? It is perhaps not enough to give the impression, as Cranfield does, that it is their natural haughtiness or indeed self-complacent egotism that is being criticised by the apostle. One of the key verses is 11.20 where Paul says to the Gentiles, μὴ ὑψηλὰ φρόνει ἀλλὰ φοβοῦ . Cranfield is surely right when suggesting that the fear which Paul enjoins is that full biblical fear, which is the beginning of wisdom, and which extends forwards to thoughts of the Last Judgement, but Cranfield does not go far in bringing out the theological nature of the Gentile fault which Paul is seeking to expose; it is not anti-semitism or haughtiness or conceit, although we may consider these the symptoms; the disease is, as Barrett and Ellison agree in pointing out, that the Gentiles are beginning to take pride in their response to the gospel, to grow out of their sense of their true dependence upon God, "(to) become preoccupied with his status and forget his responsibility, that he should become proud of what he had received and therefore incapable of demonstrating Christ's power in his life".[244] Barrett is surely right in drawing our attention to the fact that Paul has at the back of

his mind the parallel behaviour of the Jews themselves, (so at 2.17f.), for they too had exhibited this same fault. They had come to think of themselves as higher than God. The symptom of this disease, (at bottom a total turning on its head of Paul's understanding of faith and the gospel), was indeed that they began to congratulate themselves on their own response. Again, following this line of thought which means that the apostle is not correcting some moral fault so much as some basic theological misunderstanding, we may agree with Barrett when he suggests that Paul's phrase, σὺ ἐκ τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἐξεκόπης ἀγριελαίου at 11.24, is a reference to the weak natural position of the Gentiles, for as he had already shown at 1.20 the Gentiles only advantage "was the dim vestige of religion which warned him that the world of which he was part was not his but God's".[245]

There are those who see the source of Paul's thought here in his knowledge of actual conditions in Rome, (of anti-semitism, anti-Judaism, synagogue of the Olive etc.), such would be Cranfield, Bruce and Davies; but there are others, Barrett, Black and Ellison amongst them, who see Paul's thought here governed by his own theological reasoning.

Whatever the exact Gentile fault which Paul is here seeking to dispel, all are agreed that he believes he can do so by imparting to all Gentiles the mystery, the revelation, which he offers at 11.25f. These words of Paul's do, of course, form a conclusion to the whole of 9 - 11 as well as the crown of his present warning to the Gentiles, and Ellison is again helpful when he says that we must see that what Paul was correcting must be sufficiently weighty to deserve this imparted mystery; perhaps this lends weight to those who see the Gentile fault as the complete misunderstanding of the gospel of God's free grace, rather than those who see the Gentiles as consumed with an anti-Jewish fervour. Paul's secret is that the hardening of the Jews

will continue until, but only until, the coming in of what he calls, Τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν ἐθνῶν , after which the salvation of the Jews will follow. We have already seen that Johannes Munck, following Fridrichsen, takes this phrase in a very specialist sense to refer to the completion of that process of representative preaching to the Gentiles; in this view he is author to the view shared by Barrett,[246] and by Bruce; the phrase is accepted as a semi-apocalyptic term by Black,[247] but it may also of course refer not to this process of representative preaching, but rather to the final inclusion of all the Gentiles, or the Gentiles as a whole in God's Kingdom. Cranfield prefers this latter view, taking the phrase to be "the Gentile world as a whole" and as equivalent to the later πᾶς Ἰσραήλ. Alternatively, the phrase could refer to that number of Gentiles which remained to be added to God's total, added that is to the number who had already responded.

H.L. Ellison, however, takes a very different and individualist line at this point. For him the phrase is, as for other commentators, one replete with some form of eschatological significance. For him, also, following Luke 21.24 ("they will fall by the edge of the sword and be led captive among all nations; and Jerusalem will be trodden down by the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled".) the full reference is to that period of Gentile dominance in the world which would come to an end with the Parousia, but after which there would be further history during which Israel would be restored to her former glory. Ellison believes that Paul thought of the Anti-Christ as Gentile, and of Gentiles in general in pessimistic terms. So he can conclude, "In short I believe I am justified in saying that the fulness, the destined end of the Gentiles as a force in this world is shame and ruin, of Israel glory and blessing".[248] This would certainly suppress any pride on the part of the Gentiles; it would in fact obliterate it, but it is difficult to integrate Ellison's exegesis at this point with the whole substance of Paul's treatment of Jews and

Gentiles in 9 - 11 and throughout the Letter. As a Jew, Ellison is here pleading a very special place for his own people in Pauline thought.

To an extent we have come full circle, back to the thesis of Johannes Munck, for the possibilities which we have been considering concerning τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν ἐθνῶν are closely related to our overall understanding of Paul's self-consciousness as apostle, and as apostle to the Gentiles. To the question of Paul's apostolic self-understanding we must now turn, and begin by noting that at least two writers, Barrett and Bruce, have made special studies of this matter and come to essentially similar conclusions.[249]

Bruce can speak for both when he begins by drawing attention to Romans 1.1 and to the phrase, κλητὸς ἀπόστολος , a phrase which reveals that Paul saw his apostleship as a divine commission, no doubt focused for him in his Damascus Road experience; he was an apostle because Christ had called him and authorised him so to be. But Bruce agrees with Munck, (see also Barrett),[250] that Paul's sense of call was energised by his conviction "that he was a figure of eschatological significance, a key agent in the progress of salvation history, a chosen instrument in the Lord's hands to bring Gentiles into the obedience of faith as a necessary preparation for the ultimate salvation of all Israel and the consummation of God's redeeming purpose for the world".[251] In so far as Paul derived his 'authority' from Christ, he did not consider it to come from the other apostles or from the Jerusalem church, but he recognised that these other persons could, if they wished, weaken the practicability of his vocation. Romans 15.23 shows us Paul's specific understanding of the apostle as one who preached Christ, but who did so in places where no one had done so before; hence his desire not to build on the foundation of others. But Paul was, throughout, governed by his conviction that his time of apostleship was limited; it took place in that interval between the resurrection of Christ and his Parousia, and within that period,

as the gospel tradition asserts, Mark 13.10, "the gospel must first be preached to all the nations". In Romans, Bruce sees Paul's quotation of Deuteronomy 32.21 as the source of his developing understanding of the relationship of his own apostleship to the Gentiles and the salvation of the Jews; he sees 11.26, (Paul's quotation of Ps. 14/Isa. 59, - "The Deliverer will come from Zion"), as related to Paul's forthcoming trip to Jerusalem, after which the apostle begins the final phase of his apostolic work in Rome and beyond; Bruce argues that Paul regards the presentation of the Collection in Jerusalem by the Gentiles as part of that spur which will lead to Jewish jealousy and ultimate salvation, and that the hope which Paul expresses for the Jews in 11.25 therefore springs ultimately not from national pride, but from Paul's gradual working out of the mystery implicit in his call as apostle to the Gentiles. Again, underlining Munck, he can conclude, "In the light of the initiatory revelation and its progressive unfolding in his ministry he knew himself to be, under God, a figure...of eschatological significance".[252]

Barrett's exegesis offers a parallel understanding. Verse 10.15, where Paul is speaking of those who preach being sent, and where he uses the word ἀποσταλῶσιν , cognate with ἀπόστολος , underlines Paul's own conviction about himself, that to be an apostle is to have received a divine call, authority and sending, and that those who are sent, are sent as representatives. A few verses later at 10.18, Paul quotes from Ps. 19.4 referring to utterances and words going to the ends of the earth; this, suggests Barrett, is a reference to Paul's view, also expressed at 15.19, 23 that, at least in the East, the gospel had already been preached, the Jewish mission had been completed, as indeed had Paul's own Gentile mission. Verse 11.13 is an important verse here, for in it Paul speaks of glorifying his service, τὴν διακονίαν μου δοξάζω . What is the force of Paul's δοξάζω ? Is Paul in a sense here demonstrating how his Gentile mission is subordinate to the later salvation of the Jews? This would be a strange use of the verb,

or at least a very ironic use. Is he suggesting that the conversion of the Jews will come as the cream or the crown on top of his Gentile mission? This is, perhaps, unlikely in view of the significance which he generally attaches to the future conversion of the Jews throughout this chapter. Is Paul simply expressing his reverence and honour for his Gentile work, to which he adds the pragmatic hope that its success will save some Jews? Barrett argues that Paul's hope of saving some Jews, πινὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν , is surprisingly limited, and in so doing goes on to suggest that the answer lies in our understanding Paul's representative view of his missionary activity; the phrase is to be accounted for by the fact that here he is thinking in representative and eschatological terms again; here and now there are only prefigurements in occasional conversions of Jews before the final salvation which will be a mysterious eschatological event.[253] But Cranfield cannot accept this view, either of this verse, or of Paul's self-understanding. For him the phrases represent the expression of Paul's apostolic modesty.

Perhaps all that we can say, in tentative conclusion on this matter, is that whilst the issues are clear, the conclusions drawn divide the critics, with a strong balance in favour of those who take some form of the thesis first suggested by Fridrichsen and Munck. Such would include Barrett, Bruce, Black and Whiteley. The general acceptance of Munck's position, Cranfield notwithstanding, must be regarded as one of the major movements within Pauline studies in the second half of the period under review. Cranfield accepts almost all of the general understanding concerning apostolos which we have outlined,[254] but denies its eschatological reference and significance. What is more difficult to deny is that in Romans 9 - 11 much of Paul's thought is governed by his own understanding of his apostleship to the Gentiles, and that there is a sense in which his explanation of how the Gentile mission will lead to the salvation of the Jews is also at the same time his apologia for his own apostolic claim.

Many commentators would agree with Barclay,[255] that of all the sections within chapters 9 - 11, one of the most difficult and obscure is the section 10.14-21. In most cases it is treated as a part of the letter in which Paul is demolishing any excuse which the Jews might be thought to be able to offer for their rejection of the gospel, and as such is a section to which we must return in any discussion of Paul's view of man's responsibility, but these verses can also be seen as one of the nearest opportunities we have to hear Paul reflecting upon his own concept of what it means to be an apostle. Many of the basic themes which we have touched upon, especially that of being 'sent', are here underlined. Of course, on the surface the words appear to be talking of the Jews, and possibly of the work of the Old Testament prophets in offering to them a gospel before the gospel, but Dodd is surely right, and certainly supported by Barrett, Black and Cranfield, in seeing, behind the Old Testament quotations, Paul's own reflection upon the apostolic preaching of the gospel. Dodd quite simply suggests that we have in these verses an example of Paul, "describing the latter in terms of the former".[256] Others agree, for Black considers that Paul's use of the Psalm 19.4 quotation at v.18, refers "to the preaching of the earliest Christian (apostolic) missionaries".[257] Bruce argues that here in 10.14f., if anywhere, we have an example of Paul magnifying the office of apostle or evangelist.[258] Thus, if anywhere, it is to these verses that we should look for our explanation of Paul's διάκονος at 11.13. For Dodd, the basis of Paul's understanding comes directly from the prophetic tradition and most especially from the II-Isaiah tradition; for it is to this material that Paul turns for quotations and it is in terms of Isaiah's call for a universal mission to the Gentiles that Paul works out his own vocation. Bruce accepts this also, although, as we remarked above, he adds to it Paul's developing sense of himself as the eschatological prophet.

What, however, is the very heart of what it means to be an

apostle? The answer to this may come in a closer look at a single verse, 10.14, and indeed in a single phrase phrase from within it. Paul writes, πῶς δὲ πιστεύωσιν οὗ οὐκ ἤκουσαν; . There is a problem of translation to be considered.

The RSV translates v. 14b,

And how are they to believe in him of whom they have never heard?

The NEB translates,

And how could they have faith in one they had never heard of?

The JB translates,

they will not believe in him unless they have heard of him.

It is clear, however, as the comments of Barrett and Cranfield make plain, and indeed as the earlier translation of the Revised Version supports, that the translation should read,

RV: how shall they believe in him whom they have not heard?

or Barrett,

How are they to believe in one whom they have not heard?

or Cranfield,

And how could they believe one whom they had not heard?

At the beginning of the Century, in his comments on the Revised Version text, A.E. Garvie, wrote commenting on the οὗ , whom, "Faith is in Christ...Paul here identifies Christ and his preacher. To hear the gospel preached by any man is to hear Christ preach, for the preacher is sent by Christ".[259] It is this point which Barrett and Cranfield make, both about the translation and more especially about the interpretation of this verse, and hence about Paul's deepest understanding of his own apostleship. The verse does not speak of hearing <u>of</u> Christ, it speaks of hearing Christ. There should be no intrusive 'of' in any translation. But it is Barrett who most fully develops the implication of this, along the lines of the earlier comment from scholars such as Garvie. For Paul, faith and preaching are intimately related. Faith is not, in spite of the possible suggestions of vv.8-9, to be understood as assent to propositional truth; it is, at its

most basic, a form of personal relationship. It is the person and not the message who is the object of faith; it is to Christ Himself present in the act of preaching that men and women respond. If faith comes through hearing and hearing comes through the word of Christ, then it is not so much the word about Christ as the word which is Christ, of which Paul speaks (v.17). Paul thus saw his word and ministry as the embodiment of Christ, and although there are many dangers in so vast a claim, it is a necessary one. It was in order to offset some of the dangers inherent in the claim that Paul put such great stress on the apostle as one 'sent', not by man, but by God. There can be no guarantee that Christ will be present in the fallible words of man, but when He is so present then is there a real identification of preacher and Christ.[260]

It is Paul himself who says in 2Co. 4.5, "For we do not preach ourselves but the Lord Jesus Christ", and he says it in a whole paragraph, 2Co. 4.1-12, devoted to his explanation of his sense of apostleship. οὐ γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς κηρύσσομεν ἀλλὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν κύριον. Nor is it perhaps unimportant that in this same paragraph in 2 Corinthians Paul speaks of "carrying in the body the death of Jesus so that the life of Jesus might be seen in our bodies", (2Co.4.10). Barrett[261] has explored this metaphor and related it to Paul's close identification of his life and work with that of Jesus himself. From this, he can move to Paul's own understanding of his work as a continuation of that messianic, eschatological task begun, indeed in one sense completed, in Christ. Barrett writes, "(Paul) could in his own person help to fill up the tale of messianic affliction that must be endured before the arrival of the Age to Come...The apostolic mission plunges Paul into the heart of the messianic affliction, without which there is no victory for the people of God.[262]

The case is surely well made, and on the basis of Paul's own language, (unless it be simply treated as vague metaphor)

irrefutable. Paul did, as Fridrichsen and Munck suggested, see himself and his ministry, not least his apostleship to the Gentiles, in terms of his being an eschatological prophet, whose work was not simply to proclaim, but also to advance the fulfilment of God's final purpose. For our present purposes, it is enough to notice that in the establishment of this view, now, as we have seen, widely accepted, even within the generally conservative milieu of British scholarship, Romans 9 - 11 is of considerable relevance and importance.

Chapter 7.

Christology

Readers of Romans might suppose that the apostle has already presented to us, in passages such as 5.12-21 or 8.31-39, the gravamen of his understanding of the person of Christ. Is it not to other aspects of his theology that Paul turns in chapters 9 - 11? We may, in the end, judge it to be so, but it is equally clear that Christ is never far from the apostle's mind. He spoke of Christ in the verse which concluded chapter 8,(8.39), and the name of Christ occurs three times within the first five verses of chapter 9. It is well known that one of these three references, that at 9.5, has long been a famous crux of all Pauline, indeed New Testament, scholarship. It is with these three opening references that we must begin.

At 9.1 Paul begins the whole of 9 - 11 with the assertion that he is speaking the truth, ἐν Χριστῷ . Are we to suppose that this reference to Christ is little more than a rhetorical device, perhaps an almost careless use of a standard 'liturgical' phrase, much as we are inclined to say, 'in the name of Christ'? Dodd inclines to this view, believing that the whole phrase, Ἀλήθειαν λέγω ἐν Χριστῷ , owes its presence to the sermon/diatribe character of this section of the letter.[263] O'Neill takes this to its logical conclusion and regards the reference to Christ in this verse as superfluous; following Jerome, he suggests that Paul originally made no reference in this opening verse either to Christ or to the Holy Spirit.[264] Others, most notably Barrett and Black, believe that Paul is here following a recognised pattern (which for Black follows other biblical examples such as that of Deut. 17.6 and 19.5) and making specific appeal to two independent witnesses. For both of these scholars, however, Paul is not making an identification of himself with Christ, understood sacramentally or in some other way. Rather is Christ an independent witness. Indeed,for Barrett, it is the Heavenly Christ spoken of at 8.34 that Paul has in mind.[265]

Cranfield would make the reference bear even more weight and speak of a much closer self-identification of the apostle with Christ. In an extended discussion of the ἐν Χριστῷ phrase,[266] Cranfield suggests that Paul sees himself truly to be in Christ in a number of possible ways. He is so because God has chosen so to see him; he is so, sacramentally through Baptism; he is so, because, daily, Paul chooses to put on the moral nature and virtues of Christ. For Cranfield, the phrase is resonant of all of this with perhaps a special emphasis on this latter notion that here Paul is claiming to speak in accordance with those moral standards which obtain for one who is truly, ἐν Χριστῷ .

A similar range of views is expressed on the phrase, ἀνάθεμα ... ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ which occurs at 9.3. Here the apostle is speaking of being cut off from Christ. Is he again using 'a familiar type of ban formula' as Black suggests? Does he really consider, especially in the light of 8.38-39, that he could ever be so cut off? What is the motivation of this wish? Almost all commentators accept that for Paul the concept of being cut off from Christ is the equivalent of his loss of final salvation. Cranfield speaks for all when he writes, "nothing less than the eschatological sentence of exclusion from Christ's presence (cf. Mt. 7.23; 25.41) is involved".[267] Best extends this to include all the joys and privileges which Paul is now enjoying in this life. Only Barrett, however, doubts whether Paul really considered it a true possibility, writing, "The grammatical construction of the sentence shows that Paul recognises that his wish is scarcely capable of fulfilment".[268] It is difficult to see that Paul could have moved so quickly from the protestations of 8.39, that nothing in creation can separate us from God's love in Christ, to this apparently serious suggestion that he might himself be so separated. Paul's meaning is clear, but if he were asked to be less rhetorical, he would continue to deny its possibility. The reason for Paul's

expression of his possible self-sacrifice may owe much, as a number of commentators point out, to his extreme consciousness of the self-giving of Christ Himself. Hunter, Best and Cranfield are surely correct in pointing out that Paul was here driven by his love for Christ and his desire to imitate Christ.[269] Hunter speaks for this understanding when he writes "The cry 'is a spark from the fire of Christ's substitutionary love' (Dorner)".[270] It may also be, as Black suggests, that together with this Paul had in mind the example of Moses, (Exod.32.32).[271] So it is that, in these many ways, Christ is very much a part of the thought of Paul as he begins chapter 9. What, however, is the force of his reference to Christ at 9.5, where the issue is whether or not Paul here calls Christ, 'God'? The Greek of verse 5 ends with the doxology, ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν. Does this or does it not stand in apposition to the ὁ χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα of which Paul has just spoken?

Some scholars seek for the solution in a possible textual emendation, combining this judgement with a more general comment on the likelihood of one or other of the possibilities. Thus, Dodd judges that Paul's Jewish background makes a Pauline ascription of divine nature to Jesus most unlikely. The final doxology refers, as in the Moffatt text, upon which Dodd is commenting, to God alone. However, whilst recognising that there is no manuscript evidence for an amendment of the text, Dodd inclines, nevertheless, to the possibility that Paul originally dictated as the opening words of the final doxology, ὢν ὁ , and not ὁ ὢν , as stands in the received text. The final words would thus be more clearly separated from the Christ reference, reading, "theirs is the God who is over all, blessed (be He) for ever".[272] Dodd's judgement is repeated by Robinson,[273] and given some weight in the textual comments of Matthew Black. It has also been strongly argued for by W.L. Lorimer, who argues that the identification of Jesus with God is 'well nigh impossible'

and that the introduction of a Doxology at this point 'is decidedly unnatural'.[274] We should expect that O'Neill would speak of a textual change, but he begins from a rejection of Dodd's amendment, believing that the whole list assumes that God is the author of the gifts entrusted to the Israelites. Another amendment is possible and necessary, "We are left with an assertion that defies translation...I think we must suspect that a glossator has been at work, and his marginal notes have been incorporated into our text...it seems possible that originally the text ran, 'Of them is Christ, who is above all blessed for ever'.[275] The attraction of textual alteration as a way out of the difficulties of this verse is clear, but in spite of the arguments of these scholars reviewed, they cannot be said to have made an incontrovertible case.

Building upon the apposition of the doxology with the κατὰ σάρκα phrase, there is a group of scholars who incline to the view that stylistically the former phrase and description impl[y] the latter ascription of divinity to Christ. The two descriptions are balanced. Best takes this view,[276] as does Bruce,[277] and also Cranfield who had previously commented on the use of the phrase κατὰ σάρκα at 1.3 that "the reach of its applicability is not coextensive with the fulness of his person".[278] Barrett too, although in his translation and commentary he keeps the ascription separate and the question open, may be said, following the tenor of his argument, to opt for a true apposition at this point. He writes, "this verse might be an extension of the partial parallel in 1.3f".[279]

To such stylistic arguments Cranfield adds further evidence. He believes that had the final ascription been one to God, then εὐλογητὸς would have stood first in the sentence, and moreover, that there are other parallels within Romans for such a Pauline apposition of Christ and God; e.g. 10.13, where κύριος is applied to Christ; or the parallel writing of Christ and God at

1.7b, 8.35, 8.39. He can conclude that "In this epistle - and the same could be said of other Pauline letters - Paul again and again, and in a rich variety of ways, associates Christ with God with an uninhibitedness, which because it is so familiar, we are apt to pass over without noticing, but, which, when once we begin to reflect on the implications of what we are reading, can scarcely fail to strike us as altogether extraordinary and astonishing".[280] His own conclusion is that verse 5b. most certainly refers to Christ.

Notwithstanding the evidence adduced by Cranfield, there has always been a group of scholars who have seen in any Pauline ascription of divinity to Jesus a theological inconsistency, which has led to the translations (so Moffatt, RSV., NEB., GNB., amongst others) that offer a separate doxology applied to God. Vincent Taylor argued that Paul does not in fact call Christ God at any other point and offers, in general, a subordinationist theology.[281] When once the debate centres not upon stylistic but upon theological matters, then the issue becomes, in what sense might Paul have here placed Χριστός and Θεός in apposition? Best, whilst believing that they are in apposition, nevertheless, argued that "it does not imply that Jesus is to be identified with God, but only that he is divine, and this is not at variance with other statements Paul makes about him".[282] It is Whiteley who develops this distinction, arguing that we must understand any ascription which Paul makes of divinity to Christ in the light of other parallels in his writing, e.g. 2Co . 5.19. The point which Whiteley makes with force is that Paul is not a particularly systematic or consistent theologian, but is especially a theologian who operates with biblical, and therefore non-metaphysical, categories. After reference to Cullmann's work, which attempts to suggest that all New Testament Christology is 'functional', Whiteley can write, "Again and again we have had occasion to remark that St. Paul is

concerned, not to say that Christ is the equal of the Father in nature, but to assert that the Son is associated with the Father in his functions of creation, revelation and redemption ...St. Paul did not consciously reject a 'nature' Christology in favour of a purely functional Christology; and it is improbable that he would have comprehended the distinction. His framework of thought was not functional as opposed to metaphysical; it was rather an undifferentiated framework of thought, almost entirely functional, which had to do duty for the conceptual, metaphysical framework which was foreign to biblical thought".[283] This accords with the fact that θεός is found in the text without an article and thus could be said to carry adjectival status.

Is it true to assert that complete certainty is not possible? It may be that we should be more definite. The textual amendment is no acceptable solution. The style and grammar basically point to an apposition of the two parts of verse 5 and thus to some ascription of deity to Christ. The greater proportion of current translations (though not the Jerusalem Bible or the New International Version) may be mistaken in so clearly separating off the Doxology and applying it to God, although they follow a possible punctuation. The dominant christological understanding may be, after all, the most satisfactory, providing, however Pauline Christology is kept within its New Testament context, and not forced into later metaphysical moulds.

At 9.6 Paul asks a question concerning the failure of the word of God and goes on to speak of the seed of Abraham. Barclay continues to remind us of the underlying christological referent of many of Paul's phrases when he suggests that Paul's reference to the failure of the word of God was not a general theological dilemma but a specific dilemma arising out of the Jewish rejection of Jesus.[284] This reminds us that although Paul may be going on

to talk of the word of God as essentially focused in Scripture, it was supremely focused in the person of the Christ. So too the reference to the seed of Abraham is seen by Barrett as ultimately christological. For if we trace Paul's use of this phrase through such parallel uses of it, as at Galatians 3.16-19, we discover that "though Paul recognises 'seed' as a collective term, he believes that it is focused upon the one descendant of Abraham, Christ. That is to say, behind the difficult theological development of vv. 6-13 lies thought that is fundamentally christological and soteriological".[285] A little later Barrett argues that, for Paul, the seed of Abraham contracted until ultimately it became the one Christ, eventually to expand again.

It is, however, A.T. Hanson[286] who most consistently argues that behind all of Paul's use of Old Testament material, particularly that which refers to Abraham, as here at 9.6-13, or to the Remnant, so 9.27-29 and 11.1f., there is a christological understanding. Chapters 9 - 11 of Romans are, for Hanson, replete with typology, a way of thinking which enables Paul to draw constant parallels between the patterns first worked out in Israel's history and the patterns visible to Paul in contemporary events. The parallels are possible because Paul believed in the 'real presence' of Christ in Old Testament history. "On certain historic occasions in Israel's past, Paul believed the Son to have been present...The Son was there, could have been apprehended, and was believed in by some".[287] The two sets of events have as a common factor, God-in-Christ.

Cranfield, unlike Barrett, is reticent about seeing christological references in Paul's 'seed' or 'remnant' language arguing that we should not see the rejection of Christ or the election of a new Israel in Christ in the apostle's mind when he dictated such sentences as 9.29. He does, however, see the

apostle drawing out an explicitly christological dimension at 9.33 where there are references to the λίθου προσκόμματος and the πέτραν σκανδάλου . The whole section, which began at 9.30 and speaks of the unbelief of Israel, is to be interpreted with reference to faith in Christ. The Jewish failure was their failure to understand the Christ as the meaning and the goal of the law. Paul's combination of 'stone' texts or use of a pre-Pauline "testimony" combination is accepted by most commentators, who with few exceptions take the 'stone' to be a reference to Christ himself. Dodd adds that there may have also been an original reference to the Church.[288] Bruce suggests that Paul enlarges an original Christ reference to include the preaching of Christ. O'Neill, however, argues that the two passages have been combined by Paul himself and that, as in the original prophetic material, they are concerned with the relationship between Man and God. It is thus to God, and not Christ, that men fail to respond. Barrett modifies the essentially simple identification of the Stone with the Christ which he accepts in his commentary in his later exploration of the verses (Fall and Responsibility). Here, he notes that Paul does not include in his quotations a possible reference to Ps. 118, which by its inclusion in a comparable New Testament passage at 1Pet. 2.4f. "gives a much more clearly Christological tone to the passage".[290] Barrett can conclude, "I am suggesting that when Paul speaks of the stone of stumbling and rock of offence, what he has in mind is primarily the Torah".[291] This is not a denial that in Paul's mind Christ comes to be the stone and the rock, but not at 9.33, for as yet Paul has not established the relationship between the Law and Christ, which he does at 10.4, where he writes, τέλος γὰρ νόμου Χριστὸς εἰς δικαιοσύνην παντὶ τῷ πιστεύοντι .

The exact interpretation of this verse is a further crux of Pauline exegesis and it might help to elucidate the alternative

understandings if we continue with Barrett's view. The verse for Barrett is a reference both to the establishment and the termination of something in Christ; Christ is the establishment of the true righteousness of God, to which the Law pointed; Christ is also the end of the Law, understood as something that can offer any righteousness. In an earlier study, Barrett takes the verse to refer to God's establishment in Christ of a New Age.[292] Christ therefore establishes the New Age in which He Himself becomes the effective means by which true righteousness is now available. He also marks the termination of the Old Age and the way of righteousness through Law which belonged to it.

Fulfilment and termination, which are in Barrett's understanding held together, and which are both part of the meaning of Paul's word τέλος, become, in the hands of less careful commentators, opposites. Black goes some way towards holding them together, arguing that Christ is, for Paul, the climactic development of the Law, but that this inevitably implies "the cessation of the validity of the 'old Law'".[293] Best follows Barrett in talking of Christ as the Bringer of a New Age in which obedience to the Law as a way of acceptance is ended. Bruce also speaks of Christ as the bringer-in of the new order, but adds an especial stress on Christ as the embodiment of that righteousness towards which the Law pointed. Hunter, on the other hand, is content to stress the element of termination, writing, "End means terminus. With Christ in the field, law as a way of salvation is finished".[294]

Two commentators, however, otherwise in very different schools of interpretation, unite at this point to remind us that the main subject of Paul's thought at 10.4 is not Christ, but the Law. This leads O'Neill, who concedes that Barrett's holding together of the two possibilities is the correct meaning of the text as it stands, to suggest that all references to Christ should

be removed from the verse. It should read, "the end of the Law is righteousness", for Paul is here "arguing for his right to claim he is a faithful heir to Abraham and Moses".[295] Cranfield, whilst proposing no amendments to the text, and whilst most certainly maintaining the Christ reference, nevertheless believes that the context demands we take the verse to refer primarily to the Law. He rejects any view which includes an element of termination, which effectively means he stands alone at this point. He considers that the verse should be taken to mean that the real aim, intention, meaning and substance of the Law is Christ, that "apart from Him it cannot be properly understood at all".[296] In spite of Cranfield's long and patient defence of his view it must be said that it is not possible to remove from Paul's τέλος all its clear sense of termination, no matter how much stress might rightly be placed on the concept of fulfilment.

Romans 10.6-13 is clearly a paragraph full of explicit christological references, e.g. vv. 6,7,9. It is interesting to note, however, that Cranfield, for whom v.4 was primarily about the Law sees a christological reference in v.5. It is the summation of the positive view that Christ is the real substance of the Law, for Christ alone has practised the right-eousness which the Law proclaims; Christ, "alone among men - (has) obeyed perfectly and so earned a righteous status and eternal life for himself, but also (vv.6-13) for all those who will believe in him".[297] In fact, Cranfield is not quite alone in taking this view, for Best wrote, "Jesus ended the Law (10.4) ...in the sense that he kept it perfectly, or fulfilled it; therefore he has now taken its place and a text referring to it may be applied to him".[298]

With verses 6 and 7 we come to explicit references to Christ, and commentators are agreed that the primary referents are to the

Incarnation and Resurrection (so Barclay, Bruce, Barrett, Cranfield). Dodd, Best and Black stress, however, that the verses primarily refer to the truth of the availability of Christ to the faith of those who respond.

Most important of all is the reference in v.9 to Jesus as Lord. Here, as at 9.5, the question that concerns commentators is how much is implied by the use of the word κύριος . Does a confession of Jesus as Lord imply a confession of him as God Incarnate? O'Neill suggests that it does and for this very reason cannot be the work of Paul who would not have made such an identification. It was the presence of the word κύριος in the LXX of Joel 2.32 (towards which the paragraph is moving, 9.13), that encouraged a later Christian commentator to introduce this verse with its confession "as a hidden prophetic reference to the incarnate Son".[299] What is a matter for debate is the background to the word κύριος . Is its true background the use made of it in the Septuagint as the word for 'God'; or is its background the Hellenistic use of κύριος as one part of the ever present Master-Servant relationship?

Dodd seeks to combine the two backgrounds believing that to confess Jesus as Lord is to accept a place within the believing and essentially subservient community; but, it is also to see all divine activity as concentrated in Jesus and to acknowledge his headship over Church and Universe. It is, in any case, a baptismal formula.[300]

For Bruce also, it is a baptismal formula, and one which directly relates to the believer's estimate of Jesus as God. He can write, "This title 'lord' is given to Jesus by Paul as the equivalent of the Hebrew Yahweh (Jehovah)...the confession 'Jesus Christ is Lord' means 'Jesus Christ is Jehovah'".[301]

Once again, the majority opinion inclines to this view, that here Paul is making a real identification of Jesus with God. So Best can write, "he is actually putting Jesus on a level with God as known in the Old Testament".[302]; Black can ask us to notice again the equation of the Lord of the New Covenant with the Lord of the Old; Hunter can talk of Paul asserting that Jesus "stands on the divine side of reality",[303] and Cranfield sums up when he writes "We take it that, for Paul, the confession that Jesus is Lord, meant the acknowledgement that Jesus shares the name and the nature, the holiness, the authority, power, majesty and eternity of the one and only true God".[304]

Such is the majority opinion and derives in almost every case from the writer's wish to stress the parallel which Paul is here drawing between the κύριος of the Old Testament who is God and the κύριος of the New Age who is Christ.

For Cranfield, however, the remainder of the sentence, concerning God raising Jesus from the dead, is an important qualification. It prevents Jesus from being understood as a mythological figure, pointing at the same time to both his real death and his eschatological significance.

This qualification is one which is first found in the comments of Barrett, for whom the resurrection reference "emphasises again the true Christian subordinationism", preventing a false view of Jesus as a mythological figure, or a demi-God. It equally emphasises the primitive Christian eschatology that Jesus is the one in whom God began "to put into effect that Age that is to come". The effect of the whole verse is to make Jesus stand, at one and the same time, both within and outside of history.[305]

Barrett and Cranfield are not alone in emphasising the

eschatological significance of this ascription of Lordship. It is also most firmly underlined in the comments of Whiteley, who, unlike most British scholars, prefers to keep the Hellenistic background of κύριος uppermost in his interpretation of it. The word, therefore, does not refer to the nature or the majesty or the power of Jesus, but to his relationship with God, indeed to God's activity in him. It is the word to be used when men recognise that Jesus is acting as God's vice-regent in an eschatological context; so, he can conclude, "The apostle has not identified Christ with his Father; he has ascribed to Him one of the functions of God".[306]

There is thus a division of opinion as between those who take the designation κύριος to be primarily an assertion of Christ's nature, status, equality with God and those who, emphasising its eschatological character, see it as in a real sense a subordinationist term, emphasising Christ's role and God's action in him.

One other section of Romans 9 - 11 has occasioned some debate as to the extent of its christological reference, namely 11.16f., where the problem hinges on what is made of the references to ἀπαρχή, φύραμα, ῥίζα, κλάδοι of verse 16. Are any of them to be identified with Christ and, if so, which?

Hanson devotes a whole chapter of his Studies to the first 23 verses of chapter 11.[307] When he comes to verse 16a., he immediately notes the connection of ἀπαρχή with רֵאשִׁית in Gen.1.1., and the connection of them both with their N.T. cognate, ἀρχή, and its use in the Christology of Colossians. Behind Paul's words here in Romans lies the command of Numbers 15.17-21 to present first fruits, which Paul would see, following that typological exegesis of the Old Testament, which Hanson believes governed his use of such

passages, as a type of the self-offering of Christ. Moreover, the Promised Land references, with which this same Numbers passage is linked, would suggest to the Apostle the notions of Consummation and Parousia, which for Paul could only be understood christologically. Thus, we may conclude that Paul thought of Christ as the ἀπαρχή, that he thought of believers as the φύραμα, and that he held to a theology of incorporation ἐν Χριστῷ through participation in the sacrament, by which the two are to be linked. Romans 11.15f. contains, for Hanson, references to Old and New Testament Sacraments; throughout these verses "We are in touch with a whole Pauline theology of Christ and the Church, of Eucharist and offering".[308] Such writing as this is further evidence for Hanson of his thesis that Paul believed the pre-existent Christ to be present in Israel's history.

The second half of verse 16 with its reference to the ῥίζα must be interpreted in a parallel fashion; Christ is the Root and the reference to the root continuing to feed the branches, 11.17-18, is to be taken as further evidence that the pre-existent Christ is also the eternally existent Christ, who continues to feed those who are in him. The branches are again those who are 'in Christ'. There are further references to Christ in the τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἐλαίᾳ which ends verse 24 and in the πᾶς Ἰσραήλ of verse 26, which should therefore be understood not as the Jews, but as Christ and all those who are in him. Christ is thus, for Paul, both root and tree, for Paul was constantly reading Christ back into the history of Israel. Hanson draws on Barth's interpretation of Romans 9 - 11 in Dogmatics II:2 at this point, quoting with approval Barth's statement that "Strictly speaking he alone (Christ) is Israel, and it is only in him, as his prophets, witnesses, forerunners, that others are as well".[309]

Cranfield is also influenced in his overall treatment of

these chapters by the Barthian treatment in the Dogmatics, but at this point he does not support Hanson's views, although he discusses similar possibilities.[310] He can conclude "That for Paul, Jesus Christ Himself is the ground of holiness alike of the Jewish Christians and of the patriarchs is not to be doubted; but it seems improbable that he intended ἡ ἀπαρχή to be taken as referring directly to Christ".[311] Similarly, Cranfield prefers to take ῥίζα to refer to the Patriarchs rather than to Christ.

Only two other commentators discuss these possible parallels in any detail. Dodd makes the more traditional non-christological attributions for the words of verse 16, but he can suggest in his concluding remark that there are underlying christological thoughts, for "The Church is not a new Society; it is 'the Israel of God' (Gal. vi.16); it is the old stock of Abraham - since Christ is the destined offspring of Abraham (Gal. iii.16) and Christians are in Christ - with new branches grafted upon it".[312] Barrett, also, who earlier followed Dodd in reducing the Remnant to the one Christ, believes that behind his words Paul does see the figure of Christ, for Christ is inherent in the Pauline argument. Nevertheless, Barrett in making his identifications, considers that ἀπαρχή and ῥίζα should be taken to refer to Jewish Christians and that φύραμα and κλάδοι are Israel as a whole.

One of the reasons why Paul may have Christ at the back of his mind is that his argument is leading towards a more overtly eschatological passage, 11.25f., which is to include a reference to τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο , which proceeds via a proclamation that 'The Deliverer will come from Zion' (verse 26) to the concluding Doxology, verses 33-36.

Again, Hanson sees behind all of this section Paul's acquaintance with wisdom literature from which the apostle derived his

doctrine of what it is to be 'in Christ', his own sense of communion with Christ, and his habit of tracing the activities of the pre-existent Christ in Israelite history.[313] The concluding doxology is further evidence of this wisdom influence. In Pauline thought as a whole this Romans material represents a step on a pathway which is to lead the apostle into using the term κύριος for the pre-existent Son and, in Colossians, into explicitly identifying Christ with the creative hypostasis of wisdom. The quotation concerning the Coming Deliverer certainly looks as if it is a reference to the final Parousia of Christ and is taken to be such by the majority of commentators including Bruce, Best and Cranfield.[314] O'Neill also takes this view, although the words are, as ever, those of a Christian allegorist commentator.[315]

Far from subscribing to the mystery/wisdom tradition view of Hanson, Dodd and Cranfield believe that where Christ is in the apostle's mind, it is the earthly Christ and the facts of his life, death and resurrection that are present. For Dodd, Paul arrives at his 'secret' as "a truth divined by religious intuition in the facts of the gospel - the life, death and resurrection of Christ",[316] for Cranfield the 'gospel' to which Paul makes reference at the beginning of v.28, includes for the apostle, "The actual accomplishment in the ministry, passion and resurrection of Jesus of the events which are the basis of the gospel message".[317]

From this total review of these chapters in terms of their Christology, we can see that they are indeed an important source of insight into our understanding of the Pauline view of Christ. There is a strong tradition, represented most fully in the work of Dodd, Barrett and Best which links Paul's thought on election with Christ, for each of these scholars suggests that God's Remnant contracted to the person of Christ. Best could speak for them when he writes, "Paul's teaching about God's selection and

fore-ordination of men is thus part and parcel of his teaching about Jesus".[318] A similar, although independent, link is made in the work of Cranfield and Hanson, through the influence of Karl Barth. Hanson, alone, lays stress upon the link between Paul's own exegetical practice and his doctrines of the pre-existent and sacramentally present Christ. Many scholars recognise that there is a close link in Paul's thought between his christology and his eschatology; whenever he begins to think or write eschatologically, then is his thinking also christological. It may be suggested, however, that the exegetical debate on christological issues is less precise than it might sometimes be, as by and large British exegetes are disinclined to bring into their writing any discussion of their philosophical categories. Such distinctions as those between a functional or ontological christology figure rarely and perhaps lead some into making bald judgements.

Chapter 8.

Eschatology

It might not be an unfair remark to comment that much writing of theology, or exegesis of many of the texts concerned with Jesus in the Twentieth Century, has been within a framework first established by Johannes Weiss (Jesus' Proclamation of the Kingdom of God) and Albert Schweitzer (The Quest of the Historical Jesus). For it was these two scholars who established the thesis, often denied yet rarely refuted, that the life and teaching of Jesus must always be set against an eschatological background. That which Dr. Schweitzer claimed for Jesus, he was later, indeed at the beginning of the period of this present review, to claim also for Paul and his life and work as apostle. So he writes, "Paul shares with Jesus the eschatological world-view and the eschatological expectation, with all that these imply...but whereas Jesus sees it as lying before Him, Paul already stands upon it and its first slopes are already behind him".[319]

Such a view has received repeated exploration within Continental scholarship and to a large extent governs the view taken of Paul by scholars such as Cullmann, Munck and Käsemann. It is, with Paul as with Jesus, however, less popular in British scholarship, within which there often seems a continuing embarrassment with the whole notion of the eschatological. Part of the difficulty may be the problem of definition. To what can the adjective 'eschatological' properly be applied?

D.E.H. Whiteley has offered clear help here when in his study of Pauline theology, he clarifies the two basic and distinct, yet intertwined, uses, which the word will rightly bear.[320] It can be used, he suggests, to qualify teaching about the end of the world, the coming of the Messiah, beliefs related to the fate of individuals - Heaven, Hell, Purgatory. It has, however,

acquired a second area of use concerned not so much with the future as with descriptions of the quality of the Christian Present, now recognised to be lived out in a period after the coming of that Messiah in Jesus, but before the final end, and Whiteley can thus write,"'This is an eschatological event' thus comes to mean that the event is in a very special sense the work of God". It may be doubted whether this second definition is precise enough to be of lasting use.

There is little doubt that one of the most characteristic of the contributions which C.K. Barrett has made to New Testament study has been his constant stress upon the importance of eschatology in all early Christian thought. It is a stress which completely pervades his understanding of Paul, who, for Barrett, was concerned in his thinking throughout with an eschatological process. One essay upon this theme is the final chapter of Barrett's, "From First Adam to Last", in which we are reminded that although Paul continued to look for the descent of the Lord from Heaven, he nevertheless believed that he and his fellows were living in, "what can only be described as eschatological history".[321] Paul's basic concern is with eschatology in the process of realisation; indeed for him to be "in Christ" is to become a part of this process. Neither New Testament nor Pauline eschatology is to be thought of as simply futurist, but rather it is eschatology brought into the present and a great many of the events and experiences of that present, such as the preaching of the gospel, are thus equally part of the eschatological process. Paul believed that he and all Christians were living in that period between the Resurrection of Christ and the final Parousia. Barrett suggests that we should envisage a period of the Kingship of Christ lasting until the Parousia which marks the beginning of a Kingdom of God; παρουσία and τέλος are at the same point; Christ is subordinated to God, who becomes the proper End, as indeed Paul recognises by

his conclusion of 9 - 11 with the doxology of 11.36. Christian living was thus governed by a dialectic, which can be described as a dialectic of the 'Already - Not Yet' or (as in passages such as 1Co. 7.29) an "as if not (hos me)" dialectic.

It is thus no surprise, when turning to Barrett's exegesis of Romans itself, to discover that all of Paul's basic vocabulary and understanding is to be understood in the light of his new revolutionised eschatological thought. Justification is intensely eschatological, for it is "an anticipation of God's verdict at the Last Judgement". The same must be claimed for 'salvation', for although in its fulness it remains future, it is also an anticipated possession of God's people. The Gospel itself is far more than an announcement of a future deed or promise; it is "a divine activity or power leading to salvation".[322] Righteousness, which is properly understood as an anticipation of God's vindication verdict on men at the Last Judgement, Grace, Baptism, Resurrection, The Coming of Christ in the Incarnation, The death of Christ, The Person of Christ, all are properly described as eschatological. The supreme eschatological event is Christ Himself, for he is the eschatological moment of the fulfilling of God's promises, he inaugurates the New Age after which nothing can be the same. As Barrett puts it in another essay, "An hour had struck on the clock of history, battle had been joined and a victory won and things could never be the same again. Paul lived in a new, - a post-Messianic situation. It was unthinkable that he should simply transmit the teaching of Jesus...Paul lived and preached in an eschatologically different world".[323] It was a world in which paradox had its vital place, for the Christian lives as if completely in the world to come and for this very reason all Christian ethics have an eschatological framework, for they are the visible indication of this hidden reality.[324]

Turning directly to the exegesis of Romans material, we discover that the material offered by Paul at 10.6f., with its rhetorical questions about ascending or descending to find the Christ, becomes much less opaque when we realise that it is the apostle's way of proclaiming that such things are redundant because "the eschatological conditions have been realised; the Age to Come has dawned".[325] A few verses later, Paul uses the early Christian confession, 'Jesus is Lord', which again represents for Barrett a twofold assertion, of a true subordinationism of Christ to God, but also a reassertion of the primitive Christian eschatology. Jesus is thus proclaimed as κύριος, the one who begins the New Age, the one who stands outside as well as inside history, the one who is truly a source of supernatural life.

Eschatology is particularly a governing factor in Paul's understanding of his own Gentile mission and of its effect upon the Jews. When, at 11.14-15, we find him looking for only some Jews to be saved, the limitation becomes understandable when we realise that for Paul the final and future salvation of all, Jew or Gentile, is "a mysterious eschatological event, which is only prefigured in occasional personal conversions".[326] In the same verses we find the use of two further eschatological terms, 'Reconciliation' and 'Life from the dead'; the completion of the one and the referent of the other is that final eschatological act on the very boundary of history.

At 11.17, within Paul's Allegory of the Olive Tree, he refers to the 'rich root of the olive tree' in which the Gentiles are privileged to share; again for Barrett this should be taken in its full eschatological sense as referring to the whole inheritance of the Jewish people, which includes, "the supernatural life of the people of God in the last Age".[327]

A central series of verses in 9 - 11 for our understanding

of Paul's eschatology begins at 11.25 where Paul speaks of sharing his 'secret', which apocalyptic revelation will alone make sense of the events of the last age. It includes the promise that "All Israel will be saved", which again is a reference to that eternal life prepared for Israel as a whole (though not necessarily All Israel in the sense of each several Israelite) in the Age to Come.

At 11.31 Paul again makes reference to the Jews, this time suggesting that they are 'now' to receive mercy. This now (νῦν) introduces, suggests Barrett (following Barth), an "almost intolerable eschatological tension". In what sense is the return of the Jews to be Now? One possibility is that Paul is here thinking in terms of an imminent temporal end. But Barrett prefers to take away the primary stress upon the temporal element from this verse, suggesting that it is to be taken as a reminder that Now all men live in that half light before the final Dawn, they are already justified, accepted, redeemed, yet still sinful. They are each in Luther's phrase, "simul iustus et peccator". The concluding doxology, particularly 11.36, offers a picture of the completeness of God's purpose and plan, from its beginning to its final eschatological dénouement.

At this stage in our discussion it will help to draw out from this treatment the kinds of question which it raises. There are clearly a number of questions involving individual verses and the exegetical choices which they pose. There is the question of how, and in what ways, Paul has moved on from his inherited Jewish eschatological inheritance. There is Barrett's basic contention about Paul's understanding of his age as one caught in a dialectic. There is Barrett's claim, following the thesis of Johannes Munck,[328] that Paul sees his own ministry and mission to the Gentiles in eschatological terms; indeed, so on 15.19, that Paul saw himself as engaged upon representative preaching and that he believed he had completed all that was necessary in the Eastern part of the Empire before

the Parousia would come. There is the contention, particularly relevant for Romans 9 - 11, that Paul saw the final gathering in of the Gentiles and a fortiori of the Jews, 11.25f., as an eschatological miracle. And not least there is the vexed question whether or not Paul in general, and particularly in Romans 9 - 11, propounds some kind of doctrine of Heilsgeschichte. This contention, which as we shall see is strongly supported by many British scholars, is said also to be the view of Barrett in, for example, R.H. Fuller's "The N .T. in Current Study."[329] There Fuller argues that Barrett's, From First Adam to Last is "another treatment of Pauline theology in terms of Heilsgeschichte". It is very doubtful however, on the basis of what Barrett actually says,[330] that he would be entirely happy with this classification. It is true that he says that Paul's attempt to show the coherence of the historical process as revealing a single picture of God's dealings with humanity might be construed either as a philosophy of history or as a Heilsgeschichte, but Paul's view is unsystematic, it often breaks down in mystery, (as at Romans 11.33), it really affirms that the only intelligible principle to be discerned is outside history and ἐν Χριστῷ . Paul's view is heavily governed by that dialectic which sprang from the eschatological situation itself; Paul, in seeing history gathering at nodal points, crystallising upon outstanding figures, is less concerned with any question of historical personality or chronology than the term Heilsgeschichte implies. The function of such figures as Adam, Abraham and Moses in the story, as Paul tells it, is not to establish a Heilsgeschichte, but rather to reveal a dialectical pattern and sometimes to carry a christological significance. In any discussion, therefore, of those other scholars who might want to speak of Paul's eschatology leading to his establishment of a Heilsgeschichte we may well find reason to accord to Barrett a different view.

We have begun with Barrett's view because we may suppose that, more than any other single exegete, he allows his general understanding of New Testament Eschatology to pervade his work

on Romans. Barrett's basic view of New Testament eschatology and of its determinative influence on all other aspects of New Testament thought stands, however, as we have seen, in the mainstream of Continental scholarship throughout the early part of the Twentieth Century; no doubt it also owes not a little to the single figure of C.H. Dodd, who, more than any other scholar, can be said to have laid the foundation for this emphasis. In an extraordinary series of essays and books in the twenty year period between 1932 and 1952, Dodd, again and again, returns to the same themes of eschatology and history and seeks to relate them against their presentation throughout the New Testament. The list of work stands as an abiding monument to the mind and influence of this doyen of British New Testament scholars; Romans (Commentary, 1932); Essays The Mind of Paul I & II, delivered 1932, published 1934; The Parables of the Kingdom, 1935; The Apostolic Preaching and Its Development (to which is appended in some editions the important essay, Eschatology and History, 1936); History and the Gospel, 1938; and According to the Scriptures, 1952.

In many ways the most complete understanding of Dodd's view of New Testament Eschatology comes in his Essay, Eschatology and History, which was read in 1935, as a Presidential Address to the Oxford Society of Historical Theology. He begins by outlining the prophetic and the apocalyptic views of history. The prophets did indeed view History as an historical series, a series which reveals itself to possess a unity and meaning in the idea that all history reveals "the moral government of the world by a divine providence"...and..."is working towards the fulfilment of a divine purpose".[331] However, the prophets can only partially glimpse this, for a full understanding of these things will only come with the "last term in the historical series", that which the prophets call the Day of the Lord. This term which is essentially mythological was nevertheless conceived of as "an unconditioned and unrelated catastrophe, supervening incalculably upon the

course of history". It was in every sense to be the consummation of the whole series of events. An important sentence relevant to Dodd's view of Paul in Romans is this one: "The prophets strenuously endeavoured to give to the idea an ethical and rational meaning, by relating it to the course of events in the past and to the tendencies of the present".[332]

With apocalyptic, the prophetic view was inherited, underlined and partially modified. The apocalyptists gave up the prophetic concern with the historical present. They begin the radical contrast between "this age" and "the Age to Come". They begin to see the last term in the historical series as less historical and more and more as a supra-historical reality, "not an event in history at all". In one sense we can say (in rather clumsy language not from Dodd) they re-mythologise that mythology which the prophets had historicised. The eschaton thus truly becomes the End, for no other event, no other history, could follow. For some prophets and some apocalyptists this final event was conceived of as near in time, which led to their giving to contemporary events something of the character of the final mythological and supernatural event. But as this way of thinking developed, the time element in it became less and less important, it became "no more than a fiction designed to express the reality of teleology within history".[333] We thus have an event which is itself wholly other and unlike any event in history, which comes into history from beyond and yet which is not alien or unrelated to the historical course of events, for more than anything else it gives meaning to the historical series and it affirms all the values inherent in that series. Above all, it begins the New Age, essentially a New Age which embodies the pure realisation of that meaning and value previously seen in the historical series. The New Testament inherits all this but claims a major difference, "it is surely clear that, for the New Testament writers in general, the eschaton has entered history; the hidden rule of God has been revealed; the Age to Come has come. The

Gospel of primitive Christianity is a Gospel of realised eschatology".[334]

The New Testament authors identify the historical reality of the Life, Ministry, Death and Resurrection of Jesus Christ as the Day of the Lord, the Eschaton, the point at which the whole purpose of God in history is revealed. In a sense the New Testament authors follow the prophetic line in re-historicising the mythology which the apocalyptic writers had, in their turn, rediscovered. For the early Christians Jesus was the beginning of the New Age; in one way History went on, but it was not the continuation of that historical series which had been before; that series had ended, and a period had begun which, if it can be called history at all, must be seen as a qualitatively different kind of history. "No conception of Christianity as a religion is fully true to the New Testament which does not recognise that the "Christian Era", as we call it, marks an abrupt break in the relation in which the people of God, and, indeed, the whole human race, stands to the historical order".[335]

But Dodd recognises that history was still going on, and that the early Christians, because they inherited the prophetic view of history as a unity, continued to need something which would express the idea of finality. Dodd accepted that there was what he called a residue of eschatology not completely taken up by realised eschatology, but, for Dodd, it is almost entirely this notion of absolute finality. "His coming in history satisfies all the conditions of the eschatological event, except that of absolute finality". This element is contained in the church's continuing belief in the Second Coming and the Last Judgement. For Dodd these things are the reassertion of the mythological framework which are there to safeguard the element of finality and to be the symbolic expression of the relation of all history to the purposes of God.[336]

And so to Paul, who, for Dodd, held to all that he calls Realised Eschatology, in such a way that he saw the Age in which he was living as the New Age; in such a way that the Church was truly the eschatological Israel; in such a way that in its own life, particularly in its preaching, in its celebrations of the sacrament and in its community life, the Church was visibly marked as a spiritual community, possessing at least a portion of that supernatural life now. In his essays, The Mind of Paul, and later in The Apostolic Preaching,[337] Dodd argues that Paul's own eschatological thinking underwent a development; that he began with an apocalyptic, futurist eschatology which looked to the imminent appearance of the Lord, but that because of a deeply important psychological event in his own life, connected with his arguments with the Corinthian church, the apostle underwent a kind of 'second conversion', which resulted in a modified eschatology. Paul's former and primitive futurist eschatology is replaced by what Dodd calls his 'Christ-Mysticism'.[338] "The Hope of glory yet to come remains as a background of thought, but the foreground is more and more occupied by the contemplation of all the riches of divine grace enjoyed here and now by those who are in Christ Jesus".[339]

(In his biography of Dodd, F.W. Dillistone suggests that Dodd sees in Paul's second conversion something of the psychological conversion through analysis which Dodd himself was at this time undergoing; this, if true, would be some clue as to at least the genesis of Dodd's progressively 'psychological' interpretation of all of Paul's thought.)[340]

But, it is clear that for Dodd, Paul's great contribution was to stress, again and again in his letters, that eschatology was indeed realised and realised in the life of the early Christian churches. The eschatological miracle which had occurred in Jesus was now being repeated in the lives of his

followers. Dodd goes further and suggests that it was this progressive concentration of the apostle on the present as the eschatological time that allowed him to develop a fuller exploration of Christian ethics; for the crude futurist eschatology tended to render the present irrelevant and a discussion of ethical problems redundant. So Dodd stressed the relationship between Paul's eschatological thought and his ethical teaching, which Barrett and others have continued to underline and explore.

But what of Romans in 1932? Dodd's understanding of the apostle's theology as a theology for the present, and for the church community, has its counterpart in Dodd's own commentary, for it is nothing if not a superbly extended sermon for Dodd's readers in 1932, without in any sense neglecting more technical matters. F.W. Dillistone offers a valuable insight when he stresses that, throughout the Commentary, Dodd attempts to set the apostle against a prophetic background, indeed we may add against that Prophetic-Apocalyptic background of which Dodd was to write so clearly in later essays.[341] Indeed, Paul does, suggests Dodd, represent a recovery of the prophetic tradition and he was also "strongly influenced" by Jewish apocalyptic thought.[342] Paul accepted that the Crisis had come, that the New Age was here and that his task was to bring all people through his mission into the life of this new time. Of course, Paul saw in the life of Christ the decisive intervention of God into History, creating the real and most important Crisis in the lives of men, to which they must respond. The total revelation of God's purposes may not yet be complete but it is real and is even now in process. With Christ the Age to Come begins.

In turning to Dodd's comments on chapters 9 - 11 we must first notice the title which he gives to them, The Divine Purpose in History.[343] These chapters are, for Dodd, something of Paul's defence of the concept of Heilsgeschichte. Part of the anguish,

suggests Dodd, which the apostle expresses at the beginning of chapter 9, is anguish occasioned by the fact that he recognises his people, the Jews, are not sharing in the blessings of the New Age.

Dodd's double stress on the present and on the Church as bearers of eschatology is revealed in his exegesis of 10.6f., for here he suggests Paul uses the Deuteronomy quotation, because it stresses that the living Lord of his people is always near; the use of κύριος similarly stresses that all God's activity for the salvation of his people has been concentrated in Jesus who is the Head of the Church.

The best illustration of Dodd's application of his general view of N.T. eschatology to Paul comes in his comments on 11.15 and the phrase, life from the dead; even here, Dodd suggests the phrase may be "simply a very strong expression for the greatest conceivable blessing",[344] but he eventually takes it to be a reference to the general resurrection of all mankind. Dodd's own position is perhaps best revealed in the succeeding comment, "But Paul's use of all eschatological mythology is fluctuating and somewhat uncertain. The general sense probably is that he cannot conceive of the process of history reaching its consummation, until, as it were, the loose ends of the divine purpose have been gathered together, so that the universe must wait for its final destiny of blessedness until Israel has been brought to God".[345] Dodd's use of the phrase, "loose ends" is perhaps most characteristic of all and demonstrates how little eschatology is left for him after its realisation in Christ. What is left scarcely concerns the Christian community who already have their New Life in the Age to Come that is here; it is much more a concern of the cosmos in general which needs to be tidied up. It is in the context of what Dodd later calls " a thoroughgoing redintegration of the universe",[346] that he speaks at 11.30-32 of God's mercy to all and in the doxology

which follows of the divine purpose reaching its cosmic consummation.

We cannot conclude this look at Dodd's exegesis without seeing what he makes of 13.11f., where, if anywhere, Paul seems to be looking forward to a Coming Crisis rather than backwards to a totally realised one. Dodd counts it as striking that in Romans there is no mention of the Second Coming apart from this paragraph. He does not allow these verses to deflect him from his basic understanding; Paul's eschatology had in fact outgrown the literal implications of these verses, "He dwelt more and more on the thought that Christians were already living in the New Age, and the date at which it should be consummated became a matter of indifference".[347] In fact, Dodd suggests, the eschatology has by this time become "little more than an imaginative expression for the urgency which belongs to all moral effort when it is thought of in relation to the eternal issues of life".[348] Naturally enough, Dodd's 'de-eschatologised' view of Paul ascribes no eschatological significance at all to Paul's words about his past missionary activity or future activity as recorded at 15.19. In practice, then, Dodd's view of the development of Paul's eschatological thinking means that by the time we come to Romans, Paul is almost wholly governed by realised eschatology. When and where he does talk of the future he does so to express the necessary completeness in cosmic terms of the Heilsgeschichte that Paul is presenting, for Dodd is clear that in these chapters Paul is setting out to present "a broad and elevated philosophy of history".[349] All mythological, speculative and futurist eschatological elements are pressed into service towards this one overall end.

On these matters, as on many others, Dodd's influence has been considerable. Whiteley, for instance, accepts the broad outline of Dodd's thesis about Paul's developing eschatology, as also does Marsh in his essay on New Testament theology in

Peake's Commentary.[350] So too did Kirk accept that Paul's attitude to the Parousia "seems to have changed as he advanced in years", with less and less concern about any temporal dimension.[351] Kirk reinforces Dodd's view that Pauline eschatology is almost entirely retrospective, centred on what God has finally done in the Incarnation and Atonement. The apparent reference to a second coming at 13.11 is simply there as a rhetorical stimulus to moral activity. Paul's concern throughout is to represent History as Drama, replete with elements of tension and tragedy and crisis, (which notion Paul inherits from his Judaic background). The identification of Christ and the Gospel as the expected Act of God led to Paul's restatement of that view of history which saw it as purposive.

Echoes of Dodd's initial work are found in the work of Cranfield. He stresses, as had Dodd, that although there may have been a residual expectation of the End in Paul and the early Church, they had both come to see that the decisive End had come in Jesus. All that remained must have the character of an epilogue, for "There was now no question of another chapter's being added which could in any way effectively go back upon what had been written in that final chapter".[352] What we have is a final event which has already changed the quality of all that remains. In the manner of Dodd's retrospective eschatology, Cranfield takes the καταλλαγὴ κόσμου of 11.15 to refer to that objective reconciliation of the world to God through the past death of Christ. Like Dodd, he accepts that the ζωὴ ἐκ νεκρῶν refers to the final resurrection itself. On 11.31 and the νῦν (now) which apparently creates its own eschatological tension, Cranfield denies that it is to be given any temporal significance.

Writing in a period after Munck and Käsemann and Barrett, he makes his comment on the thesis that Paul related his own understanding of his mission to his eschatological hopes, but

on 15.19 he denies the view of these scholars that Paul saw himself as engaged upon representative preaching before the Parousia; on the mission/eschatology connection in general Cranfield can comment, "It looks to us more like one sign (among a good many others) that the whole idea of the apocalyptic dream of a man, who sought to accomplish in a decade what two thousand years have not achieved, as the driving force of Pauline theology and action (Käsemann p. 294), must be called into question".[353]

Although, at individual points, there may be no direct dependence as between Cranfield and Dodd they share what we may call a kind of reticence when it comes to dealing with Paul and his eschatology. It is a reticence also found in Black, who, albeit writing a commentary much shorter than Cranfield's, is, in general, very sparing with his discussion of eschatological issues and does not mention them at all at 3.24, 5.6, 5.21, 6.1f., nor yet at 10.6f., all points at which Barrett has much to say. Black accepts that Paul did see his past and future ministry as having an eschatological background, but makes little of it. On the potentially eschatological νῦν of 11.31, Black prefers an interpretation which stresses a present historical contrast, "Paul could be contrasting the former disobedience of the Gentiles, who have, through Jewish apostasy, come to enjoy a present mercy, with the present apostate Jewry, to whom, however, the door of mercy is always open, even now:..."in order that God might show mercy to them too - now!" ".[354] It is in general strange, that in a commentary so valuable for its explorations of the background of Paul's vocabulary, Black should have neglected to explore in more detail the possible eschatological character of Paul's writing.

Of the shorter commentaries, particularly Hunter and Barclay, we find that where they make references to the eschatological problems of the letter they do so in ways essentially drawn from Dodd and his tradition.

Barrett, however, does not stand alone in the emphasis which he places on the eschatological background of Paul's thought in Romans, nor indeed when it comes to the defence of many of his exegetical conclusions. Kenneth Lee is particularly sure that chapters 9 - 11 of the epistle are, to an extent, occasioned by Paul's eschatology. "Eschatological motives gave urgency to what he wrote in chapters 9 - 11",[355] and this, because Paul had just concluded a section which was to set all things in eschatological perspective, 8.29f., a perspective which was called into question by the present historical facts concerning the disobedience of the Jews. Lee suggests that for Paul, "the delay in the Parousia finds its ultimate explanation in the unbelief of Israel, which makes the missionary task more urgent".[356] Thus, for Paul, the success of the Gentile mission is indeed bound up with the ultimate fulfilment of God's purpose.

W.D. Davies (Paul & The People of Israel) is similarly convinced that the encroachment of the Parousia is one of the factors which in the mind of Paul lead him to write as he does in 9 - 11. Davies, who offers comment upon Continental scholarship, approves of Käsemann's attempt to relate chapters 1 - 8 of the letter with chapters 9 - 11 in terms of Paul's exploration in both of justification by faith, understood eschatologically. He also accepts the Cullmann and Munck thesis that there was a strong eschatological strain in Paul's understanding of his own apostleship and mission. On 11.15 and the phrase, <u>resurrection from the dead</u>, Davies is convinced that what Paul has in mind here is the inauguration of the End, an end towards which he was looking expectantly. The whole section 11.25f., is evidence that, in addition to exploring the historical role of the Jewish people, Paul was equally concerned to explore the eschatological hope of the gospel. In much of his thinking, Davies represents Paul as being in debt to the tradition of Jewish and early Christian eschatology, on which he constantly drew, even though he did also contribute his own emphasis, e.g. 11.25-27 cf. 1Co. 15.51. But in general Davies can conclude, "To dismiss

the eschatological speculation of Paul as an unimportant apocalyptic remnant of his outgrown past and to reinterpret it in terms of anthropology or, again, some fairly simple, comprehensible interpretation of a contemporary crisis is not enough".[357]

Within this tradition we might place F.F. Bruce, who in 1974, (published 1977), offered a very substantial series of essays entitled "Paul and Jesus", to add to his Romans commentary of 1963, many of which explore the question of Paul's eschatology and one of which includes an important discussion of the concept of salvation history.[358]

In the course of this essay, Bruce refers to the work of Eberhard Jüngel, who in his Paulus und Jesus, Tübingen 1962, had explored the issue of justification in the teaching of Jesus and Paul, coming to relate them both by a stress on the eschatological character common to both (cf. Käsemann's relation of 1 - 8 and 9 - 11 on the same basis referred to above). The eschatological note which Jüngel hears in both, is, in Bruce's description, that of Dodd's realised eschatology. Christ is the end τέλος, of the Law for the believer, Romans 10.4, which is another way of saying that in Christ the eschaton has arrived. Christ Himself now becoming the ground of man's relationship with God.

With this we must compare Barrett's comment on 10.4, which is almost identical and, of course, the earlier, "'Christ' means God's act in history, by which he introduced the Age to Come, and brought to an end the old order of relations between God and man, since it is in Christ that men are henceforth related to God".[359] Barrett's use of the word 'introduced' is perhaps important, for it is here that he differs from Dodd; both might share a stress on the total eschatological nature of God's act in Jesus, but whereas for Dodd it is the eschaton, realised in

the present, for Barrett, it is the first step in a process, an eschatological process The Kingdom of Christ which continues through the time of the apostle to The Kingdom of God, a final end .

Returning to Bruce we can see that the importance of this reference to Jüngel's view is that it gives Bruce a chance to state his own case, which he does in these words,
"It would be more accurate to say that, for Paul, the age in which he was living was not yet the telos (c.f. 1Co. 15.24) or the eschaton but its threshold, the time of the messianic birth pangs, by means of which the new creation was coming into life through the gospel. Paul's desire was to absorb these birth pangs as completely as possible in his own experience, so that his fellow believers would have less to endure. But here and now the presence and power of the Spirit in their lives provided the anticipation - in Paul's words, the "earnest", "first-fruits" or "seal" - of that heritage of glory which would be theirs at the final emergence of the new creation and disappearance of the old".[360] This seems an extremely neat and clear summary of the position adopted by Barrett and others. It does not prevent the correct statement that "For Paul the kingdom's advent with power has taken place",[361] but it is nevertheless an inauguration rather than a completion; the Age to Come has dawned, but its consummation remains future. These are indeed the Days of The Messiah, but not yet Resurrection Days, except for those glimpses and first fruits which can be enjoyed by christians through their union with Christ in faith. In another of his essays, Bruce explores Paul's descriptions of his gospel as 'revelation' and 'mystery', (Galatians 1.16, 1Co.15.8 and Romans, 11.25). 'Mystery' is an important part of the Pauline vocabulary because, suggests Bruce, it always denotes some particular phase of the divine purpose, especially to do with the "latter days". Important for our present purpose here is the fact that Bruce refers to Romans 16.25, the concluding doxology of the letter which talks about 'revelation of the mystery', and therefore gives to the whole of Romans an

eschatological conclusion and climax. For Paul the proclamation of this mystery in his own mission and preaching was thus seen as part of this eschatological process, indeed he believed "the advent of Christ could not come until Paul's task was finished".[362] Was Paul, in Romans 9 - 11 and especially the close of chapter Eleven, 11.25f., offering a necessary validation for his apparently preposterous notion that the Gentiles should have any kind of priority over the Jews in the receiving of the promised blessings of the messianic age? Behind these verses,too, is Paul's deeply held eschatological concern for the ultimate reconciliation of all, described by him (if we accept Ephesians as Pauline), as God's ultimate purpose, Eph. 1.9f.

At two points, however, Bruce in his work stands nearer to Dodd than Barrett; the one is in his acceptance of Dodd's development thesis, for Bruce accepts that as time went on, Paul was less and less concerned about the 'when' of the Parousia, "We can trace the progression of Paul's thought in this regard from the earliest to the latest of his undisputed writings. For him the realisation increased as time went on that his death before the parousia was more probable than his survival".[363] The other and more significant point at which Bruce and Dodd meet (possibly with Barrett also), is in his wholehearted acceptance of Paul as a theologian of Heilsgeschichte.[364] In Galatians and Corinthians, Bruce traces Paul's belief that the age of the Law was succeeded by the age of the Messiah, at the death and resurrection of Christ, to be superseded, in its turn, by the Resurrection Age. We are to see this salvation history belief in Paul wherever there is material which draws parallels between the early history of Israel and the present historical experience of God's people in Paul's own day; Bruce can conclude, "Nowhere does Paul expound salvation-history more fully than in his letter to the Romans".[365] Paul's exposition of salvation history with its twin poles of Adam and Christ is not simply

for the apostle a theological scheme presented in this way it is part of the gospel, for it calls men to a decision, it contains its own existential challenge. This is a view of salvation history in which Paul believes he himself is intimately involved; he does not simply describe a salvation history, he lives it and in a real sense moves it along by his own proclamation of the pattern and the challenge embodied in Christ. It is a history not yet consummated, but very nearly so. In this sense we could say, Paul makes an equivalence between his preaching and its content and his person and his self-understanding (apostleship) and ministry (mission to the Gentiles). This is Paul's unique contribution, his personal way of embodying Heilsgeschichte.

Perhaps we can conclude by returning to the question which Barrett's exegesis uncovered. Has it, for example, been established that Paul, at least at some point, modified the Jewish eschatology which he inherited? The answer must be a universal Yes, for all are agreed that in Pauline thought there is an element of some realisation of eschatology in the Life, Death and Resurrection of Jesus. Paul's undisputed contribution was to make that an eschatological event, indeed the eschatological event. But to what did it lead? Did it lead to the present establishment of the Age to Come or did it begin a process leading first to a period of life in two ages, a dialectical situation only to be resolved at some future point, which thus continued to be a summoning factor in early Christian life and thought? We could ask how much eschatology was realised. But it is perhaps better to ask the other question, how much was left over to the future and what was the extent of the influence of that residue on the apostle's thought and presentation of the gospel in Romans? Those who follow Barrett in wanting to speak of the influence of this residual futurist eschatology want to relate this influence to Paul's understanding of his own apostleship and ministry and see these things as part

of the exploration of Romans chapters 9 - 11. Those who leave little residue, following Dodd, tend to think of chapters 9 - 11 as essentially less theological and more historical than 1 - 8 or even 12 - 15.

To return to where we began; Eschatology, as Whiteley reminds us, is both a way of talking about the future and a way of talking about the present. There exists always the temptation to demythologise eschatology and turn it into anthropology or historiography.[366] It is a weakness of most of the scholars we have reviewed that they fail to recognise or do justice to the tensions of Pauline eschatology, not least as they are present in chapters 9 - 11 of Romans.

Chapter 9.

God, Man, Election

The most famous, indeed infamous, of all Christian doctrines is that covered by the term Predestination. It is to these three chapters of Romans 9 - 11 that those who wish to talk most of God's providential ordering of the affairs of men turn. It is impossible to look at this material without bringing to it half-remembered suggestions, be they Calvinist or otherwise, that the Apostle here teaches of those destined for eternal damnation. Whether or not this is a view supported by scholars within our period is one of the questions to which we now turn, beginning once more with the work of C.H. Dodd.

From the beginning of his commentary, Dodd stresses that, for him, Paul views all history as divinely ordered,[367] and so it is that he gives as a title to chapters 9 - 11 the superscription, The Divine Purpose in History. For Dodd, the first stage in Paul's explanation of this purpose is the Apostle's defence in 9.6-29 of a doctrine of Divine Sovereignty, which has as its major corollary the view that no human being has any 'claim' on God or any 'rights' before Him. God is a God of absolute freedom, whose deeds and judgements can only be tested against themselves. Yet Dodd is equally clear that for Paul this free self-determination of God's sovereign will reveals itself in terms of 'mercy'. God's mercy acts as prevenient grace, "initiating in humanity...the disposition which is receptive of Mercy".[368] All this Paul establishes in 9.6-16.

From verse 17 onwards, however, Dodd suggests that Paul introduces a sophistication into his argument, born out of his Hebraic tendency to an overall doctrine of determinism. It is this which leads the apostle to follow a logical ad hominem argument and to ascribe to God the creation of negative as well as positive dispositions within men. Paul does this, partly from

his own standpoint, but also because he is here involved in a debate with an opponent who is challenging the absolute and arbitrary sovereignty of God. In doing this, Dodd believes that Paul's thought "declines from his highest level".[369] The effect of this line of argument is that the apostle suggests a mechanical determinism which tends to annihilate morality, not least the hitherto observable morality of God's own actions. By the time Paul reaches verse 22, Dodd believes him to be suffering the embarrassment of his own argument and to be beginning to extricate himself by saying that although men have no necessary right or even ability to judge the morality or otherwise of God's actions, in fact these actions themselves reveal a moral tolerance and forebearance, a positive mercy, which is visible in historical reality. Dodd believes this to be especially stated by Paul in his use of the Hosea quotation (Hosea 2.23 and Hosea 1.10) in verses 25 and 26 of chapter 9. The historical reality which gives men their knowledge of God's essentially moral activity is "the fact of the Christian Church...as a concrete embodiment of the results of God's 'selective purpose'".[370]

Dodd considers 9.30 to begin a new section, in which the apostle takes up the issue of the apparently unethical action of God in his apparent rejection of the Jews. Paul's defence lies in his re-establishment of the principle of justification through grace received by faith. The responsibility lies with Israel herself. For the Jews, (see especially 10.11-21), are without excuse. They are responsible for their own state. From God's side His offer is universal, 10.11-13, but the Jews themselves have failed to respond.

Dodd judges the Pauline argument just outlined to be "curious" and "to us...little better than solemn trifling".[371] But in offering it, Paul has established the two characteristics of his understanding of the divine providence; in Dodd's summary,

"God's Plan of salvation is a free determination of His sovereign will, conditioned by nothing else than the everlasting mercy, which is His nature and property; but, secondly, it works through the free response of men in faith, and those whom it rejects have themselves rejected the opportunity offered to them".[372]

In chapter 11, Paul seeks to show how the mercy of God will continue to work out. It does so, through Paul's perception of a continuing Remnant of faithful people, and through the observable way in which the rejection by the Jews has led to the Gentile Mission and thus towards the fulfilment of God's purpose which is universal salvation. Again, Dodd stresses that Paul arrives at these conclusions, not so much as a result of the logic of his own theological argument, as out of his visible contacts with historical facts.

Throughout his argument, the apostle is thinking less of individuals than of wholes, joined by a national solidarity. It is in this way that the whole people of Israel share in the holiness of the Patriarchs or in the obedience of the faithful Remnant even though they have, for the most part, been themselves disobedient. Throughout all their rejection of God's purposes for them, they never lose their potential for salvation, because of their national solidarity. It is on the same basis that Dodd believes Paul to hold out a final optimism for the whole of mankind. Dodd believes Paul to have been a 'universalist', indeed a 'cosmic universalist', although not necessarily one who looked for the salvation of every individual. Nevertheless, "he cannot but have thought that a complete redintegration of the human race was included in it".[373]

Throughout, we can see revealed a process of 'purposive selection'. But it was a process which changed its nature before and after Christ. Before Christ the selection was

'exclusive', so exclusive that the election of man by God was reduced to a single individual, Jesus, who embodied, "in His single Person, the ultimate Remnant of Israel".[374] After Christ's coming, the process becomes inclusive once more and will eventually include all mankind and the whole cosmos.

All this Paul proclaims in faith, "faith set against a background of ignorance",[375] which is nevertheless acknowledged in the concluding Doxology (11.33-35). It is, however, a faith which proclaims the universally effective mercy of God.

It might even at this early stage be worth drawing from this description of Dodd's work some of his characteristic judgements which, as we shall see, embed themselves in subsequent interpretations almost to the point of becoming accepted orthodoxies. In no particular order of importance, Dodd's emphasis would include his view that the three chapters together speak of the divine purpose revealed in history; that Paul speaks of God in terms of initiating mercy; that Paul's argument is less than convincing in intellectual or theological terms, but makes sense when considering observable realities; that at the heart of the chapters and of Paul's discussion of God's providential working lies a new stress on the principle of Justification by Grace through Faith; that the apostle thinks less of individuals than of 'wholes', which are possibly bound together by a national solidarity; that, within this last parameter, Paul is a universalist, indeed a cosmic universalist, that ultimately God's purposive selection relates to Christ; and, not least, that all of this can only be apprehended and proclaimed in faith.

The Commentary which followed that of Dodd, Kirk's Clarendon Commentary, underlines a number of Dodd's emphases, while remaining independent. Kirk, like Dodd, emphasises that Paul's understanding is one of the eternal character and purpose of God which is grace and love becoming visible in the patterns of human history.

"The reverent mind may expect to find in history the traces of the divine providence at work,[376] ...(for), God is not an absentee landlord...At every moment His providence exercises direct control over events, even though it does not impinge upon human freedom.[377] He is clear that, for Paul, any such term as 'Predestination' is but a theological description of God's compelling Love.[378] And equally he can see the debate of chapters 9 - 11 as "the climax of his doctrine of justification".[379]

Kirk, however, introduces and emphasises the notion of 'paradox' as descriptive of all Paul's thought in these chapters. God's grace and love are compelling and ultimately irresistible realities, but they do not compel, rather do they proceed by a free and willing response. Yet this response cannot betoken merit, although the lack of it does betoken perversity, for which the individual will be held responsible. Paul thus creates a paradox between the supremacy of God's grace and the responsibility of man; it is the former which is dearer to his heart, but "He sets them forth not as adversative to one another...but as triumphant complementaries in the same system of thought".[380]

Kirk draws especial attention to the abundance of instances in these chapters where Paul speaks of Calling, καλεῖν, e.g. 9.11, 24,25,26 and 11.5,7,28. He believes these instances to carry the meaning of invitation, command, summons, even re-naming as a mark of especial favour, and although he accepts the basic translation 'election' he suggests that this word refers not to salvation or indeed to any privileged status in the sight of God save that which comes from God's call of man to a specific responsibility. The responsibility which is the heart of election for Kirk is that of carrying the gospel to all the world. Put in these terms, the question whether those who are not elected are sentenced to damnation becomes mistaken.

Election is God's 'method' and of itself implies little about the number of those who will eventually be saved. Kirk believes that in 9.14f. the Apostle does, in a passage which smacks of cold academic pedantry, make the hypothetical assertion that God has the right to predestine to damnation, should He wish. But the fact that He does not do so becomes a part of Paul's more fundamental assertion that God's grace is for all. In proclaiming this, Paul's language becomes, by contrast, 'warm and lyrical', see especially 11.25f., and the assertions of 11.26 and 11.32 justify us in claiming that at his best, Paul is universalist, without failing also to speak of man's responsibility.

Kirk makes the point that, in his use of the Old Testament, the apostle chooses those parts which stress that God's choice and election of men is an election to responsibility and not to status, e.g. Deut. 18.5, Isa. 43.10 and 42.1, I Chron.15.2. There are some echoes of the notion of election to privilege in passages such as 9.4f., and especially 11.7 and 11.28, but for Kirk these merely stand to underline Paul's basic notion which is that of election to responsibility. The theme is reinforced by Paul's use of the Remnant motif, as at 9.27, 29 and 11.5. In these places, Paul's thought is supremely of the loyalty of those who originally believed. So Kirk can conclude, "It is exceptionally worthy of notice that S. Paul discards all reference to the majority of the passages in which the idea of privilege is to the fore".[381] So it is that Kirk adds to those emphases already noticed in the work of Dodd, an emphasis which speaks of Paul offering a deliberate paradox of thought and a further one which divorces God's election of certain people from the issue of their ultimate salvation, making of election a means rather than an end.

Others follow Kirk in seeing Paul's writing in terms of paradox. Barclay, for example, believes that we are dealing

with an eternal paradox, "that at one and the same time, all is of God and Man has his free-will".[382] But like Dodd, and unlike Kirk, Barclay sees little subtlety in Paul's argument, believing that if we strip it of its non-essentials, it staggers our minds and produces a recoil in our sensibilities. The apostle's arguments are strange and terrible. Barclay believes that Paul, in a sense, changes his mind as the chapters proceed for "He began by saying that some were elected to reception and some to rejection. In the end he comes to say that it is God's will that all men should be saved".[383]

Hunter too, follows Dodd and agrees with Barclay in his assessment that Paul's arguments, "will move most of us to dissent".[384] It is clear that Hunter would have preferred the apostle to stop his argument at 9.16, rather than to continue to speak of the shadow side of God's sovereignty. From this point onwards, Hunter believes that Paul "over drives his argument",[385] and produces his unhappy analogy of the Potter and the Clay, which tends to make of God a non-moral despot. "The logic of this verse is that we are simply puppets controlled by a cruelly capricious God, like Hardy's 'President of the Immortals'".[386] The trouble is, suggests Hunter, that Paul has produced an impasse in his own argument which he needs to evade. Part of his evasion is his contention developed in chapter 10 that the Jews have, in a sense, rejected themselves. Israel's downfall is due to "sheer disobedience".[387] Thus it is that the opposite of predestination for Paul is not perdition, but unbelief, a self-incurred disobedience.

Paul's own theology is one in which all the emphasis falls on the divine initiative of grace in election and he "is splendidly illogical" in not following the logic of a doctrine of election to salvation, namely an election to damnation. The Apostle can, however, and does elsewhere in his writing, envisage the possibility of some men perishing. He is thus not

an unqualified universalist, speaking in Romans only in terms of races and not of individuals. In the three chapters, which for Hunter do form a triad, - The Assertion of The Sovereign Will of God, followed by the opposite side of this, the Disobedience and Rejection by The Jews, followed by the triumphant assertion of God's ultimate purpose of salvation, - he also sees a "dialectic of history" ending with "the bright vision of God's ultimate mercy".[388]

Nevertheless, in Hunter's treatment it seems that he believes Paul seriously to make God's elective Grace dependent upon Man's response. He suggests that Paul would be one with P.T. Forsyth in believing, "We are all predestined in love to life, sooner or later - if we will".[389] Forsyth's final words underlined by Hunter and ascribed to the apostle seem resonant of the famous Augustinian dictum, "Without God we cannot, without us God will not".

Whereas Dodd, followed by Barclay and Hunter, was ready to ascribe to the apostle illogicalities, if not clumsy indiscretions of thought, Kirk wanted to speak of a true paradox of which the apostle was aware and with which he dealt with some sensitivity. It is Barrett, whose Commentary followed upon that of Hunter, who offers the most detailed exegesis of Paul's thought on God and Election in terms of a recognised and deliberately expressed paradox.

Barrett begins by arguing that, throughout Romans, Paul is writing of God and that all of his work is to be seen as illustrating "the character and deeds of God, who is the source of salvation".[390] Chapters 9 - 11 take their immediate starting point from a "glaring theological paradox",[391] the paradox between God's own choice of Israel as the "scene upon which his saving purpose should be worked out" and the failure of that purpose because of "the fact of Israel's present rejection".[392] Although

Barrett calls this a theological paradox he recognises that there are those, notably Johannes Munck, who would tend to assert that both sides of this paradox are historical. Barrett deals with this in his comments on the work of Munck.[393] Barrett's conclusion is that although "It is up to a point true that for Paul the doctrine of election arises out of missionary experience, rather than out of speculative theology ...it is also true that Paul read the doctrine of election in his fundamental textbook of theology, the Old Testament".[394] What is at stake here is the character of Romans, chapters 9 - 11, seen as a whole. For Barrett accepts, as Munck does not, that what we have in Romans 9 - 11 are three chapters which themselves represent the stating of the theological paradox with a final chapter, chapter 11, which is Paul's own theological synthesis. Thus, chapter 9 is basically concerned with the one side of the paradox, "God's Elective Purpose" (Barrett's own title for 9.6f. in his Commentary); Chapter 10, or rather 9.30 - 10.21, is concerned with the other side of the paradox, the fall and responsibility of Israel; Chapter 11 represents Paul's own theological synthesis. Munck had argued that such a theological juxtaposition of divine purpose and human responsibility was "modern". Barrett offers Rabbinic parallels in refutation of this, concluding "The unbelief of Israel may be looked at from two points of view, that of divine election and that of human choice". Barrett adds, "Whether there can be a logical reconciliation of the two freedoms, God's and Man's, is a question to which Paul does not address himself".[395] But Paul does address himself to the theological paradox and he does offer in chapter 11 a theological resolution of it.

So it is that Paul begins his further exploration of the character and deeds of God, who is the source of salvation, with a discussion at 9.6f., of God's Elective Purpose. In a few verses, Barrett suggests that Paul unpacks the content of God's

Sovereignty in terms of Freedom, Grace and Election. God is Free, his purposes are not bound by the limits of the physical and the historical; he has shown his 'creative freedom', not least in his 'counting' of righteousness to Abraham on the basis of Abraham's faith. God's freedom is absolute, no matter what historical circumstances befall. But God is Gracious and Merciful and it is this Mercy which operates through all his elective deeds. So it is that we are to see in Paul's verses which deal with God's potentially negative dealings with Pharaoh, verses 9.17f., the stressing of both God's initiative and freedom, but more especially the stressing of His mercy. It is God's mercy which is the beginning and end of God's activity and even those who, like Pharaoh, are given ignoble places within the purposes of God are nevertheless still within the overall purpose of Mercy. Paul's argument in these early verses of chapter 9, where he is speaking of the Sovereignty of God, not least his analogy of the potter and the clay, (which for Barrett, unlike Dodd, is not necessarily a weak or remote element in the argument as a whole), offers, "a profound definition of God and of his purpose for men in terms of mercy".[396] In saying this, Barrett is repeating the important concluding judgement which he offered on Romans 8.29-30. On these verses which link fore-knowledge, fore-ordination, calling and justification Barrett had commented, "Predestination is the most comfortable of all Christian doctrines, if men will accept it in its Biblical form, and not attempt to pry into it with questions which it does not set out to answer. It is not a 'quantitative limitation of God's action, but its qualitative definition', the final statement of the truth that justification, and, in the end, salvation also, are by grace alone, and through faith alone".[397] Two things are perhaps worth underlining in this judgement of the Pauline view; the first is the acceptance that all of the apostle's thought about God and God's activity ultimately leads him back to the central truth about God which

is to be expressed in terms of God's offer of justification, by God's grace, received through faith. And the second is Barrett's use and acceptance of Karl Barth's distinction between a 'quantitative limitation' and a 'qualitative definition'.[398] All the talk of God's Sovereignty and of his elective purpose is, in the end, not concerned with the division of men into those saved and those damned, but rather is designed to proclaim the qualitative definition of God's nature and purpose, which is Mercy.

For Paul, the historical events which lie behind his thinking, the life and Ministry of Jesus, the election of the New Israel following upon the Jewish Rejection of Jesus, reveal God's elective purpose in action, but they do not contradict it. They reveal,too, something of the nature of God's Mercy which is twofold; it is a revelation of God's wrath against sinfulness, but a revelation of his saving power for those with faith.

The section which begins with 9.30 is, as Barrett has argued in his separate Monograph, concerned with, The Fall and Responsibility of Israel. The truth, however, contains a further trace of that paradox, or perhaps better 'dialectic', that governs the apostle's thinking throughout. For Israel's Rejection of the Christ is both a part of the purpose of God and also founded in her own sin and error, for which she is to be held responsible. It is "an interplay of predestination and human responsibility characteristic of the Bible, and not to be disposed of in the interests of simplicity on the one side or the other".[399] For the proper fulfilment of God's purposes there needs to be both the initiative of God and the right response of Man. Man needs to appropriate in faith that which God first offers in grace. Yet even Man's Rejection will not ultimately thwart God's purposes, for through a Remnant God continues to take the initiative and to make his offer. Again, however,

Barrett suggests that all of Paul's thinking about the initiative of God serves as a reminder to his readers that salvation is never dependent upon works, but on Man's response of faith and that, even here, it is never earned but received as an act of free grace.

Some are destined to be hardened, 11.7-8. Barrett believes that Paul was content to accept that God had hardened them, but even here, from Paul's human point of view, there is a further paradox. For, "It is impossible here to distinguish between 'hardened because disobedient' and 'disobedient because hardened'; the two processes are concurrent".[400] Throughout the Remnant passages the apostle is concerned to proclaim that God never finally rejects his people. That God's responses are, as it were, reversible comes about because of the correlativity between God's own Nature and Man's response, which God allows to be part of his purpose and which ensures that He cannot be said to act arbitrarily. So it is that God can and does graft back into the Tree those branches once rejected, 11.23.

Why have so many commentators been ready to accuse Paul of offering a picture of an arbitrary and capricious God? This is, suggests Barrett, because they have failed to see that throughout, Paul is writing mythologically, "that is, he expresses what he has to say about God and his eternal purposes in historical, or quasi-historical terms".[401] Paul does this because he is writing under the constraint of his belief in the imminent close of all of God's purposes, together with human history. Barrett returns to Barth's "qualitative definition", arguing that the apostle sees Man's apprehension of God's nature and action in history in a double way, according to his own capacity to respond in faith. If Man responds in faith then God is apprehended as kind, merciful love. If through the forms of legalistic religion then God is apprehended as severity, wrath and judgement. But

Paul's deepest understanding of God, in Himself, is that all of God's apparent rejections, punishments and abandonments are, in truth, the foil of his mercy. It is with the renewed proclamation of this mercy that Paul concludes his argument at 11.25-26.

11.32 is for Barrett the true measure of Paul's understanding of what Man calls, 'Double Predestination'. All are predestined to wrath and all are predestined to mercy. "If they were not predestinated to the former, they could not be predestinated to the latter",[402] for it is only as sinful man, that man can see his need for and reliance upon the mercy of God.

It is this concentration upon God's nature as Mercy that explains why the chapter ends with a Doxology, a Doxology which emphasises God's infinite mercy and Grace, Man's inability to find God in his own strength, and not least that God gives all freely through his own initiative, "For of Him and through Him and unto Him are all things", (Romans 11.36).

Barrett's total understanding of these chapters is remarkable in that, for the first time in the period under review, we are given a sustained exegesis which believes the chapters to be a sustained theological whole; we are offered a picture of the apostle grappling with that most central and impossible task, offering a description of the divine nature and purpose. He does so in necessarily paradoxical and mythological language, driven to such a course both by the subject of his thought and by the constraints of his eschatological belief. In all of this, the Apostle never loses sight of that which is most central to his understanding of God which is God's offer of Justification as free Grace to be received by faith. In this way, these chapters are closely linked theologically with the rest of the Epistle and its central concern and could be said to offer a true climax to the apostle's theological reflection.

Not the least emphatic element in Barrett's presentation of Paul's thought is his refusal to follow Dodd's assumption that there are parts of the argument where the apostle is, as it were, carried away, either by the loose ends of his argument or by the goadings of an opponent in debate. It is Dodd's contention, rather than Barrett's, which continues to reappear in many subsequent interpretations. Thus, T.W. Manson in his Peake's Commentary article on Romans can talk of Paul's "eagerness to silence anything that looks like a criticism of the Almighty", and can go on to talk of the apostle "bluntly" insisting. His true and deepest convictions are hidden "behind what looks very like bluster".[403]

F.F. Bruce takes this a stage further in suggesting that Paul is opposing in his arguments set out in 9.6-29 not a 'bewildered seeker', but rather a 'God-defying rebel', and that it is out of this heightened polemic that Paul writes in so peremptory a manner.[404] Similarly, E.K. Lee suggests that, particularly in chapter 9, Paul is not answering a neutral philosophical question, but rather a specific enquiry from one who took an exclusivist view of God's relationship to the Jewish people. This leads him to assert the sovereignty of God "in an absolute and peremptory manner",[405] and to make few qualifications of his argument.

To return to Bruce for a moment, it is possible to see in his Commentary a reiteration, albeit in less detailed terms, of the main conclusions in Barrett's work. Bruce suggests that there is something of the Thesis-Antithesis-Synthesis pattern to the three chapters, (although he does not use this Hegelian terminology, or the concept of 'paradox'), writing, "He begins with one statement of God's ways in election and ends with another, but at the end he sees farther into the character and aim of God's election than he did at the outset".[406] Bruce accepts that chapter 9 looks at the problem from the point of view of divine election, and chapter 10 from the standpoint of

human responsibility, and that the chapters should be seen as a whole. Similarly, he argues that Paul is driven, especially in that section where he asserts the eventual salvation of the Jews, 11.25f., not by patriotism or slavish adherence to the logic of his argument, but by "a deeper and clearer insight into God's grace". In this, he is repeating that proclamation of the grace and the mercy of God which is the true purpose of the earlier verses in chapter 9. Bruce too, suggests that Paul believes that God's sovereign gift of righteousness possesses a dual nature, or as Bruce prefers to put it, has two sounds to it. It can speak with a grim sound convicting both Jew and Gentile of their inability to make claims upon God, but it can also speak, as at 10.1-13, with a joyful sound, proclaiming that all stand before God's mercy and that all can receive it in faith. It is the proclamation of God's impartiality which lies behind this. Thus when at 11.32 Paul speaks of the truth, 'That He might have mercy upon all', he is proclaiming primarily that God's mercy comes to all without distinction, rather than without exception. At this point, Bruce quotes from Barrett's commentary, agreeing with the earlier commentator that Paul is not primarily making judgements about the destiny of individual men but rather seeking to offer a hope for mankind, rooted in a truth about the nature of God.[407]

This truth, that for Paul, God's purposes and actions are rooted in his nature, is the starting point of E.K. Lee's interpretation. Lee argues that both sources of Paul's knowledge of God, the O.T. and Christ, are linked together. The gospel is the fulfilment of the promise made to Abraham; the Law made man more fully aware of his need for God and so was a preparation for the gospel. Both reveal the same underlying truth which is that God's promises are fulfilled by the faith of the believer".[408] On 9.6-9, Lee argues that Paul distinguishes between an election (of promise) within the election (of flesh). The election of the latter has been cancelled to be replaced by the election of

promise, reaffirmed "within the catholic church". Although Lee takes the view that Paul is led to overstate his case in the verses that follow, (9.10-24), he points out that Paul never says that God is responsible for the condition of the vessels of wrath, (v.22), or that they were destroyed. On the basis of his exegesis of the perfect participle, κατηρτισμένα 9.22, he suggests that "a certain state has been reached, not necessarily that a certain purpose has been accomplished".[409] Again, he suggests that Paul's apparent hardness comes from the polemical nature of his situation.

In his comment on election just considered we can see that Lee truly believes the concept of the church to be "the key to the understanding of Paul's conception of the purpose of God".[410] He accepts that as a concept it remains unexpressed in these chapters, but, nevertheless, it is the church which Paul believes to be the true Israel, the true Israel rather than the New Israel.

He also accepts that the chapters as a whole are concerned not with individuals but rather with the election of a people and that Paul's concluding affirmation is one which asserts the possibility though not necessarily the certainty that "all may become partakers of the divine mercy".[411]

The place of the church and its relation to God's election of Israel or of an Israel within Israel is clearly a theme to which subsequent commentators might address themselves.

Before turning to the three major remaining contributions within our period, those of Ellison, O'Neill and Cranfield, we might, for completeness' sake, refer to Best, Black and Robinson, all of whom reflect the basic positions of Barrett (so Best and Black), or of Dodd (so Robinson). All are agreed in stressing that the constant theme of the chapters is God's mercy and constant

love; Best draws attention to the christological centre of Paul's thinking, believing his teaching about selection and fore-ordination to be "part and parcel of his teaching about Jesus".[412] Black, on the other hand, characteristically stresses the Old Testament nature of Paul's defence of his understanding of God, but showing by his choice of Old Testament Scriptures, e.g. Ex.33.19, that God's sovereign election always springs from a gracious and compassionate nature. To these emphases Best adds a reiteration of the Kirk/Barrett use of 'paradox' considering the apostle to present "an apparent paradox",[413] but agreeing with Barrett that it is a paradox of which neither side can be surrendered.

Robinson, on this theme, as on many others, takes the view first offered by Dodd. Thus, like Dodd, (together with Bruce, Best and the Roman Catholic scholar Rhymer), he believes the basic theme of these chapters to be "The Purpose of God in History". Like Dodd, he suggests that against the rational charge of determinism Paul does not offer a rational answer and that the apostle's analogies cannot be pressed too closely. Nevertheless, he recognises that Paul does not offer "a superficial antithesis of mercy and anger in God",[414] and that he does consider the revelation of God's wrath to be a part of the revelation of God's righteousness. Throughout, Paul is concerned to ensure that man sees that all is grounded in the nature of God as gracious and merciful, rather than in any 'works' which man can offer by way of claim; the importance of the section 9.14-29 lies in the fact that "it shows that the principle of exclusion and the principle of inclusion are the same; neither is dependent on 'works', each is based wholly and absolutely in the graciousness and mercy of God".[415] Throughout, Paul is concerned to stress this sheer graciousness of God and thus he does not say that God has created vessels for retribution, but again Robinson believes that 9.14-29 contains enough "unguarded writing" to lead to the misunderstandings which later developed

into a doctrine of double predestination. These chapters are, nevertheless, "an essay in theodicy" which can be seen as "the justification of God"[416] Paul's concern is with groups and not with individuals, and his final assertions are that no group, per se, will be excluded from the possibility of salvation. Although Paul does not himself raise the question of universal salvation, Robinson stands with Dodd in believing, in Dodd's words, that "his (God's)love will find a way of bringing all men into a unity with him".[417]

In turning to the work of H.L. Ellison we turn to the writing of a contemporary Jewish Christian, with experience as a Christian missionary amongst his own people, for whom the thought of Romans chapters 9 - 11 is as personal as it clearly was for the apostle himself. In his, The Mystery of Israel, he offers a complete exposition of these chapters.

He begins with his understanding that Paul denies any concept of 'national election', for not all Jews are elect of God by virtue of their physical descent. God does act by sovereign choice, which is not based upon the character of works of Israel. Nevertheless, we are to see that whereas Israel as a whole does preserve God's revelation, within this whole Israel there is to be discovered "the Israel of God's election choice".[418] These two Israels cannot be distinguished, but Ellison suggests that the value which Paul gives to the nation as a whole springs from his belief that within it is the invisible election Israel. Paul's concerns are thus not with individuals, but with the wider issue of how God's purposes are to be accomplished through Israel. God's election is the means whereby He accomplishes his purposes for the world, but, of itself, it is not directly concerned with individual salvation to eternal life. "In other words, Paul is not concerned with the eternal destiny of those chosen, but with the way in which God accomplishes His purposes".[419]

So it is that when Paul talks of the hardening of Pharaoh's heart, as at 9.14f., we are not to be concerned with the Pharaoh's salvation, but with the way in which he was serving God's purposes. It is in this way that Paul takes away the sting of any charge against him that his God is unjust. If Paul was concerned with personal salvation the charge would rest, but against the background of the fulfilment of all God's purposes it is misplaced.

God clearly has the right to use men in the fulfilment of his purposes, even though all are strictly vessels of wrath, deserving of the destruction which in fact Paul never suggests God metes out. Indeed, God's use of men even as 'vessels of wrath' is a sign that he wishes their salvation; "the wrath of God is an expression of the "love of God".[420]

Those whom God uses and even those who experience God's wrath may well be led to repentance and so to an experience of God's love. We cannot doubt that Paul believed God's total purpose to be man's salvation, but within that total purpose, Paul distinguishes certain functional callings.

So it is that in the course of 9.30f., Paul can, at one and the same time, assert that the Jewish rejection of Christ was from their own lack of faith, but that they continue to have a part to play within the working out of God's purposes.

Ellison then suggests that the Apostle envisaged two elections. First, there is the whole of Israel, Jewry, which is not itself elect, but which exists within the purposes of God to be the matrix of the first elect Israel; but Paul writes of a second election within election Israel that brings Jewish people into the Church. If we are tempted to complain that this double election is a complication then Ellison would reply,

"It may be, but we are being introduced to a Divine plan so complicated that only in relatively recent years have theologians and expositors begun to understand it".[421]

So far, much of what Ellison has argued can find its roots in the work of those scholars whom we have considered; it is at the point, where he turns to his exegesis of 11.11-16, that he offers a unique understanding of Paul's argument. The normal argument, which Ellison summarises, is as follows, "first the gospel is preached to Israel; as a result of its rejection it is preached to the Gentiles, though some Jews are included as members of the election; then Israel has its turn again, and with its salvation the end comes".[422] He cannot believe that this scheme is a sufficient 'mystery' (v.25), or that its uncovering would result in the concluding Doxology. No, we should accept that Paul is concerned basically with uncovering God's purpose for the People of God, Israel, and that what he is saying is that with the return of his people his purpose does not end but in a sense begins, for God's purpose does depend upon Israel playing its full part. We are therefore to envisage, with Leenhardt and Moule, whom Ellison enlists to support his view, that there will be a period before the end when Israel will once more bring to the world the riches of God's grace, for in the words of Leenhardt, "Israel is essential to the fulfilment of the Divine plan".[423]

In the remainder of his exegesis, Ellison stresses that Paul is also thinking christologically, for, following the work of Karl Barth, Ellison argues, "we forget how inextricably Jesus is bound up with Israel...for He is the fulfilment of Israel as well as its Saviour".[424] He also seeks to develop his former point about the relationship of the Church to election Israel; they are related but not equivalent for they merge only when individuals experience the Messiah, who is the root of both.

In the whole of his argument Paul has presented a case which argues that God might have mercy on all, but not that he will; the point is, that Man can never set any limits on God's choice and mercy. Ellison, however, unlike most others, (although not Hunter, for example), suggests that Paul was not a universalist, even in hope, believing that some would be refused.

What we are given then in this material is a vigorous defence of the view that Romans 9 - 11 is itself a vigorous defence by the apostle of the abiding and necessary place of the Jews in the fulfilment of God's purposes. Ellison has every right to make this defence and to see, as others do, that these chapters are an end to any anti-semitism.

That Romans, chapters 9 - 11, are basically a powerful exploration of the place of the Jews in God's plan of salvation and an apologia against anti-semitism is the starting point of the understanding of J.C. O'Neill. Indeed, he is at pains to suggest that it is this very specific problem which Paul turns to and that the chapters are not to be understood as a general theological excursus on Election, predestination or God's general purposes in History.[425] Behind the opening words of Romans 9, O'Neill sees an underlying assumption on the part of the apostle about the Jews, which is that "unbelieving Jews still have an open choice before them of whether or not to believe".[426] If this is so, then what are we to make of those parts of the same chapter which suggest that God has already decided the fate of his people, irrespective of their own choice? O'Neill sees such intimations at 9.11 and 9.14-23. The question to which v.14 is directed, "Why does God still find fault, when He has already decided the fate of His people ?", is unanswerable and it carried with it the corollary that God is here thought of as an amoral being, "He is not part of the moral human system, but is completely above the system".[427] This possible view of God O'Neill believes to be a serious attempt to answer the original impasse, but it is not Pauline. Verses 11-23 imply

a deterministic position which is at odds both with the expressions of personal sorrow and anguish which are recorded, 9.1-3, and with Paul's genuine question in v.6 about the failure of God's word. This determinist position cannot logically be held together with talk of God's 'promises', which imply the freedom of Man to rely upon them or to disbelieve them. It is possible, therefore, to assert that Paul was indeed illogical in his thought and debate and thus to see him as the author of the whole of 9.1-29, but O'Neill himself prefers to assume that Paul thought and wrote logically and that therefore the Pauline authorship of much of the chapter must be in doubt. When the verses themselves are subjected to a literary scrutiny, O'Neill discovers that "Literary incompatibility matches logical incompatibility".[428] Paul was himself thus not the author of at least 9.11-23.

Turning to chapter 10, we come to material which, for O'Neill, revolves around the Jewish Christian problem of why the Gentiles historically came to accept Jesus more readily than Jews. In his exegesis of 9.30-10.3, O'Neill finds a section which talks of Righteousness, but suggests that it is something which Jew or Gentile seek for, attain and learn to live out for themselves. It is not something which God 'counts' to men, who do not deserve it, and who do not therefore claim it but receive it as an act of God's gracious and merciful will. This latter and, as O'Neill readily admits, almost universal understanding of Paul's concept of righteousness is to be found later in the chapter, at 10.10 for example. The dilemma is again resolved when once we recognise that 10.6b-15 is "the work of a later theologian".[429] Within these three chapters O'Neill discovers what, for him, are irreconcilable elements, Israel as God's Chosen People; Much of Israel has rejected the gospel.

God controls Man's response to the Gospel: God commissions preachers to evoke Man's response.

Righteousness comes to man as a free Gift of God: Man's status in the sight of God depends upon his (doctrinal) assent, so 10.9f.

Without discussing the ways in which these irreconcilable elements might be held in tension or might indeed spring from the nature of God or of Paul's conception of God, O'Neill cuts the knot by recourse to his theories of wholesale literary interpolation. The whole of 10.16-11,32 becomes a second century theological attempt to suggest a pattern and a plan behind the history of Israel and the church. This section owes its existence to the circumstances of the second century when Christians were defending themselves and their Old Testament heritage against Marcionite attack. These non-Pauline sections offer what O'Neill describes as "a theology of modified predestination". God's overall purpose is universal salvation, but on the way and within this broad plan, human beings can opt for choices which might lead to their temporary disobedience.[430] O'Neill believes that this modified universalism is neither strictly predestinarian nor is it "the general Biblical view, according to which men are free to choose salvation or damnation for themselves".[431] It is thus possible to see in Romans 9 - 11 as a whole three separate strands of thought. There is Paul's own thought, characterised above as the Biblical view; then there is a view which is determinist and which O'Neill considers also to be Gnostic; finally there is the modified and reconciling view of the final theodicy. Neither the second view nor the final synthesis owes anything to Paul. If we ask why the final synthesis was attempted, then part of the answer, for O'Neill, is that it is suggested in the concluding Doxology, 11.33-36, which is not Pauline, but a piece of Hellenistic-Judaic material. It formed part of the Romans text inherited by the second century theological commentator and suggested that kind of theological essay offered in 10.16-11.32. In the event, O'Neill judges

that the essay contradicts the doxology which was its stimulus, for whilst the latter talks of the inscrutability of God, the essay attempts too purposefully to lift the veil. In this way, the problem of God and Election within Romans 9 - 11 was both created and resolved.

The strength and weakness of O'Neill's position might be said to lie not in his specific exegetical judgements, but rather in the a priori assumptions which he brings to the material; that it is not a piece of sustained theological writing, that there is a Biblical view of, for example, righteousness, and moreover that it is right to set Paul's thought over against such a view. This latter notion seems extraordinary in areas, - righteousness, call and election -, where Paul as much as anybody might be considered to have created 'the Biblical View', rather than to be representative of it. O'Neill identifies irreconcilable elements or rather he identifies elements which are in clear tension and which do not afford a simple or logical resolution. But again comes the a priori judgement that Paul's thought and writing must be judged to be logical; O'Neill accepts that there is an alternative, represented by most other commentators, but at least within the confines of his Commentary declines to explore it. These are some of the illogicalities in O'Neill's own position which mean that it is unlikely that in its present form it will command any widespread agreement.

In turning finally to the work of Cranfield, we return to the mainstream of British exegesis within our period and find a drawing together and a summary of many of the main areas of consensus as we have described them.

For Cranfield, these three chapters, which should be taken as a whole, represent a discussion of "the very reliability of God's purposes".[432] Their key word is, as many have pointed

out, 'mercy'. We have seen throughout our description of earlier writers that some (e.g. Dodd, Barrett, Best, Ellison) point to an underlying christological element in all of the apostle's thought about God and election. Ellison had quoted Barth approvingly in this context. Cranfield also accepts a Barthian starting point. He quotes, with approval, Barth's contention that "the doctrine of election must not begin in abstracto either with a concept of the electing God or with that of the elected man. It must begin concretely, with the acknowledgement of Jesus Christ as both the electing God and the elected Man".[433] Within this election of Christ there are a number of contained elections, most especially the two most distinguishable, the election of the community and the election of the individual.[434] Chapters 9 - 11, Cranfield agrees here with the vast majority of former scholars, is concerned with the election of the community and not the individual.

Yet, within the election of the community there is a further distinction to be made, for there are communities within communities, both under God's election and both contributing to the fulfilment of his purposes. There are the twin communities of, on the one hand, those Jews who have always responded, (Israel within Israel, cf. Ellison's Election Israel), to whom we should add those Jews and Gentiles who make up the believing church; on the other hand, there are the remainder of the Jews, unbelieving Israel, to whom we should add those who have rejected Christ since his coming. Both communities are within God's election.

So it is that Cranfield can entitle his exposition of those verses which begin at 9.6f., "The Unbelief and Disobedience of Men are shown to be embraced within the work of the Divine Mercy".[435] Immediately, Cranfield suggests that we are dealing in these verses with "different levels or forms of election",[436] rather than with the contrast between election and non-election.

Some groups stand within a positive relationship to the accomplishment of God's purposes and some do not. The interpretation of v.15, with its quotation from Exod. 33.19b, is crucial and should not be taken as (an assertion) "of an absolute freedom of an indeterminate will of God", but rather as a verse which speaks of the freedom of God's mercy.[437] Cranfield agrees with all those commentators who assert that God's freedom is outside of the control of any man, but adds that, for him, Paul teaches that God's freedom is totally determined by His own nature, which is mercy. It is the freedom of God's mercy and no other freedom which Paul is here expounding. Unlike most commentators, Cranfield objects to the use of the word sovereignty in any title or description of Paul's doctrine, for that implies that God's freedom is too arbitrary.[438] No community of people stands outside the embrace of God's merciful freedom. Thus it is that the description given in the Exodus quotation at 9.15 is a description not of God's activity, but of His nature.

(Cranfield does not allow himself, nor does any other commentator at this point, a cross reference to the similar 'limitation' which is proclaimed about the sovereign God at 2.Tim. 2.13).

Our recognition of God's inability to act outside His nature should thus be the governing principle in our attempts to understand all that Paul subsequently writes. But again we fall into a danger if we imagine that Paul is thinking in terms of personal salvation rather than offering a description of the economy of God's Purposes. Exegetes are wrong, suggests Cranfield, to find any suggestion in v.21, the Potter and the Clay, of God's arbitrary power. On this basis, Cranfield himself takes issue with the N.E.B. translation, "Surely the Potter can do what he likes with the clay".

The purpose of 9.6-29 is to establish that the disobedience of Israel and the inclusion of the Gentiles are both parts of the one fulfilment of God's purposes. The purpose of the subsequent section 9.30-10.21 is to define that obedience and disobedience more closely. Throughout this section the responsibility and guilt of Israel are made clear, but this is done, not for its own sake, or to condemn Israel, but, "to point even more emphatically to the unwearying persistence of God's graciousness, and so to bring the section to an end on a note of hope".[439]

It is possible that here we have a method of exegesis which is, at least in part, dangerously circular. It is perhaps one thing to see as a result of exegesis a dominant theme, such as that of God's mercy. The question becomes whether or not it is wholly legitimate to use that established theme after the manner of an hermeneutical tool, by means of which subsequent exegesis proceeds. There is the danger that all things, especially those which might threaten the established theme, are given less weight than they deserve. Cranfield's exegesis has the strength and the weakness of reducing a great deal of the tension and the ambiguity which all find in Paul's language in these chapters by making all contribute to the single theme, which is the divine plan of mercy.

So, when he comes to 11.1-36, we are immediately told by Cranfield that these verses represent the final exploration of this same theme and that this whole theme finds its apogee in 11.25-32, verses in which, "human disobedience is firmly and decisively related to the triumphant, all-embracing mercy of God".[440] National Israel (though not necessarily every individual) will be saved as will be 'the Gentile world as a whole'; this is the interpretation to which he moves concerning τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν ἐθνῶν.

Cranfield rejects that interpretation (most powerfully represented in Barrett) which sees in 11.32a, the meaning

that God convicts all of disobedience that he might show mercy to all. Rather should we see God as giving some freedom and some a negative role in his providence, with the effect that more can find salvation through God's mercy.

Concerning the closing verses as a whole, Cranfield is not willing to be led into either a dogma of universalism, or a belief that ultimately some will be excluded from God's mercy. Along with others, Cranfield accepts that Paul proclaims not that God will, but that God might, show mercy to all. Ultimately, Cranfield believes that Paul has not "provided neat answers" or "swept away all the difficulties" nor yet removed all of the mystery of God's actions, but he has said enough to give assurance that the mystery "will never turn out to be anything other than the mystery of the altogether good and merciful and faithful God".[441]

Throughout this survey of opinion concerning God, Man, Election, we have seen a number of individual differences and similarities in exegesis, (e.g. the relevance of the Hosea quotation at 9.15 or the meaning of πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ σωθήσεται at 11.26). But it is clear that what is more important than such specific judgements is the view which any commentator takes as to the overall theological understanding presented in the chapters. We are moving towards asking the question whether or not there is a generally accepted British understanding. One way of further recognising any such British emphasis is to make some comparison with non-British writing over the same period. It is to this that we now turn, reserving any conclusions for a final chapter. Such a review of non-British thought would be impossible within the scope of the present study if the intention were to give a full and proper description of the depth and variety of understanding which exists in other nations, as in Britain; what follows, however, whilst recognisably incomplete, may be sufficient to suggest the wider background against which British thought might be set and might act as an aid to further reflection upon it.

Chapter 10.

Non-British Exegesis

The year 1930 saw the publication in Germany of two studies of the thought of Paul by two scholars whose work could be said to have dominated Pauline exegesis for many decades. The two independent studies were those of Albert Schweitzer and Rudolf Bultmann, Schweitzer's The Mysticism of Paul The Apostle, and Bultmann's article, 'Paul' offered to the encyclopaedia,Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart.[442] It is with Schweitzer that we begin this survey of non-British scholarship.

Schweitzer's views on Paul were formulated substantially in the years, 1906-1911,[443] and are dominated by his contention that all of Paul's thought must be set within the context of early Jewish/Christian eschatology. Having raised the question whether or not Paul's work was part of a new process, the hellenisation of Christianity, or a continuation of the originally Jewish eschatological frame of thought, Schweitzer opted for the latter. He therefore believed that Paul shared the belief in an imminent parousia, but to this Paul added his own development in his assertion that the Resurrection of Jesus had inaugurated the supernatural age. The death and resurrection of Christ had ended one age and begun a new one. And although to the outward eye the old age continued, there were, in fact, hidden powers at work. "Through the Resurrection of Jesus it had become manifest that resurrection powers, that is to say, powers of the supernatural world, were already at work within the created world".[444] Paul, therefore, saw this world as in a process of transformation, and of crucial importance within this general belief was the apostle's belief that he himself, and the early christian community, could, by the depth and power of their relationship with the Risen Christ, be themselves transformed. It is the essence of Paul's thought, contends

Schweitzer, that this relationship of christian believers with the Risen Christ was not simply one of assent to Christ's Messiahship, nor yet a sharing in a hope of a relationship yet to come, but a real solidarity, a real corporeity which enabled believers to have their share in resurrection life now,[445] "these elect are in reality no longer natural men, but, like Christ Himself, are already supernatural beings, only that in them this is not yet manifest".[446] The effect of all of this is to make the world a paradoxical place. Parts of it continue, parts of it have already become one with the reality of the new age. All is in the process of change, and therefore it is possible to view elements of man's experience within the life of the world, for example The Law, from two apparently different standpoints. Thus, we can say that the Law has continuing validity in the unregenerate sphere of the world's life, but for those 'in Christ' it has already lost that validity. Romans 10.4, with its assertion that Christ is the end of the Law, means what it says, the Law is ended. "But this has, as yet, become a reality only for those who are in Christ".[447] It is thus that eschatology places all elements of this world under a threat.

It is sometimes said that Schweitzer undervalues the significance of Righteousness in the thought of Paul. It is true that he writes, (righteousness by faith is) "only a particular formulation of the fact of the incompatibility of Law and Eschatology",[448] but it is equally clear that Schweitzer believes that Paul considered righteousness to be the very first effect from being 'in Christ' and that "From it comes all the rest".[449] There is a second paradox, or better, dialectic, here. Does Righteousness come from faith or through being 'in Christ'? It appears that Paul argues that it comes from faith, but Schweitzer suggests that Paul cannot have meant this in a strict sense. The true progression is from faith to baptism and it is only here, at the beginning point of being 'in Christ',

that righteousness becomes effective. Thus eschatological mysticism is logically prior to justification in Paul's thought, a contention by Schweitzer which many of his critics have since disputed. Such critics included the British scholar James Moffatt, upon whose translation of Romans Dodd was to write his commentary.[450]

It is already possible to see in Schweitzer's interpretation a number of emphases which others, British scholars amongst them, were to take up. His stress on the Jewish background of the apostle's thinking, in distinction to the Hellenistic, might be said to have led to the work of W.D. Davies and E.P. Sanders on Rabbinic Judaism.[451] Other scholars, especially Barrett,[452] came to emphasise the 'dialectical' nature of Paul's thought, springing from the 'now' and 'not yet' of the eschatological situation. Similarly, it was perhaps because of Schweitzer, even if by way of a misunderstanding, that the debate about the centrality, or otherwise, of justification by faith arose once more. As we shall see, this becomes a great concern for later Continental scholars. And similarly Schweitzer's insistence upon the corporate, rather than the individual, perspective of Paul's thought might again be said to have led to studies of this aspect of the apostle, including at least one by a British scholar, J.A.T. Robinson's,The Body.[453] There is scarcely a subsequent writer who has not felt it necessary to make some comment on Schweitzer's main contentions. Some have questioned his subordination of all things to an eschatological and participatory framework of thought. In so far as later writers emphasise justification, the individual, christology, the more subtle influences of hellenism,they might all be said to be responding to the challenge of Schweitzer's understanding. One final comment is perhaps important. For Schweitzer, the apostle Paul was, in spite of the continuity of parts of his thought with what went before, a creative, fresh and rigorous

thinker. In this sense Schweitzer would be the enemy of all those who would, too easily, accuse the apostle of weakness or illogicality in thought or argument. There is something of a tradition in British writing beginning with Dodd, as we have from time to time seen, of doing just this; although, equally other writers, for example Barrett and Cranfield, would stand with Schweitzer in seeking to defend the rigour in the apostle's work.

If Schweitzer's writing has been influential, the same can be said for that of Rudolf Bultmann, who in the earlier essay to which we referred, and in his later more substantial but essentially similar treatment in his Theology of the New Testament,[454] offers something of a rival view.

For Bultmann, the background to Paul's thought was "hellenistic Judaism". Paul's own Jewish thought-background had been called into question by his encounter with the preaching of the hellenistic church and through that encounter Paul had become, "the advocate of Hellenistic Christianity against the Palestinian church".[455] Thus Bultmann believed that Paul was familiar with the techniques and style of Greek rhetoric and philosophy: chief amongst these was the 'diatribe' form, the influence of which upon Paul's writing Bultmann had himself examined in his doctoral thesis of 1910.[456] Paul was also influenced by, or at least acquainted with some of the concepts of Stoic philosophy, for example Conscience and Freedom, and equally with some of the ideas of the prevailing heathen cults. In addition we can detect the influence of Oriental and Gnostic mythology. As with Schweitzer, Bultmann can emphasise the whole inheritance of mythological-apocalyptic expectation, especially as it related to the coming Messiah or Redeemer, which Paul received from his own Judaism.[457]

Bultmann believed that Paul's encounter with Hellenistic Christianity posed for the apostle an Either/Or decision, which can be put in the form of the Law or Jesus Christ. Jesus was for Paul, "the breaking in of the time of salvation, the new creation that was being introduced by God".[458] Although Bultmann argues that we must not approach Paul "psychologically" for there is with Paul, as in the comparable case of Jesus, not enough evidence to allow for such an approach, nevertheless, we can talk of Paul experiencing an end to all of his previous self-understanding and his consequent adoption of a replacement understanding.

In an important assertion for later commentators on Romans, Bultmann suggested that Baur was wrong in believing that Paul's whole ministry was a struggle between Paulinism and Judaizing Christianity. We should not see Romans as part of such a Pauline polemic, for, "his polemic in Romans is not directed against 'Judaizers', but rather takes issue in principle with the Jewish position of legalistic piety".[459] Paul's greatest task was to win freedom from the law for Gentile Christianity.

A further assertion by Bultmann is that Paul gave to the early christians a "church-consciousness", for in Bultmann's view, "the idea of the church was determinative in his work".[460]

Again and again in his treatment of Paul, Bultmann stresses that we cannot approach the apostle's thought through his personality, which is, in any case, of no consequence in an attempt to understand the subject matter with which he was dealing. The "break" in self-understanding to which Bultmann refers is not to be considered in moral terms, nor in terms of psychology or religious consciousness. There is an essential discontinuity which lies behind Paul's thinking and writing and most certainly

it extends to a discontinuity between the thought of Paul and the preaching of Jesus. Paul's doctrine of salvation is marked by his essentially anthropological approach. Nevertheless, Jesus and Paul are linked in that Jesus proclaimed the coming of the final and decisive act of God, the Reign of God; Paul affirmed that the turn of the new aeon had already taken place, since and because Jesus had come, the reconciliation between God and Man had been established and the proclamation of this reconciliation under way. Paul's anthropological thinking meant that, in spite of any influence of Greek philosophy, he did not consider God in metaphysical terms but always "in relation to man in history".[461]

One further implication of the truth that all Paul's theology is really anthropology concerns the apostle's christological thinking; this also is essentially non-metaphysical, but concerned always with God's acts of salvation in relation to man. Thus Paul's view of God, Christ and Man is essentially a view of the relationship in which they stand with respect to one another. Man especially can be seen in the two stages of his relationship with God, prior to the revelation of faith and under faith, and it is within these categories that Bultmann can write of Paul's theology.[462]

Paul's thought about man prior to the revelation of faith centres on the law and its significance in the life of man. It is this significance rather than the law's content which is important for Paul. He opposes the significance which contemporary Judaism gave to the law, making it a means of earning righteousness. For Paul, and for the christian, the law is ended, (Rom.10.4), although "so far as it contains God's demand it retains its validity".[463]

The centre of Paul's thought about man under faith is Righteousness, which for Paul "is primarily a forensic and

eschatological concept".[464] It is forensic and eschatological because it is the passing of God's eschatological sentence of judgement in the death and resurrection of Christ. In this God accepted man as righteous and man became what God took him to be. Man apprehends the truth of this for himself in faith, but faith is dependent upon preaching, the preaching of the cross of Christ as God's saving act, which is precisely what Paul asserts at Romans 10.10-17. The locus of the revelation of God's righteousness is in this act of preaching, which, when it is responded to in faith, leads to the believer becoming 'in Christ'; however, this is not to be considered in mystical terms, but should be seen as "life in the new historical possibility that is determined by Christ".[465] This new life is to be described as freedom from the past, from sin, from law, from men and their standards, from death, and is at the same time a positive openness towards the future and the possession of love, joy and hope. It is above all things a move from the domination of the will to be oneself, towards the obedient gift of the self as at the disposal of God.

On a more general note we should record Bultmann's severe opposition to any understanding of Paul which depends upon a theology of Heilsgeschichte.[466] He believes that all such attempts dissolve theology into a philosophy of history. It is illegitimate to give to the word 'history' as in, History of Salvation, any special meaning. Bultmann denies all those attempts, most notably that of Cullmann in his 'Christ and Time',[467] which attempt to make Christ the mid-point of history. Christ is rather the end of history for he is "the eschatological event that puts an end to the old aeon".[468] Bultmann accepts that this means there is a problem of then talking about the temporality of eschatological existence, but it is a problem of accepting the basically Pauline contention that the life and death of Jesus must be interpreted in the forms of mythological eschatology. Like Schweitzer before him, Bultmann stresses the

paradoxical character that Paul therefore believes to be inherent in all Christian living, for "Nowhere else, however, is the paradoxical character of freedom that corresponds to the paradox of the "interim" as clearly grasped and formulated as it is by Paul".[469] Bultmann believed that the last thing that is presented by Paul, or the New Testament, is a static anthropology; rather, always, do they present the dialectic of human existence.[470]

No review of Bultmann's work would be satisfactory without some mention of his contribution to the debate about the method of exegesis, leaving aside for a moment its content or conclusions. In his important essay, Is Exegesis without Presuppositions Possible?,[471] Bultmann argued that all New Testament exegesis must proceed by the canons of historical research, following that historical method which pays due attention to the meaning of words, the style of the text, the historical setting of the text and all available background material. In this regard there can be no a priori presuppositions. But, in another sense, presuppositionless exegesis is impossible, for every commentator brings to the text his or her own way of raising questions, his or her own perspective and his or her own understanding of the very nature and subject matter of history itself. Thus the task of the exegete is truly a task of encounter. Out of the encounter a new understanding of the observer as well as of the observed emerges. The encounter extends to the relationship in which every commentator stands to the results of those who have gone before. A true commentator never simply takes over his material but always subjects it to constant critical questioning. Similarly, as new understandings emerge, so must new conceptualities in order to express them.

The reception of Bultmann's massive contribution to New Testament scholarship amongst British scholars has been far from complete or generous. Indeed throughout the whole of British New Testament writing it is possible to detect a

certain lack of sympathy with Bultmann's work which occasions a neglect in its use and, from time to time, dismissive and sketchy treatments which do little to flatter the scholarship of the authors who make them.[472] The earlier commentators within our period, Dodd and Kirk, make no reference to Bultmann, although there are at least parallels between Dodd's use of Stoic (Epictetus) material to explain Paul's style and the 1910 study of Bultmann. There are no references to Bultmann in the brief commentaries of Hunter and Bruce, although Hunter makes one of the characteristically sketchy attempts to deal with Bultmann's understanding of the whole hermeneutical task in his later study, The Gospel According to St. Paul.[473] Similarly, in his more general work, Bruce makes a little more use of Bultmann, but primarily in the areas of Bultmann's denial of the apostle's interest in the historical Jesus and in a further general rejection by this British scholar of the whole "existentialist" method of scriptural interpretation.[474]

Three British scholars acknowledge a more extensive use of Bultmann's work. Cranfield makes some 38 references to Bultmann, but even here Bultmann is scarcely engaged at his most central points of contribution. The majority of the reference concern his work on the style and text of Paul's writing and are concerned with relatively minor matters. Black makes more reference to Bultmann than to any other Continental scholar in his commentary, but again the points at which reference is made concern Paul's 'diatribe' style[475] and Bultmann's understanding of particular verses, for example 10.4, Christ the end of the Law.[476] Black does also refer to Bultmann when considering the issue of a psychological approach to Paul's writing, an approach with which Black is clearly more in sympathy than is Bultmann. Only Barrett acknowledges the considerable debt which his work owes to Bultmann's writing.[477] It is clear throughout Barrett's writing that he alone has made extensive attempt to engage with Bultmann's understanding and allowed some influence, particularly in his

(Barrett's) understanding of the dialectical nature of Paul's eschatological thought.[478]

In Germany the situation is otherwise in that Bultmann's influence has proved to be extensive; at least two of his pupils, Bornkamm and Käsemann, have offered major studies of Paul's thought to which we must shortly turn, but first chronologically we must consider the work of the Danish scholar, Johannes Munck.

Munck's starting point is his belief that Paul envisaged a plan of salvation with God active in human history. In chapters 9 - 11 of Romans, Munck sees the apostle trying to speak of the destiny of Israel as an historical nation in relation to this total divine plan; Paul's concern is not with individuals, but with nations and the widest sweep of human history. Within this pattern, Paul believes his own life and ministry to be of decisive importance. He sees himself as engaged upon acts of representative preaching to the whole Gentile world, which when they are completed will be 'the fulness of the Gentiles'.[479] Paul's own work is "the decisive factor in redemptive history".[480]

Munck believes that it is false to consider Paul a theologian in any modern or systematic sense and thus Romans is not to be seen as systematic theology; nevertheless, Romans is not a specific letter addressed to the situation of the Roman church; it is rather a piece of retrospective writing in which Paul attempts to come to terms with the ministry that he had exercised thus far. All of Paul's thought is ultimately to be related to his missionary activity, for "His theology arises from his work as apostle and directly serves that work".[481] In so far as Romans is Paul's summing up of the points of view which he had reached during long struggles, particularly with the Corinthian & Galatian church, it can be seen as a manifesto, "presenting his deepest convictions on vital points and claiming

the widest publicity".[482] Munck has some support for T.W. Manson's view that Romans was thus intended for an audience wider than the christians in Rome, including most probably the Ephesians. In any case Romans is directed towards a Gentile audience; there can be no doubt that the Roman church itself was Gentile and the whole argument of the letter supports this kind of judgement. The argument that some of the subject matter of Romans presupposes a Jewish audience, advanced first by Sanday and Headlam, Munck considers "surprising" since by the same argument Galatians would also need to have been so directed.

Munck is most insistent that the Baur/Tübingen thesis of a conflict between Paul and Jewish Christianity makes little sense. Paul "felt that he himself was a Jew, that Christianity was the true Judaism, and that the church was the true Israel. He also regarded Jerusalem as the centre of the world, and Israel's conversion as the most important event in the short time before Christ's return".[483] We have, in fact, to make a distinction between Judaizers and Jewish Christianity. Judaizers are Gentile heretics who have no connection with Jewish Christianity. In caring for 'Israel after the flesh', as Paul clearly does, he is at one with the Jews, with the first disciples and with Jewish Christianity.

Throughout all of this Paul sees his own ministry as an eschatological event, especially his forthcoming journey to Jerusalem with the Collection, and, more especially, a representative group of Gentiles. Munck suggests that there is evidence in Romans both that Paul saw Jerusalem as the place where the Gentiles would come to be proclaimed as sons of God, Roms.9.26, and as the place where he, Paul, would most probably die a death, which in his mind paralleled the wish of Moses to make vicarious atonement for the whole nation. This is the point of Romans 9.1-5,

suggests Munck. Romans 10.10 with its reference to an act of confession has behind it Paul's own future 'confession' in Jerusalem and 11.1f., reveals how the apostle sees himself, much after the pattern of Elijah, as standing as the lonely prophet against superior opposition. Throughout, Paul is inheriting and underlining the patterns of Jewish eschatology.

In previous chapters we have considered the influence of Munck's work; it is perhaps fair to suggest that his insistence that Paul's thought should be kept in relationship to his understanding of his ministry, together with that understanding as a representative eschatological prophet, are ideas which have gradually received increasing support in British scholarship, to be found in at least three of the commentators we have considered, namely Black, Bruce and Barrett.

Many of Munck's conclusions receive reiteration and support in the work of Günther Bornkamm. He especially believes that Paul's writing is dominated by his forthcoming visit to Jerusalem. In this respect Romans represents Paul giving a world wide setting to his thought and mission. "What Paul had previously said is now not only set down systematically, but also oriented to the world-wide horizons of his gospel and mission, and gives, for the first time, his mature and considered thought".[484] In so far as Paul's writing arises out of his past experience and is dominated by his future meeting with the mother church in Jerusalem it can truly be described as his "last will and testament".[485] Paul, in fact, feared that his visit to Jerusalem might be the end of his career as an apostle, if not the end of his life, and thus can Bornkamm conclude, "This great document which summarizes and develops the most important themes and thoughts of the Pauline message and theology and which elevates his theology above the moment of definite situations and conflicts into the sphere of the eternally and universally valid, this letter to the Romans is the last will and testament of the Apostle Paul".[486]

Bornkamm thus sees Romans 9 - 11 as present in the letter precisely because Paul was about to go to Jerusalem to debate with the Jews and their understanding of salvation. There to Jewish Christians he will give justification of his Gentile mission and there to all Jews he will expound a gospel that corrects the position of 'the Jew'. His concern is not with a particular Jew, but rather with that whole centre of Judaism which elevates man into too great a position of importance. Paul had grappled with this in his own attempt to understand his position as christian, servant of Christ and apostle to the Gentiles.

Characteristic of Bornkamm's view is his insistence that the thought of Romans is not goverened by any historical situation, but rather takes its form from the logic of Paul's own theology and from his adoption of the diatribe style. All the objections which occur in the course of Paul's writing and the generally polemical nature of the whole are inherent in the argument itself and in the technical form which Paul chooses.

It is possible to see in much of this a true synthesis of the views of Bultmann and Munck. Bornkamm's particular contribution may prove to be his stress upon the importance of the question of "form" in the understanding of Paul's work, a subject which is rarely touched upon in British scholarship, but which, as we shall see, is very much the current centre of the Romans debate.

If Bornkamm inherits and, to some extent, reiterates one part of the legacy of Bultmann, then we may suggest that Ernst Käsemann inherits and develops much of the remainder. Unlike Bultmann or Bornkamm, Käsemann is to be distinguished in that he has written a major commentary on the epistle.[487] His starting point is his contention that "The basic question today is still that of the relation between the doctrine of justification and salvation history".[488] Throughout his work Käsemann seeks to correct the dangerously individualist understanding of salvation

which Bultmann had offered, and which led both to Bultmann's own neglect of Romans 9 - 11 and to much later criticism.[489] Romans 9 - 11 represents the apostle demonstrating that within God's concern for the individual there lies also an equal concern for the world, indeed for the cosmos. Because this is so, Käsemann lays constant stress on the dialectical character of the apostle's writing. Another dialectic within Paul is that between Paul's writing as an account of God's activity and its nature as an account of man's response. This again is the substance of Romans 9 - 11. It is this dialectic which Paul is here describing; he is not offering a theological history of the world, he is not offering a one-sided history of man's response to God and, in these ways, is only a theologian of Heilsgeschichte in a limited sense. The history which Paul is recording is not the history of man, nor the history of God's dealings per se, but rather the history of the dialectic between God's Word and Man's faith response. Käsemann can write that in so far as it is concerned with the latter, Paul offers an account concerned with "a history of the absence of salvation".[490] This understanding of Salvation History divorces it from the history of the world or the church and gives it no necessary historical immanent continuity. Paul is speaking of a hidden process in which the only true continuity is the continuity of God's initiative in speaking to men. For Käsemann, "Paul's doctrine of salvation history is a variation on his doctrine of the justification of the ungodly".[491] Romans 9 - 11 is thus not to be seen as Theological History or Philosophical Theodicy, it is, in fact, a piece of sustained theological writing. It is "a thoroughly logical, systematic course of thought".[492] Käsemann certainly has little time for views, such as those of Dodd, which even begin to suggest that Romans 9 - 11 is an excursus or a piece of ad hoc sermonising. In many ways, in so far as these chapters deal with the theme of justification, they represent the pinnacle of Paul's theology.

It is thus mistaken to see these chapters as concerned primarily with the theme of Predestination. This theme is secondary and dependent upon Paul's basic theme of justification. Predestination is the apostle's way of enlarging the theme of justification, so that it can be set within its widest cosmic context, so that "it cannot be restricted to the individual or the present situation".[493] Käsemann rejects the notion, which he sees as present in the work of Kirk, that Predestination is, for Paul, a hypothetical issue.

Not the least of Käsemann's emphases is his reiteration of the importance of the eschatological dimension to Paul's thought. Part of Paul's rejection of any more rigidly historical concept of Salvation History is his belief that all such concepts have undergone an "eschatological transvaluation of values".[494] Although we are to see some similarities between the thought of Paul and that of the Qumran community, it is at this point that the apostle is most creative and to be distinguished from his inherited and contemporary theological background. Throughout, Paul has in mind the eschatological dimension of all that he writes. On Romans 9.12-13 and 9.19-21 Käsemann comments, "An eschatological approach uses the examples to illuminate the eschatological problem of Israel and in so doing prepares the way for the eschatological proclamation of v v.22f."[495]

Following from this stress, Käsemann repeats and strengthens Munck's work on Paul's self-understanding. The apostle did indeed see himself as the one who in his own mission was bringing about the conclusion of the whole salvation history process. In a like way he saw the destiny of Israel as part of the same fulfilment. It is because Paul deals with these two matters side by side in Romans 9 - 11 that these chapters "have a diacritical function in relation to the history of Pauline exegesis, distasteful as this statement may be today".[496]

This brief outline does little justice to the complexity and profundity of Käsemann's work, amply recognised by those scholars who, since its original publication in 1973, have been able to make use of this presentation. The central elements of Käsemann's position are precisely his comments upon the centrality of justification in Paul's thinking and the particular understanding of salvation history which he ascribes to the apostle. Two British scholars particularly have concerned themselves with these themes, Bruce and Barrett, not so much in their commentaries as in their more recent writings.

Barrett's From First Adam to Last, parallels a number of Käsemann's positions in its stress on the dialectical nature of Pauline thought, its understanding of Paul's concern with an eschatological process, and its contention that throughout Paul is "interested in nothing less than the whole story of Mankind from beginning to end, for the whole story stands under the righteous and merciful design of God".[497] Similarly, Bruce in his recent lectures, Paul and Jesus, has sought to link Paul's thought on justification with his thought on salvation history, writing, "the Paul of the "capital" letters also reveals a salvation-history pattern, although his understanding of it is controlled by the centrality of justification by faith in his thinking".[498] In addition, Bruce has moved away from the more traditionally British way of talking about salvation history in terms of Theodicy, expressed somewhat abstractly in the apostle's thought, towards an understanding at once more existential and ultimately bound up with the apostle's self-understanding. "For Paul, then, salvation-history was no mere theological scheme, intellectually constructed; it was the redemptive action of God in which Paul knew himself to be personally and totally involved".[499]

However, Käsemann's views, important and influential as they undoubtedly are, have not gone unquestioned and never more completely than by the work of the Swedish scholar, Krister Stendahl.

Stendahl attacks the prominence which is given to the letter to the Romans amongst the other Pauline letters and most especially the prominence given to the doctrine of justification within Paul's thought. Romans is not, he contends, a doctrinal theological treatise concerned with Paul's general reflections on Christianity and Judaism or Law and Gospel, but rather it is a specific presentation and defence of his own mission, of how that fits in to God's plan as he understands it, and especially is it concerned with Jews and Gentiles, church and synagogue, "The question is the relation between two communities and their coexistence in the mysterious plan of God".[500] As some evidence that Paul's concern is not with justification Stendahl points out that Romans 10.17-11.36 is remarkable in that it contains no reference to Christ. Stendahl is one with Munck in arguing that Paul's theology must never be separated from his mission, his task, his intention as apostle to the Gentiles. Romans has as its direct aim the proclamation that Gentiles should see themselves as "honorary Jews", but that they must beware any sense of superiority, understanding that God's plan is a plan for coexistence.

Central to Stendahl's point of view is his denial that Romans 9 - 11 is concerned with the problems of personal salvation. Paul is not here concerned about such matters, nor can his thought be approached psychologically, existentially or introspectively. Such an approach has been the consistent one since the time of Augustine, reinforced in the Reformation and undergirded by Freud, but it is unacceptable. Against Bultmann, Stendahl writes, "Rudolf Bultmann's whole theological enterprise has <u>one</u> great mistake from which all others emanate; he takes for granted that basically the center of gravity - the center from which all interpretation springs - is anthropology, the doctrine of man".[501] This mistake partly arises from concentrating on such sections as Romans 7, with its supposedly psychological self-revelations on the part of Paul, to the

detriment of Paul's true centre of gravity which is precisely to be found in Romans 9 - 11. Romans chapters 1 - 8 are truly a preparation for 9 - 11, in that the earlier chapters show that the basis for the proclamation of Jewish/Gentile coexistence has been laid in scripture. Jew and Gentile are equal in their sin and yet also in God's offer of salvation to them. "Rom.9 - 11 is not an appendix to chs. 1 - 8, but the climax of the letter".[502]

Part of the mistake of the whole 'German' tradition of biblical scholarship is its preoccupation with certain dominant motifs and ideas, for example, eschatology, kerygma or the hermeneutical problem. They fail to see that Paul is always talking about real people in real situations and cannot be used as "a biblical proof-text for Reformation doctrines".[503]

Particularly, it is false to see Romans as an attack on some general notion, such as 'legalism', or indeed to believe that it derives in some way from Paul's dissatisfaction with Judaism. He accepts Bornkamm's conclusion that the true Sitz im Leben of Romans is Paul's life, his ministry, and adds powerfully his own view that all of Paul's thought does have an historically conceived Sacred History dimension. Stendahl rejects the dichotomy of Justification/Salvation History which he sees to be raised in Käsemann's thinking, believing that it arises precisely because justification is given an a priori dominance. Ultimately the stress on justification leads, he suggests, to an anti-Judaism and to an understanding of Romans 9 - 11 as a piece of Pauline polemic against the false Jewish understanding of justification. This rests, argues Stendahl, on a free-hand drawing of supposed Jewish attitudes, nowhere supported in contemporary writing, (i.e. texts contemporary with Paul).

At least one British scholar, Bruce, has taken some of

Stendahl's strictures to heart, underlining that it is important not to lay too great a stress when interpreting Paul upon the apostle's own inner psychological state.[504] But, as yet, the impact of the Käsemann-Stendahl debate has been little felt in British circles. In the full and thorough commentary of Cranfield there is but one reference to Stendahl, accompanied by the uncompromising footnote, "his understanding of Paul is surely to be rejected".[505]

One of the major tenets of F.C. Baur in the Nineteenth Century was the supposition that Romans is not to be seen as an abstract theological summary of Paul's or anyone else's position, but is a true letter, with a specific Sitz im Leben in the life of the apostle and that of early christianity. Throughout the Twentieth Century the development, refinement and constant use of the historical-critical method of biblical scholarship has made the possibility of finding such a setting the more likely. At least one scholar, Karl P. Donfried, believes that Baur's position has been vindicated and that there is already a consensus view that Romans "was not intended as a timeless compendium of the Christian Faith".[506] In addition to this the corollary that Romans is a true letter had led to a renewed interest in non-biblical literary parallels and a search for general influences on Paul from the contemporary cultural styles of writing and rhetoric. This has led Donfried himself to suggest two methodological principles which should be adopted by all scholars in their work on Romans. All should assume that Paul wrote the letter "to deal with a concrete situation in Rome" and all should assume that "Rom.16 is an integral part of the original letter".[507] If these two assumptions are made then a number of conclusions for all Romans scholarship follow. Scholars must give much more effort and weight to the discovery of the historical situation in Rome, particularly investigating possible elements of anti-Judaism

within that Roman community, which might directly lead to a better understanding of Romans 9 - 11 as at least one place in which Paul seeks to combat a contemporary problem. A further conclusion is that the question of Paul's supposed use of the 'diatribe' style must be settled. We have seen how the suggestion arose with Bultmann and was reiterated in such later scholars as Bornkamm; the idea has assumed the status of a standard view, suggests Donfried. Its relevance is that the more this aspect of Paul's style is stressed the more does it threaten the specificity and concrete setting of Romans. That this is so is the view, as Donfried reminds us, of Paul Minear and of R.J. Karris.[508]

Donfried himself seriously questions the validity of Bultmann's original work in this field, arguing that Bultmann was working with the late sources, that he does not sufficiently delineate the diatribe genre and that, overall, he is ambivalent as to whether or not Paul's writing is essentially similar or dissimilar to the Hellenistic parallels which he (Bultmann) adduces. If we look to more recent work from classical scholars then we should conclude that, "it is still an open question whether there was a genre known as the diatribe in the Greco-Roman world".[509] If we conclude that Paul was drawing upon common classical rhetorical forms in his writing then, even so, this provides no evidence that he was not writing to a specific situation.

Behind this specific issue of Paul's style lies the general issue of our knowledge of all epistolary forms in the ancient world. Here again Donfried believes that we must listen to the classical philologists; it may be that Romans is by no means as unusual or unique a document when set against the variety of letter forms that were then current. As evidence of his concern with this aspect of Romans study, Donfried includes in the collection of essays which he edits two, respectively by Wilhelm

Wuellner and Martin Luther Stirewalt Jr., which are concerned with Paul's rhetoric and with the form and function of the Greek Letter-Essay.[510]

A small piece of further evidence that Donfried is right in his description of the direction which he believes The Romans Debate to be taking is offered by the existence of such research studies as that of Bruce N. Kaye, conducted in the mid-1970's.[511] Kaye's work is a further development of this interest in the literary form of Romans in that it considers the internal structure and form, the effect on the letter of the logic of Paul's own thought patterns, the possibility that Paul's terminology depends upon what Kaye calls "contextual localisation" and, not least, the probability that there is greater flexibility and variety within genuine letters of Paul than might sometimes be allowed, without categorising some as occasional and others as general or theological.

It would be surprising if, faced with an increasing polarisation of views some of which see Romans as a letter like the other Pauline epistles with its specific Sitz im Leben and others of which see Romans as a more general theological treatise there were not to be attempts at a synthesis of the two positions. One of the most interesting is that of Günter Klein.[512] Klein touches on a great many of the areas covered within this survey of the non-British debate. He believes, for example, that the historical-critical method of exegesis of Romans is now the only acceptable approach. Any approach which is primarily dogmatic (Klein cites the 1951 commentary of Anders Nygren) has now to be abandoned. Similarly those who stress that Romans is a kind of theological apologetic, either for the apostle's own mission or for his future plans, (Klein cites Kümmel and Dodd), no longer convince. Nor can we follow those who lay stress on Romans as an attempt to unify Jewish and Gentile elements within the Roman church; similarly, Romans 9 - 11 is no attempt to either defend or attack any Jewish Christian element,

since its concern is largely with unconverted Israel. Klein believes that a key to the Romans enigma is to be found in Paul's "non-interference clause", at 15.20, where Paul talks of wishing to preach but not on other men's foundations. How, if this be the apostle's wish, could he envisage preaching in Rome? There is no question of his having founded the Roman church. Klein approves of those scholars who have recognised this problem, but rejects their solutions. (The preferred British solution for those scholars who debate this problem appears to be that we must not take Paul's statement in too legalistic a sense, or else we must suppose that Paul is willing to make an exception for the capital city of the Empire.[513]) Klein believes that Paul's words demonstrate that he "does not regard the local Christian community there as having an apostolic foundation". Romans is thus the apostle's attempt to give an apostolic foundation to a community of believers (not yet a church) who otherwise lack it. It is for this reason that Paul does not speak of the Roman ecclesia in chapters 1 - 15; such an ecclesia only exists where there has been apostolic foundation. In this way Klein links the two poles of the debate, Romans as theology and Romans as an occasional letter, for "The fact that Paul writes to the Romans in the form of a theological treatise is indicative of an occasion which calls for the normative message of the apostle and demands that his theological reflections be raised to a new level of general validity".[514]

It would be false to suppose that British scholars have not also played their part in the more recent phase of this Romans Debate; we have already had an opportunity to examine the contributions of Campbell, Wedderburn and Drane, to mention only three; the issue which will need to concern us in a final look at British exegesis is whether or not British scholars share the same starting points, the same presuppositions, and whether or not they accept

the same methodological principles as their Continental colleagues.

Klein's judgement concerning the eclipse of any dogmatic or theological exegesis of Romans would, if taken seriously, mean the eclipse of the name and influence of Karl Barth in Romans interpretation. All agree that Barth's own Commentary on Romans, in its first and second editions of 1919 and 1921, dominated Continental thought about the letter in the period before 1930 and clearly had its influence on British scholarship, especially after the Commentary's translation in 1933 at the hands of Sir Edwyn Hoskyns.[515] At least one British scholar, Barrett, readily acknowledges in the preface to his own work the personal impact of Barth's Commentary.[516]

Barth, however, must also be included in any survey of Continental scholarship since 1930, because his interest in Romans by no means declined and because he has since offered at least two further exegeses of Romans, or parts of it, including a major exegesis of Romans 9 - 11.[517] In this later work Barth has much to say. He agrees with those who define the constitution of the church in Rome as mainly Gentile, but adds that it is a Gentile congregation which reads the Old Testament, the proper interpretation of which is one of its major concerns. Paul's letter is not a manual of dogmatics, for it has specific purposes including the answering of this latter concern of the Roman Christians, but he cannot deny it the description, in Luther's phrase, "a short summary of the whole of Christian and evangelical doctrine".[518] Barth believes that the first eight chapters of Romans encapsulate Paul's 'gospel', which is then examined in the remaining chapters from two different viewpoints. Chapters 9 - 11 consider the gospel in the light of man's disobedience to it, and chapters 12-15.3 consider the gospel in the light of man's obedient response. Barth can thus consider 9 - 11 to be "a second,

comparatively independent part of the Epistle".[519] But the most important aspect of these chapters is that they are a true theology, a true contemplation of the work and way of God. The chapters, whilst taking the problem of man's disobedience to the gospel with the utmost seriousness, ultimately subsume that disobedience into an act of glorification of the character of God as mercy.

Barth's major exegesis of chapters 9 - 11, which he offers in his Church Dogmatics II.2, sets the chapters within the overall discussion of The Election of God. Barth speaks of God's election of One Community which can take two forms, that of Israel and that of the church. Israel is the "hearing" form and the church is the "believing" form. Yet the One Community itself takes its own election from the election of Christ; for primarily God elected Christ and only then did he elect men as a fellowship in relation to Christ. Israel and the Church have a particular role and mediating function as between the election of Christ and that of all other men. They are witnesses to Christ. All that Israel has done in rejecting the Christ after the flesh and in remaining only a "hearer" of the gospel has, nevertheless, been done within the one election of men in Christ. Israel is "the secret origin of the Church",[520] and it is crucial to Barth's whole understanding of the apostle's thought that no dichotomy be thought to exist between Israel and the Church, in terms of their respective places within the one election of God. "We cannot, therefore, call the Jews the "rejected" and the Church the "elected" community...the bow of the one covenant arches over the whole".[521]

Barth is one with those who see Paul in Romans 9 - 11 speaking of his office as apostle to the Gentiles. Yet, suggests Barth, these chapters demonstrate that at the same time Paul considers himself to be a continuing prophet of Israel, albeit

working from within the location of the church. Throughout his writing Paul is looking to the day when Israel and the church, the unity of which is guaranteed by their common election as part of the One Community, demonstrate a visible oneness. These elements of Paul's thought are especially apparent for Barth in those passages where Paul reveals his personal feelings, i.e. Rom. 9.1-5, 10.1f, 11.1f.. These expressions are not to be taken as nationalist fervour, but as expressions of the apostle's innermost understanding of his mission.

Romans 9.6f. represent Paul attempting to speak of God's dividing and differentiating actions all within one election. Paul is not expounding a theory of election, but describing the action and nature of the electing God. In those sections where Paul appears to be stressing the freedom of God's will, e.g. 9.18, he is not suggesting that God's will is indeterminate, but rather that it is free, yet determined by His nature. Barth can write "It is determined in the sense given by God's name, (v.15)".[522] Thus Paul's view of Predestination is not one which offers to God an absolute power of disposal; there is a sense in which God too is predestined, predestined to act according to his nature.

Whilst Barth accepts the view which sees 10.1-21 as a presentation by Paul of Israel's guilt, he argues that it is wrong to suppose that Paul is directing what he says against Israel. It is, in fact, "not said against Israel but against elected man as such".[523] Paul is, we must remember, not writing to Jews but to an elected church of God, explaining that all within Israel and the church exist only on the ground of the divine mercy which is not effaced by disobedience or guilt.

Barth is clear that Rom. 10.4, with its suggestion that

Christ ends the law, carries no thought of cancellation, invalidation, abrogation. What Paul is asserting is that Christ is the content, the sum, the substance, the be all and end all, the anakephalaiosis of the law.[524] The major failure of Israel is precisely their failure to recognise that the law finds its true fulfilment in Christ.

Romans 10.9f. in speaking, however indirectly, of the christian mission represents Paul speaking of himself and his work. Paul believes that the mission of God has already been completed in Christ and that the task of preachers and missionaries, such as himself, is the task of indirectly confirming that which God first directly confirmed in his self-realisation in Christ. Therefore it is with himself as a bearer of this apostolic mission that Paul begins chapter 11, which is not directly autobiographical but a part of the apostle's theological proof of the permanency of Israel's election. Those sections which speak of a remnant cannot be thought to carry any sense of the rejection of the remainder; rather the opposite, for all talk of a remnant is the ground and basis of hope for all. Chapter 11 does, however, contain an important warning to Gentiles about the dangers of anti-semitism. The whole of these three chapters about the Jews is designed to reveal that "The elect whose election is still hidden behind their rejection may live by the same divine mercy, which has here revealed the rejected to be God's elect".[525]

As with all of Karl Barth's writing the presentation is magisterial and the effect cumulatively convincing. But what of the influence of Barth's work on British exegesis?

Barrett, as we have seen, confesses his own personal indebtedness to the earlier Barth and whilst there is little direct use made of Barth in the Commentary or later essays,

something of Barth's spirit pervades, particularly in Barrett's insistence that Romans 9 - 11 are concerned with the character and deeds of God, in his stress that election takes place first in Christ, and in his understanding of predestination as concerned with the qualitative definition of God's action, rather than with its quantitative limitation.[526]

Bruce can speak of the repercussions of Barth's earlier commentary as being still with us,[527] but cannot be said to explore them. Neither Barth's name nor work receive any mention in the commentaries and indices of Dodd, Best or Black.

This general neglect is, however, quite reversed when we consider the commentary of Cranfield. Cranfield is content to judge that the earlier work of Barth "has very serious deficiencies as an exposition of Romans",[528] but this is far from the case with the later Barth and certainly with Barth's exegesis of Romans 9 - 11 in his Dogmatics; that, "it may be confidently affirmed would have been enough by itself to place its author among the greatest theologians of the Church, even if he had written nothing else".[529] Cranfield believes that Barth's great contribution is to return to an essentially christological interpretation of election, together with his insight that it is an election of grace which is the sum of the gospel. In addition, Barth had rendered a great service by restoring the 'community' aspect of Paul's thought in chs. 9 - 11, for their concern is less with the individual than with the one elected community. Cranfield gratefully acknowledges his own indebtedness to Barth's exegesis in his own treatment of these chapters particularly.[530] It shows itself in his constant defence of the view that at no time does the apostle believe the Jewish people to have fallen from their original elected state; it is there too in Cranfield's belief that the key word and thought of Paul in these chapters is that of mercy; it is present in his belief that nowhere does Paul talk as if the church has

replaced Israel, such is "an ugly and unscriptural notion".[531] It is there too in his belief that Romans, chs. 9 - 11, are and were meant to be, the final antidote to all incipient or real anti-semitism. In all Cranfield refers to Barth on very nearly 120 occasions, of which some 36 lie within his treatment of chapters 9 - 11. This is not to say that Cranfield uses Barth uncritically, but it is to say that, especially in his exegesis of chs. 9 - 11, Cranfield finds Barth's treatment determinative. This is perhaps the clearest example of a direct influence of non-British scholarship on a British counterpart.[532]

It would be foolish to attempt any synthesis of non-British exegesis, most of all on the basis of so brief a description of it; it may, however, be fair to say, that with those few important exceptions, to which some reference has been made, British scholarship remains predominantly insular, both in its style and in its choice of debating material. There is, for example, little within British writing that echoes the Continental debate over the interrelationship of the doctrine of justification and Heilsgeschichte. Nor is there a plethora of British studies on questions of New Testament hermeneutics, although again there are exceptions which tend to prove the generalisation. One of the most important of these exceptions is a recent study of A.C. Thiselton's,[533] which, although by a British scholar, is, however, a study not of the British tradition but of the European. There may be truth in the suggestion that, in general, British exegetes are not philosophers in the sense in which this is true of Bultmann or of Barth. If this latter suggestion is true then the blame, if blame it be, may lie with British philosophy rather than with British New Testament exegesis. The empirical / positivist tradition which thrives in Britain is simply not as immediately creative for New Testament exegesis as is the Idealist/existentialist traditions found in other places.

What are the dominant characteristics of the British exegetical tradition, at least as we have seen it in relation to Romans 9 - 11? Can we point to British traditions and emphases? It is to this issue that the concluding chapter of this study is devoted.

Chapter 11.

Conclusions

Although the specific and limited nature of this study has inevitably meant that there are many questions concerning the understanding of Paul and of Romans which have neither been asked nor answered, it is perhaps appropriate to conclude with these few.

What characteristics, if any, do the majority of British New Testament interpreters share with one another?

Is there a detectable tradition (or traditions) of interpretation within the period studied?

Can we talk of the development of an understanding or interpretation of Paul, Romans, chapters 9 - 11?

In what way or ways has British scholarship reflected any of the major changes which have been taking place generally in New Testament studies?

Concerning shared characteristics, there are a few, both positive and negative, reflections that can be offered.

There is a sense in which all the British writers considered share, and write from within, a 'confessional' framework. This must not be understood too narrowly, for no writer exhibits that narrow confessionalism which seeks to promulgate or defend a specific doctrinal position, imposing such theological interpretation upon the texts themselves. Nor is there a recognisably Anglican, Methodist, Catholic or Reformed Commentary amongst those available. The triumph of a genuinely inter-confessional scholarship is complete. But, nevertheless, most, if not all, write from within the community of faith; they share the view that what they are seeking to interpret is, in some sense, "the Word of God"; they share the understanding that their work as exegetes is ministerium verbi divini. In addition to this,

many, if not all, share a judgement that of all the New Testament authors and writings, Paul "stands at the heart of the New Testament", and Romans is "the plainest gospel of all".[534] It might be argued that this is a judgement based in every case upon a comparative exegesis of all the New Testament writings, but it is clear that, in fact, such a judgement is less a conclusion and more a presupposition of faith, it is "an imaginative judgement...that is logically prior to any exegetical judgements about the text".[535] Similarly the authors may be considered to hold a further deeply held commitment, namely to the belief that "God disclosed Himself in the biblical revelation by means of concrete acts, wrought out on the stage of history".[536] This is the starting point of C.H. Dodd, with which presupposition he considers, "the structure of Paul's argument holds".[537] Such a presupposition has a clear bearing upon the interpretation of Romans 9 - 11, where, amongst other places, Paul is said to attest the same belief. This belief, however, leads directly to that single greatest factor which unifies the work of the otherwise disparate scholars considered, namely the primacy that all give to the task of the critical and historical study of the New Testament text. Whatever else the study of these authors has revealed it has demonstrated their complete commitment to and adoption of the critical-historical method. All the work, no matter what its limitations or intentions, (limitations and intentions sometimes imposed upon the individual authors by the nature and requirements of the series of which their works form a part), begin and proceed with that careful attention to textual, critical and historical detail, the foundations of which method having already been laid by the nineteenth Century when it was exemplified by such distinguished forerunners as Bishop Westcott, or W.Sanday and A.C. Headlam.[538] All of the scholars we have considered see it as their duty "to try and discover as exactly as possible what Paul meant, in his own terms".[539]

None of this is to deny the complementary truth that is also held by the majority of writers, that the full task of interpretation must go beyond this critical stage. They do believe this. However, it can be argued that they believe it more in theory than in practice and that one further characteristic of British New Testament scholarship is a certain reticence about pursuing the 'theological' element of the total task of interpretation. Even an individual writer and book, such as Robinson's Wrestling With Romans (1979), which avowedly eschews being a complete technical Commentary, nevertheless rarely spills over into theological or homiletic reflection. One recent writer has said of C.K. Barrett, and by implication we can extend it to almost all the authors we have considered, that we can see an "historico-theological brinkmanship".[540] There may be exceptions, those whom we may judge to have fallen over into more overtly theological commentary; Dodd, O'Neill and Bowen spring to mind, but in general the comment stands.

There are occasions when readers of British scholarship could wish that it was more directly "personal" and more overtly "theological". Ernst Käsemann has spoken of that "thoroughly misplaced modesty" demonstrated by those who, having completed the critical-historical tasks, then leave the remainder to colleagues who are more avowedly systematic theologians.[541] If there is a clear exception then we may judge it to be the 1932 Commentary of Dodd. This work does have a boldness and is an overt attempt to speak to Dodd's own contemporaries, which has stood it in good stead, earning it the accolades of generations of succeeding scholars, so that within the last five years of our period's end, in 1980, it was still judged to be a "masterpiece",[542] and, "still perhaps the clearest presentation of the meaning of Paul for Today".[543] As we have seen, all writers acknowledge their desire to do this and many achieve it, but few with the directness shown by Dodd.

It is perhaps this directness which has meant that Dodd's work has come close to creating an historical tradition in interpretation. The reliance of subsequent authors upon Dodd's conclusions has been noted throughout the study. Too often, we may judge, Dodd's conclusions have been reiterated in an uncontested form. Nevertheless, if there is a tradition within the period it is the tradition of Dodd, corrected only by that of Barrett, when in the middle of the period the work of Barrett became available. Few have questioned the judgement of T.W. Manson that "Careful study of Barrett, Dodd and Sanday and Headlam will provide the English reader with practically all the information he needs in order to reach his own understanding of the Apostle's meaning".[544] However, we ought not to make too much of this, for, of course, neither Dodd nor Barrett have been slavishly followed and there is no sense in which subsequent writers have felt themselves bound.

The truth remains that on almost every issue there is a considerable variety of understanding and judgement, not least on the individual verses of Romans 9 - 11; where there is agreement it may be welcomed, but it has, in no sense, created immutable judgements or traditions.

Similarly, the question of 'development' within the period must be answered negatively. Certainly it is not possible to trace progressive or evolutionary development within the interpretations offered. Of course, individual scholars have clearly encountered and taken into their own work the work of their predecessors, but never without exhibiting a reasonable degree of critical openness and almost always without regard for the chronology of former comments. The final Commentary of the period, Cranfield's, deserves special mention in this regard, for the comprehensive way in which it takes into account scholarship of every former age, British and non-British, whilst preserving its own individuality. There is thus no obvious

historical development within the period, other than that accidentally occasioned by the proper use by scholars of the work of their predecessors.

If, finally, we set the period 1930-1980, in its widest context and ask what have been the developments within New Testament scholarship world-wide, we can suggest a short but important list. There has been the rise and, many would argue, decline of "existentialist" New Testament interpretation. There has been a call for a greater preoccupation than before with the search for a new hermeneutical methodology for that stage of interpretation beyond the critical-historical; there has been a call for New Testament critics to see that their work is more and more carried out in an inter-disciplinary manner; there has been a demand that the New Testament critic enter into a greater dialogue with the needs and questions of the contemporary believing community; there has been a demand that New Testament interpretation become more sensitive to the analyses and new conceptualities offered to it by Anthropology, Sociology, and Linguistic Philosophical studies (especially Structuralism).[545]

The influence of such 'new directions' upon succeeding generations of British exegetes is, if the past is to be a guide, likely to be slow and probably resisted.

The story of this encounter must await a further study.

Reference Notes.

(Full bibliographical details of all books and articles referred to in the following Notes appear in the Bibliography which follows).

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127. Barrett, Interpretation, pp. 410-411

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130. There are, perhaps, parallels to be drawn with the constant discussion of the status of the "Q" material, in Synoptic Criticism, where even now there would be no such unanimity.

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516. Barrett, Romans, p. vi

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526. Barrett, Romans, esp. pp. 171,175,183

527. Bruce, Free Spirit, p. 473

528. Cranfield, Romans, p. 42

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531. Cranfield, Romans, p. 448

532. See R.S. Barbour, Karl Barth, The Epistle To The Romans, in Expository Times, 90, (1979) for a general discussion of early Barth from the British point of view. pp.264f.

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542. O'Neill, Romans, p. 12

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545. On some of the New Directions suggested see
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One example of these recent trends and their influence is the book, albeit from an Old Testament scholar,
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