

BETWEEN SCRIPTURE AND HISTORY: TECHNIQUE AND HERMENEUTICS OF INTERPRETING BIBLICAL PROPHETS IN THE SEPTUAGINT OF ISAIAH AND THE LETTERS OF PAUL

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Introduction

In my dissertation, *Die Bedeutung des Jesajabuches für Paulus*, I analysed Paul's Isaianic citations and allusions, treating especially their wording in comparison with the respective *Vorlagen*, their function in the context of Paul's arguments, and the particular interpretation he gave to them.¹ In a contribution to *Septuaginta Deutsch*, Arie van der Kooij and I translated and annotated the Septuagint of Isaiah 1–39, devoting special attention to the translation technique applied to the Hebrew parent text.² Comparing the Septuagint of Isaiah and Paul's Isaianic quotations, I have come to the conclusion that they both witness to a specific form of interpreting the prophets. In each case, the author read the oracles of Isaiah in order to elucidate his own historical situation and therefore reworded them in a scribal manner. In the present article, I aim to substantiate this hypothesis.

My argument falls into two parts, concerning (1) the hermeneutics applied and (2) the scribal techniques used in the Septuagint of Isaiah and in Paul's Isaianic quotations.

¹ Florian Wilk, *Die Bedeutung des Jesajabuches für Paulus* (FRLANT 179; Göttingen, 1998).

² See Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus (eds.), *Septuaginta Deutsch: Das griechische Alte Testament in deutscher Übersetzung* (Stuttgart, 2009; volume II containing notes and commentary is forthcoming).

1 Interpreting Isaiah with reference to the author's historical situation

1.1 *The Septuagint of Isaiah*

1.1.1 Translation as interpretation

Every translation interprets its source text. Whoever translates presumes a specific understanding of the textual syntax and semantics. Via the translation, he transmits this understanding to the readers, inevitably applying a number of transformations.³ The Septuagint of Isaiah, however, offers yet another layer of interpretation. It implies a specific understanding of the prophetic text concerning its references to particular persons and events in history.⁴ Referring to them, the translator applied a particular theological interpretation and assessment.

1.1.2 The hermeneutical basis

The hermeneutical basis for the Greek translation of Isaiah may be described from the passage about King Hezekiah and Isaiah the prophet in Ben Sira 48:17-25.⁵ Here we find a model of how Greek speaking Jews in Egypt during the second half of the second century BC read and understood Isaiah's prophecies. On the one hand, Isaiah is conceived within the historical contexts attested in the Bible (48:20-23). On the

³ Cf. Theo A. W. van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint: Towards an Interaction of Septuagint Studies and Translation Studies* (CBET 47; Leuven, Paris, Dudley, 2007), 57.

⁴ The first to argue for this view was Isac L. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah: A Discussion of Its Problems* (MVEOL 9; Leiden, 1948) = *idem, The Septuagint Version of Isaiah and Cognate Studies*, ed. Robert Hanhart and Hermann Spieckermann (FAT 40; Tübingen, 2004), 119-294. Important studies which have developed and substantiated Seeligmann's claim are, *inter alia*, Joaquim C. M. das Neves, *A teologia da tradução grega dos Setenta no livro de Isaías (Cap. 24 de Isaías)* (Lisboa, 1973); Arie van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches: Ein Beitrag zur Textgeschichte des Alten Testaments* (OBO 35; Freiburg, Göttingen, 1981), 33-60; Robert Hanhart, "Die Septuaginta als Interpretation und Aktualisierung: Jesaja 9:1(8:23)-7(6)", in Alexander Rofé and Yair Zakovitch (eds.), *Isac Leo Seeligmann Volume: Essays on the Bible and the Ancient World* (Jerusalem, 1983), III, 331-346 = *idem, Studien zur Septuaginta und zum hellenistischen Judentum* (FAT 24; Tübingen 1999), 95-109. For a fundamental critique of such a portrayal of the translator, see recently Ronald L. Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah as Translation and Interpretation: The Strategies of the Translator of the Septuagint of Isaiah* (JSJSup 124; Leiden, Boston, 2008).

⁵ For a detailed investigation of this passage, see Pancratius C. Beentjes, "Hezekiah and Isaiah: A Study on Ben Sira xlviij 15-25", in Adam S. van der Woude (ed.), *New Avenues in the Study of the Old Testament: FS M.J. Mulder* (OTS 25; Leiden, 1989), 77-88.

other hand, such historical references are correlated with an eschatological interpretation of his prophecy. Indeed, he is presented as a visionary (v. 22b), as a prophet of the eschaton (v. 24a) who saw things that as such are known to God alone and are made known by God alone. Thus, he not only comforted those who mourned in Zion but also showed what would happen in the future, up to the close of the age (v. 24-25). It can be concluded that the translator of Ben Sira saw the history of Israel as illuminated by Isaiah's prophecy.⁶

The exegesis of Isaiah that arose from this view can certainly be designated as "fulfilment interpretation".⁷ It remains to be clarified, however, how the relationship between text and historical situation was defined. To my mind, three explanations are possible: First, people may have thought that with reference to their own historical situation they were able to identify the intended but until now hidden significance of Isaiah's entire prophecy. Such an ability is ascribed, for instance, to the teacher of righteousness in 1QpHab 6:14-7:5. Second, it is conceivable that such an understanding was applied only to certain prophetic oracles, whereas others were related to different moments in time, be they past or present. Last but not least, it may be the case that the book of Isaiah was understood as an inexhaustible source for appropriate historical explanations, no matter which historical era the actual interpreter lived in. In this case Isaiah's prophecy would have gained a new meaning whenever a new era began.

The question as to which of these views is appropriate can hardly be answered in general terms. Each interpretation will have to be examined on its own merits. In any case, though, the Greek version of Ben Sira 48 presents the book of Isaiah as a text intended to illuminate the history of Israel, including the historical situation of its readers.

1.1.3 The historical background and its reception by means of the Scriptures

It is this way of reading Isaiah with reference to the history of the people of Israel which is expressed in its Septuagint version, too. Again, far-reaching generalizations are out of order. Each section must be analysed

⁶ Cf. Florian Wilk, "Die Geschichte des Gottesvolkes im Licht jesajanischer Prophetie: Neutestamentliche Perspektiven", in Christfried Böttrich and Jens Herzer (eds.), *Josephus und das Neue Testament: Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen* (WUNT 209; Tübingen, 2007), 245-264, esp. 246-247.

⁷ Cf., e. g., Arie van der Kooij, *The Oracle of Tyre: The Septuagint of Isaiah 23 as Version and Vision* (VTSup 71; Leiden, Boston, Köln, 1998), *passim*.

separately and the respective results must be evaluated within the context of the book as a whole. Nevertheless, some principles of the interpretation that was applied by the Greek translator of Isaiah are readily discernible:

a) Within the book of Isaiah, the announcement of God's judgement on Israel is of fundamental importance. The Septuagint related this judgement to the deeds of the Seleucids. This becomes apparent in Isa 9:11-12 [MT Isa 9:10-11] where Israel's enemies named ארם and פלשתים in Hebrew are identified with "Syria" and the "Hellenes". Against this background,⁸ the looting of Judaea and Jerusalem mentioned several times (cf. Isa 1:7; 10:10-12; 14:6; 19:17; 22:7-9) probably refers to the campaigns of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–164 BC). Accordingly, the lament over "the king of Babylon" in Isa 14:3-21 is best understood as dealing with Antiochus' dishonourable death "on the mountains" (v. 19).⁹

b) God's "people in Egypt" play a significant role within the Septuagint of Isaiah (cf. Isa 11:16; 19:25). Apparently, this designation applies to a number of Jews who left Judaea and settled in Egypt (cf. Isa 48:1; 10:24). These references match exactly the information given by Josephus concerning the High Priest Onias IV and his followers. According to Ant. 13.64, 68 and 71, these Jews even erected a sanctuary in Leontopolis modelled after the temple in Jerusalem with reference to Isa 19:18-20. It is no wonder that these verses in the Septuagint of Isaiah seem to point towards this same sanctuary. But unlike Josephus, the Greek translation of that Isaianic passage depicts this building as a legitimate place of worship. It can be concluded that the translator sympathized or even identified himself with those Jews in Egypt grouped around Onias IV.¹⁰

⁸ According to Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 193-194, "this example proves the rule: the translator did not, by-and-large, treat Isaianic toponyms as surrogates waiting to be unmasked As a result, there is no *prima facie* case for taking a commonly occurring equivalent as a cipher for a political entity in the translator's day." This reasoning appears to be a case of *petitio principii*, however. It is, at least, equally plausible to take the translation in Isa 9:12[11] as an instruction for the interpretation of the ensuing section on Israel's enemies, especially the "Assyrians". Moreover, contemporization should not be regarded as being carried out solely, or even primarily, through the choice of specific equivalents.

⁹ Cf. Seeligmann, *Version*, 84 who compares LXX Isa 14:19 with 2Macc 9:28. It is true that the rendering of מקברך "without a grave" fits in well with the translator's tendency to depict the "king of Babylon" in Isa 14 "as a warrior king who shares the ignominious fate of warriors" (Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 217). Since this coherent picture is quite different from that of the MT, however, such a contextual explanation can hardly serve as a convincing argument against the contemporizing interpretation of that chapter in LXX Isaiah.

¹⁰ Cf. Van der Kooij, *Textzeugen*, 54-55.

c) The Septuagint of Isaiah now and again refers to events that happened in the years and decades preceding and following Antiochus' reign of terror over Jerusalem: Isa 8:11-16, e. g., seems to echo the inner-Jewish discussion concerning Hellenistic tendencies in the interpretation of the laws and in the temple cult at that time,¹¹ whereas Isa 22:15-25 alludes to the replacement of the High Priest Menelaos with Alkimos in 162 BC.¹² On the other hand, Isa 23:10, 14 probably reflects the destruction of Carthage in 146 BC and Isa 14:23; 21:9; 23:13 the conquest of Babylonia by the Parthians around 140 BC.¹³ Since the fall of Babylon is emphasized in Isaiah 40–55, too, we can assume that the translator regarded it as a prelude to the eschatological salvation. The same holds true for the return of “God’s people in Egypt” to the land of Israel foretold in Isa 11:16.

d) The eschatological hope, at any rate, is focused, first, on the destruction of the ungodly world power (Isa 25:2), second, on the glorification of Israel’s rest (Isa 4:2) in connection with the Diaspora’s return to Jerusalem (Isa 11:11-12) and, finally, on the re-establishment of God’s reign in Zion (Isa 24:23; 52:7).

1.1.4 Interpretation with reference to the author’s historical situation in LXX Isa 10:5-34

In the following, I shall exemplify the translator’s interpretation of Isaiah with reference to the contemporaneous historical situation from Isaiah 10.

¹¹ Ross Wagner has recently challenged this interpretation: “Identifying ‘Updated’ Prophecies in Old Greek (OG) Isaiah: Isaiah 8:11-16 as a Test Case”, *JBL* 126 (2007), 251-269. In fact, Wagner’s objections to the line of interpretation taken by Seeligmann, *Version*, 105-106; Jean Koenig, *L’herméneutique analogique du Judaïsme antique d’après les témoins textuels d’Isaïe* (VTSup 33; Leiden, 1982), 120-135; and Arie van der Kooij, “Isaiah in the Septuagint”, in Craig C. Broyles and Craig C. Evans (eds.), *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretative Tradition* (VTSup 70, Leiden, Boston, Köln, 1997), II, 513-529, are mainly justified as regards the structure and orientation of verses 11-14 (see the comments on LXX Isaiah 8 by Van der Kooij and Wilk in *Septuaginta Deutsch*, vol. II). He fails to disprove, however, that the translator actualized this prophecy as it is indicated in v. 9 (see Arie van der Kooij, “The Septuagint of Isaiah and the Mode of Reading Prophecies in Early Judaism: Some Comments on LXX Isaiah 8-9”, in Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus [eds.], *Die Septuaginta – Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten* [WUNT 219; Tübingen, 2008], 597-611, esp. 602-605) as well as in v. 16 (see Folker Siegert, *Zwischen Hebräischer Bibel und Altem Testament: Eine Einführung in die Septuaginta* [MJSt 9; Münster, 2001], 331).

¹² Cf. Van der Kooij, *Textzeugen*, 56-60.

¹³ See the comments by Van der Kooij and Wilk on the passages cited in *Septuaginta Deutsch*, vol. II.

Within the context of Isa 9:8–12:6, a section which describes the turning of God’s wrath, the passage Isa 10:5-34 forms a coherent whole. Its topic is God’s acting in the history of Israel with regard to the so-called “Assyrians” and their ruler. The passage shows that God’s judgment, which the “Assyrian” conquest brought upon Jerusalem and Judaea, is but a short episode in Israel’s history. In spite of its disastrous implications, this episode has a positive effect and will certainly be followed by a period of salvation, inaugurated by the destruction of the “Assyrians”. Accordingly, LXX Isa 10:5-34 falls into three parts:

- Verses 5-19 announce God’s woe against the “Assyrians”. Since their king did not content himself with brandishing the rod of God’s anger against Israel but tried to make himself emperor of the world, God will punish the “Assyrians” by expelling them from Israel and diminishing their army to but a small number of refugees.
- Verses 20-23 interpret the day when this will happen as a day of salvation for the remnant of Israel that has been left under the rule of the “Assyrians”.
- In Verses 24-34, the parenetical consequences are drawn: God’s people are called not to be afraid of the blow the “Assyrians” will give them. On the one hand, it is only meant to show them the way to Egypt; on the other hand, God’s wrath against Israel will only last for a little while and will then be directed against its enemies. In fact, these enemies will be crushed before they even reach the villages north of Jerusalem.

In quite a few places, the translator has formulated the Greek text in a way which indicates that the Isaianic prophecy has been actualized in his own historical situation. This can most clearly be seen in v. 9. In contrast to v. 8, this sentence is rendered as a bold statement referring to all the conquests the “Assyrians” have made in the recent past. The territories mentioned, however, match quite accurately the countries which the Seleucids managed to reconquer at the beginning of the second century BC. Again, the portrait of the “Assyrian” ruler in verses 7-14 can best be interpreted as portraying Antiochus IV in his ruthless campaigns and his plans to capture Jerusalem. In this context, the term “ruler” (v. 8.12) may serve to differentiate this monarch as a person of contemporary history from former “kings of the Assyrians” which lived centuries ago.¹⁴ “The

¹⁴ See Isa 7:17, 20; 8:4, 7; 20:1, 4, 6; 38:6 and 17 references in Isa 36–37. *Contra* Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 233-234, who – in view of the consistent use of βασιλεύς for Seleucid rulers in 1 Maccabees – deems it “difficult to imagine that our translator, who

way to Egypt” mentioned in v. 24, then, is related to the Jews who fled to Egypt in the course of the battles for Jerusalem. Accordingly, the prophecy against those who terrified Israel is seen as fulfilled in the defeat of Antiochus Epiphanes on various fronts.¹⁵ Thus, in Isaiah 10 the translator detects hints of the preconditions and circumstances of his own historical situation; and in turn, he uses the passage to interpret this situation from a theological perspective.

1.2 *Quotations from the book of Isaiah in the letters of Paul*

To a certain extent, Paul’s Isaianic quotations allow similar observations.

1.2.1 Quotations as interpretations

Of course, every quotation interprets the original text, its syntax and semantics. Additionally, the quoted passage gains a new function by being inserted in a new context.¹⁶ However, Paul’s Isaianic citations provide interpretation in yet another sense. They imply and transmit a specific perception of the content of the texts quoted: As prophecies, these texts refer to particular persons and events in contemporary history. The quotations, therefore, give a theological interpretation and evaluation to these persons and events.

1.2.2 The hermeneutical basis

The hermeneutical basis for such an exposition of prophetic texts is put into words in Rom 1:1-4. Paul writes that the “gospel of God” concerning “Jesus Christ, our Lord” as the “son of God” was “promised beforehand through his prophets in the Holy Scriptures”. He thus makes a twofold claim: First, he himself and the prophets speak about the same events, namely God’s acts of salvation in Christ, even if they see these events

everywhere else renders מלך אשור with ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἀσσυρίων, chose ἔρχων in a text where he perceived the Assyrian king as a cipher for a Seleucid ruler”.

¹⁵ Cf. Robert Hanhart, “Die Übersetzungstechnik der Septuaginta als Interpretation: Daniel 11,29 und die Ägyptenzüge des Antiochus Epiphanes”, in *idem*, *Studien*, 80-94, esp. 93-94, who relates LXX Isa 10:26-27 to the third and last campaign of that Seleucid king against Egypt.

¹⁶ Cf. Dietrich-Alex Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums: Untersuchungen zur Verwendung und zum Verständnis der Schrift bei Paulus* (BHT 69; Tübingen, 1986), 11: As literary devices, quotations occur “in der Antike ... grundsätzlich überall dort, wo ein Verfasser positiv oder kritisch auf eine fremde literarische Äußerung Bezug nehmen will”.

from different perspectives; second, the prophetic oracles point to the content of the gospel as well as to its proclamation. This perception enabled him to include Isaiah's words directly in his communication with his addressees.¹⁷

Fundamental to Paul's interpretation of the prophets is his general understanding of Scripture. According to 1 Cor 9:10; 10:11 and Rom 4:24; 15:4, the Scriptures were written for those who read them "now", on the basis of their belief in Christ. Paul assumed that the "end of the ages" had come upon him and his communities. He therefore applied a fulfillment interpretation to the book of Isaiah which is analogous to that of 1QpHab 7: With reference to the Christ event the real meaning of Isaiah's prophecy is revealed. This revelation enabled Paul to understand his own historical situation in its significance.¹⁸

1.2.3 The historical background and its reception by means of the Scriptures

When interpreting words from Isaiah with reference to his historical situation, Paul in principle took four steps:¹⁹

- a) Of fundamental importance is the message of salvation in Christ. Paul applied some Isaianic words he quoted (1 Cor 1:19; Rom 9:33; 10:11; 15:12) to the cross and resurrection of Jesus Christ, especially to the judging and saving effect this event has on Jews and Gentiles through the gospel.
- b) In addition, Paul – being Christ's apostle for the Gentiles – took an important role in the preaching of the gospel. Thus, he read the book of Isaiah as pointing not only to the preaching as such (Rom 10:15) but also specifically to his own vocation (2 Cor 6:2) and commission (Rom 15:21) by God.
- c) Accordingly, the vast majority of Paul's Isaianic quotations refer to his experience that many Israelites oppose the gospel. In Galatians (4:27) and 1 Corinthians (14:21), he alluded to this experience when discussing recent problems within his communities. In Romans, however, Israel's attitude to the gospel itself became an object of reflection.²⁰

¹⁷ Cf. Florian Wilk, "Paulus als Interpret der prophetischen Schriften", *KuD* 45 (1999), 284-306, esp. 287-289.

¹⁸ Cf. Wilk, *Bedeutung*, 378-380.

¹⁹ Cf. Wilk, *Bedeutung*, 364-373.

²⁰ See Rom 2:24; 9:27-28, 29; 10:16, 20, 21; 11:8.

d) Paul's eschatological hope was focused on the parousia of Christ which would lead to the universal acknowledgement of his reign (Rom 14:11), the rescue of all Israel when the nations would come to Zion (Rom 11:26-27), and final victory over death (1 Cor 15:54).

1.2.4 Interpretation with reference to the author's historical situation in Rom 9:27-28

I shall exemplify Paul's way of interpreting Isaiah with reference to his own historical situation by analysing his quotation from Isaiah 10 in Rom 9:27-28.

The section Romans 9–11 deals with the contradiction that characterizes the life of those Israelites who do not believe in Christ: They are separated from God's eschatological power for salvation being effective in the gospel of Christ, but they are recipients of God's election which implies the promise of salvation (Rom 9:1-5).²¹ Within this context, the passage Rom 9:6-29 forms a coherent whole.²² This is indicated by the fact that all the keywords from verses 6-13 (λόγος and Ἰσραήλ, σπέρμα and καλέω, υἱός and ἀγαπάω) are used again in verses 24-29.

The topic of this passage is the reliability of "the word of God", i. e., God's promises to Israel (v. 6a). In order to demonstrate this reliability Paul begins his argument in verse 6b defining the nature of Israel: "It is not the case that all who are from Israel are (as such) Israel". As is made clear in verses 7-13 with reference to former events in Israel's history of election, this differentiation is meant to clarify that Israel, being the "seed of Abraham" and "children of God", owes its existence to God's powerful word of promise.

In verses 14-21, Paul refutes objections to his understanding of God's free will and shows that even those who are "hardened" play their part in God's history of salvation. Paul then sets out to apply his reasoning to the present problem in verses 22-23. To this end, he develops an inference *a maiore ad minus* comparing God's will and acts in regard to the Egyptians with God's attitude towards the non-Christian Jews: "If God,

²¹ Cf. Florian Wilk, "Verblindet oder verstockt? Gottes Macht und der Misserfolg des Evangeliums in der Sicht des Paulus", in Reinhard G. Kratz and Hermann Spieckermann (eds.), *Vorsehung, Schicksal und göttliche Macht: Antike Stimmen zu einem göttlichen Thema* (Tübingen, 2008), 193-214, esp. 208.

²² For the following argument, see Florian Wilk, "Paulus als Nutzer, Interpret und Leser des Jesajabuches", in Stefan Alkier and Richard B. Hays (eds.), *Die Bibel im Dialog der Schriften: Konzepte intertextueller Bibellektüre* (NET 10; Tübingen, Basel, 2005), 93-116, esp. 102-104.

even in his desire to show his wrath and to make known his power, bore with great patience vessels of wrath which were ripe for destruction, (he will bear such vessels) all the more in order to make known the riches of his glory for the vessels of mercy which he has prepared beforehand for glory.”²³ Verse 24 follows immediately, stating that these vessels of mercy have presently been called, “not from the Jews only but also from the Gentiles”. Paul thus claims that God’s mercy on those who believe in Christ is inextricably linked to God’s patience with all non-Christian Jews.

The subsequent scriptural citations substantiate and unfold this claim in reverse order: The quotation from Hosea in verses 25-26 refers to God’s calling Gentiles to be children of God (v. 24 fin.), that from Isaiah in verses 27-28 to the salvation of Jewish Christians (v. 24 init.). Finally, the Isaianic oracle cited in v. 29 points back to v. 23, showing that God has left Israel a “seed” which prevents them from perishing like Sodom and Gomorrah and which functions as a guarantee of God’s faithfulness to all Israel.

These observations help us to grasp Paul’s interpretation of Isa 10:22-23. The quotation – being characterized as a prayer on behalf of Israel in Rom 9:27a – shows God’s calling Christian believers from among the Jews to be an act for the good of all Israel. It is true that, until now, salvation has only been accomplished for the Jewish Christians. In this way, however, God’s word is “both fulfilled and cut short”, i. e., only partially realized. It follows from this that God’s promise in its full meaning is still valid for all Israel.

It can be concluded that in Romans 9, Paul interpreted Isa 10:22-23 as indicating the way in which God in Christ deals with the people of Israel. Since the passage Rom 9:17-33 contains several echoes of Isa 10:6-25,²⁴ he seems to have applied this interpretation to the Isaianic oracle as a whole, taking it to be a prophecy which was fulfilled in his own historical situation.

²³ The verb ὄσει which – according to Paul’s phraseology – would conclude the consecutive clause had to be left out because in v. 24, Paul presents those events which according to v. 23 are still to come as happening now. Moreover, the verb could be left out because it is easily deduced from the conditional clause. For a detailed analysis of Rom 9:22-23, see Wilk, *Bedeutung*, 121-128.

²⁴ Compare, e. g., Isa 10:6 (τὴν ὀργὴν μου, ἔθνος ἄνομον) to Rom 9:22 (σκεύη ὀργῆς) and 31 (εἰς νόμον οὐκ ἔφθασεν), Isa 10:16 to Rom 9:21 (τιμὴν, ἀτιμίαν), Isa 10:20 (ἔσονται πεποιθότες ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν) to Rom 9:33 (ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ’ αὐτῷ), Isa 10:24 (κύριος σαβαωθ, λαός μου, ἐν Σιών) to Rom 9:26 (λαός μου), 29 (κύριος σαβαωθ) and 33 (ἐν Σιών), Isa 10:25 (παύσεται ἡ ὀργή) to Rom 9:22 (ἦνεγκεν ἐν πολλῇ μακροθυμίᾳ σκεύη ὀργῆς). For an evaluation of these echoes, see Wilk, *Bedeutung*, 259-261.

1.3 Conclusion

Juxtaposing the results of sections 1.1 and 1.2, we can see that the Greek translator of Isaiah and the apostle Paul follow very similar ways of biblical interpretation. Translating or quoting texts from Isaiah, they both read these texts as prophecies of their respective historical situations and use them to cope with their own experiences in a theological way. Their respective fulfilment interpretations both centre upon a decisive act of God in the history of Israel; they both imply the identification of the author with specific persons or events mentioned in the book of Isaiah; and they are both orientated towards the realization of analogous eschatological hopes. Finally, in both cases this kind of fulfilment interpretation becomes apparent in the representation of Isaiah 10.

The similarities are even stronger, however, for the Greek translator of Isaiah and the apostle Paul also employ similar methods of exegesis.

2 Scribal rewording of Isaianic Texts

2.1 *The Septuagint of Isaiah*

2.1.1. Reconstruction of the Hebrew *Vorlage*

A major difficulty when analysing the translation technique used in the Septuagint of Isaiah lies in the fact that we do not know exactly what the Hebrew parent text looked like. However, the Isaiah scroll found in Cave 1 in Qumran makes it clear that in pre-Christian times, the number and extent of variants in the tradition of the Hebrew text were limited.²⁵ Again, investigations into the Septuagint of Isaiah have shown that it offers a coherent Greek text conveying a distinct message. It is therefore possible to determine the Hebrew original to a large extent. If we proceed from a concordant investigation into the mode of translation to a reconstruction of the Hebrew text that was actually translated, we can compare this reconstructed *Vorlage* with the Hebrew manuscripts preserved as well as with other versions and, on that basis, interpret the detected textual differences with regard to the intended message of the Greek text. In most cases, this procedure enables us to decide whether a specific difference must be attributed to the *Vorlage* or to the translator.

²⁵ Cf. Robert Hanhart, "Septuaginta", in Werner H. Schmidt *et al.*, *Altes Testament* (Stuttgart, Berlin, Köln, Mainz, 1989), 176-196, esp. 194.

An analysis of Isa 10:5, e. g., leads to the following conclusions:

הוּ אִשׁוּר	5 οὐαὶ Ἀσσυρίοις·
שְׁבַט אֲפִי	ἢ ῥάβδος τοῦ θυμοῦ μου
וּמַטֵּה הוּא בִידֵם	καὶ ὀργῆς ἔστιν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτῶν.
זַעֲמִי:	6 τὴν ὀργήν μου ...

The choice of the plural χεῖρες instead of the singular יד accords with the translator's preference (cf. Isa 1:12; 11:14 etc.).²⁶ The same holds true for his translating אִשׁוּר with Ἀσσυρίοι (cf. Isa 7:17-18 etc.; Ἀσσουρ is used only in Isa 31:8). His rendering of מַטֵּה "staff" with ὀργή "wrath" is in keeping with his tendency to interpret Hebrew metaphors (cf., e. g., Isa 22:23: ἄρχων for יתד);²⁷ the change in the syntactical structure (while מַטֵּה is paralleled by אֲפִי, ὀργή stands in parallel to θυμός) follows from this interpretation. Therefore, none of these features give cause to assume a *Vorlage* diverging from the Masoretic text. By and large, this result applies to the whole chapter.

2.1.2 The Translator's Liberty in Translating his *Vorlage*

Just the example of v. 5 alone illustrates the liberties the translator could take with his *Vorlage*. In regard to Isa 10:5-34 his translation technique can be described as follows:

a) As a general rule, he adopted both the lexical inventory and the syntactic order of the Hebrew text; this can be seen, e. g., with v. 11:

הֲלֹא כִּאֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתִי לְשֹׁמְרוֹן	ὄν τρόπον γὰρ ἐποίησα Σαμαρεία
וּלְאַלְלִיָּה	καὶ τοὺς χειροποιήτοις αὐτῆς,
כֵּן אַעֲשֶׂה לְיִרוּשָׁלַם	οὕτως ποιήσω καὶ Ἱερουσαλήμ
וְלַעֲצָבִיָּה:	καὶ τοῖς εἰδώλοις αὐτῆς.

Moreover, he tended to imitate the formation of Hebrew words; thus, he translated derivatives of עָשָׂה constantly with derivatives of ποιέω (see verses 11, 12, 13, 23).

b) In fact, however, his translation includes many stylistic variations in comparison to the *Vorlage*. Whenever appropriate, he changed the number

²⁶ For the general phenomenon, see Florian Wilk, "'Vision wider Judäa und wider Jerusalem' (Jes 1 LXX). Zur Eigenart der Septuaginta-Version des Jesajabuches", in Wolfgang Kraus and Karl-Wilhelm Niebuhr (eds.), *Frühjudentum und Neues Testament im Horizont Biblischer Theologie: Mit einem Anhang zum Corpus Judaeo-Hellenisticum* (WUNT 162; Tübingen, 2003), 15-35, esp. 30.

²⁷ Cf. Joseph Ziegler, *Untersuchungen zur Septuaginta des Buches Isaias* (ATA XII/3; Münster i. W., 1934), 80-91.

of verbs (cf. v. 12: 3rd sing. ἐπάξει for 1st sing. אָפֵקֵד) and nouns (cf. v. 18: pl. οἱ δρυμοί for sing. יַעֲרֹ), chose a different part of speech (cf. v. 12: part. ποιῶν for noun plus suffix מַעֲשֵׂהוּ), varied the translation of one and the same Hebrew word (cf. v. 7: ψυχή and νοῦς for לֵבָב) or inserted supplementary words (cf. v. 8: καί). The translator even felt free to shorten the text in order to clarify its meaning. This can be seen, e. g., in v. 15b: Instead of the full but rather clumsy Hebrew parallelism [“As if a rod should wield him who lifts it, as if a staff should lift him who is not wood”] the Greek text reads: “(It is) just as if somebody lifts a rod or a piece of wood.”²⁸

c) Furthermore, the Septuagint version of Isaiah 10 contains modifications with regard to the message of the text. These include, first, peculiar interpretations of words: The choice of ἄνομος “lawless” as equivalent of ἡγῆ “godless” in v. 6 (cf. Isa 9:17[16]; 24:5; 32:6), for instance, recalls the topic of Israel’s lawlessness mentioned already in Isaiah 1 (see Isa 1:4, 5, 25, 28, 31).²⁹ Moreover, there are free translations of words which more exactly specify the meaning (cf. v. 13: ἰσχύς “might” for עֲתִידוֹת “stocks”; v. 18: κατεσθίω “to devour” for כָּלָה [piel] “to destroy”), omissions which underline the coherence of the argument (cf. v. 20: Ἰακωβ for בֵּית־יַעֲקֹב), explanatory additions such as conjunctions (cf. v. 16: ἀλλά), personal pronouns (cf. v. 8: αὐτῶ) or attributives (cf. v. 6: τὰς πόλεις ... αὐτάς) and even paraphrases of complete sentences (cf. v. 22b, where בּוֹ כִּלְיִן חֲרָץ שׁוֹטֵף צַדִּיק “... of them; destruction is decreed, overflowing with righteousness” is translated as λόγον γὰρ συντελῶν καὶ συντέμνων ἐν δικαιοσύνη “for he is fulfilling and cutting short a word with righteousness”,³⁰ apparently interpreting כִּלְיִן as a form of כָּלָה).

d) Last but not least, in many places the translator practised exegesis of the Hebrew consonantal text. For example, he took a rhetorical question

²⁸ Cf. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 48.

²⁹ For Israel’s lawlessness as the main theme of LXX Isaiah 1, see Wilk, “Vision”, 32; for the high value the translator put on the law in general, see Seeligmann, *Version*, 104-108; Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 234-235.

³⁰ According to John W. Olley, “*Righteousness*” in the Septuagint of Isaiah: A Contextual Study (SBLSCS 8; Missoula, 1979), in LXX Isaiah “δικαιοσύνη (of God) refers to God’s actions and character as ruler and judge” (116) and does “nowhere ... mean ‘victory’, ‘salvation’ or ‘deliverance’”. This hypothesis is ill-founded inasmuch as Olley has limited his analysis to references where terms from the δικ- word group are used as equivalents of צַדִּיק and its derivatives. For a critique of Olley’s study, see further J. Ross Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News: Isaiah and Paul “In Concert” in the Letter to the Romans* (NTSup 101; Leiden, Boston, Köln, 2002), 103-104.

to be an argument substantiating the speaker's claim (v. 11 subsequent to v. 10), applied a different vocalisation to the Hebrew consonantal text (v. 17: πυρί = וַיִּבְעַר "and fire" instead of וַיִּבְעַר "and it will burn") or decided on a different segmentation of that text (cf. verses 5-6 where he connects the Hebrew word זַעַמִּי "my fury" at the end of v. 5 with the verb in v. 6) – which in turn he underlined with additional conjunctions (cf. καί at the beginning of v. 16).

2.1.3 The Scribal Background of this Liberty

The translator's liberty in rendering his *Vorlage* is only truly understood, however, if its scribal background is taken into account.

a) In many places there are lexical references to other biblical texts which give the respective statements their specific sense. In some cases, such references were made within the book of Isaiah; thus, the translation of verses 17-18 (ἐν πυρὶ ... φάγεται ὡσεὶ χόρτον ... οἱ βουνοὶ καὶ οἱ δρυμοὶ) recalls the prophecy of doom against Israel's lawlessness in Isa 9:18[17].³¹ In other instances, the translator fell back on the Septuagint version of the Pentateuch; he did so, e. g., when choosing Χαλαννη and Αγγαι as equivalents to כְּלִנּוֹ in v. 9 (cf. Gen 10:10 referring to the land of Shinar/Sennaar)³² and עֵיִת in v. 28 (cf. Gen 12:8; 13:3) respectively.

b) In addition, a number of interpretative references can be found. First, the translator multiplied key words in order to create new correlations within the Greek text: ἄρχων in v. 8, e. g., points forward to v. 12; the phrase χώρας λαμβάνω links v. 10 to v. 9; and δδός in v. 32 points back to verses 24 and 26. Second, the pericope has been linked with other Isaianic passages: The term ἔθνος ἄνομον in v. 6 alludes to the designation of Israel as ἔθνος ἀμαρτωλόν, ... υἱοὶ ἄνομοι in Isa 1:4;³³ the

³¹ LXX Isa 9:18 reads: καὶ καυθήσεται ὡς πῦρ ἡ ἀνομία καὶ ὡς ἄγρωστις ξηρὰ βρωθήσεται ὑπὸ πυρός· καὶ καυθήσεται ἐν τοῖς δάσεσι τοῦ δρυμοῦ, καὶ συγκαταφάγεται τὰ κύκλω τῶν βουνῶν πάντα.

³² In addition, Isa 10:9 characterizes Chalanne as the city "where the tower was built". This addition is not likely to be "seulement une précision savante" with regard to Gen 11:1-9 (Koenig, *L'herméneutique*, 99). Jub 10:26 shows that in the second century BC, Sennaar could be localized between Assyria and Babylon. Thus, the added phrase in Isa 10:9 may well be another case of actualization; cf. Van der Kooij, *Textzeugen*, 37, who relates Χαλαννη to the city of Seleucia.

³³ *Contra* David A. Baer, *When We All Go Home: Translation and Theology in LXX Isaiah 56-66* (JSOTSup 318, The Hebrew Bible and its Versions 1; Sheffield, 2001), 241 n. 28. Baer regards LXX Isa 10:6a as "a nationalistic *antithesis* that describes, first, a gentile nation (Assyria) and, then, a newly favoured Judah". This reading, however,

reference to crushed cities in v. 6 recalls the prophecies against Israel in Isa 1:7; 6:11. Third, LXX Isaiah 10 contains connections to texts from the Greek Pentateuch. Above all, the concluding sentence in v. 24 “For I am bringing a blow upon you (πληγήν ... ἐπάγω ἐπὶ σέ), so that you may see the way to Egypt (τοῦ ἰδεῖν ὁδὸν Αἰγύπτου)” is formulated as the fulfilment of threats laid down in Deut 28:61 and 68: “And every malady and every blow (πληγήν) that is not written in the book of this law the Lord will bring upon you (ἐπάξει ἐπὶ σέ) until he has destroyed you ... And the Lord will bring you back to Egypt (εἰς Αἴγυπτον) in ships and on that way (ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ) of which I said: You will not see it (ἰδεῖν αὐτήν) again.” These examples could be increased without difficulty.

2.1.4 Translation on the Basis of Scribal Work on the *Vorlage*

Against this scribal background it becomes possible to account for a number of references which at first sight seem to reflect a *Vorlage* that diverges from the Masoretic text. Apparently, the translation is based on a network of interpretative modifications to the Hebrew text made by the translator himself.

- a) Sometimes he associated a specific letter with another that is similar in appearance or sound: In v. 10, the imperative “Wail!” presupposes a Hiphil-form of the verb לל instead of האליל “the idol”; in v. 33, συσταράσσει “he will startle” is based not on מסעך “he will prune” but on a form of the root נעך. Furthermore, he could add the letter א (cf. verses 15-16: οὐχ οὕτως presupposes the reading לא כן instead of לכן “therefore”) or omit the letter ו (cf. v. 17: ἀγιάσει αὐτόν renders קדשו instead of קדושו “his holy one”).
- b) Elsewhere, the translator reordered the Hebrew consonants (cf. v. 22: λόγον seems to be a translation of שפתי [see Prov 16:21] rather than of שושן) or associated a different Hebrew root (cf. v. 30: the second ἐπακούσεται is based on an interpretation of עניה “it is wretched” via the verb ענה).
- c) In some cases, he opted for a different syntax (cf. v. 9 where he referred to an action of the “Assyrian” ruler by omitting the repeated comparative particle כ).

does not fit in with the train of thought from v. 5 to v. 7. It is more plausible to assume that in this context, the Assyrians are called “my (i. e., God’s) people” because they are instruments of God’s anger against Israel (cf. Das Neves, *A teologia*, 202). See also Isa 13:5: κύριος καὶ οἱ ὀπλομάχοι αὐτοῦ.

d) Occasionally, the translation is even based on a “playful” adaptation of the *Vorlage*. If, e. g., in v. 9 Ἀραβίαν renders ארפוד חמת, the translator shortened the text and chose a Greek name that is a homophone of the first Hebrew term and is associated with the second Hebrew term in Isa 11:11, too. Again, in v. 18 the Septuagint reads: “And the one who flees will be like the one who flees from a blazing flame” where the Masoretic text has “and it will be as when a sick man wastes away”. In this case, the translator interpreted the Hebrew phrase via the verb גוס and expanded the text in accordance with verses 16-17.

2.1.5 Summary

The Septuagint of Isaiah shows a high degree of scribal artistry on the part of the translator. He gave a specific interpretation to his *Vorlage* with regard to semantics, syntax and segmentation; he took the liberty of modifying the style and content of the text; he set up a whole network of scriptural references; and he employed a method of rewording the Hebrew consonantal text. This artistry does not seem to be an end in itself, however. It was practised in order to specify the meaning of the text as understood by the translator within the context of the Scriptures, to emphasize its prophetic significance, and to indicate how this prophecy had been actualized in the present historical situation.³⁴

2.2 Paul

Again, similar observations can be made with regard to Paul’s Isaianic quotations.

2.2.1 The Reconstruction of the Greek *Vorlage*

The *Vorlage* from which Paul quoted can only be reconstructed with difficulty. To be sure, modern research has demonstrated that he consistently drew on the Septuagint.³⁵ However, his *Vorlage* time and again

³⁴ In the Septuagint of Isaiah, linguistic, intertextual, historical and theological transformations of the *Vorlage* are interconnected. This can be seen, e. g., with LXX Isa 10:8-10 (see above, pages 194 and 200-203). Therefore, it is not appropriate to discard the assumption of “theological changes” and “intertextual translations” just because certain transformations “can be explained on the basis of grammar, style, logic, communicative purpose and culture” (*contra* Van der Louw, *Transformations*, 245).

³⁵ Cf. Emil F. Kautzsch, *De Veteris Testamenti locis a Paulo Apostolo allegatis* (Leipzig, 1869); Koch, *Schrift*, esp. 48-51.

shows variants which testify to successive revisions of the Septuagint of Isaiah towards the Hebrew text. A similar process of scribal work is reflected in the Minor prophets scroll found in Murabbaat.³⁶ Nevertheless, it is evident that Paul frequently altered the wording of his quotations in order to adjust them to his own specific lines of argumentation.³⁷ This becomes apparent, e. g., in the different wordings of the quotation from Isa 28:16 found in Rom 9:33 and 10:11. Because of such findings it is possible to define Paul's *Vorlage* with a rather high degree of probability. If we relate the differences between his citations and the Septuagintal manuscripts of Isaiah, first, to other manuscripts and translations of the Hebrew text as well as to other Jewish or Christian witnesses for the Greek text of Isaiah in antiquity and, second, to Paul's intention in quoting, we are in a position to ascribe modifications either to the writer of the *Vorlage* or to Paul.³⁸

For the quotation from Isa 10:22-23 in Rom 9:27-28, the results are as follows:³⁹

<u>MT Isa 10:22-23</u>	<u>Rom 9:27-28</u>	<u>LXX Isa 10:22-23</u>
	27 Ἡσαΐας δὲ κράζει ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ·	
כִּי אִם־	ἐὰν	22 καὶ ἐὰν
יִהְיֶה עִמָּךְ	ἢ ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν υἱῶν	γένηται ὁ λαὸς
יִשְׂרָאֵל	Ἰσραήλ	Ἰσραηλ
כַּחֲלוֹ הֵימָּן	ὡς ἡ ἄμμος τῆς θαλάσσης,	ὡς ἡ ἄμμος τῆς θαλάσσης,
שׂאֵר יִשׁוּב	τὸ ὑπόλειμμα σωθήσεται·	τὸ κατάλειμμα σωθήσεται·
	28 λόγον	λόγον
בּוֹ כִּלְיִן חָרָץ	γὰρ συντελῶν	γὰρ συντελῶν
	καὶ συντέμνων	καὶ συντέμνων
שׁוֹטֵף		
צִדְקָה:		ἐν δικαιοσύνη,
כִּי כִלָּה וּנְחָרְצָה		23 ὅτι λόγον συντεταμμένον
אֲדַנִּי יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת עֲשֵׂה	ποιήσῃ κύριος	ποιήσῃ ὁ θεὸς
בְּקָרֵב כִּלְיֵהָאָרֶץ:	ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.	ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ὅλη.

³⁶ Cf. Koch, *Schrift*, 57-71; Wilk, *Bedeutung*, 19-42.

³⁷ Cf. Koch, *Schrift*, 102-198; Christopher D. Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture: Citation Technique in the Pauline Epistles and Contemporary Literature* (SNTSMS 74; Cambridge, 1992); Wilk, *Bedeutung*, 42-59; Wagner, *Heralds*, 345-346.

³⁸ Cf. Florian Wilk, "The Letters of Paul as Witnesses to and for the Septuagint Text", in Wolfgang Kraus and Glenn Wooden (eds.), *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures* (SBLSCS 53; Atlanta, 2006), 253-271.

³⁹ Cf. Wilk, *Bedeutung*, 37-38.

1. The two phrases ἧ ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν υἰῶν Ἰσραήλ and ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς most probably stem from Hos 1:10 [2:1] and 2:23[25] respectively (see below, 2.2.4).
2. The omission of the initial καί is a standard feature of Paul's scriptural citations; see Rom 10:11; 11:26; 15:12 *et al.*
3. The remaining discrepancies between Romans and the Septuagint are already due to Paul's *Vorlage*: a) Since the verb ἐγκατέλιπεν appears in Rom 9:29, the word κατάλειμμα would have strengthened the connection between the two quotations in verses 27-29; its displacement by ὑπόλειμμα can therefore hardly be ascribed to Paul. On the other hand, ὑπόλειμμα is attested as equivalent of רשׁו in the Hexaplaric tradition of Isa 11:11.⁴⁰ b) The phrase ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, ὅτι λόγον συντετμημένον would have matched Paul's statement in Rom 9:30-31 nicely. Thus, its omission is best explained as a pre-Pauline haplography following λόγον ... συντέμνων. c) The title κύριος instead of ὁ θεός is witnessed in the Hexaplaric tradition of Isa 10:23 and corresponds to the Hebrew text;⁴¹ in Paul's writings, however, there would be no analogy for his exchanging one name of God for another.

2.2.2 Paul's Liberty in Reproducing his *Vorlage*

Paul's citation technique with regard to Isaiah can be characterized as follows:⁴²

- a) As a general rule, he adopted both the lexical inventory and the syntactic structure of the Septuagintal text. This applies even to the rather long quotation in Gal 4:27.
- b) Frequently, however, his quotations show stylistic modifications. Thus, in Rom 9:33 and 10:11 he replaced οὐ μή plus aorist conjunctive with οὐ plus future indicative in order to integrate the quotations with their new context. For similar reasons he changed the number of nouns (cf. Rom 11:27: pl. τὰς ἀμαρτίας instead of sing.) and verbs (cf. 1 Cor 14:21: 1st sing. λαλήσω instead of 3rd sing.). Again, he sometimes varied the word order so as to emphasize certain words or phrases (cf. Rom 10:21: ὄλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐξεπέτασα ...).

⁴⁰ See Joseph Ziegler, *Isaias* (Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Göttingensis editum XIV; Göttingen, 3rd edition 1983), *ad loc.*

⁴¹ See Ziegler, *Isaias*, *ad loc.*

⁴² Cf. Wilk, *Bedeutung*, 42-50.

c) In several cases, Paul also altered the length of a sentence quoted from Isaiah. In particular, he tended to skip references to location or time for interpretative reasons (e. g., ἐπὶ τῶν ὁρέων in Rom 10:15 or ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ in Rom 15:12) as well as to introduce clarifying words (such as πᾶς in Rom 10:11) or phrases (cf. λέγει κύριος in 1 Cor 14:21).

2.2.3 The Scribal Background of this Liberty

Grounding this liberty with the text is a high degree of scribal artistry. This becomes evident especially in those two cases where Paul exchanged one word or phrase of the Isaianic oracle quoted for another:⁴³

a) In 1 Cor 1:19, he avoided the verb κρύψω given in the Septuagintal version of Isa 29:14. In the context of his phraseology, this word (cf. 1 Cor 4:5; 14:25 *et al.*; see also 2:7) would not denote the elimination of wisdom as a medium of knowing God which is at stake in 1 Corinthians 1. In selecting ἀθετήσω, however, Paul was dependent on Ps 32[33]:10: “The Lord scatters counsels of nations, and he brings to nought (ἀθετεῖ) thoughts of peoples and brings to nought (ἀθετεῖ) counsels of rulers.”

b) In Rom 14:11, Paul replaced the long oath formula of the *Vorlage* with the phrase ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος. Subsequent to the differentiation between κύριος and ὁ θεός in verses 3-4 and 6, he apparently wanted to show that ἐμοί in the first line of the quote is related to the risen Christ; therefore, by inserting that phrase, he correlated this line with v. 9: Χριστὸς ... ἔζησεν, ἵνα ... κυριεύσῃ. The phrase itself, however, is taken from the Septuagint, the most probable source being Isa 49:18.

In both cases, the apostle used Scripture as a lexicon in order to specify his understanding of the passages quoted from the Septuagint of Isaiah.

2.2.4 Quotations on the Basis of Scribal work on the *Vorlage*

Interpretative references in the strict sense of the word can be discerned with Paul’s conflated quotations in Romans 9–11 (9:27-28, 33; 11:8, 26-27). In all these cases, he replaced a certain phrase of a scriptural text with a phrase taken from another text that is similar to the first one in wording and content.⁴⁴

Paul’s procedure and its intention may be exemplified by analysing once again his quotation in Rom 9:27-28:

⁴³ Cf. Wilk, *Bedeutung*, 44-45 and 47-48.

⁴⁴ Cf. Wilk, *Bedeutung*, 51-58; Wagner, *Heralds*, 346-348.

<u>LXX Isa 10:22-23^R</u>	<u>Rom 9:27-28</u>	<u>LXX Hos 1:10; 2:23</u>
22 καὶ ἐὰν γένηται ὁ λαὸς Ἰσραηλ ὡς ἡ ἄμμος τῆς θαλάσσης, τὸ ὑπόλειμμα σωθήσεται· λόγον γὰρ συντελῶν καὶ συντέμων [...] 23 [...] ποιήσει κύριος ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ὅλη.	27 Ἥσαϊας δὲ κρᾶζει ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ· ἐὰν ἦ ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ ὡς ἡ ἄμμος τῆς θαλάσσης, τὸ ὑπόλειμμα σωθήσεται· 28 λόγον γὰρ συντελῶν καὶ συντέμων ποιήσει κύριος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.	10 καὶ ἦν ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραηλ ὡς ἡ ἄμμος τῆς θαλάσσης, ... 23 καὶ σπερῶ αὐτὴν ἐμαυτῶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ...

a) In Rom 9:27, the term “the people of Israel” given in Isa 10:22 has been replaced with the phrase “the number of the sons of Israel”. Since the latter stems from Hos 1:10 [2:1], the verb ἦ was probably chosen in accordance with that verse, too. This reference provides the background to Paul’s understanding of the term ὑπόλειμμα. Pointing back to Hosea’s prophecy of the calling of the sons of God cited in Rom 9:26, it underlines Paul’s positive notion of the remnant of Israel and stresses the connection between the quotations in verses 25-28.

b) In Rom 9:28, the Isaianic phrase ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ὅλη is replaced by ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. This adaptation is to be assessed in a similar way. Paul took ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς from Hos 2:23[25]a, the context of the oracle quoted in Rom 9:25. He probably referred to this context because it is characterized by the verb σπείρω. Accordingly, the reference to Hosea points towards Isaiah’s prophecy quoted in v. 29 about the σπέρμα of Israel which has been graciously preserved. In this way, it strengthens Paul’s argument. Because God has sown the earth with his people Israel in the form of its remnant – those Jews who believe in Christ –, in the end the harvest will consist in all Israel.

Thus, by conflating his Isaianic quotation with phrases taken from LXX Hosea 1–2, Paul emphasized his understanding of that quotation with reference to his own historical situation.

2.2.5 Summary

When quoting from the book of Isaiah Paul demonstrated scribal artistry in large measure. This artistry shows up in his liberty to modify the wording of his quotations and, above all, in his method of conflating two scriptural texts into one citation. All of these modifications were made

in order to align the quotations with Paul's respective arguments and to express the meaning he ascribed to the Isaianic texts with regard to the Christ event and his own apostolic mission.

Conclusion

The Septuagint of Isaiah and the Isaianic quotations in the letters of Paul both witness to a specific form of interpreting the biblical prophets. Both authors used Isaiah's prophecy in order to understand their historical experience as a form of God's acting in history, and to this end, both authors modified the wording of their respective *Vorlage*. It therefore seems appropriate to speak of a common culture of reading the prophets.

This conclusion is supported by three observations: First, the Greek translator's and Paul's interpretations of Isaianic texts as referring to their present situation are similar in structure. Central to this structure is the author's identification with a person or group depicted by Isaiah. Second, both authors apply analogical methods of scribal modifications to the oracles of Isaiah. Most important are those adaptations that serve to interconnect several words from Scripture. Finally, both authors were Greek speaking Jews who lived in the Diaspora but were educated in Jerusalem.⁴⁵ It may well be, therefore, that this culture of reading the prophets originated in Jerusalem. Such an assumption could only be substantiated, however, if many more exegetical texts from the Hellenistic and Roman periods were analysed. This task is left to further research.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ For the Greek translator of the Book of Isaiah, see Van der Kooij, *Textzeugen*, 60-61; for Paul, see Berndt Schaller, "1 Kor 10,1-10(13) und die jüdischen Voraussetzungen der Schriftauslegung des Paulus", in *idem*, *Fundamenta Judaica: Studien zum antiken Judentum und zum Neuen Testament*, ed. Lutz Doering and Annette Steudel (SUNT 25; Göttingen, 2001), 167-190, esp. 187-190.

⁴⁶ Many thanks to Johanna Löber, Göttingen, who helped me to translate a German draft of this paper and to Krystynā-Maria Redeker, Göttingen, who took part of the process of proof-reading. Again, I am indebted to Professor J. Ross Wagner, Princeton, for checking my English and making numerous valuable if minor adjustments to the manuscript.