

Mariusz Rosik

# “In Christ All Will Be Made Alive” (1 Cor 15:12–58)

The Role of Old Testament Quotations  
in the Pauline Argumentation for the Resurrection

**European Studies in Theology,  
Philosophy and History of Religions**

Edited by Bartosz Adamczewski



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# Introduction

The conviction about the universal resurrection from the dead constitutes an integral part of the Christian faith. The Catechism of the Catholic Church contains the following article concerning this issue: “The Christian Creed—the profession of our faith in God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and in God’s creative, saving, and sanctifying action—culminates in the proclamation of the resurrection of the dead on the last day and in life everlasting. We firmly believe, and hence we hope that, just as Christ is truly risen from the dead and lives forever, so after death, the righteous will live forever with the risen Christ and he will raise them up on the last day. Our resurrection, like his own, will be the work of the Most Holy Trinity” (988–989). Tertullian even emphasised that we “are” Christians because we believe in the resurrection of the dead: *Fiducia christianorum resurrectio mortuorum; illam credentes, sumus* (Res. 1:1).

Chapter fifteen of the First Letter to the Corinthians is essentially dedicated to the topic of resurrection, although there is also mention of other eschatological events. First, Paul refers to the christophany that confirmed the resurrection of Christ (vv. 1–11). He then discusses the resurrection of the faithful, and the resurrection of Christ (vv. 12–58) in his argumentation. 1 Cor 15 does not constitute the Apostle’s response to the direct question posed by the inhabitants of the Christian community in Corinth as was the case in other parts of the letter that directly refer to the said questions (cf. 1 Cor 7:1; 8:1; 11:2; 12:1, and 16:1). The proper motivation for the said disquisition we can find in v. 12: “Now if Christ is proclaimed as raised from the dead, how can some of you be saying that there is no resurrection of the dead?” It was this very conviction of “some” of the members of the local church in *bimaris Corinthia* that “there is no resurrection,” which propels the Apostle, who established that community, to undertake this issue. In his disquisition, Paul not only outlines the foundations of hope in the resurrection, but also speaks—as mentioned earlier—of other eschatological events, which include the Parousia, overcoming the forces of evil, the destruction of death, and the triumph of Christ and the reign of God the Father. The Apostle spends a lot of time explaining the very nature of the body after the resurrection.

In his argumentation defending the resurrection of the dead, Paul, a Pharisee by education and a scholar of Gamaliel I, grandson of the famous Hillel, reaches for the Old Testament. Acquainted with Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek, the Apostle could use the Hebrew Bible as well as the Septuagint with ease.<sup>1</sup> Both versions of the Bible (seeing that the Septuagint also contains books that are

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1 N. Hyldahl, “Paul and Hellenistic Judaism in Corinth,” in *The New Testament and Hellenistic Judaism* (eds. P. Borgen and S. Giversen; Peabody 1997), 204.

absent from the Hebrew Bible), include fragments that constitute the grounds for hope in the future resurrection. J. Lemański discussed this in detail several years ago in his study.<sup>2</sup> It is worth asking which fragments of the Old Testament were used by Paul in his argumentation for the resurrection of the dead and how the Apostle actually treats them. The fact that the author of the letter, the Apostle “born of the race of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew born of Hebrew parents” (Phil 3:5), quotes the Old Testament in his writings is of no surprise. Surely, it is natural that “in his doctrinal arguments the Apostle Paul constantly refers to the Scriptures of his nation, clearly differentiating between scriptural arguments and the ‘human way of thinking.’ The scriptural arguments are attributed an irrefuted value. For him, the Jewish Scriptures also have an ever pertinent value in guiding the spiritual life of Christians” (*The Jewish Nation and Its Sacred Scriptures in the Christian Bible*, 5)<sup>3</sup>.

In this study, we shall be dealing with a multi-aspect analysis of the Old Testament citations in 1 Cor 15:12–58. It should once again be noted that we are concerned with that part of the Pauline interpretation of the teaching about the resurrection, in which he concentrates on the resurrection of the faithful departed after earlier authenticating the resurrection of Christ (1 Cor 15:1–11). The research problem and objective (1), the current state of research concerning the said issue (2), and the adopted research methodology (3) shall be presented hereinbelow.

## 1. Research Problem and Objectives

The issue of citing the OT in 1 Cor gives rise to much interest even for purely statistical reasons. Out of approx. 16–18<sup>4</sup> of the OT citations in the entire epistle,

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2 J. Lemański, „*Sprawisz, abym ożył!*” (Ps 71: 20b). *Źródła nadziei na zmartwychwstanie w Starym Testamencie* (RiS 532; Szczecin 2004). The author includes the following passages in this group: Gen 5:21–24; 1 Kgs 17:17–24; 2 Kgs 2:1–15; 4:8–37; 13:25; 2 Macc 7:1–42; 12:38–45; 15:12–16; Pss 16:9–11; 17:15; 22:30; 49:15–16; 71:20; 73:23–24; Prov 10:2.16; 11:30–31; 12:28; 14:32; 15:24; 23:17–18; 24:19–20; Job 19:25–27; Eccl 3:11b.16–17.21; 9:1b; Sir 1:13b; 7:17; 46:12; 48:11–13; 49:10; Wis 3:8; 4:19; 16:13–14; Hos 6:1–3; 13:14; Ezra 37:1–14; Isa 25:8; 26:19; 52:13; 3:10–11a; Dan 12:1–3. Much fewer OT passages that are at the foundation of the idea of the resurrection have been discussed by R. Martin-Achard, “Resurrection (OT),” *ABD V*: 680–684. This list is extended somewhat by G. W. E. Nickelsburg, “Resurrection (Early Judaism and Christianity),” *ABD V*: 684–691.

3 The document of the Pontificia Commissio Biblica was published in 2001.

4 The number of quotes depends on the adopted criteria defining which fragment can be acknowledged as a quote, and which as an allusion.

as many as 6 (i.e. approx. 33%) appear in 1 Cor 15:12–58<sup>5</sup>: such a high concentration of citations in one section only, which in size is even smaller than a chapter, should not be deemed as coincidental. It is also worth posing several questions that highlight the research problems discussed in this work:

- (1) Why does Paul quote the OT when he speaks of the resurrection of the dead?
- (2) Do the quotes he uses in his interpretation speak of the hope of resurrection also in the original context?
- (3) What is their rhetorical role?
- (4) What function do they fulfil in the text from the theological perspective?
- (5) Were they derived from the LXX or the HB? Perhaps the Apostle cites the Targums or quotes from memory.
- (6) Does he select the quotes, based on his own education as a Pharisee, or does he draw from the already established early Christian tradition?

The object of this study is to attempt to answer the above questions. The way this objective will be reached has been described in the presentation of the method which we use in this work. The conclusions that emerge after the application of this method constitute (at least partial) answers to the questions posed above, and are included in the final chapter of the book.

## 2. The Current State of Research

Let us proceed to the presentation of the current state of research on the issue, which is of interest to us, of the OT quotations in 1 Cor 15:12–58. It is worth concentrating, at first, on the very phenomenon of the Pauline texts taken from the OT. In the last decades, many titles and far more articles appeared on the theological and exegetical market. They raise issues being the object of the research, carried out in this study. Here, we will devote some time to the most significant ones; however, other issues will be brought up in the main part of this work. Each of the authors presents a slightly different approach to the previously mentioned issues of citing the OT by Paul; that is because of the specificity of the conducted analyses (most often expressed clearly or mentioned in the title of the monograph or the article). Above all, it is necessary to notice a surge of an interest in the subject matter of quoting in the literature, in the last decades. In older rhetoric or religious studies textbooks, these issues were not widely elaborated. It is enough to mention that in the classical work in this field,

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5 D. A. de Silva, “Let the One Who Claims Honor Establish That Claim in the Lord. Honor Discourse in the Corinthian Correspondence,” *BTB* 28 (1998): 63.

the textbook by C. Perelman and L. Olbrechts-Tyteca, the references to the entry “quoting,” included in the index placed at the end of their work, can be found only four times!<sup>6</sup> At present, however, the research on the theory of quoting has considerably developed. Presenting the current state of the research on the subject matter, which is of interest to us, we shall begin with the issue of quoting in general (fundamentally from a point of view of the study of literature). Next, we shall present the phenomenon of quoting the OT in Corpus Paulinum, especially taking into account 1 Cor 15:12–58.

## 2.1. The Issue of Citing in General

C. D. Stanley dealt with depicting the practice of quoting from the rhetorical point of view.<sup>7</sup> At first, he explains that referring to quotations invokes arguments “from an authority” in the disquisition. Quotations in such a function usually open or close the disquisition. The quotation, above all, performs the authoritative role when it comes from the source recognised by listeners or readers as important or sacred. Arguments from the authority usually act as the subsidy in the disquisition; they contribute to the support of the author’s or the speaker’s key points. However, they are not fundamental arguments. Apart from that, these arguments have persuasive force mainly when the listener or the reader has a bias in favour of the speaker or author.<sup>8</sup> From the rhetorical perspective, the quotations also function as a factor helping to create the agreement between the speaker and the audience. When the audience has a positive attitude towards the speaker, the phrases quoted from works valued by both sides intensify the agreement between them. On the other hand, when the audience treats the speaker with reserve, then the audience tends rather to place its confidence in the quotation. This is because the quotation reflects their common values or views. In both cases, however, the quotation appeals to the emotional sphere of the audience. Each time, the force of speaking of the quotation depends on its content, the way of expressing its thoughts and the value of the source from which it comes. In his research, based on the works of

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6 The entire work is quite extensive because it consists of 514 pages. See index in C. Perelman and L. Olbrychts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation* (trans. J. Wilkinson and P. Weaver; Notre Dame 1969).

7 C. D. Stanley, *Arguing with Scripture: The Rhetoric of Quotation in Letters of Paul* (New York 2004), 12–21.

8 D. Leith and G. Myerson, *The Power of Address: Explorations in Rhetoric* (London 1989), 124.

E. White,<sup>9</sup> Stanley reaches the conclusion that not all quotations have the same effect on the listeners or readers. To a considerable extent, the effect depends on the author or speaker's intention, and we can define the intention on the strength of five factors:

- (1) the author's or speaker's basic point;
- (2) the essence of submitting;
- (3) the arrangement of the conveyed ideas;
- (4) the degree of the author's or speaker's intelligibility of the language;
- (5) the speaker's non-verbal communication.<sup>10</sup>

This rhetorical theory, with reference to Paul's letters, was developed by Stanley, who has argued that quotations in Paul's letters serve as a form of arguments appealing to the authority, emotions or to a way of thinking of addressees of his letters, rather than constituting "windows to theology." Such an analysis of the OT quotations included in *Corpus Paulinum* leads to much deeper understanding of the Apostle of the Nation's reasoning; the better we are able to determine the role of the OT quotations in the way of arguing, the more accurately we can assess their significance.

This way of understanding the rhetorical role of quotations by Stanley and White stems from earlier studies which were settled in wider literary perspective. One of the first books within this field, taking by the handful from the concept of the language, was written by John Langshaw Austin, and led to creation of the theory known as "*speech-act theory*."<sup>11</sup> According to the author, a language—whether it's said or written—not only conveys information, but also has the task of "making" something in the listener/reader and has the task of making a reply in the recipient. Consequently, speaking and writing are activities causing a change in the listener/reader.<sup>12</sup> Although the work of Austin does not deal directly with the role of quotations in *speech-act theory*, it still provides an incentive for other authors, who subsequently included this issue into the scope of their examinations.

In this context, Anna Wierzbicka also suggested an interesting theory. Examining the functions of direct and indirect quotations, the author reaches the

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9 E. White, *The Context of Human Discourse: A Configurational Criticism of Rhetoric* (Columbia 1992).

10 Stanley, *Arguing*, 17; White, *Context*, 64.

11 J. L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words* (Cambridge 1962<sup>2</sup>).

12 The author shows it in the following way: "Once we realize that what we are to study is not the sentence but the issuing of an utterance in speech situation, there can hardly be any longer a possibility of not seeing that stating is performing an act"; Austin, *How to Do*, 139.

conclusion that the aim of all the quotations is to “dramatize” the words of previous (original) author.<sup>13</sup> Following this thought, one can make a claim that a quoting person “impersonates” the author of the quoted words, playing his part for a moment. Thus, two people, the author of the quotation and the quoting person, are speaking with one voice. The “dramaturgy” of quoting consists in emphasizing not only what the author of the quotation said but also in what way he says it. It implies that people who refer to a quotation in order to back their reasoning up with the outside argument identify themselves not only with the content of the quotation but also with its form. M. Sternberg sheds a different light on the issue of citing. In his studies, the researcher poses a question; what happens with the text excluded from one literary context and included into the new one?<sup>14</sup> The author starts with the justifiable premise that the quoted fragment was originally rooted in the speaker’s or the writer’s subjective experience. However, the quotation—included into the new context—has already been interpreted by the quoting person. This decontextualization is not meaningless in order to understand the quotation by the communication receiver. In this case, the stress changes and that change leads to the modification of the original meaning of the quotation. Moreover, one should not forget that if the addressee is not familiar with the source from which the quotation was taken, then the original context is incomprehensible to him. This remark is valuable with reference to the research conducted in our study because a situation of a majority of listeners or addressees of Paul’s Letters originated from paganism (as noted above). They gained knowledge of the OT later, only through propagating Christian *kerygma* and through religious education.

Herbert Clark and Richard Gerrig present another view on citing. They, like Anna Wierzbicka, show this phenomenon from a linguistic perspective. According to Wierzbicka, certain animation of the discourse and its peculiar’s dramatization result in the use of direct quotations. However, when the quotation appears in the new context, it is not possible to communicate its exact

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13 In this context, the author says about a specific role played by the person from which the quotation comes: “The person who reports another words by quoting them, temporarily assumes the role of that other person, ‘plays its part,’ that is to say, imagines himself as the other person and for a moment behaves in accordance with this counter—factual assumption”; A. Wierzbicka, “The Semantics of Direct and Indirect Discourse,” *Papers in Linguistics* 7 (1974): 272.

14 The author notices: “Quotation brings together at least two discourse-events: that in which things were originally expressed (said, thought, experienced) by one subject (speaker, writer, reflector), and that in which they are cited by another”; M. Sternberg, “Proteus in Quotation—Land: Mimesis and the Forms of Reported Discourse,” *Poetics Today* 3 (1982): 107.

meaning with all the shades and scopes that it had in the original context. The quotation creates a certain kind of the solidarity between the speaker/the author and the addressee.

If the addressee is familiar with the sources, this solidarity causes him to identify himself with the opinion of the author expressed in the quotation.<sup>15</sup> In this perspective, quoting biblical citations in ancient times not only enhanced argumentation, but also produced the shared bond; joining the person quoting the phrase and its addressee and creating a bond based on faith and a common religious legacy. Apart from that quotation, what is equally essential, leads to the indirect meeting of the addressee with the source of the quotation, and this source with its authority enhances the position of the quoting the citations.

Gillian Lane-Mercier understands the role of quotations in another way. The researcher approaches these issues through an interdisciplinary perspective. Her analysis has linguistic, philosophical, literary and rhetorical character. The author agrees with others that fundamentally, the quotations perform the role of arguments enhancing the theses of the quoting and are arguments from the authority. However, she also pays attention to the issue unappreciated by other researchers; the quoting person, by excluding a quotation from its original context and then including it into the sequence of own disquisitions, imposes his own interpretation of the quotation upon its addressee.<sup>16</sup> Owing to such use of the quotations, the quoting person can achieve the rhetorical or ideological purpose established by him. The author even says that the “metaphorical death of the quoted fragment” which consists in the fact, is first taken out of its original context, and then put in new, often very different one. As a result, the quoting person puts his own interpretation on it; modifying its meaning according to the earlier made assumption.<sup>17</sup> A consequence of such perception of the phenomenon of quoting is a statement that a quoting person can easily manipulate the addressee.<sup>18</sup>

As indicated earlier, approaches towards the phenomenon of quoting and understanding its role in literary works, might be useful for deeper analysis of the role of Old Testament quotations in Paul’s letters.

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15 H. Clark and R. Gerrig, “Quotations as Demonstrations,” *Language* 66 (1990): 786–788.

16 G. Lane-Mercier, “Quotation as a Discursive Strategy,” *Kodikas* 14 (1991): 199–214.

17 The researcher perceives the way of dealing with quotations as “the metaphorical death of the quote, whose utterance, apparently intact, has nonetheless been decontextualized, severed from its ‘origin,’ and subsumed by the utterance of the quoter”; Lane-Mercier, “Quotation,” 206.

18 Cf. id., “Quotation,” 207.



## 2.2. The Issue of the OT Quotations in 1 Cor 15:12–58

After first exploring the analytical research concerning the role of the OT quotations in 1 Cor 15:12–58, one should gain an understanding of the current state of this specific issue. In recent years, at least a few monographs dealing with the old-testamentary quotations in Paul's letters (and many more articles in which authors limited themselves to some parts of *Corpus Paulinum*)<sup>19</sup> have become available. Researchers have different approaches: Insawn Saw, in his PhD dissertation, takes a rhetorical approach. The work is entitled *Paul's Rhetoric in 1 Corinthians 15. An Analysis Utilizing the Theories of Classical Rhetoric* (Lewiston–Queenston–Lampeter 1995). The title indicates the approach of the author to 1 Cor 15. It is an analysis of Paul's text, in which he uses typical elements of classical rhetoric. They are introduced in the second chapter of the book which refers to Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian, Longinus and Plato's theories. Saw perceives the rhetoric *Dispositio* of the various parts of the fifteenth chapter in 1 Cor as follows:

- (1) *praeparatio* (vv. 1–11):
  - a. *exordium* (vv. 1–2);
  - b. *narratio* (vv. 3–11);
- (2) *argumentatio* (vv. 12–34):
  - a. *partitio* (v. 12);
  - b. *probatio* (vv. 13–34);
- (3) *refutatio* (vv. 35–49);
- (4) *peroratio* (vv. 50–57);
- (5) *exhortatio* (v. 58).<sup>20</sup>

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19 A little bit older studies in this field were carried out by: J. Blank, "Erwägungen zum Schriftverständnis des Paulus," in *Rechtfertigung. Fs. E. Käsemann* (eds. J. Friedrich, W. Pöhlmann and P. Stuhlmacher; Tübingen–Göttingen 1976), 37–56; C. Dietzfelbinger, *Paulus und das Alte Testament. Die Hermeneutik des Paulus, untersucht an seiner Bedeutung der Gestalt Abrahams* (Theol. Ex. Heute 95; München 1961); M. D. Hooker, "Beyond the Things that are Written? St Paul's Use of Scripture," *NTS* 27 (1980–1981): 295–309; J. Schmid, "Die alttestamentlichen Zitate bei Paulus und die Theoria vom sensus plenior," *BZ* 3 (1959): 161–173; P. Vielhauer, "Paulus und das Alte Testament," in *Studien zur Geschichte und Theologie der Reformation. Fs. E. Bizer* (eds. L. Abramowski and F. J. G. Goeters; Neukirchen 1969), 33–62. In the broader context, with OT and NT quotations also deals J. A. Fitzmyer, "The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations in Qumran Literature and in the New Testament," *NTS* 7 (1960–1961): 297–333.

20 I. Saw, *Paul's Rhetoric in 1 Corinthians 15. An Analysis Utilizing the Theories of Classical Rhetoric* (Lewiston–Queenston–Lampeter 1995), 223–226. Cf. also: M. Bünker, *Briefformular und rhetorische Disposition im 1. Korintherbrief* (Göttingen 1984).

The author has a superb command of ancient books of rhetoric and applies the methods included in them to his work on the 1 Cor 15 text. It must also be noted that an application of the rhetorical methods, which were verified by Stanley, gives an assurance of the great value and the accuracy of the study. In this context, Saw analyses the OT quotations, showing their rhetorical function. It is also necessary to notice that Saw limits himself only to Greco-Roman rhetoric, but Paul was also familiar with Hebrew rhetoric because speeches as a literary genre developed not only amongst Greek-Roman residents of the basin of the Mediterranean Sea, but also in the Semitic world.<sup>21</sup>

In his study titled *Polarity and Change in 1 Corinthians 15: A Study of Metaphysics, Rhetoric, and Resurrection* (HUT 42; Tübingen 2000), J.R. Asher also presents a rhetorical approach to 1 Cor 15. The author gives an in-depth analysis of Paul's style, exploring particular fragments of 1 Cor 15 according to an appointed earlier *dispositio* of the text. Based on these analyses he arrives at the conclusion that Paul's rhetoric does not have polemical, but rather pedagogical character. The apostle does not refute accusations of Corinthians or fight their false beliefs but preferably preaches. In addition, he uses well known rhetorical techniques in order to convince addressees that rejection of the resurrection of the dead is absolutely inconsistent due to the earlier accepted conviction about the resurrection of Christ.<sup>22</sup> Such view, presented by Asher indicates the didactic role of OT quotations included in 1 Cor. To put it another way, the quotations were inserted into the letter mainly to teach the Corinthians.

J.P. Heil is the author of the paper titled *The Rhetorical Role of Scripture in 1 Corinthians* (SiBL 15; Leiden–Boston 2005). The title makes it clear that Heil was mainly interested in the rhetorical function of the OT quotations in 1 Cor. His testing method was applied consistently in his monograph and it consists of several stages. First, the author outlines the old-testamentary background of the fragment quoted by Paul, adducing it in the record of the MT and the LXX.

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21 J. S. Synowiec, *Gatunki literackie w Starym Testamencie* (Kraków 2003), 138. The author regretted that exegetes usually deal with Greek-Roman rhetoric in *Corpus Paulinum* but omit Hebrew rhetoric. Cf. also: J.-N. Aletti, "La dispositio rhétorique dans les épîtres pauliniennes," *NTS* 38 (1992): 385–401; id., "L'Argumentation de Paul et la position des Corinthiens. 1 Co 15,12–34", in *Résurrection du Christ et des chrétiens (1 Co 15)* (ed. L. De Lorenzi, SMB; Section Biblico-Oecuménique 8; Rome 1985), 63–81.

22 The author reaches to the following conclusions: "Paul's rhetoric is didactic, not polemical; his aim is to teach and correct, not revile and condemn. He wants to improve the Corinthians; he does not want to defeat them"; J. R. Asher, *Polarity and Change in 1 Corinthians 15: A Study of Metaphysics, Rhetoric, and Resurrection* (HUT 42; Tübingen 2000), 90.

Next, he carries out literary-rhetorical analysis (by his own admission) of the quotation, examining in addition, whether it is preceded by the introducing formula (*formula quotationis*). The further step of acting, undertaken by Heil, was to show the relationship between the studied quotation and the context preceding or following it. This part of the analyses consists fundamentally in the exegesis of the context. Concise conclusions can be drawn in which the author shows the role of the OT quotation, through comparing it to the disquisitions of the Apostle to the Nations.

A completely different approach to 1 Cor 15 is taken by Joost Holleman. The title of this book is *Resurrection and Parousia: A Traditio-Historical Study of Paul's Eschatology in 1 Cor 15* (NovTSup 84; Leiden–New York–Köln 1996). Joost focuses on rhetorical studies, as well as according to the title of the book—historical analyses. All analyses in this book are based on both a study of tradition and a study of history. The analyses are conducted from the eschatological perspective and the author has never lost sight of the perspective. At first, the situation of the Corinthian community was presented in which a group of followers rejected the physical resurrection of the dead. Holleman shows connections between resurrection of the dead and resurrection of Christ and between resurrection of the dead and the parousia of Christ.<sup>23</sup> An analysis of the OT quotations in 1 Cor 15 is a part of the historical-critical method, although the author did not omit entirely rhetorical threads.

The historical-critical method which was applied in 1 Cor 15 is also presented by M.C. de Boer in his book titled *The Defeat of Death: Apocalyptic Eschatology in 1 Corinthians 15 and Romans 5* (JSNTSup 22; Sheffield 1988). This thesis has an exegetical and comparative character because the author studies two excerpts (1 Cor 15 and Rom 5) and then presents conclusions as a result of his comparative studies. The originality of the conclusions consists in the fact that the author argues (against Käsemann and Beker) that the death was definitively defeated by the resurrection of Christ. According to him, the victory over death constitutes not only futuristic hope, but also a fait accompli.<sup>24</sup> First,

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23 J. Holleman, *Resurrection and Parousia: A Traditio-Historical Study of Paul's Eschatology in 1 Cor 15* (NovTSup 84; Leiden–New York–Köln 1996), 35–65.

24 The author shows his thesis in the following way: “Paul’s apocalyptic eschatology is not defined, as Käsemann (like Baker) would have us believe, by the fact that Christ has defeated all powers ‘except death.’ The thesis of the passage is actually that Christ will defeat all the inimical powers, including death. The foundation of that soteriological promise is Christ’s own resurrection from the dead, which means that ‘all things,’ i.e., all the powers including death, have now been subordinated under his feet”; M. C. de Boer, *The Defeat of Death: Apocalyptic Eschatology in 1 Corinthians 15 and Romans 5* (JSNTSup 22; Sheffield 1988), 139–140.

De Boer enunciates two apocalyptic currents of Judaism that existed in the 1st century after Christ. Paul refers to them in his disquisitions. The first one has a cosmological aspect: the death is seen as the dominance of the power of the evil over the life of a man; the second is tied with the pharisaical understanding of the Law (the faithfulness to the Law will only decide of the fate of a man after his death). Christ's work of salvation consists in defeating the power of the evil (Jewish apocalyptic cosmology) and in freeing from the supremacy of Law (legislative current). The author treats 1 Cor 15 as the specific treatise on resurrection.<sup>25</sup>

Quotations from the OT included in this paper are recognized by the author as "evidence" for defeating death as the personified power of evil ("apocalyptic eschatology" presented in 1 Cor 15:12–58 runs deep in Jewish apocalyptic cosmology).

Very important in this field (although deprived practically of rhetorical analyses) is a book written by Scott Brodeur, entitled *The Holy Spirit's Agency in the Resurrection of the Dead: An Exegetico-Theological Study of 1 Corinthians 15:44 b–49 and Romans 8:9–13* (TG 14; Rome 1996). In his book, the author devotes a lot of space for exegetical in-depth analysis of two fragments of *Corpus Paulinum*; like M.C. de Boer, he has put together the part of 15 chapter of 1 Cor with the fragment of Rom 8:9–13. Based on exegetical analysis of the both fragments, Brodeur reached conclusions of the theological nature. Both the exegesis and the theology of this work concentrate on actions of the Holy Spirit in the life of Christ and the Christians.<sup>26</sup> Therefore, the study neither refers directly to the resurrection, nor to the OT quotations in 1 Cor 15 (in the excerpt studied by the author there is only one quotation, taken from Gen 2:7b). Obviously Brodeur reaches into the exegesis for direct context of the discussed excerpt in 1 Cor, in which there were also OT quotations inserted.

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25 The author defines it as "a self-contained treatise on the resurrection"; de Boer, *Defeat of Death*, 93.

26 The author devotes the first part to his study to analysis of 1 Cor 15: 44b–49 (in the second part he examines Rom 8:9–13). Discerning the uniting role of the Holy Spirit is a result of these analyses: "The Holy Spirit is the eschatological link that joins earth to heaven and connects the present to the future. He unites sinners to God by welcoming them into the body of Christ, the Church; he brings God to believers by dwelling in their hearts as in a temple. In bearing the image of their Lord and Savior, Christians in fact come to participate in God's great salvific deed accomplished in Christ and actualized by the Holy Spirit who dwells in them"; S. Brodeur, *The Holy Spirit's Agency in the Resurrection of the Dead: An Exegetico-Theological Study of 1 Corinthians 15,44b–49 and Romans 8,9–13* (TG 14; Rome 1996), 162.

They will be the subject of deliberations of this study and historical-critical method is used by the author to analyze them.

The thesis of Maurizio Teani, titled *Corporeità e risurrezione. L'interpretazione di 1 Corinti 15:35–49 nel Novecento* (Aloisiana. Pubblicazioni della Pontificia Facoltà Teologica dell'Italia Meridionale – Sezione “San Luigi” 24; Roma–Brescia 1994) looks at the matter in another way. It is clear from the book's title, that the author does not deal with the whole chapter 15 of 1 Cor, but only with a piece of it (vv. 35–49). *De facto*, it is not exactly an exegetical work but rather the work on the history of the exegesis. The author probably used all the known 19th-century commentaries on 1 Cor (especially on 1 Cor 15), and he systematized them, according to the earlier adopted criteria, and presented the results of his analyses. In this book a vast, stricter exegetical part was included. However the exegesis, is based mainly (although not only) on 19th-century commentaries.<sup>27</sup> It is possible to say from a point of view of our interests, of course with some simplification, that in many commentaries two centuries before, the quotations from the OT were recognized as *ornamentum* rather than *argumentum*. The role of the *ornamentum* was to intensify the disquisition.

In this regard, a few of the most prominent *positions* have recently appeared. They pertain to the issue of quoting in general, as well as discuss (directly or indirectly) the role of the OT quotations in 1 Cor 15:12–58.

### 3. Presentation of the Method and the Content of this Study

The method that will be used to achieve the previously set aim will consist of several stages. The first chapter is devoted to the introduction of the whole problem being the subject of the analysis. The introduction includes a general discussion devoted to the use the OT quotes in *Corpus Paulinum*, an attempt to define the notion of a citation, a discussion about a place of 1 Cor 15:12–58 in the structure of the entire letter, and a determination of the Old Testament quotes and their direct context in 1 Cor 15:12–58.

Chapters II–VII are devoted to the analysis of six citations from the OT that have been designated assuming predetermined criteria. These quotes are analyzed in their direct context. However, if this analysis could be regarded as conceivable, one must first determine the source of each quote and explore its

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27 M. Teani, *Corporeità e risurrezione. L'interpretazione di 1 Corinti 15,35–49 nel Novecento* (Aloisiana. Pubblicazioni della Pontificia Facoltà Teologica dell'Italia Meridionale – Sezione “San Luigi” 24; Roma–Brescia 1994), 157–287.

meaning in the original context. Thus, each of these six chapters is based on a three-step analysis: identifying the source of a quotation, considering the phrase quoted in its direct OT context, and discussing the importance of the quote in various parts of 1 Cor 15:12–58. In the analysis of Old Testament texts from which quotations have been taken, a historical-critical method of exegesis was essentially used. The same method was used in 1 Cor 15:12–58, often extending it for rhetorical analysis of individual fragments. It ought to also be noted, that generally in this study our own translation of 1 Cor 15:12–58 was used.

The conclusions of the analysis conducted in six central chapters were presented in the final chapter of this book, in which the particular paragraphs indicate the role played by the Old Testament quotations in the Pauline argumentation for the resurrection. In a very synthetic form they were also shown in the ending of the study.



# I. Introductory Issues

The manner of discourse by Saul of Tarsus, the would-be Apostle of the Nations, whose mentality had been developed on the basis of excellent standards of the Pharisee education, is utterly steeped in the thought of the Hebrew Bible, as H.A.A. Kennedy has shown in his influential study. The style is generally revealed in abundant use of the Old Testament terminology.<sup>28</sup> H.A.A. Kennedy argues that almost all of Paul's theological concept is anchored in the pages of the OT and grows from the soil of Jewish religiosity, or more exactly from the Biblical Judaism, which soon after Paul's death gave rise to the Rabbinic Judaism. The latter is mainly a work of the Pharisees gathered in Yavne in 90 C.E. These Pharisees (who renamed themselves Rabbis) were also members of the faction to which Saul himself belonged. Through dogmatic concepts, angelology, pneumatology, Messianic ideas, parenesis, as well as through the language, the thought of the authors of the Hebrew Bible often comes to light in Paul's style and imagery. Paul refers to the Old Testament thought in three ways: by using proper quotations, deliberate or casual allusions, and the theological subject-matter.

## 1. Paul's Use of the Old Testament Quotations—Introductory Issues

A detailed discussion of the role of the OT quotations in Paul's argumentation for the resurrection in 1 Cor 15:12–58 requires a previous explanation of the very idea of quoting and the essential reasons behind it. The Apostle of the Nations, of Jewish birth and Pharisee education, had gained his education mainly on the basis of the Torah, extended by the prophetic books and the Writings. For example, he learned from the compilation of books which would be later named Tanakh by the Jewish tradition. Since this education was based on mostly oral acquisition and commenting of the Biblical material, there is no doubt that Paul was excellently well acquainted with the contents of the Hebrew

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28 H. A. A. Kennedy, *St Paul and the Mystery Religious* (London 1913), 154–160; see also E. E. Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids 1991), 10–11.



Bible, as well as with the interpretation methods then in use.<sup>29</sup> Such acquisition of the Biblical material was often a usual form of memorization of important fragments of the Bible. Occasionally, fragments of non-Biblical literature (such as David's elegy to the death of Saul and Jonathan) were also memorized. Rabbinic schools, developing the methods of exegesis, resorted to interpretation of the Holy Scriptures through the Scriptures alone. Hillel's seven *middoth* consisted mainly in arguing on the basis of Biblical quotations. Over time, the Jewish exegesis had developed these methods into the thirteen rules of halachic interpretation of the Torah, outlined by Rabbi Ishmael ben Elisha and his successors. In any case, argumentation in the discourse on the basis on the Bible was the most common and most convincing method of arguing in religious disputes. Saul of Tarsus is no exception in this regard.

Therefore, a thesis that Paul used the OT quotations in his discussion and argumentation gives rise to no objections. However, the very idea of quotation remains problematic. Dictionaries and encyclopedias vie for defining what a quotation is, yet still no clear and universally accepted criteria of recognition of quotations have been developed. As a result, what is first to be dealt with is a distinction between an allusion and a quotation, as well as the matter of analogies and typologies. This problem is examined in the first part of the given discussion. It will present criteria that allow us to recognize a phrase or sentence as a quotation, and will also outline their essential differences. This will make it possible to distinguish quotations from allusions, typologies and analogies. The question of so-called linked quotations will also be approached.

The exegetes unanimously agree that Paul was eager to use the OT quotations, although they specify a different number of such quotations in the *Corpus Paulinum*. This number depends, of course, on the adopted criteria of a given quotation. Regardless of some fluctuations in the number of the OT quotations in Paul's writings, it is clear that such quotations play a clearly defined role in the context of particular discourses. Before we proceed to the detailed discussion of the function of the OT quotations in 1 Cor 15:12–58, a more general reflection on the role played by the OT quotations in Paul's writings should occur. The essential aspects of the function of the OT quotations in Paul's writings will be defined in the second part of this chapter. Only when we have prepared the background we will proceed to a more detailed clarification of the role of quotations in 1 Cor 15:12–58.

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29 Knowledge of the Bible was already widespread in ancient Israel. The fact that the form of study was essentially oral is evidenced by such texts as Exod 13:8; Deut 6:7; or Ps 78:3–4. The rabbis of Jesus's and Paul's age have adopted this method of study; R. de Vaux, *Instytucje Starego Testamentu* (vols. I–II; trans. T. Brzegowy; Poznań 2004), 59.

## 1.1. The Old Testament Quotations in Paul's Letters—Clarification of Terms and Criteria of Classification

Linguists claim unanimously that definition of the concept of quotation is extremely difficult, and in some cases even impossible.<sup>30</sup> It can be even more difficult to distinguish between a quotation and an allusion: "Precise clarification of the concept of quotation as compared with allusion is extremely difficult in view of the complexity of the Old Testament texts used in the New Testament and of the very method of modification of the quoted material. In a way, a distinction may become highly arbitrary and differ from the intent of the New Testament author."<sup>31</sup> Already in the 4th century, the Christians knew the practice of distinguishing between quotations in the text. In codices A, B, and  $\aleph$ , marks indicating quotations can be found. Since the subject of the present study are the Old Testament quotations in 1 Cor 15:12–58, an attempt to point out the criteria distinguishing them from allusions should be made. Paul's style and vocabulary are so specific that it is often very difficult to make an attempt to draw the line between Biblical quotations and allusions in *Corpus Paulinum*.<sup>32</sup> Therefore, determining the definition of the term "quotation" in Paul's writings often remains somewhat arbitrary.

As for distinguishing the OT quotations in the *Corpus Paulinum*, a lot of circumstances should be taken into account and clear criteria of extraction of such quotations should be specified.<sup>33</sup> Complexity of this subject matter is

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30 Formerly, a quite schematic, and therefore artificial and hardly useful, criterion of quotations was sometimes assumed. Namely, it was assumed that a sequence of several (usually three or four) words is a quotation. If there were less words in a given word sequence, the fragment was rejected and not deemed a quotation. However, sometimes two words make a quotation, while longer utterances do not. It is hard to recognize e.g. a question "What time is now?" as a quotation, and on the other hand, phrases "Alas! Poor Yorick!" or "The rest is silence" are unquestionable quotations, even if they have equal or smaller number of words in the sequence.

31 J. Klinkowski, *Zużytkowanie Starego Testamentu w Nowym. Studium egzegetyczne tekstów Ewangelii synoptycznych* (BDL 13; Legnica 2000), 23.

32 E. E. Ellis says: "The style and vocabulary of the apostle are such that it is often difficult to distinguish between quotation, allusion and language colouring from the OT. This is not only the Word of God but also his mode of thought and speech; thus it is not unnatural that he should find in it vivid phraseology to apply to a parallel situation in his own day"; Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament*, 10.

33 Biblical scholars usually extract about 93 OT quotations from Paul's letters. This number is approximately one-third of all OT quotations in the NT. These quotations come from sixteen books of the OT (including 31 from the Pentateuch, 25 from Isaiah, 19 from the Psalms). They are both single and linked quotations. This number, however, changes in various studies and sometimes reaches 107.

caused by different recensions of the Biblical text and its translations. The following layers overlap here:

- (1) The first one is the layer of the original text of the Hebrew Bible. The HB text has different recensions, and each of them could have become a basis of translation into Greek or Aramaic (targumim). The exegete's task is to determine the original text by means of textual criticism, yet even determination of such text (using normal criteria) still will not prove that Paul used this very lection rather than another one (e.g. one that had been rejected by the criticism). While examining this layer, it should be kept in mind that in times of the Apostle of the Nations, the Hebrew text had not been vocalized yet.
- (2) The second layer is a layer of the text translated into Greek or Aramaic from the original HB text (or from a text claimed by the textual criticism as non-authentic, though it had already functioned in Paul's times). Greek translations of the HB exist in many versions; even LXX fragments differ from each other in different codices. Moreover, the Hebrew text had been translated into Aramaic in targumim, which means that Paul could use targumim and translate them into Greek, rather than use an existing Greek translation.
- (3) The third layer is the Paul's record. First, Paul's record should be determined by means of textual criticism. Next, it should be taken into account that a fragment of Paul's letter intended to be deemed an OT quotation could have been translated directly from the HB, from the LXX, or from the targumim. It could have also been made as a translation from memory. In the latter case, if Paul translated *ad hoc* a fragment intended to be qualified as a quotation, he could have done it on the basis of a memorized text of the HB or the LXX, as well as of the memorized Aramaic targumim.

These factors should be considered each time a quotation is determined to be a fragment or not. The issue is therefore very complex. Having taken it into account, the next thing to do is to examine the texts intended to be called quotations in the light of the clearly specified criteria. Such texts may have been written in different textual variants of individual books. Biblical manuscripts discovered among the Dead Sea scrolls illustrate the existence of different textual forms of many Biblical books. These textual variants are revealed in the OT quotations of the NT. Some quotations are more similar to one Greek version or another, while others are closer to the Hebrew version; yet other

quotations show similarities to both or to no version at all.<sup>34</sup> The history of exegesis knows various criteria of recognizing a NT text fragment as an OT quotation. The forms of references between the OT and the NT are diverse. They include not only direct quotations but also allusions, narrative parallels, themes and the language itself. The most difficult to define clearly are the criteria distinguishing a direct quotation from an Old Testament allusion. Sometimes, a direction quotation may be defined as a sequence of two, three or four words, another time it can be an allusion referring to a specific OT text, and in yet another case it will be just a normal manner of expression of an author whose mind had been formed on the basis of inspired texts, because in many cases the vocabulary, expressions, phrases or specific terms constitute the manner of expression of authors with good and strong knowledge of the Bible. For this reason, some authors define a quotation as a fragment of a work in which the author refers to another source and this reference is obvious enough for every cautious reader to recognize the derived nature of the presented material.<sup>35</sup>

Narrative parallels are different from quotations or allusions, since NT authors would sometimes compose their narrations on the basis of the OT patterns.<sup>36</sup> Many OT themes occur in the NT; however, in no way do they have to imply a necessity of quoting. Besides, the language of the NT is itself largely identical with the language of the OT, because it not only stems from the same religious tradition but also has the same cultural background. Despite all these complexities, an assumption of clear criteria that determines what we have to do with a quotation is necessary to conduct the study. In the present study, we assume the following criteria to qualify a fragment under examination as a quotation<sup>37</sup>:

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- 34 B. Lindars and A. J. Saldarini, "Cytaty ze Starego Testamentu w Nowym Testamencie," in *Encyklopedia biblijna* (ed. P. J. Achtemeier; trans. T. Mieszkowski; Warszawa 1999), 176.
  - 35 "The term 'citation' is limited here to those places where the author's appeal to an outside source is so blatant that any attentive reader would recognize the secondary character of the materials in question"; C. D. Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture: Citation Technique in the Pauline Epistles and Contemporary Literature* (SNTSMS 74; Cambridge 1992), 4.
  - 36 E.g. Matt 1–2 and Luke 1–2 are built on patterns present in the narrations on Jacob, Moses, the exodus or birth of the patriarchs and Samuel. The history of the Passion is largely based on the pattern of Ps 22.
  - 37 Such criteria of quotation distinguishing have also been assumed by K. Stendhal (*The School of St. Matthew and its Use of the Old Testament* [Lund 1968], 45–48). His way had been paved by H. B. Swete (*An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* [Cambridge 1900]).

- (1) Paul's use of a formula introducing a quotation or a literary link which could indicate that the following words, phrases, or expressions can be an excerpt from another text;
- (2) a large degree of verbal concordance, and of concordance of Paul's text under examination with regard to sequence of words in the sentence, phrase or expression, with the confronted OT text, both in the HB and the LXX version (if there is no such concordance with the HB or LXX, another reliable source of quotation, such as the targumim, should be pointed out, or a possibility of quoting from the memory or of an *ad hoc* translation, made by Paul when writing or dictating of the letter, should be substantiated. In the latter case, it should be also substantiated whether the apostle translated from a Hebrew text, a Greek text, or an Aramaic Targum);
- (3) intent of quoting deduced from the context of the fragment under examination which could indicate the use of the OT.<sup>38</sup>

Moreover, it should be emphasized that joint occurrence of all three criteria is not necessary to recognize a fragment as a quotation. Let us take a brief look on each of the criteria and ask how and to what degree they influence the decision on whether the examined fragment can be recognized as the OT quotation or is rather just an allusion or a common terminological similarity, unwitting even in the allusion form, but caused by similarity of the religious language functioning in the cultural *milieu* of Judaism and nascent Christianity.

### Quotation Introducing Formulas

The Apostle of the Nations did not use the modern concept of quotation. As a result, some fragments introduced by a typical quotation formula (*formula quotationis*) only reflect the thought contained in a relevant OT text, while fragments without a quotation-introducing formula often turn out to be a *verbatim ac litteram* quotation.<sup>39</sup> Therefore, an introductory formula does not

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38 S. E. Porter wonders whether the intent of quoting should be recognized by the audience (reader); in other words, he speculates if a fragment written by the author intentionally as a quotation, but not recognized as such by the reader, can be deemed a quotation; S. E. Porter, "Further Comments on the Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament," in *The Intertextuality of the Epistles. Explorations of Theory and Practice* (eds. T. L. Brodie, D. R. MacDonald and S. E. Porter; Sheffield 2006), 103–106. Such assumption seems to disregard the ignorance of readers (not necessarily their fault) and is too subjective.

39 This is the case with 1 Cor 15:32. In two instances when the apostle recalls the same quotation, for the first time it is introduced by a quotation formula, and for the other

appear before Paul's quotation of the OT. When the apostle decided to introduce a quotation by a formula, it usually has one of three forms: γέγραπται (29 times), λέγει ἡ γραφή (6 times) and λέγει (about 30 times). The latter expression has different subjects. The speaking person can be David (Rom 4:7–8, 11:9–10), Isaiah (Rom 10:16.20; 15:12), Moses (Rom 10:19), God himself (2 Cor 6:16; see Rom 9:15; 2 Cor 6:2; Rom 11:4). The subject of the verb λέγει can also be the Law (Rom 7:7; 1 Cor 14:34); sometimes it occurs without a clearly specified subject, although the context indicates that the “speaker” is God or the Scriptures (Rom 9:25; 10:21; 15:10; Gal 3:16; Eph 4:8; 5:14).<sup>40</sup>

In the vast majority of occurrences, Paul's introductory formulas are typical for the Jewish literature and have numerous parallels both in the OT and in non-Biblical literature. In the HB, parallels occur in Exod 24:4; 2 Chr 20:37; 36:2; Neh 6:6; 10:34; Dan 9:13. Even more literal parallels can be found in the *Damascus Document* (CD) as well as the rabbinic literature. The latter had developed a long time after Paul's activity. However, it can be assumed that in the 1st century C.E. such manner of quoting had been present in the Pharisee environment and subsequently made its way to rabbinic works. The examples below are just a few:

CD 7:8: כאשר אמר	2 Cor 6:16: καθὼς εἶπεν
CD 5:1: כתוב	Gal 3:13: γέγραπται
CD 7:19: כאשר כתוב	Rom 1:17: καθὼς γέγραπται
CD 5:8: ומשה אמר	Rom 10:19: Μωϋσῆς λέγει
CD 6:7-8: אשר אמר ישעיה	Rom 10:16: Ὑσαῖας γὰρ λέγει
Pes. 81b: כתוב אומר	Rom 4:3: ἡ γραφή λέγει
Yebam. 39a: כתוב אמר	Rom 4:3: ἡ γραφή λέγει
Abot 3,7: בכתוב בדוד	Rom 11:2: ἐν Ἠλίε τί λέγει ἡ γραφή
Yoma 35b, 66a: משה בכתוב בתורה	1 Cor 9:9: ἐν γὰρ τῷ Μωϋσέως νόμῳ γέγραπται
Sanh. 2a: שנאמר ואומר	Rom 15:9–10: καθὼς γέγραπται - καὶ πάλιν λέγει
Qidd. 82a: מזה אומר	Rom 10:8: ἀλλὰ τί λέγει

time the formula is omitted. The quotations are Jer 9:24 in 1 Cor 1:31 and 2 Cor 10:17, as well as Hab 2:4 in Rom 1:17 and Gal 3:11.

40 The quotation formulas indicate a “clear recognition of the authority” of the quoted fragment; B. Polok, “Autorytet pism ST w NT na przykładzie starotestamentalnych cytatów w ewangelicznych opisach meki Pańskiej,” in *Izrael i Biblia Hebrajska w Nowym Testamencie* (ed. K. Ziaja; Sympozja 53; Opole 2003), 47.

The comparison above evidences a large concordance between Paul's introductory formulas and quotation introductions used in the Jewish literature. Such concordance reveals itself not only in normal references to quotations in declarative sentences but also in questions and introductions to linked quotations.<sup>41</sup>

So-called "links", indicating the presence of a quotation, are somewhat more difficult to distinguish than quotation-introducing formulas. In the HB, the role of such links is played by the term **לְאמֹר** which is a *de facto* equivalent of quotation marks. It usually occurs as an indicator of an utterance in direct or reported speech.<sup>42</sup> Sometimes translators render this term by a participle of the verb "to say" (said), yet it usually seems unnecessary; such participle is a substitute for quotation marks, non-existent in Biblical Hebrew. The term **לְאמֹר** is a *qal* form of the verb **אָמַר** in the *status constructus*, connected with the preposition **לְ**. Exegetes are not sure whether in a case when the term **לְאמֹר** occurs after the verb "to send" (a message through a messenger), it should be interpreted as a symbol introducing the content of the message, or rather translated as "send to tell" (see Num 21:21; Deut 9:23; Josh 2:1.3; 10:3.6; 2 Kgs 3:7; Amos 7:10). There are also cases when this term functions as a normal infinitive (Gen 41:15; Deut 13:13; 1 Sam 13:4; 1 Kgs 16:16; Isa 37:9), and sometimes it indicates an intent to speak (usually after movement verbs; see 1 Sam 23:19; Josh 17:4; Ezra 9:1).<sup>43</sup> The translator of the LXX often renders **לְאמֹר** as λέγων. However, with such translation, **לְאמֹר** ceases to be a link indicating the presence of a quotation and becomes a quotation formula. In other cases, the term **לְאמֹר** is translated as normal ὅτι, which may be such a link indicating the presence of a quotation. Such links may also include other prepositions, particles or conjunction.

## Verbal Concordance with the Quoted Text

In the vast majority of the quoted fragments, the Apostle of the Nations follows the LXX<sup>44</sup>; Paul adopts the HB version rather than the LXX in only a few cases,

41 It is worth to quote Warfield's opinion in this context: "here is probably not a single mode of alluding to or citing Scripture in the entire NT which does not find its exact parallel among the Rabbis. The New Testament so far evinces itself a thoroughly Jewish book"; Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament*, 49.

42 P. Briks, *Podręczny słownik hebrajsko-polski i aramejsko-polski Starego Testamentu* (Warszawa 1999), 37.

43 S. Wagner, **אָמַר** 'amar, *TDOT* I: 333–334.

44 T. Söding even claims that Paul only used LXX and some Judeo-Hellenistic recensions of the text but never used the HB; see the chapter *Heilige Schriften für Israel und*

while in almost forty quotations, Paul's version differs from both the HB and the LXX. The fact that the author of the letters is definitely more eager to use the Greek LXX than the HB may be attributed to the wish of the first advocates of the Gospel which was to use the translation accepted in the world of the diaspora of Hellenistic Jews.<sup>45</sup> LXX has been a particular *regula fidei* for the Jewish diaspora, and subsequently, for the first generations of Christians.<sup>46</sup> However, studies by Biblical scholars show that the Apostle of the Nations did not follow any single form of the LXX text. Sometimes, a quotation complies with the LXX-A (*Codex Alexandrinus*), another time it complies with the LXX-B (*Codex Vaticanus*), and in yet other cases, with the LXX from the *Codex Sinaiticus* (8).<sup>47</sup> When explaining these discrepancies, the newer studies on the origins of the LXX should be taken into account. The hypothesis of the famous *Letter of Aristeas* has been subject to much criticism. The reason was that some OT quotations by Jewish writers (e.g. by Philo), in the NT, and by early Church Fathers do not seem to follow any of the known versions of the LXX but instead follow yet another source. The studies conducted in this regard led to a hypothesis that the *Letter of Aristeas* has been written in late 2nd century B.C. as a propaganda work intended to promote the translation of the Seventy and make it the standard.<sup>48</sup> The development of the LXX was to be similar to the process of formation of the recorded targumim which had originally been a part of the oral tradition passed from one synagogue to another, were written down afterwards, and finally became subject to the final redaction which resulted in

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*Kirche. Die Sicht des 'Alten Testament' bei Paulus*, in: T. Söding, *Das Wort vom Kreuz. Studien zur paulinischen Theologie* (WUNT 93; Tübingen 1997), 223–241. Likewise: D.-A. Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums. Untersuchungen zur Verwendung und Verständnis der Schrift bei Paulus* (Tübingen 1986), 57.

- 45 H. B. Swete argues that a vast majority of the OT quotations in Paul's writings is taken from the LXX; *Introduction*, 392.
- 46 The most important witnesses of the text in this regard include the recensions of Hesychius, Lucian and Origen.
- 47 Some fragments of the text are lacking in the codices. They have often been supplemented later by medieval copyists. As far as Codex B is concerned, "initium codicis usque ad Gen. 46:28 ἡρώων et Ps. 105:27—137,6 perii et ab aliquo XV. saeculi suppletum est; quae supplementa hic negleguntur, cum alium textum habeant atque B. Ceterum Vetus Testamentum integrum est; soli libri Maccabaeorum et Psalmi Salomonis ut in ceteris codicibus antiquissimis desunt"; from an introduction to the edition: *Septuaginta. Id est Vetus Testamentum graecae iuxta LXX interpretes*, published by A. Rahlfs, Stuttgart 1979<sup>2</sup>, XXXVI. The Codex A lacks the following fragments: 1 Kgs 2:17–14:9 and Ps 49:20–79:11; *ibid*.
- 48 P. E. Kahle explicitly claims: "'the Letter of Aristeas' has put us on a wrong track"; *id.*, *The Cairo Geniza* (London 1947), 175.



formation of the great targumim as literary works. This also brings to mind the “Greek targumim”<sup>49</sup> from which the first Greek translations of the Bible had developed and were finally unified in the Christian LXX. Such an attempt to reconstruct the process of development of the LXX was met with open criticism from many scholars who had found it to be weak (the most significant ones include lack of arguments for a later origin of the *Letter of Aristeas*, inaccurately and selectively examined fragments of Philo, as well as lack of comprehensive Greek targumic traditions).<sup>50</sup>

The influence of the LXX on Paul’s works is not only revealed in quotations but also in its vocabulary and style: such influence is inevitable. Since the people of the diaspora had begun to read the Alexandrian translation of the HB, the Greek terminology of Judaism began to show up. Greek terms (being counterparts of Hebrew words) would, in a sense, acquire the shades of meaning of their equivalents.<sup>51</sup> Paul began to express his own concepts and ideas by means of Greek terminology describing the Jewish religion and beliefs of Judaism, which had already been largely stabilized. Often, in order to understand Paul’s terms, phrases, or expressions better, one should take a look at their use in the Greek Bible.

Although the text of the Bible of the Seventy is essentially the base of Paul’s quotations, the author occasionally differs from the LXX, slightly altering the original text, or follows the HB. The study of the epistolography of the Apostle of the Nations resulted in making several hypotheses explaining these discrepancies with the Greek translation of the OT. The most valid hypotheses explaining the changes in the original text of the LXX include:

- (1) reference to a Hebrew etymology and use of another Greek word in translation of particular terms<sup>52</sup>;
- (2) use of Aramaic targumim or of their Greek translations;
- (3) use of Greek translations of the HB other than the LXX<sup>53</sup>;
- (4) quoting of memorized fragments of the LXX.<sup>54</sup>

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49 Ellis, *Paul’s Use of the Old Testament*, 17.

50 Stendhal and Roberts openly criticized Kahle’s hypothesis.

51 Ellis’s opinion in this regard is worth quoting: “It was inevitable that, after the translation of the Hebrew Bible, words in the Greek version would acquire something of the value of the Hebrew words they represent”; id., *Paul’s Use of the Old Testament*, 13.

52 This is the case, e.g., of Rom 9:17; 10:15; 12:19; E. Huhn, *Die Messianischen Weissagungen* (II; Tübingen 1900), 279.

53 H. Lietzmann, *An die Galater* (Tübingen 1923), 32–34.

54 The classification of the hypotheses has been cited from: Ellis, *Paul’s Use of the Old Testament*, 14. “... the text difference can be partially explained by the manner of quotation of the Scripture by authors. They often quoted the texts inaccurately, from