

Judaism as Presented in Paul's Sayings

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1. Introduction

Paul constructed the basis for Christianity as a world religion. However, when he was alive, a “religion” called Christianity did not exist. Of course, it is clear that there were people who believed that Jesus of Nazareth was Christ (the savior), in other words, people with Christian faith. However, these early period individuals were Jews that formed the core of the group of Jesus’ disciples. It appears that the activities of these individuals unfolded entirely as a sect of Judaism. Therefore, we could call the group of early period Christian believers the Nazareth sect or Jesus sect.¹

Before conversion, Paul persecuted Christians. As a Pharisee, he did study the law, and was proud that he was perfect and “blameless”² in terms of its observance (Phil 3:4-6; Gal 1:13-14). However, after his conversion he came to see it all as a “loss” and “rubbish” (Phil 3:7-8). At the time, in addition to the Pharisees, there was a large number of sects within Judaism: from the Herodians, Sadducees, Essenes (out of which apparently came the Qumran community), and Zealots to the extremist Sicarii. Furthermore, there was also the Baptism movement (the most well-known member of which was John the Baptist) and the apocalyptic enthusiasts.³ These groups, each offered various interpretations about the Torah (law). In other words, Judaism was not monolithic. However, at the same time, one can find shared theologies between these sects. E.P Sanders explains that the greatest common denominator shared by the various sects of Judaism at the time was that “history had a direction and God was in charge. Thus, they thought that sometime, some way, he would intervene in history and improve the lot of his chosen people.”⁴ This view of history can also be applied to the Jewish Paul.

In the case of Paul,⁵ his experience of conversion led him to have an unshakable faith that Jesus of Nazareth is Christ (the “anointed one” or *mashiach* in Hebrew, the messiah; Gal 3:23-25).⁶ He acquired confidence that, with the coming of the Messiah, history had entered its climax and was heading towards the “eschaton” (1Thess 4:17; Rom 13:11). However, Christ had ascended to heaven and “God’s kingdom” had not yet

been established. Furthermore, believers in Christ, who had physical bodies, had not yet achieved resurrection (Phil 3:10-11; Rom 8:23). In fact, some of them were dying (1Thess 4:13-14). Facing this reality, Paul came to think that strong patience is necessary until the approaching end. Furthermore, he also adopted the view that ultimately when Christ returns those who endured until then would be resurrected. He thus took the view that the present was an intermediary stage between the arrival of the Messiah and his second coming.

This was, of course, a first experience for Paul. Furthermore, it appears that there was no systematic theology in Judaism that discussed an interim period between the Messiah's arrival and the climax (end) of history.⁷ It was necessary for Paul himself to consider how to live in such a period. In the Pauline Epistles, we find a record of some of this as I further discuss.

I have titled this paper "Judaism as Presented in Paul's Sayings." Thus, the Pauline Epistles—the materials which I will be using—are written from Paul's unique perspective (Christian belief, his conversion experience, and the interim period until the "eschaton"). From these perspectives, he reinterprets Judaism, which is regarded Pauline theology. However, today I rather consider and discuss the theological thought that Paul himself carried over from before his conversion, that is God's judgment, law observance, conferment of God's words, "chosen people" thought, sense of belonging, etc.; the theology that the various schools of Judaism shared during his time (covenantal nomism); and Paul's scriptural (Old Testament) quotations. My consideration of these topics will be today my answer regarding the question how Paul viewed Judaism.

2. Universalism in Early Judaism⁸

One of the theological ideas that Paul inherited from Judaism was regarding foreigner's pilgrimage or the worship of God by foreigners. It is important in that it served as a driving force for his missionizing activities after his conversion.

In the Prophets, it is written that when the twelve tribes of Israel come together at the climax of history (the eschaton, the appearance of the Messiah, the final judgment, the appearance of new heavens and a new earth, etc.), foreigners will also come together to go on a pilgrimage, and both groups will praise and worship God together. For example: "In days to come the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established as the highest of the mountains, and shall be raised above the hills; all the nations shall stream to it. Many peoples shall come and say, 'Come, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord,

to the house of the God of Jacob; that he may teach us his ways and that we may walk in his paths.’ For out of Zion shall go forth instruction, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. He shall judge between the nations, and shall arbitrate for many peoples; they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more” (Isa 2:2-4; Mic 4:1-3; Isa 60:10-14). Furthermore, foreigners bringing gifts (treasures) to Zion was a sign of the eschaton that Jewish people had looked forward to, from the time of the prophets (Isa 60:6 “They shall bring gold and frankincense.” 60:10 “Foreigners shall build up your walls, and their kings shall minister to you.” 61:5 “Strangers shall stand and feed your flocks, foreigners shall till your land and dress your vines.” Also, see Ps 72:10, 11, 15). In Matthew’s story of Jesus’s birth, foreign scholars (of astrology) present treasures to an infant Jesus. We can see that Matthew depicted the birth of the Christ the Messiah using this motif from the Old Testament.

Paul does not directly quote the text regarding foreigner’s pilgrimage (Isa 2:2-4; 60:10-14). However, while quoting multiple Old Testament passages he does describe in Rom 15:7-13 how foreigners will praise and worship God along with Jews (Rom 15:9=Ps 18:49, Rom 15:10=Deut 32:43, Rom 15:11=Ps 117:1, Rom 15:12=Isa 11:10. See also Rom 15:21=Isa 52:15 (the Servant Song) Isa 52:13-53:12).⁹ Of course, in some Jewish groups there were people who looked down on foreigners, declaring that they would be ruined (i.e., 1QM 11-12, Jub 15:25-34; 22:16-24, etc.).

Old Testament texts describing foreigners going on a pilgrimage and worshipping God do not concretely explain the basis for foreigners being accepted. While there was conversion to Judaism (via circumcision; as in Jdt 14:10, Joseph. *Ant* 20.17-48, etc.), it appears that there were no legal interpretations (*halakha* interpretations) dictating conditions for foreigner’s joining “God’s chosen people” at the “climax of history.” Of course, foreigners would have had to worship Israel’s God as the sole God. However, it is unclear what else was asked of them.

Paul did not demand anything but monotheism and Christian belief from foreigners (he does not require that they be circumcised and become Jewish), thus revising an important part of the traditional Jewish theology that he had inherited. Paul asserted that even if foreigners were not circumcised they could be part of God’s chosen people just with Christian belief, and as a result he would develop the ultimate universalism. This has been highly acclaimed in the world of Christianity as one of Paul’s achievements: constructing the foundation for Christianity as a world religion. However, a universalism with an eye to the salvation of foreigners could also already be found in Judaism.

First, the Old Testament discusses the universality of sin and of God's grace. The former is clear in the story of Adam and Eve as well as that of Noah, and the latter in that of Abraham. It is the role of Abraham's descendants to act as a mediator for God's grace for all peoples of the world (Gen12:3; 18:18; 22:18; 26:4; 28:14). Paul touches upon the story of Abraham in Galatians (Chapter 3) and Romans (Chapter 4) to discuss justification by faith because he found the universality of God's grace in this story. Furthermore, the Prophet Jeremiah (7th c. – 6th c. BCE) is appointed "to be a prophet to the nations" (Jer 1:5), and given "authority" over "nations and kingdoms" (Jer1:10). This can be seen as an expression of a view of God as ruling over the whole world and thus universal; it is not limiting the Jewish God to one group of people. This view (a universalistic understanding of God) is also expressed in Isa 2:2-4, Isa 41, and Isa 56. Furthermore, in Jeremiah, one finds the concept of circumcision of the heart, which is contrasted with the "circumcision of the flesh" that is a symbol of being a person of the covenant (Jer 4:4; 9:25; cf. 31:33 "I will put my law within them, and I will write it on their hearts.") In Deuteronomy 10:16 we also find "Circumcise, then, the foreskin of your heart, and do not be stubborn any longer," and in 30:6 "God will circumcise your heart." We should note that we find discussion of the internal aspects of belief when observing the law. In the Book of Jubilees, an Old Testament pseudepigrapha (ca. 2nd century BCE), we find, "I shall cut off the foreskin of their heart and the foreskin of the heart of their descendants" (1:23).¹⁰ Paul probably inherited this concept and thus discussed it in Romans saying how "real circumcision is a matter of the heart" (Rom 2:29).

Of course, in Paul's universal understanding of God the only condition for joining is Christian faith. However, the majority of other Jews appear to have made law observance a condition for joining (primarily circumcision and Sabbath and dietary restrictions) (Isa 56:2-7 "who keeps the Sabbath, not profaning it . . . and hold fast my covenant," Isa 58:13 "If you refrain from trampling the Sabbath . . . if you call the Sabbath a delight," Isa 66:23 " . . . From new moon to new moon, and from Sabbath to Sabbath, all flesh shall come to worship before me, says the Lord.") On the other hand, we find Jewish texts that as a result of seeking dialogue and peaceful relationships with surrounding people, do not recommend law observance centered on Jewish customs but rather the universal or general ethical virtues of the time. For example, The Book of Tobit teaches primarily about almsgiving, respect for the dead, duty to one's parents, and Wisdom of Sirach (ca. beginning of 2nd c. BCE), while not doing away with ethnic traditions, is critical of the narrowness of Jewish ethnicity. This is part of the tradition of wisdom

literature that includes Ecclesiastes, the Book of Job, and the Book of Proverbs. We could say that there was a desire to enlighten people inside and outside of Judaism regarding the universal nature of the religion by discussing issues and wisdom that transcend ethnic boundaries and are universal to humanity. Of course, it is emphasized that the source of wisdom is God.

In Rom 2:14-15, Paul also clearly states that foreigners can share the ethics taught by the law, arguing that even if foreigners do not keep the law, what is demanded by it, is written in their hearts. If they carry it out naturally they themselves are the law. The law in this context refers to ethical and moral teachings; it is hard to think that foreigners would naturally carry out circumcision and observe rules regarding diet, cleanliness, and the Sabbath. While Paul does not distinguish between ritual law and ethical law, at the very least it appears that he had in mind a universal ethical law that could be shared with foreigners and was distinct from dietary, cleanliness, and Sabbath restrictions. In fact, Rom 2:15 touches upon qualms of “conscience” (*syneidēsis*). Furthermore, in Rom 2:26-29, he discusses being Jewish externally and internally, emphasizing that not external circumcision (ritual law) but internal circumcision (ethical law) is important.

When seen in this way, it is apparent that Paul’s universalistic thought was a carryover from the Old Testament. He did not have a monopoly on it. However, as already noted above, there were differences of opinion regarding the conditions for admission of foreigners. Even though the Book of Tobit and the wisdom literature in general, emphasize universal ethical virtues, this does not mean that their authors completely did away with the “chosen people” idea or with ethnicity.¹¹

However, did Paul leave behind such thinking? With this question in mind let us turn to our next discussion.

3. Judaism from Paul’s Viewpoint

Next, I will consider not the Judaism Paul reinterpreted based on Christian faith or the events surrounding Christ, but textual evidence in which he touches upon Judaism, Jewish people, and the law from a comparatively neutral position.¹²

(1) God’s Judgment (Rom 2:6-8)

“For he will repay according to each one’s deeds: to those who by patiently doing good seek for glory and honor and immortality, he will give eternal life; while for those who are self-seeking and who obey not the truth but wickedness, there will be wrath and

fury.”

While the relationship between good works and eternal life is also found in stories about Jesus (e. g. “The Rich Man” in Mark 10:17-22), Paul does not reject ethical law but rather advocates it, warning that in the final judgment ethical acts will be judged. In the above passage the relationship between acts and final judgment is clear. This is an important point when understanding Paul’s ideas regarding justification by faith. In other words, Paul recommends action (good works). In other places, as well, he clearly makes the same statement (1Cor 3:13; 4:3-5; Rom 2:16; 1Thess 5:6-11. See also 1Cor 6:9-10; 11:31-32; 2Cor 1:14; Phil 2:14-16).

(2) Observance of the Law (Rom 2:17-25)

“But if you call yourself a Jew [*Ioudaios*] and rely on the law and boast of your relation to God and know his will and determine what is best because you are instructed in the law, and if you are sure that you are a guide to the blind, a light to those who are in darkness, a corrector of the foolish, a teacher of children, having in the law the embodiment of knowledge and truth, you, then, that teach others, will you not teach yourself? While you preach against stealing, do you steal? You that forbid adultery, do you commit adultery? You that abhor idols, do you rob temples? You that boast in the law, do you dishonor God by breaking the law? For, as it is written, ‘The name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles because of you.’ Circumcision indeed is of value if you obey the law; but if you break the law, your circumcision has become uncircumcision.”

The above passage states that being Jewish and the teachings of the law are indivisible, as well as touches upon Moses’ Ten Commandments. Righteousness by the law is mentioned in Rom 10:5 (“Moses writes concerning the righteousness that comes from the law [*tēn dikaiosynēn tēn ek tou nomou*], that ‘the person who does these things will live by them’” [Lev 18:5 (LXX)]) and Phil 3:5-6 (“[I have more:] circumcised on the eighth day, a member of the people of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew born of Hebrews; as to the law, a Pharisee; as to zeal, a persecutor of the church; as to righteousness under the law [*kata dikaiosynēn tēn en nomō*], I was blameless.”).

(3) Entrustment of the Words of God (Rom 3:1-2)

“Then what advantage has the Jew [*Ioudaios*]? Or what is the value of circumcision? Much, in every way. For in the first place the Jews were entrusted with the oracles of God [*ta logia tou theou*].”

“The oracles of God” designation refers to the words which God gave through

Moses and the prophets. *Logion* (the diminutive of *logos* or “words”) means “the Old Testament’s revelation and promises: entrustment, God’s responses, God’s statements, and, sometimes, the Old Testament as a whole.”¹³ While Paul says that there are many advantages to being Jewish, he actually does not point them out in his discussion that follows. Furthermore, he also does not concretely provide any answers about the benefits of circumcision. However, he connects benefits, circumcision, and God’s entrustment of the “oracles.” We find here a view that Jews preferentially enjoy their status as the chosen people, their covenant with God, various religious rules, and prophecies.

The question of Rom 3:1 is presented by an imagined conversation partner, and is in response to the discussion that immediately precedes it (2:28-29). The aim of this discussion is to relativize what could be called Jews in appearance—those who have been given the law in the form of circumcision and texts—and commend those who are Jewish “internally.” In response, the imaginary partner is forced to inquire about the meaning of “Jew” and “circumcision.” The technique of making arguments with an imagined partner is called *diatribē*,¹⁴ and was used by groups of philosophers at the time.

(4) Chosen People (Rom 9:4-5a. Also see 11:1, 28-29)

“[They] are Israelites, and to them belong the adoption [*hyothesia*], the glory [*doxa*], the covenants [*diathēkai*], the giving of the law [*nomothesia*], the worship [*latreia*], and the promises [*epangeliai*]; to them belong the patriarchs, and from them, according to the flesh, comes the Messiah.”

Nomothesia means “the establishment or giving of the law, a legal code.”¹⁵ Paul uses not the normal word *nomos* but *nomothesia*. Why is this? Furthermore, *nomothesia* appears only once in the New Testament. It appears that he did that for stylistic reasons: making the passage rhyme. In it we find six terms: the adoption, the glory, the covenants, the giving of the law, the worship, and the promises. All words are feminine singular or plural nouns, and end with either *a* or *ai*: the adoption (*hyothesia*), the glory (*doxa*), the covenants (*diathēkai*), the giving of the law (*nomothesia*), the worship (*latreia*), and the promises (*epangeliai*). If *nomos*—the word normally used to mean “law”—was used, the rhyming scheme would be thrown off.

Latreia means temple worship (including sacrificial rituals) (Heb 9:6), worshiping the sole God Yahweh as written on the first tablet of the Ten Commandments.¹⁶ Furthermore, after this passage Paul reinterprets *latreia* to mean the worship offered by the Christian faithful: “[P]resent your bodies as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to

God, which is your spiritual worship [*latreia*]” (Rom 12:1). Furthermore, he represents foreign converts as worship offerings with himself as the priest (Rom 15:16 “to be a minister of Christ Jesus to the Gentiles in the priestly service of the gospel of God, so that the offering of the Gentiles may be acceptable, sanctified by the Holy Spirit.”) It is rather interesting that Paul metaphorically uses Jewish temple worship to discuss the worship and missionary activities of believers in Christ.

The terms “glory,” “covenant,” “law,” and “worship” were recognized by both Jews and non-Jews as expressing the characteristics of early Judaism. In other words, “glory” means belief in the one God, “covenant” refers to Israel as the people of God’s covenant, “giving of the law” or the bestowal of the law to Moses as rules for these people of the covenant (as we have seen, observing the law and law-based righteousness appeared to always be an important concept for Paul, and we should note that he mentions it here as well), and “worship” that refers to belief in the one God as well as rituals for atonement and pardon and God’s temple.¹⁷

Hyothesia means “to adopt, adoption, and the status of being an adoptee.”¹⁸ While it can be understood to mean “sons of God,” it does not have the prefix *theo*. This concept is not a major one in the Old Testament, but it can be found (Exod 4:22 “Then you shall say to Pharaoh, ‘Thus says the Lord: “Israel is my firstborn son . . .”’ Hos 11:1 “When Israel was a child, I loved him, and out of Egypt I called my son.”) Matthew, who appears to have been a Jewish follower of Christ, quotes Hos 11:1 in the story of Jesus’ birth during the episode about Jesus fleeing to and returning from Egypt (Matt 2:15).

(5) Sense of Belonging (Rom 9:3; 11:14)

“For the sake of my own people, my kindred according to the flesh [*kata sarka*]” (Rom 9:3), “in order to make my own people [*mou tēn sarka*] jealous” (Rom 11:14).

We should note that Paul uses “flesh [*sarx*]” (Rom 9:3; 11:14 / the Hebrew *bāsār*), which means “same tribe, blood relatives, blood relations, and flesh-based relations.” It is clear that Paul has an ethnic identity as a Jewish person. Furthermore, in Phil 3:4-5 he boasts of his origins, again using “flesh [*sarx*].” In 2 Co 11:22 he lists being “Hebrews,” “Israelites,” and “descendants of Abraham” as something people can be proud of.

(6) Other

Summarizing the Law

Rom 13:8-10 “Owe no one anything, except to love one another; for the one who loves another has fulfilled the law. The commandments, ‘You shall not commit adultery;

You shall not murder; You shall not steal; You shall not covet,'; and any other commandment, are summed up in these words, 'Love your neighbor as yourself.' Love does no wrong to a neighbor; therefore, love is the fulfilling of the law." Gal 5:14 "For the whole law is summed up in a single commandment, 'You shall love your neighbor as yourself.'"

Here the law is summarized up with an ethical precept. This can also be seen in the words and actions of Jesus. Mark 12:29-31: "The first is, 'Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God, the Lord is one; you shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your mind, and with all your strength.' The second is this, 'You shall love your neighbor as yourself.' There is no other commandment greater than these." Furthermore, we can find the law summarized in the same way in Matt 7:12 (the so-called "Golden Rule"): "In everything, do to others as you would have them do to you; for this is the law and the prophets." Such summaries can also be found in the statements of Rabbi Hillel (b. *shabb.* 31A) and the Book of Tobit (4:15). However, here we find the negative version of the Golden Rule: the Book of Tobit 4:15 states, "And what you hate, do not do to anyone."¹⁹ Such summaries of the law are efforts to grasp the spirit of the law rather than summarize its various precepts, and were a part of Jewish theology at the time.²⁰ Here it can be seen that Paul overlapped with the tradition of the Jewish rabbis (teachers) Hillel and Jesus.

Using the word *Ioudaismos* (Jews), Paul says that he was "far more zealous for the traditions of my ancestors" (Gal 1:14), and mentions following dietary and purity rules with the phrase "like a Jew [*Ioudaikōs*], . . . live like Jews [*ioudaizō*]" (Gal 2:14).²¹ From his usage of these terms we can see that for Paul, Judaism was cherishing the traditions of the ancestors and maintaining on a daily basis certain characteristics or customs.

4. Theology Shared with Early Period Judaism

At the beginning of this paper I emphasized the diversity of Judaism at the time of Paul, still one can also find theology common to its sects. E. P. Sanders points out six of them.²² Of these I will introduce the ones that contributed the most to research on Paul and exerted the greatest influence on its subsequent development. Sanders' discussion brought about a major paradigm shift in Paul studies.

In order to carry out research on Paul, it is necessary not only to look at the correspondence that he left behind, but also know about the Judaism of his time. This is

because by considering his position vis-à-vis this Judaism we can understand the characteristics of his theology. Before Sanders' research there was a strong prejudice against Judaism. Particularly Protestant biblical scholars tended to look at Paul and the Judaism of his time, from a biased viewpoint, partially due to the influence of Lutheran theology. In other words, they thought the mature, wonderful, and refined religion of Christianity emerged with Jesus and Paul as its major actors in order to correct Judaism's emphasis on deeds, justification by works, and formalism. They saw it as a poor and inferior religion that did not value the actual content of faith.

While there were attempts to rectify this incorrect and prejudiced view of Judaism (Jews), Sanders' research developed the most persuasive argument and is still influential today. Sanders argued that from around 200 BCE to 200 CE Judaism was not simply legalism but a covenantal nomism.²³ By closely examining Rabbinical texts, the Dead Sea Scrolls (Qumran community), and Old Testament apocrypha and pseudepigrapha, he found in Jewish theology a covenantal nomist pattern. His research thus demonstrated that Judaism was a religion with a system of grace and redemption, and that law observance was to maintain membership in the saved group of God's people rather than a means of attaining God's blessings or salvation. By doing so he rectified to some extent the biases towards Judaism that had existed.

Covenantal nomism is "the view that one's place in God's plan is established on the basis of the covenant and that the covenant requires as the proper response of man his obedience to its commandments, while providing means of atonement for transgression. . . . *obedience maintains one's position in the covenant, but it does not earn God's grace as such.* . . . Righteousness in Judaism is a term which implies the maintenance of status among the group of the elect."²⁴

God chose Israelites as the chosen people and a covenant was formed between them. By following the law given at that time, Jews renewed it. This covenantal nomism was central thought that formed the core of a diverse Judaism, and shaped the ethnic identity (self-understanding) of the Jewish people. Following the law was not a means to enter into a covenant with God, but rather necessary as norms that dictated and maintained the relationship of Jews with God that was established by the covenant. Therefore, the law was not for obtaining salvation but rather a means by which Jews already saved by God's grace maintained their covenant relationship with Him. The image of Judaism presented by Sanders considerably differed from that of scholarship on Judaism—particularly that by Protestant biblical scholars. Judaism at the time did not preach the acquisition of salvation via accumulating good works (the acquisition of righteousness). Sanders

pointed on the inaccuracy of previous understandings of Paul's idea of justification by faith and law criticism.

However, even if, as Sanders asserts, Judaism is a covenantal nomism, I do not think that Judaism completely rejects the cause-effect relationship that law observance gains merits. When good acts only are emphasized with the aim of maintaining the status as one who has entered into the covenant, it appears that there are cases in which one falls into what could be called "justification by maintaining one's status within a chosen group," in other words, justification by works. One comes to praise the deeds that one can renew and maintain one's status as a partner in a covenant. However, as Sanders argues, since Jews are already saved as chosen people, this does not mean that one obtains salvation or God's grace by acts. Followers of Judaism are redeemed by God, and respond to the blessing of this redemption by observing the law, and their covenantal relationship with God is renewed and maintained. Paul also adopted this way of thinking, and after his conversion his Christian faith would function as its axis.

5. Paul's Quotations from the Old Testament

As I have already touched upon, in Rom 15:7-13, Paul describes how foreigners will praise and worship God along with Jews while using multiple Old Testament passages. At the beginning of the Romans he shows a strong interest in explaining that God's gospel is based on the holy scriptures (Old Testament).

In Rom 1:2-3a, he states, "[the gospel of God], which he promised beforehand through his prophets in the holy scriptures [*en graphais hagiiais*], the gospel concerning his Son." Paul normally refers to "scripture" in the singular, using the word *graphē* (Rom 4:3, Gal 3:8), but here he is doing so in the plural with *graphai* (in 1Cor 15:3-4 he also quotes testimony for Jesus's resurrection and uses *graphai*). Many scholars believe that he is quoting an early period Christian tradition (a formula for professing faith). Even if it is quoting such a tradition, the fact that he is quoting a formula that includes this kind of content shows us how Paul is trying to base the "gospel" on Israel's holy text (scripture).²⁵

In the authentic letters of Paul, one can count around ninety Old Testament quotations (this figure varies slightly depending on the scholar). Over fifty of these are in Romans. This indicates the extent to which Paul would think while in close conversation with the Old Testament. Furthermore, we can see from the materials that have been distributed²⁶ that many of his quotations use introductory phrases indicating that they

are written somewhere else: that Isaiah announced what follows, that Moses wrote what follows, and so on. Many of his quotations match or resemble the Septuagint (Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible). Quotations from Genesis and Psalms match the Septuagint frequently. Quotations that do not are probably from currently unknown Old Testament manuscripts. There are only three quotations that match the Masoretic Text (Hebrew scriptures), rather than the Septuagint (Rom 11:34; 1Cor 3:19; 2Cor 8:15).

In the letter to the Romans Paul discusses the relationship of God's act of salvation (justification) and Israel. In the discussion, he demonstrates how the "gospel" is the fulfillment of God's promise (or promised words), which was given to Israel. That explains why there are so many quotations from the Old Testament in the letter.²⁷

6. Summary

Paul reinterpreted Judaism and the Old Testament as a Jew who had faith in Christ after conversion. In fourth century Christianity became the religion of the Roman Empire, and subsequently it would strengthen its foundation as a world religion. Much tension and many conflicts and disputes unfolded between it and Judaism in European and American history. We are a living extension of history, and as such, we cannot help but avoid interpreting Paul's thought based on these circumstances. However, Paul has not experienced this history. To the end he was a Jew with faith in Christ who reinterpreted Judaism. For Paul Judaism was a basis that cultivated his flesh and blood as a Jew and a believer in God. With regard to this point he does not completely reject the ideas of the chosen people and ethnicity. After his conversion, for Paul, Judaism became the historical background for faith-based righteousness and missionizing foreigners.

Through his experience of conversion he gained Christian faith and was able to make a leap (acquire a membership as one of God's people that does not require observance of the law) with his eyes fixed on the future (the climax of history or the eschaton). When reconsidering Judaism, his conversion experience (religious mystical experience) became his paradigm, and he then reinterpreted Judaism within a theoretical framework based on it. In this regard, for Paul, faith in Christ acted as a springboard for that leap. While sometimes there is forced logical leaps in his writings, the primary cause of this was his springboard. However, Judaism continued to exist as the basis that was his flesh and blood.

Notes

- * This is a revised presentation manuscript from the presentation “Judaism as Presented in Paul’s Sayings” originally given at the public lecture meeting “Paul and Judaism” at Doshisha University on September 24th, 2016, which was part of the “Jews and Judaism in Japanese Research” project’s fourth research meeting “Judaism and Christianity in Late Antiquity” (held by the Center for the Interdisciplinary Study of Monotheistic Religions (= CISMOR), and Doshisha University’s School of Theology, Graduate School of Theology). Since this article was originally written for Japanese readers, the footnotes include bibliographical notes relating to Japanese language and works written in Japanese.
- ¹ Satō Migaku calls early Christians “the Jesus sect of Judaism” (*Yudayakyō iesu-ha* ユダヤ教イエス派) movement (Satō Migaku 佐藤研, “Maegaki” 「まえがき」 [Forward], in *Seishojidaishi shin'yakuhen* 『聖書時代史 新約篇』 [*Bible Era History: New Testament Volume*] [Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2003], p. vi). According to sixth century material, during the era of Evotius, the first bishop of Antioch, Christian believers were called *Christianos*, however until then they had been called Nazarenes or Galileans (Hosaka Takaya 保坂高殿, *Rōmateiseishoki no Yudaya-Kirisutokyō hakugai* 『ローマ帝政初期のユダヤ・キリスト教迫害』 [*Persecution of Jews and Christians During the Early Roman Empire*] [Tokyo: Kyōbunkan, 2006 (2nd Edition)], p. 186).
- ² Bible quotations are from the New Revised Standard Version (Division of Christian Education of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America, 1989).
- ³ Martin Hengel, *Sauro: Kirisutokyō kaishin izen no Pauro* 『サウロ キリスト教回心以前のパウロ』 [*Saul: Paul Before His Conversion to Christianity*], trans. by Umemoto Naoto 梅本直人 (Tokyo: Nihon Kirisutokyōdan Shuppanyoku, 2011), p. 103. Translation of *The Pre-Christian Paul* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1981).
- ⁴ E. P. Sanders, “Paul,” in *Early Christian Thought in Its Jewish Context*, John Barclay and John Sweet eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 113-114. However, the Sadducees, who did not believe in resurrection, angels, or souls (Act 23:8), respected humans’ free will and did not believe in fate, according to Joseph (*The Jewish War* 2.165). Therefore, we can imagine that the Sadducees did not think that God ruled history. However, we cannot completely deny the possibility that some Sadducees believed based on the Bible and their faith in God that God would intervene to save His “chosen people” (E. P. Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief 63BCE-66CE* [London: SCM Press, 1992], pp. 287-288).
- ⁵ Regarding the diverse visions of the future held by the various schools, see Sanders, *Judaism*, pp. 279-303. For example, the Sadducees, who did not accept fatalism and emphasized humans’ free will, probably did not expect much from God’s intervention, and there were groups that earnestly desired the glorious independence of the Jewish people based on military force (the Zealots, Sicarii, etc.) as well as people who were confident that like the Exodus from Egypt, God would intervene when they were united in their faith. Furthermore, there were people who hoped that a Jewish state would be peacefully established through their lives of prayer, as well as group that looked forward to two messiahs (a priestly and secular one; 1QS9:11, 1QSa 2).
- ⁶ *Mashiach* was translated into Greek as *messiās*. The English translation is messiah, and the Japanese translation is *meshia* メシア.

- ⁷ Sanders, “Paul,” p. 114.
- ⁸ My discussion in this section relies primarily upon Toki Kenji 土岐健治, *Shoki Yudayakyō no jitsuzō* 『初期ユダヤ教の実像』 [*The Real Picture of Early Period Judaism*] (Tokyo: Shinkyō Shuppansha, 2005), pp. 30-50, 149-54.
- ⁹ Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), pp. 70-73.
- ¹⁰ Translation from “Jubilees,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, volume 2, ed. J. H. Charlesworth (New York: Doubleday, 1985).
- ¹¹ Toki, *Shoki Yudayakyō no jitsuzō* [*The Real Picture of Early Period Judaism*], pp. 41-42.
- ¹² I have consulted James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1-8, 9-16* (Dallas: Word Books, 1988) when interpreting passages in *Romans*.
- ¹³ Oda Akira 織田昭, *Shin'yakuseisho Girishiago shojiten* 『新約聖書ギリシア語小辞典』 [*Glossary of New Testament Greek*] [Tokyo: Kyōbunkan, 2002].
- ¹⁴ *Diatribē* means “Passing time, recreation, entertainment, work, research, talk, wasting time, a (philosophical) school” (Furukawa Harukaze 古川晴風, ed., *Girishago jiten* 『ギリシャ語辞典』 [*Greek Dictionary*] [Tokyo: Daigaku Shorin, 1989]).
- ¹⁵ Oda, *Shin'yakuseisho Girishiago shojiten* [*Glossary of New Testament Greek*].
- ¹⁶ See also Sanders, *Judaism*.
- ¹⁷ Dunn, *Rom 1-8, 9-16*, p. 528.
- ¹⁸ Oda, *Shin'yakuseisho Girishiago shojiten* [*Glossary of New Testament Greek*].
- ¹⁹ Translation from the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books of The Old Testament, New Revised Standard Version (Division of Christian Education of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America, 1989).
- ²⁰ Sanders, *Judaism*, p. 259.
- ²¹ James D. G. Dunn, *Jesus, Paul and the Law: Studies in Mark and Galatians* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1990), pp. 129-182.
- ²² Sanders, *Judaism*, pp. 241-278. (1) Theology seen in Shema and the first (there is only one God) and second (prohibition of idol worship) commandment (Ex 20:3-4; Deut 5:7-8). Theology of (1) derives the following (2) ~ (5), and (6) summarizes several important aspects of Jewish theology. (2) is the creator God and His ruling over history, (3) sacrificial ritual theology, (4) summarizing the law, (5) theology of prayer, (6) covenantal nomism / (covenantism / legalism).
- ²³ Satō Migaku proposes the Japanese translation of *keiyakuteki junpōshugi* 契約的遵法主義 for this term (Satō Migaku 佐藤研, *Hajimari no Kirisutokyō* 『はじまりのキリスト教』 [*Early Christianity*] [Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2010], p. 204).
- ²⁴ E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1977) pp. 75, 420, 544. For a Japanese translation, see James D.G. Dunn, *Shin'yakugaku no atarashii shiten* 『新約学の新しい視点』 [*The New Perspective in New Testament Studies*], trans. by Yamada Kōta 山田耕太 (Tokyo: Sugu Shobō, 1986), p. 53.
- ²⁵ Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, p. 34.
- ²⁶ D. A. Carson and H. G. M. Williamson, eds., *It Is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture*

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 268-272.

²⁷ Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, p. 34.