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ISRAEL IN THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH



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BY
PETER RICHARDSON



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PREFACE

The publication of dissertations is always attended by serious difficulties, which the present work cannot claim to have avoided. It has been revised in the hope of making a technical piece of research more readable, but the basic form of the original has been retained. Parts have been rewritten, some of the detail has been removed and other larger portions of it revised and brought up to date.

The work was originally presented to Cambridge University in 1965 in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Since then much has been written impinging on the subject, the most important of which has been read and has now found its way into the footnotes.

In the preparation of the manuscript for publication I was greatly assisted by the Rev. Alex Zeidman of the Scott Mission, Toronto, and by Mr Herbert Simmonds. To them much of the credit must go for what degree of accuracy and exactness the book maintains, though of course the responsibility for the errors that will have crept in rests solely upon me.

I would like publicly to express my debt to the Rev. Professor C. F. D. Moule of Clare College, Cambridge, for his encouragement at every stage of the work; his interest has been a source of joy. I am also indebted to the Rev. Principal J. Stanley Glen of Knox College, Toronto, for my first taste of the excitement of New Testament study, and to the Rev. Dr William Fitch of Knox Presbyterian Church, Toronto, for the demonstration of the challenge of applying scholarship to the consistent weekly exposition of the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. I have learned from the example of all of these men how love for Jesus Christ results in a commitment to the Word of God and respect for it. None of them will agree with all that I have said, but, if the volume has any dedication, it is to these mentors in the study and application of the Bible.

G. P. R.

Toronto, Canada 1969



INTRODUCTION

The heart of this book, as a glance at the Table of Contents will make clear, is the chapter on Paul. The reason for this is the obvious one that we have in these epistles good information about developments over a period spanning parts of three decades within early Christianity. Paul's letters always form one focus for investigation into life and thought of the early Church.

In order to prepare for this extended analysis of Paul's letters, the book opens with a general statement of the problems connected with the Christian take-over of the name 'Israel'. Since this is the subject of considerable discussion a starting-point has been taken on the interpretation of which there would be little dispute. This fixed point is found in Justin Martyr. The historical phenomena of the period to A.D. 160 are also discussed in order to discover what part these external factors might have had upon the relationship between Jew and Christian.

A more positive assessment follows of the development of the Christian awareness of the need to appropriate Jewish titles and privileges. The first stage in this development is Jesus. The Pauline material is considered at length and the post-Pauline developments are examined sketchily to show how these relax the fundamental tension which exists between Jesus' and Paul's attitude to the problems posed by Israel's unbelief. An attempt is made to show how far each had progressed towards an identification of the Church with Israel. The concluding synthesis describes and accounts for two important facts: first, that the name 'Israel' is applied to the Church at all, and second, that it was only applied at a late date. The position adopted here is that 'Israel' is never specifically applied to the Church until Justin equates the two in his Dialogue with Trybho. In the New Testament, and in the Apostolic Fathers, there are many, and growing, indications of the need for this identification, but it is not made openly until c. A.D. 160.

Three Appendices are included which more fully document the approach suggested on the *Apology* of Aristides, Paul's use of λαός, and the attitude of the sects of Judaism to 'Israel'.



INTRODUCTION

The method adopted in footnotes is to cite in the first instance the full bibliographical information, and thereafter to use an obvious abbreviation of the title. In some cases the title of an article is omitted when the context makes plain the subject the author is discussing. Series of commentaries are cited by author's name, series, edition, and date. Fuller information is given under the list of abbreviations.

Biblical and other references are given in the usual abbreviations. Generally quotations or allusions are my own translation unless specifically acknowledged. All references to the Greek Old Testament are given in the Septuagint numbering, including those for the *Psalms of Solomon*.



TEXTS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Standard Texts:

NT

Novum Testamentum Graece cum apparatu critico, ed.

E. Nestle revised by E. Nestle and K. Aland
(Stuttgart, 1963, 25th edition).

OT (BH, MT) Biblica Hebraica, ed. R. Kittel, P. Kahle with A. Alt and O. Eissfeldt (Stuttgart, 1945, 5th edition).

LXX Septuaginta, 2 vols., ed. A. Rahlfs (Stuttgart, no date, 6th edition).

Qumran Discoveries in the Judean Desert, 1 ff. ed. D. Barthélemy, J. T. Milik (Oxford, 1955 ff.). Other texts noted where relevant.

Standard Works:

Bauer/A-G A Greek-English Lexicon of the NT and other Early Christian Literature by W. Bauer, translated and adapted by W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich (Cambridge, 1957).

Bl-D/Funk A Greek Grammar of the NT and other Early Christian Literature by F. Blass and A. Debrunner, translation and revision of the 9th-10th German Edition by R. W. Funk (Cambridge, 1961).

Liddell-Scott A Greek-English Lexicon compiled by H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, revised and augmented by H. S. Jones (Oxford, 1940).

Moule, Idiom An Idiom-Book of NT Greek, C. F. D. Moule (Cambridge, 1960, second edition).

Moulton A Grammar of NT Greek, 1, Prolegomena, J. H. Moulton (Edinburgh, 1908, 3rd edition).

Moulton/Howard A Grammar of NT Greek, 11, Accidence and Word Formation, J. H. Moulton and W. F. Howard (Edinburgh, 1929).

Moulton/Turner A Grammar of NT Greek, III, Syntax, J. H. Moulton and Nigel Turner (Edinburgh, 1963).



TEXTS AND ABBREVIATIONS

| $\mathbf{M}\mathbf{M}$ | The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament illustrated |
|------------------------|---|
| | from the Papyri and other non-literary sources, J. H. |
| | Moulton and G. Milligan (London, 1914–29). |
| RAC | Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum, Sachwörter- |
| | buch zur Auseinandersetzung des Christentums mit der |
| | antiken Welt, ed. T. Klauser (Stuttgart, 1950 ff.). |
| RGG | Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Hand- |
| 2000 | wörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft, |
| | ed. K. Galling (Tübingen, 1957 ff., third edi- |
| | tion). |
| StrBill | Kommentar zum neuen Testament aus Talmud und |
| Subin | |
| | Midrasch, H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, 5 vols. |
| | in 6 (München, 1922 ff.). |
| $TW\mathcal{N}T$ | Theologisches Wörterbuch zum NT, ed. G. Kittel, |
| | G. Friedrich (Stuttgart, 1933 ff.). |
| $TD\mathcal{N}T$ | Theological Dictionary of the NT, ed. G. Kittel, |
| | translated from the preceding by G. W. Bromiley |
| | (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1964 ff.). |
| | (Grand Kapius, Michigan, 1904 II.). |

Commentaries (in citing commentaries where the name is obvious from the context only the series name and date is given):

| $B\mathcal{N}TC$ | Black's NT Commentaries (London). |
|------------------|--|
| CGT | Cambridge Greek Testament (Cambridge). |
| CGTC | Cambridge Greek Testament Commentaries (Cam- |
| | bridge). |
| $C\mathcal{N}T$ | Commentaire du nouveau testament (Neuchâtel). |
| Ellicott | Commentaries by Bishop C. J. Ellicott, usually |
| | entitled A Critical and Grammatical Commentary |
| | on (London). |
| EtBib | Études Bibliques (Paris). |
| $H\mathcal{N}T$ | Handbuch zum neuen Testament (Tübingen). |
| HTK | Herders theologischer Kommentar zum neuen Testa- |
| | ment (Freiburg). |
| ICC | International Critical Commentary (Edinburgh). |
| KEK | Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das neue Testa- |
| | ment, begründet von H. A. W. Meyer (Göt- |
| | tingen). |
| McM | Commentaries published by MacMillan's of |
| | London, not strictly a series but all following the |
| | same format and originally intended to form a |
| | 2000000 00 00 00 00 00 00 00 00 00 00 00 |

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TEXTS AND ABBREVIATIONS

complete set by Lightfoot, Hort and Westcott. Later, others were asked to fill in the missing volumes, with some duplication.

The Moffatt New Testament Commentary (London).

MNTC

 $\mathcal{N}CB$

 $\mathcal{N}LC = \mathcal{N}IC\mathcal{N}T$

The Mosfatt New Testament Commentary (London).

New Clarendon Bible (Oxford).

T New London Commentary (London), the English version of the American series, New International Commentary on the NT (Grand Rapids, Michigan).

Das neue Testament deutsch (Göttingen).

Regensburger neues Testament (Regensburg).

Theologische Handkommentar zum neuen Testament

 $\mathcal{N}TD$ RNT

Theologische Handkommentar zum neuen Testament ThHNT

(Leipzig).

Tyndale NT Commentary (London). Westminster Commentaries (London). TNTCWC