

Of all the letters in the Pauline corpus, the letter to the Romans has attracted the greatest degree of scholarly attention. Yet surprisingly scant consideration has been given to the question of its literary genre. Taking up the comparatively brief suggestions of previous scholars, Dr Guerra argues that the letter belongs to the protreptic genre - the class of writing in antiquity which urges the adoption of a particular way of life (or a deeper commitment to it), setting out its advantages, replying to objections, and demonstrating its superiority. Working through each chapter of the letter in turn, he indicates how Paul provides a critique of non-Christian ways of life (both Jewish and Gentile) and affirms the superiority of Christian gospel. It becomes apparent that the Pauline apologetics of Romans stand between the hellenistic Jewish tradition and the later Greek Christian apologists, and may have influenced the latter. In addition, Dr Guerra shows convincingly that the understanding of Romans as protreptic in character reveals its underlying logical unity, and also that the letter may be firmly located within the particular situation of the Roman church.



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ROMANS AND THE APOLOGETIC TRADITION



# Romans and the apologetic tradition

The purpose, genre and audience of Paul's letter

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#### **PREFACE**

An interpretive hypothesis must be judged finally according to its explanatory power with respect to the parts as well as the whole of a given literary work. I argue that Romans is a protreptic writing seeking to affirm Paul's ministry and the gospel which he preached. In recent years, sections of the genuine Pauline epistles (especially 1 and 2 Cor.), and even entire epistles have been considered to be self-apologies wherein Paul defends his apostleship.<sup>2</sup> This restriction of the use of the term apology to a self-defense, however, is not justified by the ancient sources for the most characteristic Jewish Hellenistic apologies were propaganda on behalf of the Law rather than the author's defense against personal accusations.<sup>3</sup> Further, the undisputed Christian apologetic writings of the second century are not primarily defenses but positive propagandistic appeals to win converts to the new movement.<sup>4</sup> These writings fulfill the same function as do philosophical Protreptics.<sup>5</sup> Genre criticism, albeit important, should be complemented by analysis of content. In considering the material content of Romans, I have employed motif analysis as the primary method. This approach was chosen over, on the one hand, word analysis which is often too restrictive and may as readily obfuscate as elucidate an author's intent; and on the other hand, a thematic analysis that may promote sweeping conceptual

<sup>2</sup> Most significantly in Hans Dieter Betz, Galatians (Hermeneia, Philadelphia, Fortress, 1979).

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> E.g. N. A. Dahl, "Paul and the Church at Corinth According to I Corinthians 1:10-4:21" in *Studies in Paul: Theology for the Early Christian Mission* (Minneapolis, Augusburg, 1977), pp. 51-3; and J. Bradley Chance, "Paul's Apology to The Corinthians," *Perspectives in Religious Studies*, pp. 145-55; E. Richard, "Polemics, Old Testament, and Theology: A Study of II Cor:3:1-4:6," 340-67).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See Helmut Koester on the definition of an apology, *Introduction to the New Testament*, vol. 2 (Philadelphia, Fortress, 1982), pp. 338-440.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Mark D. Jordan, "Ancient Philosophical Protreptic and the Problem of Persuasive Genres," *Rhetorica*, 4 (1986), 309-33.



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generalizations which however intriguing may again have little to do with an author's intended meaning. Motif analysis, in my view, represents a middle way between these two and allows for confrontation of an author's conceptual universe while remaining attentive to specific verbal formulations. Motif analysis has been applied to the apologetic texts used in establishing the data base for apologetic theology and in the exegesis of Romans. Finally, in terms of this investigation, there was a persistent effort to recognize the significance of the historical context and circumstances of Romans. Thus, genre, motif, and historical criticism are all central to this work.

A guiding presupposition of this investigation has been that Paul seeks to communicate intelligibly and effectively to the audience which he is addressing. Thus the question of the image of this audience with which Paul operates in writing Romans is of some importance. The proposal made here is that Paul's image is of a dual audience: Jewish and Gentile Christians. Because of the theological distance and the past history of conflict between the apostle and the former, Paul attempts in Romans to present his teaching and ministry in the most inviting manner and to respond to typical objections of Jewish Christians. This primary image of Paul's audience must be brought into clearer focus by reference to the "Roman factor": that is Paul's attention to the locale of his addressees, their special sensibilities and proximity to the seat of imperial power.

My thinking about the protreptic character of Romans began at Harvard Divinity School in 1984 under the guidance of Helmut Koester and eventuated in a dissertation: "Romans 3.29-30 and the Apologetic Tradition." Chapters 2 and 3 of the present work incorporate material, with revision, from the earlier writing. While at Harvard, I received valuable assistance from several other members of the faculty including Dieter Georgi, George MacRae, Bernadette Brooten, and Krister Stendahl. The present investigation continues the analysis of the remaining twelve chapters of Romans and also considers the question of the audience of Romans which was not raised in the earlier work. I am grateful to the National Endowment for the Humanities for the opportunity to study with Professor Louis H. Feldman in his 1989 summer seminar: "The Greek Encounter with Judaism." During that period my thinking with respect to Paul's purpose and audience in Romans was crystalized. I would like to thank the Society of Biblical Literature for the privilege of chairing the consultation on "Apologetic Literature in the



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Graeco-Roman World" during 1987–8. These sessions provided a context for a serious and fruitful exchange of views on ancient apologetic literature. I am also grateful to William R. Schoedel, Eugene Gallagher, and Robert M. Grant, as well as to David E. Aune, who shared his monograph on Romans before publication, and to whom, as the notes testify, I am much indebted.

I also wish to express my appreciation to Bard College for a semester sabbatical in which I was able to complete the writing of this manuscript. I am especially grateful to the Bard history department for the opportunity to teach courses in Roman history that allowed me to re-read and, yes, read for the first time much literature that New Testament scholars know they "ought" to have read. I am also much indebted to both William C. Mullen and Christopher Callanan of the Bard classics department. It is with affection that I recognize the support and encouragement from my colleagues in the Bard religion department, David Pierce, Fritz Shafer, Laurie Patton, as well as Bruce Chilton, who has read and commented on more than one draft of this work. A special note of gratitude is due to Annette Reed, my Bard student assistant who helped prepare the indices, proof read the manuscript as well as type major portions of the text. Lastly, I feel most indebted to Dr. Margaret E. Thrall in whom I have enjoyed the rare blessing of working with an editor who possesses not merely general competence on the primary text under consideration but special expertise. Her editorial comments have been consistently perceptive and have immeasurably enhanced the present work. I am, of course, entirely responsible for any shortcomings which remain.



## ABBREVIATIONS

AJSL American Journal of Semitic Languages and

Literature

ANRW Aufstieg und Niedergang des roemische Welt APOT The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old

Testament

ASNU Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis BAGA Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament

and other early Christian Literature

BAGD Ibid. 2nd edn revised

**BDB** F. Brown, S. R. Driver and A. Briggs, A

Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old

Testament, Oxford

**BFCTh** Beitraege zur Foederung Christlicher

Theologie

BHTh Beitraege zur historischen Theologie

BZBiblische Zeitschrift

CAT Commentaire de l'Ancien Testament

CBOCatholic Biblical Quarterly

**CNT** Commentaire du Nouveau Testament **EKKNT** Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar zum

Neuen Testament

ET English translation EvThEvangelische Theologie

FRALNT Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des

Alten und Neuen Testaments

**HDR** Harvard Dissertations in Religion **HNT** Handbuch zum Neuen Testament HTRHarvard Theological Review

**HThKNT** Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen

Testament

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# List of abbreviations

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HUT	Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Theologie
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IDB	Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible
JBC	R. E. Brown et al. (eds.), The Jerome Biblical
JBC	Commentary
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
KAT	E. Sellin (ed.), Kommentar zum A.T.
LD	Lectio Divina
LEC	Library of Early Christianity
LSJ	A Greek-English Lexicon, Rev.
MNTC	Moffatt New Testament Commentary
NTS	New Testament Studies
NovT	Novum Testamentum
RB	Revue Biblique
SBLDS	Society for Biblical Literature Dissertation
	Series
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies
	Monograph Series
StudNeot	Studia Neotestamentica
TDNT	Theological Dictionary of the New Testament
VC	Vigilae Christianae
VS	Verbum Salutis
VT	Vetus Testamentum
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen
	Testament
ZThK	Zeitschrift Für Theologie und Kirche
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche
	Wissenschaft