

Reproduced by kind permission of the Society for Old Testament Studies

PROMISE AND FULFILMENT

Essays Presented to

PROFESSOR S. H. HOOKE

IN CELEBRATION OF HIS NINETYETH BIRTHDAY

21st January 1964

BY MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY FOR
OLD TESTAMENT STUDY AND OTHERS

EDITED BY F. F. BRUCE

EDINBURGH: T. & T. CLARK, 38 GEORGE STREET

© The Society for Old Testament Study 1963.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
MORRISON AND GIBB LIMITED
FOR
T. & T. CLARK, EDINBURGH

FIRST PRINTED 1963

PROMISE AND FULFILMENT IN PAUL'S PRESENTATION OF JESUS

By F. F. BRUCE

PROFESSOR HOOKE's questing mind has, over the years, ranged far and wide in the field of Near Eastern religion, but he is a biblical scholar first and last. One of his earliest books, *Christ and the Kingdom of God*, was devoted to the central theme of the biblical revelation; and if, in the years that have followed, he has deservedly gained a worldwide reputation as exponent-in-chief of myth and ritual and the cultural pattern of the ancient Near East, he has in his latest book (his latest to date, that is) brought the glory and honour of this rich kingdom into the city of God by making his researches yield their contribution to the unfolding of the pattern of divine revelation in the Old and New Testaments.

In the pattern of Biblical revelation the teaching of Paul occupies an important place. Professor Hooke sees "the full extent of the expansion of the pattern of revelation of which Paul was made the vehicle" in Col. i. 12-23, where "all the implications of the new image of the Head and the body are brought out. Here the Second Man, the Last Adam, is placed in the centre of God's new creation, and all the disorder and broken images caused by the failure of the first Adam fall into place, all discords are resolved, all things in heaven and earth are reconciled. In order that such a consummation might become possible it was necessary, and the divine pleasure, that in him through whom all this work of restoration was to be accomplished, all the fullness, the Pleroma, should dwell." ¹

Paul's Christology was part of his gospel which, by his own account, came to him "through a revelation of Jesus Christ." Evidently there was nothing in this revelation which clashed, as he saw it, with the historical facts of the ministry of Jesus,

¹ *Alpha and Omega*, pp. 255 f. (Above I have referred to this book as Professor Hooke's "latest to date"; that was true when this paper was written in September 1962; but since then his Pelican Book *Middle Eastern Mythology* has appeared.)

as he had opportunity of ascertaining these during the two weeks that he spent with Peter in Jerusalem in the third year after his conversion. Indeed, with regard to the historical facts, he himself declares his agreement with the original apostles: "whether then it was I or they, so we preach and so you believed" (1 Cor. xv. 11). The idea that Paul had no interest in the historical facts of the ministry rests on what I can only regard as a misinterpretation of what he says about knowing Christ "after the flesh" in 2 Cor. v. 16. He is not there contrasting his own knowledge of Christ with the knowledge of Christ possessed by the apostles who had been with him during the earlier ministry; he is contrasting his present knowledge of Christ with his own uninformed conception of him in the period before his conversion. The New English Bible brings out the force of his words quite clearly: "With us therefore worldly standards have ceased to count in our estimate of any man; even if once they counted in our understanding of Christ, they do so now no longer." As so often in his epistles, when he says "us" and "our" in this passage, he means primarily "me" and "my."

A further, and important, source of Paul's Christology is to be found in the Old Testament. When once Paul came to recognize Jesus of Nazareth as the Messiah of Israel and the exalted Lord, he was bound to recognize him as one to whom the Old Testament scriptures bore witness. The conception of Jesus as the fulfiller of prophecy was common to Paul and those who were "in Christ" before him; already before Paul's conversion it had begun to provide "the sub-structure of New Testament theology,"² for in fact there is ample evidence that it goes back to the thinking and teaching of Jesus himself.

When Paul paid his first visit to Thessalonica, according to the narrative of Acts, he attended the Jewish synagogue and on three successive sabbaths "argued with them from the scriptures, explaining and proving that it was necessary for the Christ to suffer and to rise from the dead, and saying, 'This Jesus, whom I proclaim to you, is the Christ'" (Acts xvii. 2 f.). Not long afterwards, when he arrived in Corinth, he acted in the same way; according to the longer reading of the Western text, "he went into the synagogue and argued every sabbath, *inserting*

² The sub-title of C. H. Dodd's *According to the Scriptures* (1952).

the name of the Lord Jesus, and persuaded both Jews and Greeks" (Acts xviii. 4). Even if the added phrase is not part of the original text, it may very well give a true picture of Paul's procedure. The insertion of a name in the course of the reading to make it plain who is being referred to is a targumizing practice, as may be gathered from the insertion of "Messiah" in the Targum of Jonathan as a gloss on "my servant" in Isa. xlii. 1, xliii. 10, lii. 13. But to gloss an Old Testament passage with the title "Messiah" was one thing; to gloss it with the name of Jesus was quite another matter. Yet the inserting of Jesus' name in this way would have expressed, in the simplest and most telling fashion, Paul's conviction that Jesus was the central subject of the Hebrew Bible. That this was indeed his conviction is evident from his epistles. It is the purpose of this paper to select seven elements in Paul's presentation of Jesus as the Christ, and see how he finds them all anticipated in the Old Testament.

I. THE SON OF DAVID

In the exordium of the Epistle to the Romans, where Paul introduces himself as "an apostle, set apart for the gospel of God," he goes on to say that this gospel, which God had "promised beforehand through his prophets in the holy scriptures," has to do with "his Son, who was descended from David (*ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυείδ*) according to the flesh and designated Son of God in power according to the Spirit of holiness by his resurrection from the dead, Jesus Christ our Lord" (Rom. i. 2-4). These words perhaps echo an early credal summary of the doctrine of Christ. The belief that Jesus was a descendant of King David certainly did not originate with Paul; it was part of the primitive Christian message which he "received." The Davidic descent of Jesus plays but a minor part in Paul's epistles, just as Jesus himself laid no weight upon it, although he did not repudiate the designation "son of David" when others gave it to him. The phrase *ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυείδ* recurs in a later credal summary in 2 Tim. ii. 8—"Remember Jesus Christ, risen from the dead, descended from David, as preached in my gospel." ³ Paul adduces Old Testament justification for the belief in Jesus'

³ κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου, as in Rom. ii. 16, xvi. 25.

Davidic descent in Rom. xv. 12, where Isa. xi. 10 is quoted as a prophecy of the extension of Christ's rule over the Gentiles by the preaching of the gospel :

" and further Isaiah says,
 ' The root of Jesse shall come,
 he who rises to rule the Gentiles ;
 in him shall the Gentiles hope.' "

Indeed, the very application to Jesus of the title *χριστός* presupposes that his descent from David was so commonly accepted as not to be a matter for dispute or demonstration.⁴

The opening words of Ps. cx. regularly received a messianic interpretation in New Testament times and were current as a *testimonium* in the early Church. It was common ground to Jesus and the scribes of his day that the personage referred to as " my lord " in Ps. cx. 1 was the expected Messiah (Mk. xii. 35 ff. and parallels). It was in language drawn partly from Ps. cx. 1 that Jesus made the claim for which the Sanhedrin pronounced him worthy of death : " you will see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of Power . . ." (Mk. xiv. 62).⁵ When Paul in Rom. viii. 34, possibly again echoing a primitive confession, speaks of " Christ Jesus . . . who is at the right hand of God," when in 1 Cor. xv. 25 he affirms that Christ " must reign until he [God] has put all his enemies under his feet," and when in Eph. i. 20 he refers to the power which God exerted when he raised Christ " from the dead and made him sit at his right hand in the heavenly places," we cannot fail to recognize the allusion to Ps. cx. 1, " Yahweh says to my Lord, ' Sit at my right hand, till I make your enemies your footstool.' " ⁶ The Davidic king to whom this divine oracle is addressed is identified by Paul and the other New Testament writers with Jesus, " who was descended from David according to the flesh." But he is identified at the same time with the figure of Ps. viii. 4 ff., under whose feet all things have been placed by God.

⁴ God's fulfilment in Jesus of the " holy and sure blessings " promised to David is expounded in Paul's synagogue address at Pisidian Antioch (Acts xiii. 23 ff.), with reference to Ps. ii. 7, Ps. xvi. 10, and Isa. lv. 3.

⁵ Cf. also the use of Ps. cx. 1 in Acts ii. 34 f. ; Heb. i. 13, etc. ; 1 Pet. iii. 22 ; Rev. iii. 21.

⁶ Cf. also Col. iii. 1, " seek the things that are above, where Christ is, seated at the right hand of God." The wording of Ps. cx. 1 is not reproduced in Phil. ii. 9, but the same sense is recognizable : " God has highly exalted him and bestowed on him the name which is above every name " (see pp. 44f., 50).

II. THE SON OF MAN

Christ must reign, says Paul in 1 Cor. xv. 25, till God has put all his enemies under his feet (the last of these enemies, he adds, is death). Then he quotes an Old Testament *testimonium* in support of his statement: "For God has put all things in subjection under his feet." This is a direct quotation of Ps. viii. 6 (apart from the change of the second person "thou" to the third person "he"). There is an allusion to the same scripture in Eph. i. 22 ("he has put all things under his feet") and in Phil. iii. 21, where Paul speaks of the power by which Christ is enabled "even to subject all things to himself."

This suggests that the section of Ps. viii. beginning with the question in v. 4—"what is man that thou art mindful of him, and the son of man that thou dost care for him?"—was applied to Christ at an early stage in Christian history. It might scarcely be relevant to adduce in this connexion Jesus' own quotation of v. 2 ("Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast brought perfect praise") during his last week of ministry in the temple court at Jerusalem (Matt. xxi. 16), because the appropriateness of that quotation depends not on its context in Ps. viii. but on the situation in which it was uttered. But vv. 4-6 are cited effectively in Heb. ii. 6-8 to show how Jesus as the Son of man was temporarily made "lower than the angels" in order that ultimately the whole universe should become subject to him. The application of these verses to Jesus, found both in Paul's writings and in the Epistle to the Hebrews, may have been taken over by both authors from early Christian usage, although each develops the application along lines of his own. While the primary Old Testament source of Jesus' own use of the designation "Son of man" is probably Dan. vii. 13, it was natural that other Old Testament passages containing the expression "son of man" should have been interpreted of Jesus in the primitive Church.

The "son of man" in Ps. viii. 4 ff. is, of course, Adam or mankind; the words "Thou hast given him dominion over the works of thy hands" (v. 6) are manifestly based on Gen. i. 26-28, where man is divinely appointed to rule the animal creation. But Paul (like the writer to the Hebrews) applies the psalmist's language not to the first Adam but to the second. Here we touch on Paul's conception of Jesus as the heavenly man, the last Adam

—a conception highly relevant to his Christology, and indeed to his whole philosophy of God and the world, but one which cannot be expounded within the compass of this paper.

The "son of man" passage in Dan. vii. 13 has left few traces in Paul's epistles.⁷ In Phil. ii. 7 f., where he speaks of Jesus as "being born in the likeness of men" and "being found in human form" (*ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος . . . σχήματι εὐρεθείς ὡς ἄνθρωπος*), we may indeed recognize a reflection of *k'bar 'enāsh*⁸ in Dan. vii. 13; but the affinities of Phil. ii. 6 ff. are much more with another Old Testament passage than with Dan. vii. 13 f.⁹ Again, the association of "clouds" with the parousia of Jesus in 1 Thess. iv. 17 goes back to Dan. vii. 13 where the "one like a son of man" is seen coming "with the clouds of heaven"; but Paul's reference to the clouds is probably more directly dependent on such sayings of Jesus as those found in Mk. xiii. 26, xiv. 62.

When, however, Paul speaks of the parousia "of our Lord Jesus with all his saints" (1 Thess. iii. 13), his words not only echo Zech. xiv. 5 but may also reflect the close association of the "one like a son of man" in Daniel's vision and "the saints of the Most High" in the interpretation of the vision (Dan. vii. 27). So too, when he says to his Corinthian converts, "would that you did reign, so that we might reign with you!" (1 Cor. iv. 8), and reminds them that "the saints will judge the world" (1 Cor. vi. 2), he is speaking of a royal and judicial function which can be theirs only through their relationship with the Son of man. It is the vision of Dan. vii. that lies behind his language here, as indeed it lies behind most of the New Testament passages which speak of reigning with Christ as the sequel to suffering with him (*e.g.*, Rom. viii. 17, 2 Tim. ii. 11 f.).¹⁰ The "one like a son of man" who receives dominion from the Ancient of Days attains this glory through suffering,¹¹ as the "saints of the Most High"

⁷ Dan. vii. 13 probably underlies the statement in Paul's Aeropagitica (Acts xvii. 31) that God "will judge the world in righteousness by a man whom he has appointed" (*ἐν ἀνδρὶ ᾧ ὤρισεν*); a more literal rendering of *k'bar 'enāsh* would have been meaningless in that environment.

⁸ LXX and Theodotion *ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου*.

⁹ The exaltation of Christ in Phil. ii. 9-11 may be linked in sense with Dan. vii. 14 (as with Ps. cx. 1), but the wording of Phil. ii. 10 f. is dependent on Isa. xlv. 23 (see p. 50).

¹⁰ Our Lord's own words in Luke xxii. 28-30 (cf. Matt. xix. 28) must have influenced apostolic teaching on this subject.

¹¹ Cf. what is said in Ps. lxxx. 17 about "the man of thy right hand, the son of man whom thou hast made strong for thyself."

who are associated with him in his rule have endured the fierce assaults of the "little horn" (Dan. vii. 21). When Jesus spoke of the Son of man as destined to "suffer many things and be treated with contempt" (Mk. ix. 12), he implicitly identified the Son of man with the Isaianic Servant of Yahweh; but Daniel's Son of man was from the start intended to be identical with the Servant.

III. THE SERVANT OF YAHWEH

The figure of the obedient and suffering Servant of Yahweh, as portrayed in Isa. xlii.-liii., made a contribution of the first importance to the early Christians' understanding of the mission of Jesus.¹² In many sectors of the apostolic Church it was the Servant Songs (and especially the fourth, Isa. lii. 13-liii. 12) that provided the first theological interpretation of his passion and triumph.¹³

The Servant Songs, however, do not play as prominent a part in the Pauline epistles as they do in a number of other New Testament books. Yet their influence on Paul's argument here and there is unmistakable. It is evident that he attached evangelical significance to the fourth Servant Song and its context¹⁴ from his quotation of Isa. liii. 1 in Rom. x. 16—"they have not all heeded the gospel; for Isaiah says, 'Lord, who has believed what he has heard from us?'" This follows almost immediately upon a quotation from Isa. lii. 7, "How beautiful are the feet of those who preach good news!"¹⁵ The good news of deliverance for Zion is naturally interpreted of the greater deliverance proclaimed in the Christian gospel.

Again, in Rom. xv. 21 Paul justifies his policy of bringing the gospel to unevangelized territory by quoting Isa. lii. 15 in the LXX form, "They shall see who have never been told of him,

¹² And, I should add, to Jesus' own understanding of his mission. The terms in which this case has frequently been argued have been subjected to criticism by C. K. Barrett in *New Testament Essays: Studies in memory of T. W. Manson* (edited by A. J. B. Higgins, 1959), pp. 1 ff., and by M. D. Hooker, *Jesus and the Servant* (1959).

¹³ Cf. Acts iii. 13 ff., viii. 32 ff.; Heb. ix. 28; 1 Pet. ii. 21 ff.

¹⁴ The New Testament writers were under no obligation to anticipate B. Duhm's precise delimitation of the four Servant Songs.

¹⁵ Cf. Isa. xl. 9. The New Testament use of *εὐαγγέλιον* and its cognates goes back to the repeated *εὐαγγελιζόμενος* of Isa. xl. 9 (LXX). Cf. Mark's quotation of Isa. xl. 3 as a *testimonium* of "the beginning of the gospel" (Mark i. 1-3).

and they shall understand who have never heard of him." The quotation is not made for illustrative purposes only; Paul attaches eschatological significance to his ministry as apostle to the Gentiles,¹⁶ which in his eyes forms part of the mission of the Servant.¹⁷ More impressive confirmation of this appears in Col. i. 24, where Paul rejoices in his sufferings for his converts' sake, because (as he says) "in my flesh I complete what is lacking in Christ's afflictions for the sake of his body, that is, the church."¹⁸ Paul, in other words, affirms his readiness to fill up in his own person as large a measure as possible of the "messianic birth-pangs" still outstanding, in order that his fellow-Christians may be relieved of the suffering which would otherwise fall to their lot before the parousia of Christ.

How does the portrayal of the Isaianic Servant contribute to Paul's presentation of Christ himself? "Christ died for our sins," says Paul, "according to the scriptures" (1 Cor. xv. 3)—this is part of what he tells us he had "received." If we enquire more particularly how Christ died for our sins, Paul will tell us that God "for our sake . . . made him to be sin (*ἀμαρτίαν ἐποίησεν*) who knew no sin, so that in him we might become the righteousness of God" (2 Cor. v. 21). The expression *ἀμαρτίαν ἐποίησεν* may best be understood if we bear in mind that the same Hebrew word does duty for both "sin" and "sin-offering." Paul expresses the same thought in Rom. viii. 3, where he speaks of God as "sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh and as a sin offering" (*περὶ ἀμαρτίας*). The phrase *περὶ ἀμαρτίας* regularly appears in the LXX in the sense of "sin-offering"; but for our purpose its most striking Old Testament occurrence is in Isa. liii. 10, where the Servant's life is given *περὶ ἀμαρτίας* (Heb. 'āshām).

But the appointment of Christ to be a sin-offering on his people's behalf has as its object "that in him we might become the righteousness of God." Similarly in Rom v. 19 Paul describes the effect of the work of Christ by saying that "through the one man's obedience the many will be made righteous" (*δίκαιοι κατασταθήσονται οἱ πολλοί*). Here again Christ is said to fulfil what is predicted concerning the Servant: "by his knowledge

¹⁶ Cf. J. Munck, *Paul and the Salvation of Mankind* (E.T., 1959), pp. 36 ff.

¹⁷ Cf. Barnabas and Paul's application of Isa. xlix. 6 to themselves at Pisidian Antioch (Acts xiii. 47).

¹⁸ Cf. T. W. Manson, *Ministry and Priesthood: Christ's and Ours* (1958), pp. 29 f.; S. H. Hooke, *Alpha and Omega*, pp. 253 ff.

shall the righteous one, my servant, make the many to be accounted righteous; and he shall bear their iniquities" (Isa. liii. 11). Paul in Rom. v. 19 departs from the LXX text by adding the definite article before "many," and thus does more justice to the force of the Hebrew text of Isa. liii. 11.

When Paul speaks of Jesus as having been "delivered up for our trespasses and raised for our justification" (Rom. iv. 25), the general sense of his statement is similar to that of other passages in his epistles where the influence of Isa. liii. has been traced. The use of the verb "delivered up" (*παρεδόθη*) may be compared with the use of the same verb (in the imperfect tense *παρεδίδοτο*) in 1 Cor. xi. 23, where Paul, transmitting a narrative which he himself had received, tells how the Eucharist was instituted by Jesus "in the night in which he was to be delivered up" (for his betrayal by Judas, to which most translators find a reference here, was but one incident in his being "delivered up"). In Isa. liii. 6 the LXX says of the Servant, "the Lord delivered him up to our sins" (*Κύριος παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἡμῶν*), while in the last clause of v. 12 its wording is almost identical with that of Rom. iv. 25, except that a different word is used for "trespasses" (Paul's word here is *παραπτώματα*): *διὰ τὰς ἀνομίας αὐτῶν παρεδόθη*, says the LXX ("because of their trespasses he was delivered up"), deviating notably from the Massoretic text, "he made intercession for the transgressors." The sense of the Massoretic text is reproduced in Rom. viii. 34 (in a context where it has already been suggested that we have a pre-Pauline credal summary): "Christ Jesus, who died, . . . who indeed intercedes for us." ¹⁹

But of all the places in the Pauline corpus where the prophet's portrayal of the suffering Servant can be traced, the most outstanding is Phil. ii. 6-11, where the humiliation and exaltation of Christ are set forth as an incentive to Christians to exhibit the same attitude of self-forgetfulness as he did. If, as E. Lohmeyer and others have maintained, this passage is a pre-Pauline hymn, Paul has made it his own by incorporating it in his argument. Here we have the theme of humiliation followed by exaltation, of suffering followed by vindication, as we have it in the third and fourth Servant Songs. In so far as the language

¹⁹ The Targum of Jonathan in Isa. liii. describes the Servant-Messiah as making entreaty for trespasses not only in v. 12 but also in vv. 4 and 11. But in the Targum he is not a *suffering* Servant-Messiah.

of Phil. ii. 6-11 echoes the Isaianic language, it by-passes the LXX and appears to represent an independent rendering of the Hebrew. Jesus takes the form of a δούλος (not παῖς); and when he is said to have "emptied himself . . . unto death" (ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν . . . μέχρι θανάτου) in vv. 7 and 8, we may have, as Wheeler Robinson thought, a literal representation of the Hebrew wording in Isa. liii. 12, *he'erāh lammāweth naphshō*.²⁰

IV. THE SON OF GOD

The substantive παῖς, used by the LXX to denote the Servant of the Lord (Heb. *'ebed Yahweh*), is sufficiently elastic to cover the senses of "servant" and "son." But when Jesus is called the Son of God, as he is throughout the New Testament, the word used is υἱός. In so far as an Old Testament background for υἱός in this connexion is to be sought, Ps. ii. 7 comes readily enough to mind. From Ps. ii. 7 in itself, it might be inferred that "Son of God" was a title which the Davidic Messiah bore by virtue of his office; but it is clear that when Jesus at his baptism heard himself addressed in the words "Thou art my beloved Son," he understood them in no merely official sense. For him his awareness of a unique filial relation on his part to God was the central and controlling element in his religious consciousness. This appears not only in the few passages where he speaks of himself as "the Son" (among which the logion preserved in Matt. xi. 27 and Luke x. 22 is prominent),²¹ but still more in those places where he calls God his Father, whether speaking to him or speaking of him.²² We need not doubt that when Paul and the other New Testament writers call Jesus the Son of God, their intention is to give the words the same meaning as they had for Jesus himself.

There is, however, another Old Testament passage which has been discerned behind some of Paul's references to Jesus as the Son of God. "He who did not spare his own Son, but gave him up for us all, will he not also give us all things with him?" (Rom. viii. 32). The first clause of this sentence (as Origen saw) is such a clear echo of God's words to Abraham in Gen. xxii. 16

²⁰ H. W. Robinson, *The Cross in the Old Testament* (1955), pp. 103 ff.

²¹ Cf. also Mark xiii. 32.

²² Especially Mark xiv. 36 (to which John xviii. 11 provides a remarkable parallel).

(" you have not spared your son, your only son . . .") that one might well ask whether Paul makes any further allusion to the " binding of Isaac," as a foreshadowing of the sacrifice of Christ. H. J. Schoeps has dealt with this question in some detail; ²³ but while his own conclusion is that the narrative of Gen. xxii. " has provided the very model for the elaboration of Pauline soteriology " (for which conclusion he appeals to the expiatory value attached in rabbinical tradition to the sacrifice of Isaac), he concedes that " Paul himself has not yet explicitly drawn out the typology Isaac-Christ." He is disposed to adopt the suggestion that Rom. iii. 25—" whom God has set forth " (*προέθετο*)—is linked with Gen. xxii. 8—" God will provide (*ῥηται*) a lamb . . ."—but the link is precarious in the absence of any such verbal similarity as there is between Rom. viii. 32 and Gen. xxii. 16. Two other New Testament writers refer more explicitly than Paul does to Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac (Heb. xi. 17-19; Ja. ii. 21-23); but neither of them relates it to the sacrifice of Christ. Pseudo-Barnabas was the first Christian writer of many to do this (vii. 3).²⁴

V. CHRIST OUR PASSOVER

The sacrifice of the Servant and the sacrifice of Isaac are not the only Old Testament sacrifices which Paul regards as fulfilled in Christ. The general sacrificial terminology of Eph. v. 2, " Christ loved us and gave himself up for us, a fragrant offering and sacrifice to God," is drawn from the recurring Old Testament description of a sacrifice which is acceptable to God (found about forty times in the Pentateuch and four times in Ezekiel).²⁵ But one specific sacrifice is mentioned in 1 Cor. v. 7 f., where Paul, urging his readers to maintain ethical purity in their fellowship,

²³ *Paul* (ET, 1961), pp. 141 ff. See the careful examination of his arguments by C. K. Barrett in *From First Adam to Last* (1962), pp. 26 ff.

²⁴ *Test. Levi xviii*, 6, in the course of the passage about the new priest (a Christian passage, surely), says: " The heavens will be opened, and from the sanctuary of glory shall come upon him sanctification, with the father's voice as from Abraham to Isaac " (most probably a reference to the heavenly voice at the baptism of Jesus). M. Black (" The Messiah in the Testament of Levi xviii," *Expository Times LX* (1948-49), pp. 321 f.) relates this to the one utterance by Abraham to Isaac recorded in the Bible—the sacrificial utterance of Gen. xxii. 8.

²⁵ Cf. Phil. iv. 18, where Paul uses this terminology to describe the Philippian church's gift to him.

says: "Christ, our paschal lamb, has been sacrificed. Let us, therefore, celebrate the festival, not with the old leaven, the leaven of malice and evil, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth."

The association of Christ with the paschal lamb was inevitably suggested to early Christians²⁶ by the fact that his death took place at the Passover season, if not indeed (as the Johannine account implies) at the very time when the lamb was sacrificed. Paul's argument is that, since the paschal sacrifice was followed immediately by the festival of unleavened bread (cf. Lev. xxiii. 5-8), so Christians ought to manifest their appreciation of the death of Christ by a perpetual "festival"—a life permanently purified from the "leaven" of sin and marked by moral and spiritual integrity.

The presentation of Christ as the paschal lamb and of Christian life as the consequent festival of unleavened bread is bound up with a whole series of typical analogies drawn between the beginnings of Israel's national history and Christian experience, of which Paul himself supplies a notable example in 1 Cor. x. 1-11.

VI. THE WISDOM OF GOD

That Christ is "the wisdom of God" is asserted by Paul in 1 Cor. i. 24, 30, in a context where the crucifixion is specially emphasized. This is an intentional paradox on Paul's part, because by every worldly standard the crucifixion was an exhibition of foolishness and weakness. But it is plain from other Pauline passages that the conception of Christ as the wisdom of God has its roots in the Old Testament, with reference not only to redemption but also to creation and providence.

With regard to creation, the outstanding Pauline passage is Col. i. 15-18, where Christ is said to be the one in whom all things were created and in whom all things cohere.²⁷ In other words, he is given the rôle which is claimed by Wisdom in Prov. viii. 22 ff., where she speaks of herself as the Creator's assessor and master-workman when he brought the universe into being. But

²⁶ Cf. the description of Christ in 1 Pet. i. 19 as "a lamb without blemish or spot," coupled with the admonition "gird up your minds" in verse 13 (cf. Ex. xii. 5, 11).

²⁷ Cf. 1 Cor. viii. 6.

Paul is employing no mere literary personification, but referring to the eternal Son of God, who in the fulness of time became man as Jesus of Nazareth. Wisdom is "the beginning" of Yahweh's way in Prov. viii. 22; Christ is "the beginning" *par excellence* in Col. i. 18. In relation to the old creation he exercises the right of heritage which is his as the Father's first-begotten; in relation to the new creation he exercises a parallel privilege because of his priority in resurrection.

With regard to providence, we note the passage where Paul says that the Israelites in the wilderness "drank from the spiritual rock which followed them, and the Rock was Christ" (1 Cor. x. 4). In current Jewish thinking the rock from which Israel drank in the wilderness was associated with Divine Wisdom. According to Wisd. xi. 1-4 it was Wisdom, their helper and defender in the wilderness, who supplied them with "water . . . out of flinty rock, and slaking of thirst from hard stone." Even more explicitly Paul's older contemporary, Philo of Alexandria, says: "The flinty rock is the wisdom of God from which he feeds the souls that love him."²⁸ Paul goes further: that rock, he says, was Christ himself, who accompanied his people in the wilderness.²⁹ This conception may have found support in those Old Testament passages where God promises his people that the angel of his presence will go before them in all their wanderings until he brings them into the promised land (Ex. xiv. 19; xxiii. 20 ff.; xxxii. 34; xxxiii. 2, 14; cf. Isa. lxiii. 9). But since Paul links the presence of Christ with the provision from the rock, we can hardly fail to associate his thought with the near-contemporary references to the rock in connexion with Divine Wisdom.

Where did Paul get the idea of identifying Jesus with the Wisdom of God? The idea is not original to him, for we find it elsewhere in the New Testament, notably in Hebrews and in the Johannine literature. The description of Jesus as the *ἀπαύγασμα* of the divine glory in Heb. i. 3 is plainly related to the similar description of Wisdom in Wisd. vii. 25. The influence of Prov. viii. 22 ff. is clearly traceable not only in Col. i. 15 ff. but also in Heb. i. 2 f. and John i. 2 f., where Christ is similarly presented as

²⁸ *Leg. Alleg.*, II, 86.

²⁹ Cf. Jude 5, where the original text is probably that which reads: "Jesus, who saved a people out of the land of Egypt, afterward destroyed those who did not believe."

the one through whom the worlds came into being, and in Rev. iii. 14, where the enthroned Christ speaks in the rôle of "the Amen, . . . the beginning of God's creation."

When we find a new idea of this character in so many streams of early Christian thought, it is most natural to look for its origin in the teaching of Jesus himself. Some of the utterances of Jesus have been classified as "Wisdom sayings"; of these the "comfortable words" of Matt. xi. 28 ff. come most readily to mind, with their well-known resemblance to Ben Sira's epilogue (Sir. li. 23 ff.). In inviting men to come to him and take his yoke upon them, Christ "does not summon men to Wisdom, as a mere expert or teacher or even pupil of Wisdom, but . . . like Wisdom, calls men to himself. He speaks in the name of Wisdom, indeed as Wisdom herself."³⁰

VII. THE LORD

The important contribution of Ps. cx. 1 to primitive Christian Christology has already been observed. In that passage the invitation "Sit at my right hand till I make your enemies your footstool" is "Yahweh's utterance to my lord" ('*ādōn*). But the psalmist's acknowledgment of the Messiah as his lord is not the same thing as giving him the ineffable name of Yahweh. The vast majority of Jewish scribes would have agreed that "my lord" was the Messiah; but they would have dismissed as blasphemy the suggestion that he was entitled to be put on a par with Yahweh, let alone be given Yahweh's name. Yet Paul does not hesitate to take this further step, and he is not the only New Testament writer to do so.³¹ That Jesus was addressed as "Lord" in the Aramaic-speaking Church is sufficiently proved from the currency of the invocation *Marana-tha*, an invocation so primitive that it was taken over by the Greek-speaking Christians (cf. 1 Cor. xvi. 22; *Didache* x. 6). Among Greek-speaking Christians this title, *κύριος*, was identical with the form which in the LXX does duty regularly for Yahweh as well as for '*ādōn*. But it was not primarily this linguistic accident that made those

³⁰ R. Otto, *The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man* (ET, 1943), p. 172.

³¹ Cf. the application of Isa. viii. 13 ("Yahweh of hosts, him you shall sanctify") in 1 Pet. iii. 15 ("sanctify in your hearts Christ as Lord"), and the quotation of Ps. cii. 25, words addressed to Yahweh, in Heb. i. 10 as words addressed to Christ.

early Christian writers apply to Jesus Old Testament passages which plainly referred to Israel's God. What moved them to do so was the impact which Jesus himself made on their lives—an impact so unparalleled that it made men who had been brought up as faithful monotheistic Jews give Jesus, inevitably and spontaneously, the glory which belonged to the one God.

We see this process in Paul's substitution for "the day of the Lord" such synonymous expressions as "the day of Christ," "the day of Jesus Christ," "the day of our Lord Jesus Christ." We see it in his quotation of Joel ii. 32—"everyone who calls upon the name of the Lord will be saved"—in Rom. x. 13, in a context which suggests that Jesus is the Lord referred to, since he has just said that salvation belongs to those who confess Jesus as Lord (*v.* 9). Yet Yahweh stands in the Hebrew text. We see it most unambiguously in Phil. ii. 9-11, where Paul affirms that God has given Jesus "the name which is above every name, that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, . . . and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord." Here he applies to Jesus the words of Isa. xlv. 23, "To me every knee shall bow, every tongue shall swear"—words spoken by him who has said immediately before: "I am God, and there is no other." The "name which is above every name" can only be *κύριος* in that plenary sense in which it stands for Yahweh. Yet, says Paul, it is God himself who has bestowed this name on Christ, and his own glory is not diminished but enhanced thereby.³² In Professor Hooke's words, "it is the image of the Servant that Paul has before him, and all that he has been saying to the Philippians about the self-emptying of the Servant is the exposition of the glory of the Son, and so the passage closes with the Father's conferring on the Son the ineffable Name. . . . In John's gospel xvii. 5 the Son prays, 'And now, O Father, glorify thou me with thine own self, with the glory which I had with thee before the world was,' and here Paul declares that it has been done. This is the climax of Paul's exposition of the glory."³³

But let Paul (*more suo*) have the last word. "For," says he, "all the promises of God find their Yes in him. That is why we utter the Amen through him, to the glory of God" (2 Cor. i. 20).

³² If the passage is a pre-Pauline hymn, the implications are obvious.

³³ *Alpha and Omega*, p. 259.